

By ZB MOLEFE

LACK Africa needs "a second dose of liberation". SA Institute of Race Relations president Stanley Mogoba told the inaugural Africa Leadership Forum conference in Nigeria recently.

Mogoba was interviewed by the Institute's newsletter SA/IR News after his return from the two-week conference.

Mogoba said: "While the conference recognised that apartheid was a destructive force on the continent, it also recognised that issues 'closer to home' in black Africa which impeded progress should be confronted."

The forum was formed by former head of Nigeria, Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, who was joint chairman of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons which visited South Africa in 1986.

"I believe that it was significant that a group of African leaders could come together to look at Africa and acknowledge that it is a continent in dereliction and decay," he said. He continued: "We could see that as the rest of the world appears to be moving economically, we are moving backwards."

Africa's 1980 exports stood at R114 billion and six years later they had shrunk to R64-billion, was a case cited at the conference.

SA no longer blamed for all Africa's ills

11/1/88
Jovan

"And we saw that whereas our economies had substantially preserved their colonial moulds, another region of the world which inherited a situation not dissimilar to that taken over by newly-independent African states - South-East Asia - had forged ahead," said

Mogoba.

"This is illustrated by Hong Kong, South Korea and Singapore, which are standing on the threshold of a new economic era, whereas we continue to react within the framework imposed on us by our departed colonial overlords."

As a result, Mogoba said, Africa faced a huge foreign debt. This was aggravated by the fact that there were some African countries in which corruption was rife.

Conference delegates, according to Mogoba, also acknowledged that attempts by some African countries to forge economic communities, such as in East and West Africa, had failed.

Nevertheless, there was a strong commitment to the creation of economic communities that could provide muscle power for Africa in world markets, added Mogoba.

"In this respect," he pointed out, "the resolution of the problems confronting South Africa and the dismantling of apartheid were important issues."

Mogoba went on: "For example, there was talk of the strength which a Lagos-Pretoria-Nairobi economic axis could have, and one does not have to stretch one's imagination too far to realise that Africa could become a major economic force in the world if its leaders could work out a programme of economic

co-operation and strive for and obtain optimum productivity.

"It is important to appreciate that this was probably the first meeting of Africans in Africa that looked at their own problems on the continent and did not blame all its ills on the world and South Africa."

It is also significant, Mogoba said, that African states were looking south at "our country, believing that if we can solve our problems in this land and create a non-racial state, Africa will become an even more exciting place in which to live".

Mogoba said it was a conference about Africa and to a lesser, though important extent, the role which South Africa could play in it. There was a need for African countries - including South Africa - to increase productivity "and to help Africa experience a new liberation".

Said Mogoba: "This message came over - although many states in Africa have independence, they in effect need a second dose of liberation, so that they can stand on their feet and experience the kind of progress that states of South-East Asia are experiencing."

"Overall, the message is that South Africa matters, Africa matters, and people are beginning to look at our country as a very important partner in the future."

"People are wanting to see the end of the apartheid era, they see a need for a peace conference and for mediation to settle the problems of South Africa."

Growth rate up as people get poorer

B/DW 3/1/89 (1)
ADDIS ABABA — Africa's economic growth rate nearly doubled last year but Africans grew poorer, a trend that was likely to continue in 1989, the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) said yesterday.

The continent's gross domestic product (GDP) rose by an estimated 2.5% in 1988, up from 1.3% in 1987.

Expansion lagged behind the population increase of 3% and economic growth of another 2.5% in 1989 would also trail the population rise, the commission said in its annual review of the African economy.

That meant the decade-old trend of declining living standards would continue in 1989.

"Even this cheerless forecast may turn out to be rather optimistic if the main underlying assumption with respect to (favourable) weather conditions were to turn out to be misplaced," said Adebayo Adedji, ECA executive secretary.

He said that with weak prices for its commodity exports, Africa had been unable to get out of a trap of spending more than it earned to repay its debt and buy imports — a pattern leaving little money for investment.

Adedji said Africa's external debt rose to \$230bn at the end of the year from \$218bn the end of 1987 while prices for its main exports slumped.

The commission estimated that Africa's exports fell 2% in 1988 to \$50.3bn from \$51.4bn in 1987. Imports were little changed at \$60.4bn. But food and agricultural output rose by 3.8%. — Sapa-Reuters

Africa deeper in debt

star 3/1/89
ADDIS ABABA — The executive secretary, of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Africa said yesterday almost all African nations were falling farther behind the world's developed countries.

Adebayo Adedeji, who also is a UN under secretary-general, called for fundamental changes in so-called structural adjustment programmes ordered by major lending institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Structural adjustment programmes usually require significant economic belt-tightening by nations receiving World Bank or IMF aid and poor, debtor nations frequently complain that the measures often lead to hardship and civic unrest.

Adebayo, delivering a year-end assessment to an audience of diplomats and economists at the commission's headquarters in Ethiopia's capital, said Africa's economy did not keep pace

with its population growth in 1988.

He predicted an even more dismal decline in 1989.

Adebayo said Africa's combined economy grew at a rate of 2,5 percent in 1988, compared with 1,3 percent in 1987. However, he said, that was offset by population growth of about 3 percent.

A decade-long pattern of slow economic growth coupled with rapid population increases has left the average African with an income only about 80 percent of what it was in 1980, Adebayo said.

He noted that demand for African exports remains weak and said the continent's economy "has been sapped and weakened by the burden of debt in spite of the perceptible recovery of the industrial economies".

He put the combined debt of African nations at \$230 billion at the close of 1988, compared with \$218 billion in 1987.— Sapa-AP.

Hope flares for peace in Western Sahara

^{8/Day} ^{5/11/84}
MARRAKESH — After almost 13 years of war, King Hassan of Morocco and guerrillas of the Polisario Front fighting for the independence of the Western Sahara have talked peace.

Moroccan authorities imposed a total news blackout on the first face-to-face meeting between the belligerents.

But diplomats hailed the event as a major breakthrough in the long running desert conflict that has soured regional

relations in North Africa for more than a decade.

A spokesman at the Marxist-led Polisario Front headquarters in Algiers said a three-man delegation flew to the ancient Moroccan capital on Tuesday for talks with Hassan.

Moroccan officials declined to confirm the arrival of the Polisario team although witnesses reported a small plane on the tarmac in front of the VIP

lounge at Marrakesh airport.

The two sides are believed to have held a first round of talks at the king's magnificent palace at the foot of the snow-capped Atlas mountains on Tuesday evening.

Discussions would focus on implementation of the UN peace plan to end the fighting over the former Spanish colony, accepted in principle by both sides in August — Sapa-Reuter

are urged to

AFRICA

THE main cause of grinding hunger in Africa is droughts and crop failures. Right? Wrong, says Edward Jaycox, Africa region vice-president of the World Bank.

In the latest issue of *Africa Report* magazine Jaycox comes up with fresh economic development theories on how the marauding hunger and other related diseases could be fought by African countries assisted by Western donor nations.

If agriculture in Africa is in trouble, then it follows that Africa is also in trouble.

Jaycox argues that the main cause of the problem is the inability to generate sufficient income to acquire food. He says a more productive agricultural sector is part and parcel of a healthy overall economy.

Although food production in Africa as a whole has been increasing, the increase is not catching up fast enough with population growth, estimated at 3.2 percent.

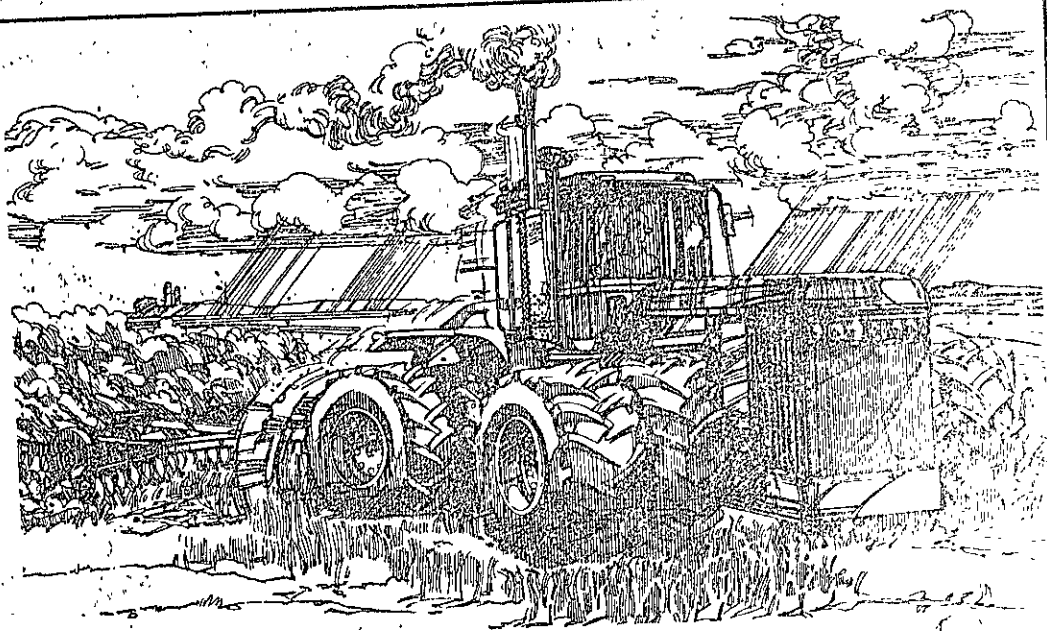
While African countries are struggling to provide large numbers of people with even the minimum diet required to keep body and soul together, industrialised nations are struggling with too much food at their disposal due to over-production, says Jaycox.

The World Bank has over the past decade made more than R66-billion available for agricultural and food development. This figure represents more than a third of the bank's lending portfolio.

Jaycox says the bank finances only a fraction of project costs, and this has leveraged total investments of about R180-billion in the sector.

In its fight against hunger, the bank was the strongest promoter of the "yield revolution" or green revolution in South-East Asia. It helped to create and fund the Consultative Group for Agricultural Research and pushed modifications and improvements in agricultural extension systems.

INABILITY to generate enough income to acquire food is the main cause of hunger in Africa, says EDWARD JAYCOX, World Bank vice president for Africa. SAMKELO KUMALO reports on a study Jaycox made of the food problem in Africa.



A continent starves

If agriculture in Africa is in trouble, then Africa is in trouble

It also financed almost a third of the increase in fertiliser-manufacturing in the developing world and close to 25 percent of all public investment in irrigation systems.

The positive actions taken by the bank in this regard helped significantly to improve the standards of living for untold millions of poor people and in return helped to provide the agricultural produce that is now feeding much of the world, says Jaycox.

But a quarter of the sub-Saharan population, estimated at 100-

million people, still does not get enough to eat.

The minimum daily 2 200 calorie intake has been declining and per capita agricultural production has declined by about 1.1 percent per annum since 1965, according to the Jaycox report.

It is estimated that if things remain as they are, Africa by the end of the century will be faced with 500- to 700-million mouths to feed - a task too ghastly to contemplate.

It is therefore imperative then that African governments should put more emphasis on family planning, says Jaycox.

What worries the World Bank is that Sub-Saharan Africa's population explosion is only one of the many complex and interconnected reasons for the region's poor agricultural performance.

Other factors include government policies that have discriminated against agriculture, lack of adequate improvement in inputs and technologies, and land tenure systems that do not provide farmers with the security needed for them to invest in their land.

There are also environmental problems

arising from shifting cultivation, overgrazing and deforestation, hostile markets for African primary products and the failure of donors to co-ordinate their agricultural assistance strategies and to ensure that they are appropriately designed and implemented.

Jaycox argues that these factors have been particularly detrimental in the African context because agriculture is the mainstay of the continent's economy, contributing nearly 40 percent of gross domestic product, 30 percent of exports and 75 percent of employment.

As a result Africa is in trouble because its agriculture is in trouble.

The World Bank defines hunger in terms of food security. Food security is access by all people at all times to enough food to lead an active and healthy life.

In this way lack of food could be due to scarcity of food supply because of drought, disease or war.

Other widespread forms of food insecurity are caused by people not being able to produce food or not having the power to purchase it.

Thus hunger is not al-

ways caused by transitory droughts or crop failures or interruptions on the markets. "Although we must always stand ready to respond to such emergency situations rather chronic food insecurity is caused by poverty - by people simply not having the capacity to generate the real income needed to acquire food," Jaycox says.

"Again, this problem is exacerbated in the sub-Saharan context because average per capita income has been declining for decades by 25 percent in the 1980s alone," says Jaycox.

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New look at African law

FOCUS

NAIROBI — In some parts of Africa a goat-thief, instead of being hauled before a judge, might be told by tribal elders to brew beer for the whole community.

"That way, you pay a price, but it's not too bad because you have a party," said one civil servant in the central African nation of Burundi.

"You're not too upset, neither is the victim, so life can go on without strain," he said.

Customary law, in which disputes are settled by village or tribal elders, governs daily life for many Africans, setting guidelines and sanctions for anything from selling land to getting married, from punishing criminals to burying the dead.

"Out in the hills, almost any problem goes to elders, except for murder or cattle theft, when the police step in," said the civil servant in Burundi.

Harmony

An emphasis on a communal spirit and on promoting social harmony is what distinguishes customary law, and is what many African legal scholars find attractive about it.

In Uganda, many of the elected village and parish council set up since 1986 by the government of President Yoweri Museveni have adopted customary law for most day-to-day affairs.

In neighbouring Kenya, however, parliament has exempted criminal law, contracts, succession and most civil law suits from the customary legal system.

"Officially, parliament and the government have reduced the scope for

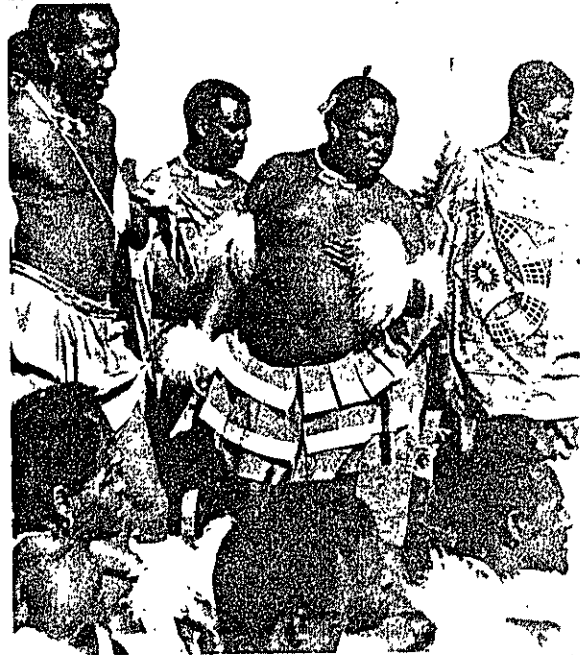
customary law, but as far as the communities are concerned, there are many occasions where they use customary precepts of law," said Mr Kivutha Kibwana, a law professor at Nairobi University.

"When there are disputes, people try to settle them themselves... even in criminal matters, there are cases when a community wants to resolve a matter — in cases of death, a clan will decide if it has to pay to recompensate the victim's family, even if the police have taken up the matter themselves," Mr Kibwana said.

When customs conflict with laws based on European codes, some African lawyers argue that custom should prevail.

"Why must we have British common law, or Roman law — we have our own legal traditions and they are just as good," said Sudanese Justice Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Mr Hassan Al-Tourabi during a recent visit to Nairobi.

But in Sudan, Mr Al-Tourabi's alternative — a system based on Islamic Sharia law but providing some scope for traditional codes to govern the affairs of non-



AFRICAN elders at a gathering... will their customary laws gain as much respect as "foreign statutes."

Muslims — has sparked strong opposition and is helping fuel a five-year-old civil war in the mainly Christian and animist south of the country.

Define

In Mr Al-Tourabi's system the basic relationship between citizen and society, including criminal law, will be governed by Sharia — and rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation

Army saw that until the Khartoum Government freezes plans to implement Sharia, the civil war will continue.

Other African countries have also tried to define basic political relations by looking to their own traditions and culture.

"When in Tanzania, they tried communal ownership in the 'ujamaa' (socialist) villages, they looked to traditional law to see

whether it could justify this new socialism that they were trying to build," said Mr Kibwana.

But Tanzania has since backtracked, and as it moved towards a more free-market oriented system few of those co-operative villages and communal farms and factories survive.

There are other hazards in traditional systems, too.

"Malawi talked about disputes being settled by elders, but what they did was to remove treason and political offences from the courts and give them to the elders," Mr Kibwana said.

"Then the government can tell the elders what to do, so there is no due process of the law," he said.

But Mr Kibwana thinks customary law, no matter how politically popular or advantageous to a government it may be, faces an uncertain future.

Commercial disputes cannot be settled by traditional means and in the long run that will undermine customary legal systems, he said.

"What will happen, now, if you are owed a debt and it goes on and you are not paid — will you then do the traditional thing and say, oh, you're my brother, there is no debt anymore?" said Mr Kibwana — Sapa-
Reuter.



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SA Foreign Minister P. W. Botha had to address an almost empty hall when three-quarters of the delegates to the Paris chemical weapons conference walked out. Pictures: REUTER

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Pik is not their pick

PARIS — Most African and Non-Aligned delegates walked out yesterday when SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha rose to address the 140-nation Paris conference on chemical weapons.

Kenyan Foreign Minister Robert Ouko said: "Africa deeply regrets the presence of the minority racist regime of SA at this conference."

Ouko, moving a point of order in protest, led the walkout and was joined by delegates from most Asian, Latin American and Arab countries.

He said Pretoria's representative had no place at a forum to seek ways of easing tension in the world by banning chemical weapons.

About three-quarters of the delegates left the hall in the Unesco

building and returned after Botha's speech. But Ivory Coast Foreign Minister Simeon Ake, whose government believes in dialogue with SA, remained seated.

Botha proposed that a regional conference be held to establish an Africa zone free of production, stockpiling, and use of chemical and biological weapons.

He also proposed a regional or continental conference on the dangers of indiscriminate dumping of toxic wastes on the African continent by the industrialised world.

Botha said the SA government opposed the use of chemical weapons and supported the establishment of chemical warfare free zones worldwide. — Sapa-Reuter.

PIK continued regardless

Walkout as PIK rises to speak



SOUTH Africa's Foreign Minister P. W. Botha.

PARIS — Most African and non-aligned delegates yesterday walked out when South African Foreign Minister P. W. Botha rose to address the 140-nation Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons.

“Africa deeply regrets the presence of the minority racist regime of South Africa at this conference,” Kenyan Foreign Minister Robert Ouko said.

Ouko, moving a point of order in protest, led the walkout and was joined by delegates from most Asian, Latin American and Arab countries.

“The regime in this hall does not represent the people of South Africa.

“Africa will leave the hall when the clique rises to speak,” Ouko said.

SOWETAN Foreign News Service

The decision to stage the walkout was taken at a meeting of the Africa group at the conference, Zambian delegate Colonel Killian Chitauka said earlier.

The Kenyan minister, on behalf of the group, said Pretoria's representative had no place at a forum to seek ways of

easing tension in the world by banning chemical weapons.

About three-quarters of the delegates left the hall in the Unesco building and returned after Botha's speech. But

Ivory Coast Foreign Minister Simeon Ake, whose government believes in dialogue with South Africa, remained seated.

Abhorrence

The 50-nation Organisation of African Unity (OAU) believes South Africa possesses both nuclear and chemical weapons, but Ouko did not make that accusation

when he spoke. “This is a token demonstration of our deep-seated abhorrence of a regime which reduces people to slaves in their own country,” he said.

Botha, accustomed like all South African representatives to pariah treatment at international conferences, was unperturbed by the walkout and delivered his speech without interruption from the few delegates left in the hall.

It was the first walkout of the five-day conference, which began on Saturday. — Sapa Reuter.

THIS conference heralds a growing global realisation that confrontation and conflict, irrespective of the type of weapons used, do not effectively lead to a resolution of problems between countries.

SA has succeeded in harnessing important disciplines of science for the benefit of mankind, and particularly the benefit of Africa — and my African brothers know it.

South Africa for many years has been a major source of vaccines for African countries. Millions of vaccines. The governments of my African brothers may walk out today, but ask your heads of state, ask them to produce to you the letters of thanks they have written to my government for what we have done in this field.

I would like to invite my African colleagues, despite their attitude this morning, to participate in a regional conference directed at the establishment of an Africa free zone regarding the production, stockpiling and use of chemical and biological weapons.

Africa has generally been spared the onerous consequences of industrialisation as experienced in the developed world. The danger exists, however, that the toxic waste of the industrialised world might be dumped indiscriminately on the African continent.

Apparently, we in Africa are required to pay a double price.
□ We have to sell our primary resource materials at bargain prices to allow the wealth of the industrialised world to increase, and pay dearly for industrial and manufactured products they sell to us; and

□ On top of that, we are targeted as an easy receptacle for the waste which results from the profit-making practised at our expense.

With the application of the relevant technology the African continent could be spared the nightmare consequences of hazardous waste disposal and possibly benefit from the useful recycling of waste under safe conditions. I would like to propose that we convene a

Let us work together as brothers for Africa

Foreign Minister Pik Botha made full use of his speaking turn at this week's chemical warfare conference in Paris. He diverted from his text, following the African-sponsored walkout, to focus on SA's links with Africa. This is an extract

conference which should address the growing devastation of poverty and want. We support the sentiment expressed at this conference for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

At the same time and in the same spirit we should jointly seek to address the imbalance of economic forces in the world. Surely not one of us can dispute the fact that in many parts of the world at this moment, people are dying through the lack of fresh water, through diseases which only the industrialised world possesses the technology to combat, droughts, malnutrition and other causes.

Can we not in the prevailing spirit of this conference find a way to ending the causes of this suffering? Is it not the imbalance of economic forces, to which I have referred, that must be corrected to allow once in history a war we all desire — a war on want — to be carried to victory?

The South African government wishes to go on record as being firmly opposed to the production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons anywhere on earth or in space. We would certainly be in favour of a treaty banning the use of chemical weapons on the continent of

Africa. South Africa is against the proliferation of arms and means of destruction anywhere. We support the peaceful settlement of disputes. We support the central idea which is crystallising from this conference — namely, let us stop killing in order to impose our ideas on each other.

Lastly, I cannot but say that I regret the walking out of my fellow African delegations this morning. I am not angry; I regret it because, this way, we in Africa will not be able to resolve our problems.

The people I represent have been in Africa for over 300 years, as long as the Americans in America, the Australians in Australia, the Canadians in Canada or the New Zealanders in New Zealand. We intend to stay there; we have earned a right to live there. We have made also our contribution to the development of the sub-continent.

My government has removed a lot of racial discrimination during the past few years. It has not always been easy. You may say it should never have been on the statute books. But all movement must be measured in terms of a starting point. Years ago I stated in the United

Nations that I could not defend discrimination based on the colour of a person's skin. Years later I can say today, as a member of that government, that is the policy of the SA government.

We are not perfect. We still have a long way to go. We are changing. Perhaps not fast enough in terms of the demands that are being made on us. I speak here to my African brothers even though they are not present, or not all of them are present. I have visited your heads of state, quite a number more than you realise.

Your heads of state, your foreign ministers, members of your cabinets, have visited SA during the past year in great numbers. You know who you are. It is no good trying to put up your hands in Africa and say to the world that you have told me in the privacy of your offices, for my office, that we have got to stand together.

Why don't you come forward — or I will start walking over the Pretoria/Malverstrand helicopter over the area, when you notice the protests for black housing, black hospitalisation? When you say the vast number of black South Africans possessing motor cars, who are business people, who are making a success of life? When you have told me in my office you are a brother?

We accept you. You are Africans. You are our brothers. We must resolve our problems. You have seen the changes. You know that my government has lost votes within the white electorate as a result of the changes.

I don't want to quarrel with you today. I say to you: let us continue the way we have done over the past year. We can learn from one another, we can supplement one another. We are all part of Africa. Let us move forward. We have got a lot of problems.

My friends, thank you for the opportunity to address you. We need to talk to each other exactly like this.

CSIR chief warns on population rise

PRETORIA — All African countries, including SA, were economically scarred by a decrease in per capita incomes and high population growth rates, CSIR president Chris Garbers said yesterday.

Speaking at the SA Association of Botanists conference at Pretoria University, he said this was in stark contrast with SA's trading partners which had low or negative population growth and good increases in per capita incomes.

On droughts, Garbers said it appeared SA was moving out of a period of low rainfall, but he warned against a false sense of security.

B Day 11/1/89
GERALD REILLY

It was critically important to take into account in long-term planning the periods of low and high rainfall natural to SA.

Rapid population growth and the associated ecological and economic deterioration could ultimately end in disaster.

On food production, Garbers said by 2000 another 1,3-billion people would swell the world's population, requiring a 26% increase in average grain yields.

By then, feeding the 7,8-billion would demand yields 56% higher

than 1985 levels.

In many high-population-growth countries, populations were increasingly dominated by young people.

Undernourished and with low job prospects, they turned to irregular leaders.

In some countries this was exacerbated by deteriorating environmental support; by economic slowdown induced by rising external debt and by skewed income distribution.

"These worldwide phenomena ring bells in SA," Garbers said.

Consequently, the top priority should be economic growth and reduced population growth.

Briefing

The address by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, this week to the United Nations conference in Paris on chemical warfare was an affair typical of the man.

Though most of the delegates walked out on him, he did manage to address what was in effect the United Nations general assembly for the first time since South Africa was thrown out of the body in 1974. Undoubtedly, the medium was his most important message.

The content of his speech made his intentions clear. The thrust of the message was not about chemical warfare. Though he called for an African conference on chemical warfare, this was very much just a small part of the general thrust which was his favourite message: that "African solutions must be found for African problems".

It was yet another offensive in his campaign to penetrate Africa diplomatically, one of the series that included the Namibian/Angolan talks in Africa and President Botha's African expeditions last year. He repeated the approach that had gone down so

Snubbed, but at least Pik was there

well with African leaders when the Brazzaville Protocol was signed, siding with them against the First World.

"Apparently Africa is required to pay a double price," he said. "We have to sell our primary resource materials at bargain prices... and pay dearly for industrial and manufactured products they sell us."

"And on top of that, we are targeted as an easy receptacle for the waste which results from the profit-making practised at our expense."

"I invite my African colleagues to consider jointly how to deal with the problem."

Mr Botha then outlined the help which South Africa could offer and has secretly been offering to Africa mainly in the fields of medicine, agriculture and veterinary science. As one of his top advisers put it, he took the opportunity offered by the conference to "reach out the hand of friendship and help to Africa".

Pik Botha's address to the United Nations chemical warfare conference in Paris this week was a bold diplomatic hit and run attack, which may or may not have succeeded. **PETER FABRICIUS** reports.

But it is hard to say in the end whether the affair was a diplomatic success or failure. Was the Foreign Minister being too ambitious in trying to get away with such a bold move?

Mr Botha's officials admit to being disappointed at the snub, even though Mr Botha himself braced it out by saying that though he regretted the walk-out, he was not angry with the Africans and that this was not the way to solve African problems.

There is no doubt that it was a rather ironic blow that South Africa should have been so publicly snubbed by Africa precisely when it was trying to make the point that Africans should be talking to each other.

And more particularly when it was beginning to make diplomatic headway into Africa, as epitomised by President Botha's successful visit to Zaire last year.

Perhaps the Africans realised exactly what Mr Botha was up to and tried to thwart him. On the plus side, though, was the fact that Mr Botha managed to address the conference at all — and to put across his favourite message unrelated to the topic at hand.

It has been suggested that had it not been for the distraction of the walk-out, he would have been called to order for departing too far from the subject supposedly under discussion.

In some ways the walk-out helped to focus attention on his speech and Mr Botha's officials say that most of the African delegates who walked out listened to Mr Botha's message on video in an adjoining room.

They also feel that the incident helped to underscore Mr Botha's point that South Africa at least was prepared to talk — while others were not.

In the end though, the incident showed once again that Africa is far from ready to put aside its political differences with South Africa in order to seek fuller rewards of material co-operation.

Moscow takes new line on southern Africa

8/Day 13/1/89

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Moscow was adopting a "new, more realistic" policy towards southern Africa, but had ruled out diplomatic relations with SA, a senior Africanist in the Soviet Foreign Ministry told Izvestia recently.

His remarks, published by the newspaper on December 31, were the fullest official statement on SA since the conclusion of the agreement on Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

They came in response to a recent article in the Washington Post predicting

closer ties between Pretoria and Moscow.

Yuri Yukalov, identified as head of the ministry's Africa administration, said his country remained "a champion of the imposition of comprehensive sanctions" on SA and would continue to support "the democratic forces... that are waging a struggle against apartheid under the ANC's leadership".

He stressed, however, that "in the resolution of acute conflict situations, we

call for reliance not on force of arms but on force of policy".

He denied there had been secret contacts between SA and the Soviet Union since meetings a few years ago linked to attempts to free Soviet geologists who had been "seized" by Renamo. The fate of the two men, identified simply as Gavrilov and Istomin, remained unknown.

The official was cagey when questioned about alleged SA-Soviet cooperation in the gold and diamond markets, saying only no one "can prove it".

FINAL 13/1/89

US/SOVIET RELATIONS (1)

The Libyan spoiler

Add a new word to your political lexicon: "antsy." As in ants-in-pants, nervous, jumpy.

"Antsy" moved into its 15 minutes of celebrity when US Secretary of State George Shultz was busy defending the shooting down of two Libyan Mig-23 fighters by US navy jets last week.

The secretary was asked whether, given the current strained relations between America and Libya, the armed set-to might not make Col Moammar Gaddafi's Libyan regime "antsy" about the prospects of a repeat of the 1986 American bombing raids of Tripoli and other suspected "terrorist" installations.

"They should be antsy," Shultz replied. "That's one of our objects, to make them feel uncomfortable about the fact that they have this hot potato on their hands," he explained.

The hot potato is a plant Gaddafi is constructing which international intelligence sources agree is capable of making lethal poison gases and other chemical weapons. The Americans have been trying to build up world pressure to halt construction or, at the least, to have its operations for producing peacetime medicines and farm chemicals supervised by the international chemical weapons inspectors of the UN.

During the Christmas holiday week the US government accused five West German companies of helping Libya build a chemical weapons plant at Rabta, about 56 km from Libya's Mediterranean coast. The Tripoli government has said the plant is only being built to manufacture pharmaceuticals and fertilisers.

British and American intelligence officials have now publicly stated that the Rabta plant has made small quantities of the mustard gas used in World War I to inflame lung tissue, and the nerve agent sarin — a World War 2-era nerve gas described as "extremely lethal; a pin-drop on the skin can kill you."

Is America poised to bomb the plant?

Ronald Reagan initially favoured such a grandiose gesture to round out his presidency. Part of the early reasoning was that with the change of administration less than a fortnight away, Reagan could take the blame for the attack and leave new President George Bush free to resume the tense but promising negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) about a formal Mid-East peace initiative.

But hints that such a raid was in the offing provoked a storm of objections from American allies. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher reportedly telephoned Reagan personally to warn that such an attack would jeopardise peace efforts throughout the Arab world and that Gaddafi could be brought to book through international pressure.

Now the White House is telling its press corps off the record that unless the Libyans provoke yet another showdown, any decision to attack the Rabta chemical plant will have to be taken by President Bush — and he does not take office until January 20.

So it is the Reagan administration that is "antsy," it seems.

Ironically, it also appears that both sides — Libya and America — are appealing to the Soviet Union to resolve what could be an explosive stalemate.

Gaddafi has demanded the Russian navy be sent to the Mediterranean to provide protection against the Americans — a request that is out of the question given the new spirit of rapprochement between the two superpowers.

The important item to keep in mind about the Reagan administration showdown with Gaddafi is that the outgoing president is trying to clear his desk of a number of vexing problems before January 20 so his successor can get on with the business of providing the Russians with new capital, new plant and equipment and trade agreements to shore up the tottering communist economy and save Mikhail Gorbachev from a disintegrating — and potentially explosive — breakup of the bloc of nations ruled from Moscow through much of this century.

This is why Cuban troops are leaving Angola and why Fidel Castro last week agreed to free 250 of his most despised political adversaries from jail. It is why Nicaragua is making off the record overtures to Washington for economic aid, as is the government of Vietnam even as it pulls out of its own "Vietnam" in Cambodia.

The only joker in the Russian deck is Gaddafi whose poison gas plant and general uncontrollable passion for terrorism now is set against

the more accommodating stance of the PLO's Yassir Arafat to present President Bush with the first real chance for a Mid-East peace dialogue since the Camp David accords of the Jimmy Carter era.



Gaddafi

Imports drop from R630m to R593m

SA trade with Africa shows marked decline

13 Day 16/1/89

SA TRADE with the rest of Africa declined significantly between 1985 and 1987, according to the Department of Trade and Industry's Bulletin of Trade Statistics to be published later this month.

The report shows a decline in imports from R630,4m in 1986 to R593,8m in 1987 — a reduction of 6% in rand terms. Exports to African states also fell marginally from R1,795bn to R1,782bn over the same period.

Over the three-year period to 1988, exports to the rest of Africa fell from 7,9% of total exports in 1985 to 4,3% in 1986 and again to 4,1% in 1987.

Imports showed a similar although less marked trend. In 1985 imports from Africa comprised 2,4% of the total. They fell to 2,3% in 1986 and 2,1% in 1987.

Safto's Africa division manager David Muirhead attributes the fall to two main factors:

"In 1987 there was a sharp decline in SA exports to Zambia. We believe Zambian companies, and parastatals in particular, have been instructed to purchase elsewhere. They have been sourcing their imports from Europe, at about twice the price and three times the delivery period."

ANDREW BUDDEN

Second was the declining purchasing power of SA's traditional African trading partners, particularly Zambia and Malawi.

Economists say the trend should be viewed in the context of fluctuating exchange rates and inflationary pressures which would have affected the demand for SA products.

In 1987 the rand strengthened against the dollar and most other African currencies.

This meant that the fall in exports, although smaller in rand terms, was more marked than the decline in imports.

They say that the trend could not be attributed to sanctions by African states since it probably began before the "sanctions era".

Customs and trade officials are silent about details of the decline.

Since 1985 no breakdown of figures on a country-by-country basis have been issued.

Trends have been "classified" and no trade figures for 1988 have been made available.

TRAFFIC jams the streets of Accra today with sleek new cars dotted among the rickety, packed mini-buses and lorries. A new four-star hotel charging \$100 a night hosts receptions round the swimming pool for men in dinner suits with beautiful women on their arms.

Video theatres offering highly dramatic wares compete with banners advertising Empowerment by God, Bishop John Bryant from the US, 1st Institute of the Missionary, or the Crusade of Reinbert Bonnke from West Germany.

It is seven years since a coup brought Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings to power in Ghana for the second time. He came in on a wave of popular support behind his call for moral regeneration and "people's power". Today, the country has been transformed from what the World Bank representative in Accra called "a hopeless place", into the international community's example for change on the African continent.

Three billion dollars have been poured into the country since 1983.

Hardship, corruption: the downside of Ghana's boom

When Ghana began an ambitious programme of economic reform with the International Monetary Fund and World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the World Bank itself has lent \$1-billion on generous terms, making Ghana the third largest recipient in the world — after India and China.

"Why are Ghana's 13-million people so favoured?" asks Seung Hong Choi, the World Bank's representative during this period. "Because structural adjustment is the key to Africa's recovery, and Ghana is the one country where it is working."

"Nobody can dispute the fact that Ghana is the only country in sub-Saharan Africa which has been able to sustain six percent growth for five years. Huge budget deficits of the

With inflation under control and steady growth for five years, Ghana, fast changing into a consumer society, seems the perfect model of development. But there is a hidden cost, reports VICTORIA BRITAIN

1970s were changed into budget surplus and inflation has come down from triple digit figures to less than 20 percent."

Many in Ghana are more cautious than the donors in the appraisal of the economic turn-around from the artificial low of 1983 when drought, bush

fires and the influx of one million people expelled from Nigeria brought the country to its knees.

Confrontation brews on the labour front. Among the IMF and World Bank's loan conditions was the sacking of 45 000 people from the civil service over three years, 15 000 from the cocoa marketing institution and 8 000 from state enterprises.

A Trade Union Congress last year noted that the "untold hardships" of the layoffs have "brought about an increase in anti-social activities such as armed robbery and prostitution". Union officials say that the government redeployment scheme has been largely cosmetic, and unemployment has increased dramatically.

Detentions and harassment of union officials has soured the atmosphere

between the government and organised labour to the point where the leader of the country's biggest union, LGK Ocloo, of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, operates from hiding.

A graphic example of the deterioration in labour relations is the case of the Ghana Textile Printing Company. Exactly six years ago GTP became the best known symbol of the Ghanaian revolution's promise of "power to the people" when its management was taken over by workers. Under workers' management, production tripled, an inherited debt was paid off and the operation has shown a profit since 1983.

But in September the government closed the factory down, claiming serious financial malpractices. Workers' leaders denied the charges.

Seven were arrested and six others imprisoned for three years, charged with "assault by imprisonment", after an incident in which the prosecution claimed they had ordered accounts staff to be locked in the factory. The government appointed a military man, Brigadier Tehn-Addy, to run the factory. The original UAC management is now reported to be negotiating to take back GTP.

Rawlings himself strongly criticises workers, accusing them of "having been corrupted", of "creaming off factory products, becoming thieves".

Corruption on another scale is, meanwhile, daily being uncovered in an important industry — timber. The National Investigations Committee (NIC) is working on a series of cases which government lawyers describe as a microcosm of the problems bedeviling the unequal relationship between the donor community and the multinationals on one side, and the Ghanaians on the other.

The NIC is handling 30 separate investigations in timber trade into a "massive siphoning off of foreign exchange" amounting to \$38-million since 1986, according to NIC lawyers. Two West Germans, four Lebanese and dozens of Ghanaians have been charged in these cases and are now on bail.

The World Bank and the European Development Bank have poured \$120-million into this important export sector. Government officials say a scandal is threatened. One complained of "extremely poor design of the rehabilitation of the sector, dumping of aid on spurious projects, as much as 20 percent of project finance going to expatriate personnel, three cases of World Bank consultants resigning to become agents of the Timber Export Development Board, smuggling, over and under-invoicing and under-measuring of logs".

An NIC source said: "There is an enormously powerful lobby in Kumasi, including five Lebanese families and some multinationals but there is a determination to take it on now."

Such determination is a reminder of the atmosphere in the earlier days to the Rawlings government, when, despite incoherence in policy, the sense of idealism and participation was undeniable in the People's Defence Committees and factory-based Workers' Defence Committees.

The change in this political atmosphere has been, just as much as the lay-offs and escalating cost of living, one of the costs of the restructuring.

Other African countries, such as Zambia, have refused the World Bank and IMF reforms and paid the heavy price of seeing virtually all international capital flows, including Western bilateral aid, dry up. Others, like Tanzania, gave in to the IMF conditions only after a six-year fight.

The social and political costs of adjustment are undeniable and visible at every turn in Ghana. Ghanaian and Western officials insist, however, that "the cost of not adjusting would have been greater". It is too early to say yet, under Ghana's unique conditions of unprecedented and certainly unrepeatable inflows of Western aid to a regime toughened by years of destabilisation, and including some outstanding individuals, what kind of example this is for the rest of the continent. — The Guardian, London

33 nations organise (U) apartheid resistance

Star 16/1/89
BRAZZAVILLE — Delegates from 33 African nations have set up the Anti-Apartheid African Committee, aimed at mobilising resistance to apartheid.

The 170 delegates elected the former Congolese Minister, Mr Daniel Abibi, as the president of the committee.

KEY THEME

The committee will function under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity.

In several days of meetings, the participants adopted the stat-

utes and programmes of the committee, aimed at encouraging resistance to apartheid by mobilising unions, academics, legislators, religious leaders and the youth.

Delegates said they wanted to make apartheid the key theme of 1989 in Africa.

Mr Abibi is Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Congolese Labour Party, the Congo's only party. He was formerly Minister for Higher and Secondary Education and rector of Brazzaville's Marien Ngouabi University. — Sapa-AP.

Politics thwart power-hungry Eskom

Argus 26/1/89 (1) 260

By KEN VERNON of The Argus Africa News Service in Johannesburg

SOUTH Africa has begun reaching out into Africa for crucial supplies of cheap, clean electricity to fuel future industrial expansion but is being blocked because of political objections.

It ought to be a simple business transaction; South Africa has the need and the money, Africa has almost limitless potential power it cannot exploit because it has no money and no market.

But the announcement by Angola last week that it would block any plan by South Africa to import electricity through its territory from Zaire, combined with a similar response by both Zimbabwe and Zambia, seems to have aborted an ambitious plan by Eskom chief executive Ian McRae to create a Southern African power grid that would hold tremendous benefits for the whole region.

Eskom officials have downplayed the setback, saying that plans for the Southern African grid are a long term matter and political considerations could easily change in the future.

But South Africa's "future" needs may not be that far off.

From about 1950 to 1980 South Africa's demand for electricity has been doubling every eight years, and despite a slackening in demand over the past eight years it is anticipated that by the year 2020 — just over 30 years away it will have to increase its power capacity by almost 200 per cent.

In a recent paper written under the auspices of the Africa Institute, Professor DC Midgley calculates that to meet these needs entirely from local resources would require the use of virtually all of the country's non-renewable energy resources.

He points out that the pollution problem represented by two times the number of fossil-fuel burning power stations would be immense, especially given that pollution from power stations in the Eastern Transvaal is already several times greater than pollution levels in the "dirtiest" of European countries.

Every year Eastern Transvaal power stations spew out more than 50 tonnes of sulphur over every square kilometre of the region, and even with improved pollution control methods, that could easily rise to 100 tonnes per square kilometre if fossil-fuel is to light up our lives and power our

electric tooth brushes in the 21st century.

Air-borne sulphur is a major contributor to acid rain, already a serious problem in parts of Europe and America.

A possible alternative is power produced by a string of nuclear reactors situated along the South African coastline, but these carry the possibility of heat pollution of the coastal waters as well as attendant risks of radio-active spillage.

The answer would seem to be hydro-electric power which is cheap, clean and available in abundance in Southern Africa — if only the politicians would allow it to be developed.

Professor Midgley estimates that by the end of this century — just 11 years away — South African demand for electricity will reach 31 000mw, up from the present installed capacity of 28 000mw, and that the entire load could be supplied by just one large hydro-electric scheme at Inga on the mighty Zaire river.

It is estimated that Southern African countries account for more than 75 of Africa's huge hydro-electric potential, yet less than five of that is at present realised.

In the past South Africa has supplied much of the sub-continent with electric power, including Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

But by the end of the century all of these countries with the possible exception of Swaziland will be able to meet their own needs — while South Africa, which at present consumes 60 of Africa's electricity production, will be beginning to feel the pinch of trying to do the same.

Two hydro-electric schemes have already been built in neighbouring countries to supply South Africa with power, Cahora Bassa in Mozambique and Ruacana in Namibia/Angola, but both have at times been put out of action by political strife.

However the installed capacity of both schemes is about 2500mw, a fraction of the power available in the mighty rivers to the north.

But in order for the wasted power of these rivers to be tapped, a major political realignment will be necessary.

The most direct route for Zairean hydro-power to reach South Africa would be via Angola, inter-connecting on the way with present and potential power supplies in that country and with the Ruacana scheme on the Namibian border.

The African paper chase

By DEREK INGRAM

THE demand for newspapers is growing in many African countries — but it cannot be met because of the shortage of newsprint.

In Zambia for example, bi-weeklies are being reduced to weeklies, weeklies into monthlies while the country's two national papers are seen by a tiny proportion of a reading public of Lusaka. One sports paper closed because the printers told the publishers to find their own newsprint.

Zambia relies on Tanzania for supplies, but the new paper mill there has teething troubles and a high percentage of its paper proves useless. This means turning to South Africa for supplies.

Ghana has problems similar to Zambia's, while Zimbabwe — where newspaper demand has soared since independence in 1980 — is printing far fewer papers than the public wants because its own mill needs re-equipping.

It is impossible to buy Zimbabwe's biggest newspapers, *The Herald* and *Sunday Mail*, on the streets after 8am, and in hotels newspapers are pulled out from under the porter's counter as rare commodities, creating something of a black market.

In the long-term, the answer is increased capacity for manufacture through the setting up of new mills. However, these must be economically viable and it would make sense for every African country to have its own mill. Plants need to be organised on a regional basis.

Amid Africa's other troubles, shortages of reading matter are not attracting enough world attention.

In Zambia today, there is almost nothing new to read. Bookshops are reduced to displays of a few tattered old paperbacks and months-old magazines. At a time when developing countries are working — successfully in many cases — to raise their literacy rates, people are being starved of reading material. — Gemini News

① cover 29/1/89

Sudan is



STARVING

PEOPLE are melting away in Juba, Sudan. It's the food, you see. There isn't any. So the kids starve. They get thin. They melt away and die...

And while the United Nations airlifts in scanty food supplies to this besieged city, the capital of southern Sudan, the kids keep right on dying. The UN tries its best. But still the kids die.

Why? Simply that this part of the world reads like something the Mad Hatter might have cooked up in a sick Alice in Wonderland society.

A scant six kilometres away from Juba the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) control the roads and river leading to the city. And they aren't letting traffic through.

So Juba has been turned into a refugee camp. It's a city of apparently aimless wandering people. And it's a city ravaged by starvation and disease. The wanderers are all bent on finding one thing: food.

The search for food is never ending as it sends thousands shuffling through empty marketplaces with thousands more straggling in from a countryside at war.

And it's children who must suffer most. In some areas relief workers have had great difficulty finding children alive who are under two years of age. Relief workers blamed a measles epidemic for many of the child deaths.

The death toll from the war in Sudan is put at 250 000, but none dares put a figure on the death of starving Sudanese.

The rebel forces of the SPLA have kept Juba under loose siege for years, so hunger is not exactly new.

Hopes have been pinned on a United Nations airlift of maize. To avoid the SPLA rocket attacks on their planes, the UN aircraft come in high and then sickeningly spiral downwards in tight dizzying circles to confuse the aim of gunners.

The SPLA launched its war with the declared aim of freeing the south of what it regards as the domination of Arabs from the Moslem north.

The SPLA rapes, kills, blows up and seizes crops to make food producing areas sterile. This it does in the name of "liberation" but it is hard to see who it plans to liberate.

The passive stand-off tactics of Khartoum have been relayed as a form of genocide. Maybe 100 000 less southern Sudanese might not be a bad idea? Sick joke? Maybe, but the reality of death and starvation needs some form of explanation.

Northern rule from Khartoum has sat back with almost bland disinterest and watched southerners die. *Africa Report* says that Khartoum's negligence and the southerners' heated charges come against a background of long-standing enmity between Sudan's north, a Muslim and Arab region, and its south, with dark-skinned Africans who follow Christianity or practise traditional religions.

In the dusty market of Juba thousands of women, each with an empty pail or basket, wander through row after row of vacant stalls searching for grain that is just not there.

Angela Anduga, 25, pregnant and left behind by foragers, minds the children of the Juba Primary School. She cupped a hand gently beneath the chin of a scrawny, dusty one-year-old who vomited a yellow watery stream.

"We have no food but these", she said, gesturing wanly at a small pile of water-lily buds on which she lives.

The foragers gather the golf-ball sized green buds from the Nile, two kilometres away. They eat them dried or cooked into a purplish porridge. Their nutritional value is small.

Near the school a man shares a tin bowl of yellowish boiled and salted water with his two sons. A third son, a two-year-old, eyes streaming with infection, sips his portion from a dirt-encrusted orange plastic bowl.

Such people - who will get about a

By MICHAEL IRWIN

soup tin full of maize a day when the UN maize "lands" and is distributed - are refugees from Sudan's civil war.

The government estimates that there are 100 000 of them in Juba. They have settled on almost every bit of free land. Many of the refugees sleep under the stars, with not even a tent for shelter.

Others have taken over the schools, just as Angela has done - along with their "foragers." In one 15m by three-metre building 200 refugees lie sleeping. Those starving and close to death find sleep easy. Around the back, an old woman watched two babies, eight and nine months old, huddled under a dirty cloth, hardly seeming to breathe.

"People are just melting away," says Sister Marilyn Norris, a San Francisco nun who runs a clinic two kilometres away.

She needs more medicine to stock her clinic, a shack of corrugated iron.

Malaria and intestinal diseases are the main threats. "There's no hygiene anymore," said Chapin Kara Yokoku, the province's director of information.

"People are always hungry and pick up anything and eat it, it doesn't matter how filthy. We can't stop them."

The death and misery of southern Sudan is now screened behind a band of marauding armies.

The SPLA is under the leadership of Col John Garang, and it is fighting to replace the military government in Khartoum. The southern war broke out in 1983 when the SPLA leader and his army unit defected into the bush in reaction to Khartoum's policy towards the south.

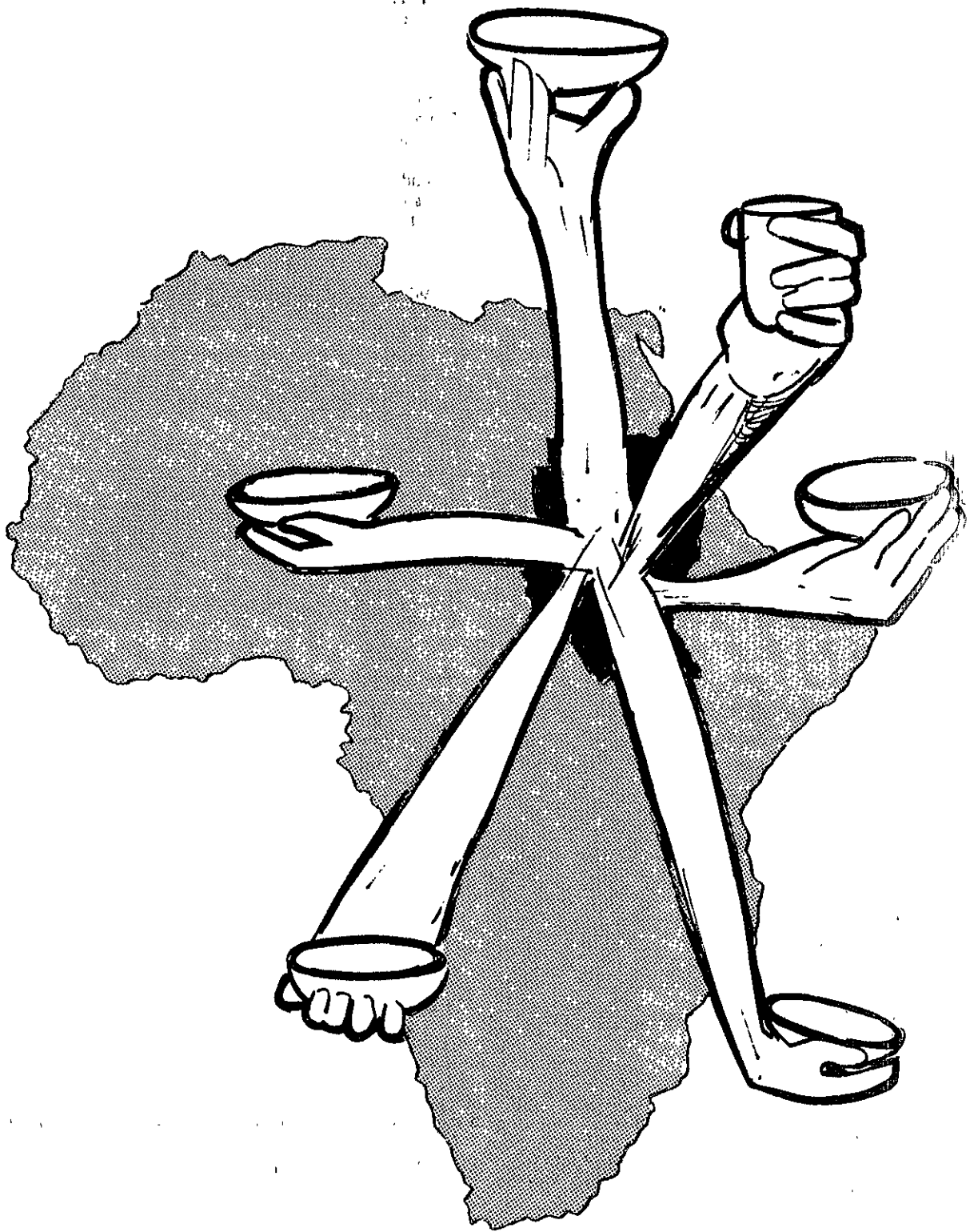
The SPLA projects itself as a national movement and church leaders in Malakal said many young men in the town, where most people belong to the Shilik tribe, were keen to join if they could make their way to training camps on the Ethiopian-Sudanese border.

The fighting has forced well over one million people away from their villages. They wander for weeks without food, heading east to Ethiopia, where more than 300 000 Sudanese huddle in some of the world's largest refugee camps, and north to Khartoum, where 750 000 or more southerners languish in squalid squatter camps.

The Dinkas, Sudan's single largest ethnic group, comprised three to five million of the estimated six million people living in the south before the guerrilla war's destruction of the agricultural cycle.

SPLA attacks on Arab herdsmen venturing into the northern fringes of the south with their cattle have triggered reprisals for which the Dinkas have paid in blood.

No one knows just how many are left. Some reports say that half the south's population tried to flee to other parts of Sudan or to Ethiopia in



The skinny kids are simply melting away to their graves

search of food and security.

About 3 500 southern refugees, mainly Dinkas, have reached a camp at the remote town of Al Muglad in South Kordofan province. Most are suffering from severe malnutrition and diseases including malaria, measles, diarrhoea, typhoid and dysentery.

In the mid-1970s this was the last frontier of the Middle East, a land of promise for pioneer businessmen to invest the oil wealth of the Gulf in the rain-fed prairies of Africa's largest country.

The textbooks said the Sudanese cultivated only seven million hectares out of a possible 80 million hectares. Wheat production would grow tenfold between 1975 and 1985, officials predicted at the time.

"They don't talk about the granary

anymore... and personally I'm very doubtful about that figure...," said Fouad Ibrahim, desertification expert at Bayreuth University, West Germany.

Wholesale destruction of crops by warfare and destruction of trees for fuel also speeds up the spread of the desert. By the turn of the century, it is predicted, Khartoum will have to collect its firewood 1 000km away.

Dams built for irrigation are silting up quicker than expected. Sudan is going downhill and its dreams of becoming Africa's breadbasket are on the wane.

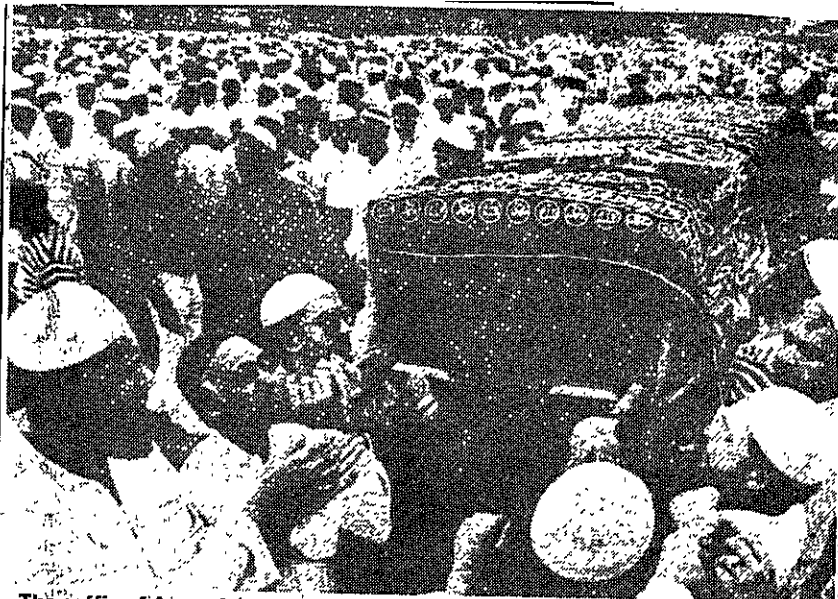
So the people wait in Juba and other towns along Sudan's southern Nile valley. They sit and wait and look at the sky and hope against hope that an aircraft will come....

Sadly, a United Nations' foodlift was accompanied recently within minutes by a State-owned Sudan Airways jet carrying weapons - a coincidence, according to *Africa Report*, that was seized upon by southerners eager to point out the disparity between the behaviour of their government and that of the international community.

Soldiers returning from a military expedition to the town of Nasser on the Sobat River last year sold grain in Malakal market at over six times the normal price.

Charges of neglect by Khartoum are hard to defend.

One normally tough-as-teak journalist, surveying the starving children, holding out hope and empty cups, said: "If there's a God in heaven, he must be a criminal lunatic."



The coffin of Azapo health secretary Dr. Abubaker Hurley Asvat, who was killed in his Soweto surgery on Friday, is carried to the graveside on Saturday. Asvat was a leading figure in helping Soweto's homeless. Picture: REUTERS.

Anti-dumping accord recedes

① DAKAR — Prospects for an international accord controlling the dumping of toxic waste in the Third World appear to have receded after African and European delegates failed to find common ground at talks on the issue last week.

African delegates — ministers and officials from 32 mostly West and Central African countries — had been expected to give a strong endorsement to the agreement, due to be signed in March after final negotiations this week in Luxembourg.

The agreement would strictly limit

the movement of dangerous waste rather than banning it outright.

The Africans, however, insisted on a total ban on exports, saying discussions about the management and control of waste could open loopholes, which meant trade would continue as before.

Toxic waste exports became an emotive issue in Africa after recent scandals where waste from industrialised countries was found dumped in the Third World. There have been complaints that Africa is being treated as the dustbin of industrialised world. — Sapa-Reuter.

Zaire is one of major customers — survey

SA trade with Africa is on the increase

By James Tomlins,

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — South Africa increased trade with Africa in 1988, with only one state not doing business with Pretoria.

This trade had risen from 6,5 percent of SA's exports in 1984 to 10 percent in 1988.

The state which does not trade with South Africa is Guinea-Bissau, a former Portuguese territory.

A special survey on "Business with Pretoria" in Paris ranked South Africa as Africa's seventh trading partner.

It said South Africa's exports to France in 1987 totalled R3,2 billion, and for the first seven months of 1988, according to the most recent available figures, already totalled R4,2 billion.

Ivory Coast, which has formally adopted an open dialogue with Pretoria for the past 17 years, publishes its trade statistics with South Africa. All other African states use the formula "unknown origin" when referring to SA imports.

Zaire was one of South Africa's major customers, the survey noted, mainly because of its immense transport problems.

It uses SA railways and ports for 15 percent of its copper exports, 60 percent of tin and 40 percent of cobalt.

Fifty-seven percent of its imports, including 75 percent of its petrol needs, take the same routes.

"Zaire's wealth is at the mercy of Pretoria," the survey said, noting that in 1987, 3,6 million tons of Zairese goods were transported by SA facilities.

It added that Zaire had recently purchased two second-hand Boeing 727s from South Africa and "fasten your seatbelt" signs were still written in Afrikaans at the time of delivery.

SA diamond mine machinery is imported and Zairese technicians attend study courses in South Africa.

Ivory Coast was listed as South Africa's second African trading partner, after Zaire, with fruit and meat imports worth R80 million.

Other countries trading with South Africa include Ghana, one of Pretoria's fiercest opponents, Kenya, Somalia, Togo, the frontline states, Tanzania and Uganda.

Representatives from these countries use the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, as their main base, the survey said.

Seychelles has South Africa as its third trading partner after France and West Germany, while Mauritius is described as having a flourishing "special relationship".

The survey noted that the members of the SADCC were forced to trade because of their geographical situation. "They are dependent on exporting minerals and agricultural products but they possess only seven of the region's 15 harbours.

"Other ports like Beira, Dar-es-Salaam, Maputo and Nacala have small capacities, function poorly, and are not easily accessible to SADCC states."

It pointed out that since 1980, SA had replaced Britain as Malawi's main trading partner.

The survey noted "South African products have the advantage of being made, and adapted, for African conditions."

The survey said there was no real will to join in sanctions.

INSURANCE ANALYST
 — PH 685 4035 —
 OFFICE (est.18171)

THE
 NOBLE ART
 OF DRINKING
 LIGHT



L'Étoile
 BLANC DE NOIR

Ask for LE'TWAL

Africa is swallowing up South African goods

CYC Tails 11/2/89

By ROBERT GENTLE
 LONDON — THE true extent of Black Africa's trade with SA was dramatically exposed this week in an in-depth study by the French-language magazine Jeune Afrique.

Flush with trade statistics, figures, and comments from key African personalities, the report shows a continent swallowing up South African goods at the rate of some R4,5 billion in the first seven months of 1988 alone.

All but one African country — former Portuguese territory Guinea-Bissau — apparently traded with SA in the past two years in everything from vegetables and tinned fruit to airliners and rolling stock.

Figures show total trade increased by 40% in 1986 and 37% in 1987. Growth for 1989 is expected to be even more "spectacular" as the commercial spin-offs from PW Botha's diplomatic forays into Black Africa begin to take effect.

With SA already the

continent's seventh largest trading partner, the links are causing much embarrassment. Uganda's president Usveni has apparently threatened to bar from his country the numerous Zambians, Kenyans and Ugandans travelling to and from SA.

French-speaking

Meanwhile, in Pretoria, the few French-speaking civil servants at the Foreign Affairs Ministry have been "submerged" with work since July last year when visits by francophone delegations, who often stay at the Carlton Hotel, started multiplying.

The report contains some revealing insights into the methods used to disguise and launder SA goods.

"An industrial operation in the Cape recently employed people whose sole task it was to remove the stitching from 'Made in Zululand' labels and replace them with 'Made in Swaziland' ones."

In a similar vein, supertankers ferrying crude oil to SA often belong to one country, are operated by another, and fly the flag of a third. On the list of prime suspects are Norwegian shipping lines.

Two such ships had to change names in 1986 after being spotted in SA ports. "The Moscliff, flying a Liberian flag, became the Actor, while the Mirafiori saw its name conveniently shortened to Rafio," the report reveals.

However, not all such efforts succeed. In Zaire, one of SA's largest clients, the interior of the country's railway coaches are covered in wallpaper showing SA's national flower, the protea. The interior of two Boeing 727s purchased by the airline Scibe

Zaire, show the Fasten Seatbelt sign in Afrikaans.

Elsewhere, little effort is made to hide SA links. "In most African cities, from Dakar to Brazzaville, Lome to Lagos, one can see Made in RSA goods in the market places," the report says.

Two years ago in Ivory Coast, Safair's Lockheed freighters were ferrying goods into the Ivory Coast under cover of darkness and away from traditional air corridors. Today SAA has regular flights to the capital, Abidjan.

In Gabon, one of the rare countries to openly publish trade figures, SA is a major food supplier. It is the capital's number one supplier of tomatoes, ahead of France and Italy.

In Malawi, SA edged out Britain to become the number one trading partner as long ago as 1980. In Mozambique, considered as one of the regions best creditors, SA is now the third largest trading partner.

And Angola, "even at the height of the conflict there, never stopped importing food and equipment from SA with the help of neutral intermediaries".

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 36 Wale Street, Cape Town

SHEILA PETERSEN
 (021) 23 5060
 36 Wale Street, Cape Town

Activity

Volume	8,046m
Value	R63,986m
Active	492

YESTERDAY	
VOLUME	1925811
VALUE	34209845
TOTAL SHARES	176
UP	49
DOWN	34
UNCHANGED ...	93
SHARES ACTIVE.	124



THE author of *Goré*, Sipho Sepamla, explains the motive of writing his poem collection published by Skotaville.

Slavery's legacy is the theme

11/2/89

THE word Goré, which is the name of a small coast town in Senegal, West Africa, is fast becoming part of the vocabulary of South Africa's black artists and their audiences following the recent

launch of a play and a book bearing that name as their title.

Several celebrities who attended a launching ceremony of four books by Skotaville Publishers last Thursday were held spellbound by veteran author Sipho Sepamla's recitation of two of his poems from his latest book, entitled *Goré*. Sepamla, who is director of the Federated Union of Black Artists (Fuba), said he was inspired to give his book the title by a trip he undertook with playwright and respected actor, Matsemela Manaka, to Senegal in 1986. Manaka has also

penned a play entitled *Goré* which is showing at the Market Theatre under the direction of John Kani. The invitation to *Goré* was for the celebration of the outlawing of slavery. *Goré* was one of the slave trade outposts in Africa.

So, the stories about *Goré* have a common line of recalling the humiliation and exploitation of the black people or Africans by the imperial Western powers.

Sepamla has other poems dedicated to the memory of his relatives and a close friend who died when the South African Defence Force invaded Botswana and killed people in the capital Gaborone. The book *From Goré to Soweto*, makes the point that slavery is as much alive in South Africa in the form of apartheid as it thrived in *Goré* during the past centuries.

WATI ELONG

Archbishop Tutu hits at African oppression

Feb. 1989

KINSHASA — Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a crowd in Zaire yesterday that in many parts of Africa the only change there had been since the colonial era was in the skin colour of "oppressors".

"In colonial times the oppressor was of a different complexion," he said. "Sadly, today the complexion of the oppressor is the same as the complexion of the oppressed."

He was addressing a crowd estimated at 15 000 at an open-air service at the end of a visit to Kinshasa,

"Africa is still in bondage because of the iniquity and injustice of racism and apartheid," Archbishop Tutu said.

"Africa groans because of the devastation of natural disasters such as drought and floods.

"But Africa groans too because of man-made disasters. It is being devastated by civil wars, as in Angola, in Mozambique, in Ethiopia, Eritrea, in Uganda and the Sudan."

He added that Africa had one of the worst records of violations of human rights and had experienced a spate of military dictatorships.

provide their house with services. Packing up are Mr Hassan Aziz (l) Achmat.

SA-Africa trader plans expansion

Cap Times 2/2/84
Financial Editor *(160/20)*

AN international conglomerate which has discreetly moved huge quantities of South African exports to black African countries in recent years stepped into the limelight last night, announcing that it would expand its operations in this country.

Sicotra/Aeroleasing of Geneva, with African operations based in Kinshasa, is extending its air charter service to South Africa.

And its general manager of operations, Mr William Esson, said it would be in the forefront of expanding trade between Africa and Europe. He emphasized that his company considered South Africa to be "a vibrant part" of the continent.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus Meiring, and top officials from Zaire were among guests at a reception at the Mount Nelson Hotel at which Sicotra/Aeroleasing explained the range of its activities. It transports good with a fleet of lorries, "a small armada of riverboats", modern executive jets and cargo planes and has a huge hangar and maintenance depot in Kinshasa.

Mr Esson said the company considered the future development of Africa would be strongly linked to Europe. The distances involved and the lack of facilities had so far hindered this. His company was opening up new markets on the continent and would increase its presence in South Africa.

● Full report — Page 11

Cap Times 2/2/84

Pilots meet bankers in bid to buy SAA

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Pilots' Association was holding discussions with bankers in London and South Africa to raise the preliminary R2 billion estimated to acquire SAA, a spokeswoman, Ms Barbara Bester, said yesterday.

The pilots' association had made official representations to the Minister of Transport to acquire between 30% and 40% of SAA's domestic and international operation, Ms Bester said.

The association had informed Transport Minister Mr Eli Louw of their bid for SAA on various occasions.

Transport ministry spokesman Mr Leon Els said it was premature to put a price on SAA.

Local link for air charter service

SA 'included in African trade'

On 1/19/89
2/2/89

① ② ③

By **AUDREY D'ANGELO**
Financial Editor

THE development of trade links between Africa and Europe must include SA, senior executives of international conglomerate Sicoira/Aeroleasing emphasized in Cape Town yesterday.

The group, which already runs import-export services between SA, other parts of Africa and Europe, is preparing to expand its air charter service to this country.

It introduced this side of its activities to local business people at a presentation in the Mount Nelson last night.

Group operating manager William Esson said that Sicoira (Society, Industrial, Commercial and Transportation) was founded 14 years ago, operating in East, West and Central Africa and expanding into Europe.

It operated "vast import and export handling, storage and distribution depots, a fleet of huge bulk haulage vehicles and a small armada of powerful river steamers with flat barge utilities."

It also had "a large diamond processing centre, which is the largest independent exporter of diamonds from Zaire to world markets.

"It owns extensive pig and poultry farms and fruit and timber estates. Our recent merger with Aeroleasing of Geneva also makes the group part of the largest private air charter and air

cargo company in Europe and the second largest in the world."

Aeroleasing was founded 22 years ago and now has a fleet of executive jets and Boeing cargo aircraft. Its Africa service is based in Kinshasa, chosen for its central situation.

Esson said its aircraft were already flying in and out of SA carrying its own executives and cargoes. "Three of our Falcon jets arrived in Cape Town on Tuesday night.

"All we are doing now is offering a charter service to executives from outside firms."

It had 35 modern private executive jets and turbo-prop aircraft.

Asked if it was preparing to compete with SAA on scheduled routes if deregulation came, Esson said no thought had been given to this "at this stage."

He said the air service in Geneva and Kinshasa offered sales and service in addition to the charter of aircraft.

It had recently opened a new multi-million aircraft hangar and service maintenance depot in Kinshasa and was building a modern cargo terminal at Ndjili. "A glance at a map is evidence of the strategic location of these sites."

Esson said group MD Paulo dos Santos was convinced that the development of Africa depended on its trade links with Europe and SA was "a vibrant part of this continent.

"The biggest factors governing the development of commercial activities on the continent are the

vast distances involved and the facilities available. When speaking of facilities these naturally include not only the transport itself but the facilities and service available at the destination.

"Sicoira/Aeroleasing is at the forefront of this trade expansion. The group already has a presence in SA and will build on the strong national and international ties it has formed with other major corporations operating here which include, among others, Premier International and National Airways Corporation."

He said his group had "the people, the market knowledge, the infrastructure and ability to operate efficiently and effectively in Africa.

"It is now our intention to expand our sphere of operations in this country. Sicoira/Aeroleasing will be extending its air leasing and air cargo activities into SA and is already negotiating with a number of private aircraft companies in SA.

"We are already flying busy executives to the far corners of the world. Our passengers include company directors, engineers and heads of state.

"Our service is discreet and professional. And as all our aircraft are Swiss registered our service is politically neutral."

Esson said Sicoira and its import-export arm, Sopex (Society for Import and Export), were about to move from offices in the Heerengracht Tower of Cape Town Centre to a larger suite in the main tower.



Arrested for stonethrowing in
oldier.

Bank urges mothers to cut families

S40V
3/2/89
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WASHINGTON — The World Bank has appealed to African mothers to bear only half as many children.

This would by the year 2015 reduce the average per mother to 3.3 children from the current 6.7.

The recommendation came in a speech by Mr Edward J V Jaycox, vice-president of the World Bank for Africa. The bank is the largest source of aid loans to Third World countries.

Mr Jaycox' speech was prepared for a conference on safe motherhood in Niamey, the capital of Niger, yesterday.

"Africa has the choice of filling its spaces quickly with many relatively ill-fed, unhealthy, uneducated, underemployed people — or of spacing its children so that both they and the society as a whole have a better chance of a much better life," said Mr Jaycox.

Speaking in Luanda yesterday, the bank's senior vice president for operations, Mr Moeen E Qureshi, said there were signs of a turn-around in eight countries that are among the poorest in the southern part of the continent.

He reported that in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe the average rate of economic growth had overtaken the rate at which population was growing — from 3.3 percent to 4.5 percent — for the first time in 15 years.

The reversal would mean that average incomes are now rising after a steady decline that goes back to the days when they were emerging from being European colonies.

The improvement was due in part to better weather, but also to higher prices for farmers and lower exchange rates for the countries' currencies. The cheaper currencies make it easier for African countries to earn money by exporting their products, he said. — Sapa-AP.

AC645

3/2/89

(1)



AFRICA

Namibia to join African trade club?

LUANDA. — With the clock ticking towards independence for Namibia this year, Southern African nations are looking forward to signing up a new member for their economic club.

Namibia is likely to be a major topic at the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference's (SADCC) annual conference in Luanda this week.

Diplomats say that if Swapo wins Namibia's UN-supervised elections, Namibia is virtually certain to become the 10th member of the nine-year-old regional economic group.

Namibia would add only a million people to the SADCC's 73-million, but it would bring significant mineral riches. At present, its economy is almost exclusively tied to South Africa.

One of the SADCC's aims is to reduce dependence on South Africa, acknowledged as the region's economic giant but viewed by most SADCC states as the source of their problems.

The SADCC's nine members include three which are in the South African Customs Union — Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

Outlet to ports

Angola and Tanzania have no ties with South Africa, while Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique depend to varying degrees on Pretoria for transport routes and imports.

Most of the SADCC's initial thrust has been towards improving transport and infrastructure to the east, repairing Mozambique's war-battered and neglected railways and ports to provide an outlet to the Indian Ocean free of South African control.

This week's meeting will bring to Luanda hundreds of ministers and officials from the European Community, the Nordic countries and such nations as Canada, who have made SADCC their favourite channel for aid to Southern Africa.

Western diplomats say the SADCC countries are far ahead of the rest of Africa in overcoming local rivalries and jointly planning their economic development.

Unravelling the secrets of the medicine men

Ghana's herbalists won't readily reveal their methods but doctors acknowledge the healing properties of plants.

By MAWUSI AFELE

GHANA's health authorities are stepping up efforts to tap the medicinal qualities of the country's plants with traditional healing methods still playing a vital part in health care.

Although orthodox medicine introduced into the country during the colonial era is widely accepted, traditional medicine still plays a dominant role in the health delivery system.

"With about 70 percent of the people living in rural areas where hospitals and clinics are scarce, traditional medicine and local herbalists are vital to their health needs," said Kwado Nkansah, a health worker.

Traditional medicine, despite its tremendous potentials, is largely undeveloped mainly because of the unscientific approach of herbalists.

"Herbalists do not actually know much about the active material or constituents they prescribe to patients," said Professor AN Tackie, a medical research consultant.

Herbalists prescribe dosages which are often too little or too much, and they overboil their concoctions thus killing some active constituents.

They shroud their operations in obscurity, thus casting doubts on their claims and healing abilities. Knowledge about herbal medicine is passed on from one family member to the other, but some herbalists refuse to divulge any information or document their knowledge until they die.

Many patients complain about the unhygienic conditions under which some herbalists prepare and dispense their medicine.

Despite these shortcomings, it is generally accepted, even by medical doctors, that herbalists have cured diseases using traditional medicine.

"One of my patients who had tetanus for whom I had given up hope because there was no drug available, recovered after two weeks' treatment by a herbalist," said Dr Oku Ampofo, a medical practitioner.

Laboratory tests by the faculty of pharmacy of the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi, central Ghana, have confirmed the potency and healing properties of certain plants in the country.

For example, it said the pods of the *xylopia aethopica* tree are commonly used in preparations to treat bronchitis, coughs, dysentery and wound infections, the acid in the seeds has been shown to have effective antimicrobial, anti-inflammatory and analgesic properties.

A centre for scientific research into plant medicine was established in the country in 1973, to test healing properties of some plants. The centre also offers training to indigenous herbalists in the hygienic preparation and administration of correct dosages of plant medicine.

Dr GL Boye, director of the centre, said it treats patients suffering from 13 selected ailments including asthma, anaemia, malaria, rheumatism, skin and sickle cell disease.

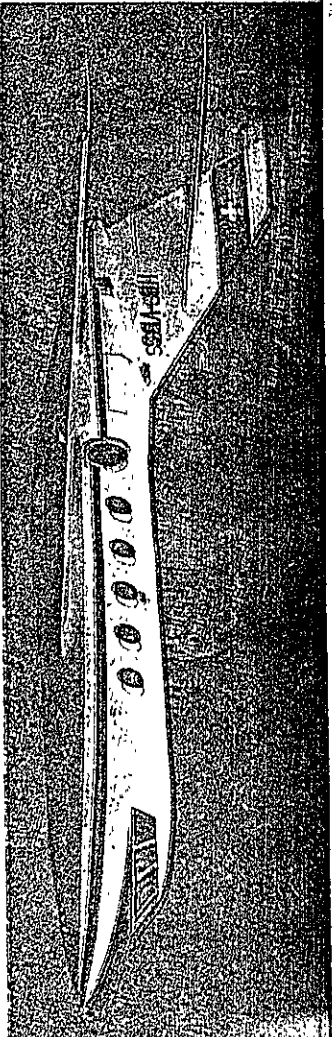
"Our drugs are being used to treat diseases like hypertension, diabetes and asthma. The few drugs we have are good, if not better than most of the drugs we import at great cost," said Boye.

It may be a long time before such herbal medicine will be sold across the counter as the centre does not have the equipment and personnel to produce on large scale.

It is, however, obvious that the potentials of Ghana's medicinal plants are very real. — Deutsche Presse Agentur

WMAU 3/2 - 9/2/89

Africa's skies are opening up again to SA travellers and Cape Town is to become the HQ for a wide-ranging air charter group which says "we'll take you anywhere, any time".
ROGER WILLIAMS reports.



AT YOUR SERVICE: A 12-passenger Falcon 20 twin-jet — one of the fast executive aircraft operated by Aeroleasing.

AN EXPANDED, world-ranging air charter service to have its head office in Cape Town, has been hailed by commerce and the travel industry as an ex-

pecting move towards re-opening Africa's skies to South African executives and travellers. With SAA already oper-

ating to the Ivory Coast, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi, the new charter operation will offer not only more air links within

the continent but also with other parts of the world. William (Bill) Esson, operating manager of an international charter venture, said: "We'll take you anywhere, any time."

THE expanded, Cape-based air charter service announced this week, with the prospect it offers of additional air transport links with Africa and Europe, can only benefit the local economy, says Anthony Coombe, president of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce. "It is certainly an exciting prospect that an overseas airline is planning to extend charter services to SA, and Cape Town in particular. "There is undoubtedly a considerable demand for direct flights in and out of Cape Town, both for freight and also for passengers. "Perhaps the most exciting prospect is that tourist charter flights may be included in the package, which is something that this chamber has advocated for many years.

Cape HQ for charter

services

for world

Cape Times 4/2/89

Esso disclosed in Cape Town that merging the charter interests of the Cape-based Sicotra/Sopex group with Aeroleasing of Geneva would give the combined operation a fleet of 35 executive jets and turbo-prop aircraft.

35 aircraft

The fleet includes the latest Falcon 900, the Falcon 50 and 20, the Learjet 35 and 55, a 21-seat DC9-14, the Beechcraft 200 and 300 and Cheyenne turbo-prop and the turbo Twin Otter, designed for short and remote landing strips. The fleet also has Boeing cargo aircraft.

Aeroleasing says it is the biggest private air charter company of its

kind in Europe and the second biggest in the world. Sicotra/Sopex's air charter service is an adjunct to its considerable export-import operations in Africa and Europe, with its base in Kinshasa, Zaire — chosen for its central African situation.

Fast travel

Esso said that, to start, two of the new group's aircraft would be based in Johannesburg — "but, as demand grows, we will have to base some of our aircraft in Cape Town as well."

"While our aircraft have for long been in and out of Cape Town — three Falcon 50s were here this week — they have not been available to the public, which they will be now."

"We will be offering fast executive travel, discreetly on demand. Our rates will be competitive with business class on scheduled airlines but we have

'Leading growth industry'

"The recent record tourist season once again exposed the limitations of our existing air services for tourists wishing to visit Cape Town over the holiday season. "Travel agents have recorded that a far greater number of tourists could have been brought to Cape Town had more seats on aircraft been available. "Tourism is probably Cape Town's leading growth industry and every additional tourist brings new spending-power into the local economy, creating jobs and benefiting all who live in the region.

"The prospect of new air services operating on SAA's scheduled routes is also welcomed. The chamber has strongly promoted the deregulation process, and the deregulation of transport is already far advanced. "His extension to air services would be a logical and positive development."

no intention of running scheduled services or competing with established airlines on regular routes. Esso said details such as charter fees to specific destinations were still being calculated but added: "Our aircraft are furnished to the highest executive standards and flown by top crews, backed by service and maintenance facilities in Geneva and Kinshasa well up to international standards."

New service will boost local economy

SA's trade with Africa up by 4%^①

Research by the Pretoria-based Africa Institute shows that trade between South Africa and the rest of the continent increased by four percent last year.

A senior researcher at the institute, Sam Khongwa, said in Pretoria at the weekend that this was two percent less than the figure for 1987.

Mr Khongwa said that although the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) had to some extent reduced its dependency on South Africa, there were still some areas, like trade and transport, where they were still very dependent.

He said the SADCC had recorded some modest achievements in the field of communication, food security and air travel.

Member states

Mr Khogwa said the other major achievement of the SADCC was to mobilise international finance for investment in its nine member states.

He said, however, that the SADCC countries could not survive without South Africa.

The economies of Southern Africa were interlinked to such an extent that no country could ignore any other. — Sapa.



Human rights 'sadly lacking in Africa'

AK645
14/2/89
①

WASHINGTON. — The State Department has painted a generally grim picture of human rights violations in Africa, saying Sudan and Burundi had the heaviest human toll as a result. But it praised Gambia and Botswana for generally good records.

ANGOLA: "All major policy decisions are made by a small elite in the MPLA (the Marxist-Leninist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), which also controls all means of mass communication. Open political dissension is not tolerated.

"Now in its 13th year, the regional conflict involving Angola, Namibia and South Africa and the internal conflict between the government and the main opposition force, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), again dominated events in 1988.

The international press focused on the large number of civilian casualties due to the extensive use of landmines. Upwards of 20 000 people may have lost limbs as a result of landmines."

BOTSWANA: "Botswana's human-rights record generally is very good. Pressure from South Africa continued to increase tensions between the two countries. An SADF raid in March resulted in the deaths of three Botswana citizens and one South African refugee.

"An aborted South African operation in June resulted in the arrest of two South African commandos and several South Africans living in Botswana, all of whom were charged with treason. These were the first arrests under the 1986 National Security Act."

CONGO: "The human-rights situation in the Congo changed little in 1988. Most Congolese live their daily lives with little governmental and police interference so long as they refrain from opposing the government or criticising its goals."

IVORY COAST: "The human-rights situation remained unchanged. The president (Felix Houphouet-Boigny) continued to advocate dialogue and sometimes combined punishment in settling disputes, eventually seeking to involve dissenters in the operation of the one-party structure rather than to isolate them."

ETHIOPIA: "The human-rights record remained deplorable. The constitution, which provides a legal basis for respect for human rights, was hardly adopted before the government declared a national state of emergency in Eritrea and Tigre and voided constitutional protection there."

GAMBIA: "Continued its good human-rights record. A treason trial against four persons accused of plotting to overthrow the government was marked by extensive efforts by the judge to assure a fair trial."

GHANA: "There continue to be significant human-rights problems, with restrictions on basic rights such as freedom of speech, press, assembly

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GAMBIA: "Continued its good human-rights record. A treason trial against four persons accused of plotting to overthrow the government was marked by extensive efforts by the judge to assure a fair trial."

GHANA: "There continue to be significant human-rights problems, with restrictions on basic rights such as freedom of speech, press, assembly and legal due process."

KENYA: "There were several important developments adversely affecting human rights. Parliamentary elections took place amid charges of fraud. The electoral outcome further strengthened executive branch and central party control over the legislature."

LESOTHO: "Human rights continued to be tightly circumscribed under the military government. The government imposed a state of emergency due to a dramatic increase in often violent criminal activity, (giving) the police broad powers of arrest, search and seizure. There were several unexplained killings with political implications of persons in police custody."

MADAGASCAR: "The government eased some press restrictions, but continued to censor articles that criticised directly the government and the 'socialist revolution'."

MALAWI: "Human rights remain widely circumscribed. Malawi has become host to one of the largest refugee populations in Africa with 555 000 from Mozambique already there and 20 000 arriving each month. Malawi's generous and humane treatment of these refugees has been widely praised."

MAURITIUS: "A good human-rights record."

MOZAMBIQUE: "Freedom of speech, press and assembly continued to be tightly circumscribed and there remained serious human-rights problems due to the civil conflict, now in its 12th year. The government however took some important conciliatory steps to improve human rights. It ordered the return of expropriated church property and granted full amnesty to almost 3 000 Renamo guerrillas."

NAMIBIA: "Most reports of human-rights violations by government authorities or Swapo involved actions taken in the 'operational area' in northern Namibia, where over half the territory's population lives. The guerrilla war continued and produced a number of casualties."

"Arbitrary government detention without access to counsel or visits by family members continued, as did restrictions on the freedom of assembly. An extremist white group appeared on the scene and admitted responsibility for destroying the plant of the outspoken newspaper, the Namibian."

SWAZILAND: "While human rights are generally respected in Swaziland, there are significant restrictions of free speech and political rights. Two journalists were arrested in February when they wrote a story about the Mozambique resistance group Renamo which the Swazi government found threatening to Swazi-Mozambican relations. A July royal pardon of prisoners convicted of treason cleared Swazi prisons of all political prisoners."

ZAMBIA: "The human rights situation in 1988 was sharply affected by deteriorating economic conditions which led to imposition of emergency law. This allowed the government to search without warrants and seize goods from suspected black-market traders. Army units often used excessive force to stop smugglers. Reports of torture by army and police were investigated by courts."

ZIMBABWE: A 1987 agreement to unify the opposition Zimbabwe African People's Union with the governing party of President Robert Mugabe has contributed significantly to a 1988 "trend towards decreased human-rights abuses by government security troops".

Since the formation of a new cabinet in January, political tensions in western Zimbabwe have "relaxed remarkably". But the government extended its emergency law decrees which allow lengthy detentions without trial, and there were credible reports that some Mozambican refugees were either refused entry or repatriated by force. — Sapa-AP.

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Shareholders

1988

Income statement

6 months ended	Year ended
31.12.87	30.6.88
Unaudited	Audited
42954	90585
3980	8311
554	1267
3426	7044
1713	3359
1713	3685

34773 34.773

4,9c 10,6c
1,5c 4,0c

Balance sheet

December 1987	June 1988
5344	5143
35612	49758
(10177)	(20044)
30779	34857
21273	21855
9506	13002
30779	34857

ing that turnover and operating
her respectively than for the
despite heavy pressures in the
substantially higher than that of
previously reported this is due
together with the higher interest
continue to work towards a more
shareholders' funds.

proved operating results so far
for the remainder of the year.
to remain as a major factor in the

dividend of 1,5 cents per share.
dividend announcement below.

On behalf of the board
R. A. DU PLESSIS *Chairman*
D. G. FOWLDS *Managing*

Shareholders

Ordinary dividend no. 3

A dividend in respect of the year
ended no. 3 of 1,5 cents per ordinary
shareholders registered
close of business on 10 March

to be posted on or about 20 March
at the registered addresses or in accordance
with the provisions of the Act (before 10 March 1989).

Under the provisions of the South African
Income Tax Act of 1962 (as amended) a
tax of 15% will be deducted from the
dividend of shareholders whose addresses in the
Republic of South Africa are outside the Republic of South

By order of the board
M. HANLON, *Secretary*

24 February 1989

R. A. du Plessis (Chairman), D. G. Fowlds
(Managing), C. Cilliers, D. E. J. Lovely

**WALDEN
LIMITED**

Africa opens up to SA retailers

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

SA RETAIL groups seeking to expand their operations internationally were finding opportunities opening up in Africa, according to SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) CE Wim Holtes.

Opening the national retail marketing conference in Johannesburg this week, he said there was a growing awareness in Africa, at a private commercial level, of the value of closer economic links with SA. "This is causing the retail sector to reappraise the growing business opportunities in Africa," he said.

Effective

Most of the leading retail groups had successfully spread into the TBVC countries, as well as into the BLS states, and they had established an effective distribution and retailing capability throughout Southern Africa.

In its search for new business opportunities outside the urban centres in SA, the retail sector had faced problems ranging from foreign exchange shortages and import controls to transport and logistical issues and travel hazards.

"These have prevented any but the most efficient and financially strong groups from securing new market niches," Holtes said.

Africa was not a dumping ground for unsuitable merchandise. "Consumers are extremely brand-conscious and insist on good quality in their day-to-day purchases."

Channel

The powerful combination of South African retail management and export-import traders could create a strong business channel into Africa, which could become particularly important in two-way trade developments between SA and the various African countries.

"The South African business community will have to ensure that this process enables our major trading partners in Africa to generate the foreign exchange needed to purchase goods from SA. Such a mutuality in business dealings will form a solid basis for long-term relationships," Holtes said.

Foreign tourists bring wealth to Seychelles

VICTORIA (Mahé) — Big money spent by tourists in the Seychelles islands helps finance a welfare state unparalleled in Africa.

With a per capita income of about R5 000, free health and education, state housing schemes and pensions for the aged, the islanders have achieved a standard of living normally associated with the world's richest countries.

A near record 77 000 tourists visited the Seychelles last year, many from Europe, North America and South Africa who came to relax in year-round sunshine on golden beaches, and the R250 million they spent helped the islands' economy grow by an impressive 6.1 percent.

Tourism accounts for 40 percent of economic activity in the Seychelles. Without it the government would be unable to finance the wide range of social services to which it is committed.

The president, Mr Albert Rene, who seized power 11 years ago from the pro-Western president, Mr James Mancham, has transformed the Seychelles into a socialist state which offers "equality of opportunity" to all its 67 000 inhabitants.

"So few Third World governments have done so much in material well-being for their people as President Rene has done here in a short period of time," a long-serving Western diplomat in the palm-fringed capital, Victoria, told Reuters.

He said Mr Rene deserved credit despite shortcomings — a reference to a steady trickle of people emigrating

to avoid what they perceive as a decline in the standard of local education.

Equality of opportunity has meant the abolition of all privately owned schools, but within the state system every child enjoys free education from creche up to university level.

Nine years of primary education are compulsory and the state supplies books and uniforms free of charge.

Equality of opportunity also means free medical services, government-guaranteed housing loans for anyone with a job and a monthly pension for the aged and the disabled.

Education, Youth and Information Minister Mr James Michel said: "We have managed to harness our energies for development and would like to be left alone to continue doing so. We are a small country and have realised the need to spend money wisely."

Mr Michel said there was no real problem of unemployment in the chain of coral and granite islands.

"Anybody who wants to find work will find work. Those who don't work are simply lazy. In fact, we have a shortage of skilled manpower at the moment," he said.

But professionals and diplomats are increasingly concerned that although the government has provided a wide range of free services for its people the standard of some services has fallen.

Accurate statistics are not available, but diplomats said many key professionals had emigrated recently, mainly due to a widespread concern over the declining quality of local education. — Sapa-Reuter.

New man is ready for Africa hot-seat

WASHINGTON — Mr Herman Cohen, who is certain to be President Bush's chief Africa official, seems to be a lot different from the man he is replacing — Dr Chester Crocker.

He is more of a backroom boy, an administrator of an existing policy rather than the innovator and policy architect that Dr Crocker was.

As such, he is likely to attract far less political lightning in Washington than the controversial Dr Crocker, who did not suffer fools gladly, and made little effort to disguise his feelings on that score.

A senior official such as the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs often has to appear before Congressional committees to explain his activities or comment on proposed legislation.

Dr Crocker's appearances always promised verbal skirmishes as he confronted critics on the Left and the Right.

But Mr Cohen's appearances on Capitol Hill are likely to be milder affairs. To a certain extent this will be because, by delivering the Angola/Namibia accords, Dr Crocker has floored many detractors of the policies that Mr Cohen will continue to administer.

ABILITY WITH PEOPLE

In addition, as a career foreign service officer, and not a political appointee like Dr Crocker, Mr Cohen is likely to be viewed as more of a Bush administration bureaucrat than a policy-maker.

But there is another factor, too. Those who know him well, say Mr Cohen has an extraordinary ability to get along with most people, even those who disagree with him.

This talent was on display in Washington recently when he appeared at a meeting sponsored by the conservative Heritage Foundation to explain to a largely hostile audience why the US-mediated Angola/Namibia accords did not mean that Angola and Namibia were being handed to the communists on a platter.

Mr Cohen — who played an important part in the negotiations as Africa director on the US National Security Council — may not have won the right-wingers over, but he did appear to leave them less hostile to the Crocker peace plan.

REALLY LIBERAL

Mr Cohen's friends say he seems conservative on the outside, but his inner convictions are really quite liberal. If this is so, it may be one of the reasons why he was tapped for a job that will get a high priority in President Bush's foreign policy programme.

His responsibilities will include US policies for the whole of Africa, but his headaches will centre on southern Africa.

The word on Capitol Hill is that Mr Cohen, whose selection has not been officially announced yet, will be con-

There is little doubt that Dr Chester Crocker's successor in the Africa hotspot seat will be Mr Herman Cohen — a firm man, but one who keeps in the background. NEIL LURSSSEN reports.



Mr Herman (Hank) Cohen . . . flexing his toes for Chester Crocker's shoes.

firmed by the Senate quickly.

Even so, the bipartisan unity — if it ever develops the way President Bush wants it — is not likely to last long.

This week Mr Cohen's boss, Secretary of State Mr James Baker, told Congressional liberals bluntly that he expected profound disagreements with them over South Africa.

What he meant was that the Bush administration is not prepared to impose new sanctions on Pretoria.

Mr Cohen has devoted most of his professional life to African affairs. He speaks French, German and Swahili and has served in various diplomatic capacities in Uganda, Rhodesia, Zambia, Zaire, Senegal and Gambia.

He is particularly close to French-speaking Africa, and some analysts believe his term of office will see closer US ties with that section of the continent.

Since his appointment is not yet official, Mr Cohen is not speaking to newsmen.

But he has vacated his office at the White House and taken up temporary headquarters at the State Department building, known in Washington as Foggy Bottom.

There he is preparing himself for a job that will take him out of the backrooms and into the public eye as he becomes President Bush's point man on problems that have perplexed and confounded Americans for two decades:

- How do you help to bring apartheid to an end without creating chaos in South Africa?
- How do distance yourself from apartheid while expanding US influence in South Africa?
- How do you persuade white South Africa to start power-sharing negotiations with black leaders chosen by blacks themselves?
- And how do you explain what you are doing to a confused American public?

Yesterday's oppressed, oppress Africa now: Tutu

1964 27/2/89
KINSHASA. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said here that in many parts of Africa the only change there had been since the colonial era was in the skin colour of the "oppressors".

"In colonial times the oppressor was of a different complexion. Sadly, today, the complexion of the oppressor is the same as the complexion of the oppressed."

The Anglican archbishop was addressing 15 000 people at an open-air church service yesterday at the end of a three-day visit to Kinshasa, according to a church statement.

He visited Zaire at the invitation of local churches and in his capacity as president of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

FREEDOM OF CITY

He was given the Freedom of Kinshasa and saw a representative of President Mobutu Sese Seko. The Zairean president was in Japan at Emperor Hirohito's funeral.

Archbishop Tutu said in his sermon yesterday that Africa was being exploited by neo-colonialism, it had a heavy burden of debt and it was still afflicted by poverty, ignorance and disease.

"Africa is still in bondage because of the iniquity and injustice of racism and apartheid. Africa groans because of the devastation of natural disasters such as drought and floods.

"But Africa groans too because of man-made disasters. It is being devastated by civil wars, as in Angola, in Mozambique, in Ethiopia, Eritrea, in Uganda and the Sudan," he said.

"Africa has the unenviable distinction of producing the world's greatest number of refugees. Of course, many of these are refugees from natural disasters ... but sadly, the majority are refugees from injustice and oppression in their motherlands.

"For we must confess that Africa has one of the worst records of violation of human rights. Africa has a spate of military dictatorships."

Archbishop Tutu continued: "In many places all that has changed for the people who suffer is the complexion of the oppressor."

ON GOD'S SIDE

He said God took the side of the poor, the oppressed and the downtrodden.

"That is where the Church of God must be found, on the side of the downtrodden ... the voice of the voiceless ones.

"So we say to all unjust rulers everywhere: 'Beware! Watch it! Look out in South Africa. Look out wherever you may be, unjust ruler.' We have no doubt that we shall be free. The blood of Jesus Christ bought us so that we would be free to enjoy the glorious liberty of the children of God." — Sapa.

Tutu slams Africa human rights record

CNA Times 28/2/89

AFRICA had one of the worst records of human-rights violations, Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a congregation in Kinshasa, Zaire, yesterday.

"In many places, all that has changed for the people who suffer is the complexion of the oppressor. In colonial times the oppressor was of a different complexion.

"Sadly today the complexion of the oppressor is the same as that of the oppressed," Archbishop Tutu said, according to a statement released in Cape Town yesterday by the archbishop's media secretary, Mr John Allen.

Archbishop Tutu said Africa also had the unenviable distinction of producing the world's greatest number of refugees.

Countries like Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda and the Sudan had been devastated by civil wars.

He said the scriptures warned unjust rulers everywhere that God was on the side of the oppressed, poor and needy.

"So we say to all unjust rulers everywhere: 'Beware! Watch it! Look out wherever you may be, unjust ruler' ... Look out in South Africa ... We have no doubt we shall be free."

He said Africa was being ex-

ploited by neo-colonialism, that it suffered a heavy debt burden and was still afflicted by poverty, ignorance and disease.

Archbishop Tutu was addressing a crowd of about 15 000 at an open-air church service at the end of his three-day visit to Kinshasa.

He visited Zaire at the invitation of local churches and in his capacity as president of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

He was given the freedom of Kinshasa during his visit and saw a representative of President Mobutu Sese Seko. The Zairean president was in Japan at Emperor Hirohito's funeral. — Sapa

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Men in court

The Landdrost — Southern Sun's new hotel in Bloemfontein

Tourism figures show rise in visitors from black Africa

The trend emerging from South African tourism figures is the increasing number of visitors from the rest of Africa.

Indications are that of the 750 000 visitors to South Africa annually, about 50 percent are from African states, com-

pared with 30 percent from Europe and seven percent from North and South America.

Referring to the renewed buoyancy in the tourism business, Mr Louis Botha, Administrator of the Free State, said recently this was a "clear

indication of the increasing potential of black tourism — a factor which has to be taken seriously".

OPERATON

Mr Bótha was opening the latest hotel operation of the Southern Sun group — the R30 million Landdrost in Bloemfontein.

In Cape Dutch theme and designed by architect JD Maresch, the 147 rooms and two presidential suites look onto an oasis-style courtyard.

An additional feature is the ease of movement in the interior of the hotel, the better to accommodate paraplegic guests.

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African nations gather for talks on economic dilemma

81D 09/13/87
BLANTYRE — Finance experts from 51 African nations began discussions on economic reform and debt management yesterday in preparation for the Economic Commission for Africa's third meeting of finance ministers next week.

Top of the agenda at the talks is a critical appraisal of the economic adjustment programmes sponsored by the IMF and the World Bank in more than 30 African countries.

Delegates will be discussing alternative strategies and solutions to Africa's economic crisis in the light of what many countries see as the unacceptable social and political impact of tough economic measures recommended by the IMF and World Bank. The conference was opened yesterday

by Malawi's Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism Robson Chirwa.

Chirwa said that in many African countries adjustment had increased taxes, led to a decline in real wages and a rise in unemployment.

The conference is being organised by the Economic Commission for Africa, a UN think-tank on development set up in 1958 to promote regional co-operation.

Conference director Bingu Mutharika of the commission said investigation conducted by the commission over the last year had shown orthodox structural adjustment had aggravated rather than resolved Africa's economic crisis. — Reuter.

Population boom poses food crisis

BETHAL — Africa's population was growing at the rate of nearly 3 percent a year and agricultural production at only 1,5 percent, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Kraai van Niekerk, said this week.

Speaking at the annual crop production farmers' day at the Wildebeesfontein Experimental Farm near here, he said farmers of the present and future would therefore have to focus on efficient production.

Keeping this in mind, it was therefore important that the most favourable production systems should be sought and costs limited as much as possible.

Meanwhile, South Africa's black population increased 3,6 times faster

than whites between 1985 and 1988, 1,7 times faster than Asians and 1,5 times faster than coloureds, according to a report released by Unisa's Bureau of Market Research in Pretoria.

The country's mean annual rate of population increase per 1 000, was 23,8 — a "very rapid population growth" — and 3,5 times faster than the figure for developed countries, 6,8.

For blacks, the mean increase was 29,2, compared to Africa's 29,4.

The population of South Africa, excluding the TBVC countries, was estimated at 28,9 million in 1988, comprising 4,9 million whites, 3,1 million coloureds, 0,9 million Asians and 19,9 million blacks. — Sapa.

Talks on Africa's debt

HARARE — Sub-Saharan Africa's almost \$138b debt is expected to figure prominently in a two-day meeting of the eastern and southern African region of the Economic Commission for Africa, starting here today. Ziana news agency reports. ① ~~②~~

ECA officials, from the 17 nations in the area, met in Harare last week and their recommendations will be put forward at the meeting.

At a briefing for the officials involved, Addis Ababa-based ECA secretariat official Louis Sangare said the debt, and additional obligations such as interest payments, had reached almost 47% of regional export earnings.

He said raw materials' prices were unfavourable on world markets and terms of trade continued to worsen.

He also said in the face of economic and social crises, about 20-million people had become refugees, thus worsening the already bad infant mortality rate of the region.

Sangare attacked the response of the international community, which he said had failed adequately to assist African countries in spite of the bold reform measures initiated by them in 1986. BIDAM 6/3/89

He said in eastern and southern Africa the recovery programme was hampered by a plethora of disasters, such as civil wars, wars of destabilisation and plagues of locusts. — Sapa.

NEW YORK — Starvation in the Sudan, Africa's largest country, is so severe that it could dwarf the misery of the Ethiopian famine of 1984, say relief officials.

A million people have died since 1983 of a famine created by a bitter civil war in which both sides have prevented food from reaching starving people inside war zones, says Mr John Mr Hammock, executive director of Oxfam America, a private relief agency.

The Sudanese conflict has claimed more lives than the Ar-

Ethiopian tragedy could hit Sudan

starvation 3/89
menian earthquake, but so far has attracted little world attention, he said.

The problem is not a shortage of food. Rains have produced a good harvest this year. But the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army has shot at civilian and military flights, claiming that the army was using relief planes to transport its supplies.

And the rebels have accused

the government of withholding food from the south as a form of genocide.

"The problem is that you can't just say: 'Send food and a starving child will eat,'" said Mr Hammock. "It's a very complicated situation. There are no good guys. Both sides have used food as a political weapon."

It is estimated that last year the conflict claimed at least 260 000 people, he added.

It is also estimated that unless food is delivered to about 4 million people before the rainy season begins in May, hundreds of thousands may starve.

Oxfam America is staging a national letter-writing and prayer campaign this week in hopes of spurring United States peace efforts in the area.

"Without peace, there's little anyone can do to help the people," he said. — Sapa-AP.

Free market works, Socialism doesn't

GAVIN MAASDORP

B/D on 10/3/87

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states might find it politically difficult to make the ideological break. Whichever way the CPs choose, the precise nature of the mix for the Western market economies will continue to be debated.

Many people find the open market profits — signified by mergers, takeovers and the yuppie philosophy — distasteful, and it is significant that the European Commission appears determined not to forego the gains made by social democrats in establishing a social security system.

How to blend a free market with democracy and a sense of social justice is the challenge, and this is particularly so in the Third World. It is realistic policies, not Utopian fantasies, which are likely to yield some progress towards these goals.

What of all this for SA? In contrast to trends in international thinking, Marxism continues to exert an attractive magnetic appeal in some disciplines (although not economics) in some universities, and State ownership of the "commanding heights" is often mentioned with approval.

BEING of markets and the limiting of government intervention have changed political thinking in industrialised countries, with even social democratic parties now accepting that a bigger government role is not necessarily the best way to promote economic efficiency or economic democracy.

Perceptions about development in the Third World in recent years have been influenced by the success of the newly industrialised countries (NICs) and the failure of countries following radical or populist socialism.

Several Asian countries have managed to transform themselves from the status of less-developed countries (LDCs) to NICs, in sharp contrast to continued economic stagnation in Latin America and economic retrogression in Africa.

The philosophy in South-East Asia is one of growth, whereas Latin America is obsessed with dependency and Africa with colonialism. In South-East Asia the institutional structure favours profit-seeking, in Latin America and Africa it allows widespread rent-seeking.

In East and South-East Asia the rapid economic growth and industrial development of Japan was repeated in the NICs, and is being followed in Malaysia and Thailand.

In the NICs, government intervention was restrained, sensible and competent. The aim was to encourage companies to become internationally competitive in the shortest possible time after an initial period of protection.

Governments took the market seriously, and their macroeconomic growth and efficiency included real exchange rates, positive real interest rates, market-determined

prices and direct, as opposed to indirect, subsidies.

The private sector responded, again illustrating the importance of entrepreneurship and innovation.

It is interesting to contrast the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC). Both are loose economic organisations, but in ASEAN the importance of the private sector was recognised from the start, whilst in SADCC its role in development is only now being appreciated.

In Africa, which increasingly seems to be facing a gloomy future with rapid population growth and rampant political corruption, most governments have pinned their faith in public enterprises (the parastatals). Their record is dismal and their net effect has been to increase the budget deficits of governments substantially.

The creation of these parastatals is today criticised both by radicals and conservatives. Experiments with various types of African socialism are more and more being revealed as failures.

In Ghana, Sierra Leone and Togo, economic growth has been stimulated by the adoption of more market-orientated policies, partly under the

influence of the IMF with its restructuring programme.

More and more Third World governments are moving to market-oriented strategies, in Jamaica, Michael Manley rethought his policy and has stated that "we came to the conclusion that nationalisation (does not) increase production".

In Latin America the Eighties are referred to as the lost decade, characterised by zero growth, declining investment, growing inflation and unemployment, and stagnating standards of living. The only countries which have managed to avoid the debt burden and record good growth rates — Colombia, Bolivia and Chile — have followed a policy of prudent fiscal management, privatisation of state-owned industries and the promotion of exports.

A common trend throughout the world in the Eighties has been the growing influence of the market and private enterprise and the collapse of confidence in socialism.

Market-orientated policies — lower taxes and less state intervention, resulting in increased economic activity and output — have grown in popularity and have won working-class support.

In Western Europe the political left split, trade unions lost ground and there has been a loss of faith in

nationalisation. This is matched in the centrally planned economies (CPEs) by a loss of faith in central planning and state controls.

Global economic interaction is increasing: all governments have to take cognisance of an increasingly serious environmental crisis as well as a technological revolution which is changing the comparative resource advantages of countries.

All governments must be concerned as to whether their countries will be winners or losers, especially in view of the emergence of a single market in Western Europe by the end of 1992, and the growth potential of the Asia-Pacific basin. In such an environment, will the left and right divide become obsolete?

Much, perhaps, depends on whether or not perestroika succeeds in boosting output and economic growth. If perestroika succeeds, the demonstration effect on socialist-type governments elsewhere, including the Third World, could be significant. If it fails, there is little doubt that the Soviet Union and those countries which still opt for central planning will fall further and further behind the West.

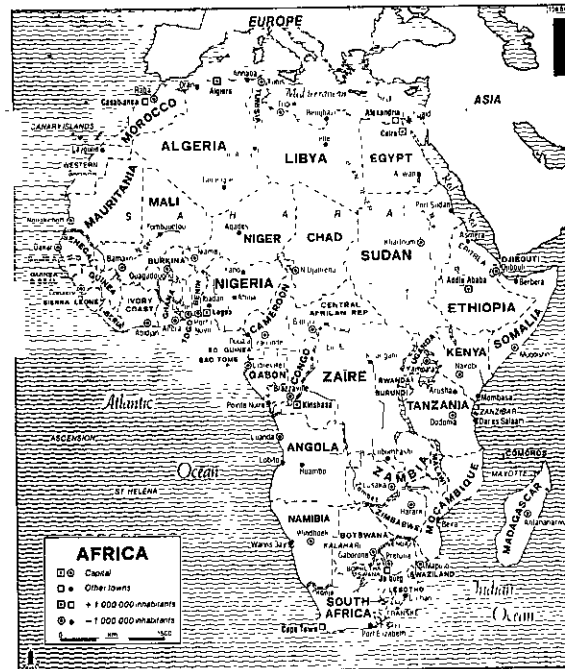
The demonstration effect on governments elsewhere ought also to be dramatic — why should they follow a failed policy? — but many client

here may be understandable emotional and political reasons for this, given the exclusion of Africans in particular from political and economic power in the past, but this ought to be distinguished from the almost certain economic decline which would flow from transferring such ideas into practice.

Fortunately, there appears to be some consensus in most political quarters that the economy will remain "mixed," but there is new consensus as to what the mix should be.

A reasoned, clinical examination and debate by the economics professions of the options is long overdue.

□ Professor Maasdorp is director of Natal University's Economic Research Unit. This is an extract from a paper delivered to the SA Economic Society last week.



AFRICA

Grim future

Report sketches horrifying picture of Africa's decline

A horrifying picture of Africa's economic decline over the past 30 years and the bleak future that faces the continent is sketched in a report by the World Bank to be published later this year.

Various drafts have been written of the study in an attempt to secure a consensus among African governments on the remedies to be applied. One of the drafts has been published by the London-based magazine *South*.

Following are some of the major findings of the study:

- Africa is poorer today in per capita terms than it was 30 years ago. Life expectancy has declined in nine countries and school enrolment in 12.

- Africa's population will double in the next 20-25 years at present growth rates. Fertility rates will have to be reduced from 6.7 children per woman in 1986 to 3.2 by 2020.

- Two-thirds of Africa's land areas are likely to suffer a prolonged drought every 10 years.

- Increasing population pressures have accelerated desertification, loss of woodland cover and environmental pollution in rural and urban areas. In 1984 more than 80 percent of Africa's dry lands, with a population of 92-million, were at least "moderately" desertified.

STANLEY UYS,
Weekend Argus Foreign
Service, reports from London

NEVERTHELESS, one by one African governments have been shifting away from collectivist to free enterprise policies.

The World Bank study makes the following recommendations — which may be modified under pressure from African governments who insist that the fault lies not only with them, but also with oil price hikes, low commodity prices, natural disasters and so forth:

- Economic policies must not simply be adjustments, but must tackle basic issues like population growth, the environment and the sociological and political aspects of development.

- Reversal of the decline in per capita incomes must be the key aim of development strategy.

- In spite of a stifling environment policy, the informal sector has shown resilience (it flourishes in South Africa when given a chance), and the vibrancy of this sector must be enhanced.

- The concept of capital must be extended to include natural and human resources, thereby ensuring that health and food security become priorities.

- Food subsidies should go up to the neediest, and would take up no more than 0.1 to 0.4 percent of GDP.

- Africa will need a net transfer of 20-billion US dollars by the year 2000.

THE study advises governments to become enablers rather than controllers. But the World Bank will seek maximum co-operation in Africa for its latest study. The first World Bank report in 1981 (the Berg report) aroused resentment among African governments, and three subsequent reports did not carry the weight they should have carried.

But some World Bank officials fear the new study will be ineffective if African governments are allowed to water it down too much.

THE outlook for primary commodities is gloomy, partly because of new technology, while the reorientation of world trade and capital flows to the Pacific leaves Africa out in the cold.

The World Bank study criticises some African governments for running factories as if they were civil service departments or military units, without regard for entrepreneurial talent.

Governments are criticised, too, for concentrating social services in urban and relatively well-off areas.

The study comments: "The economic situation in much of Africa is going from bad to worse. Business as usual is not good enough, a new strategy is called for that departs significantly from the first generation, top-down approach."

The droughts of recent years in Africa have concentrated the minds of African governments on economic policies, and most governments admit now that they have neglected their peasantry, keeping food prices down to placate urban populations.

International institutions like the IMF, and Western governments, particularly the United States, have insisted on policy reform as a condition of aid. This has provoked protests from African governments of "neo-colonialism".

Black Africa's economic woes are largely of its own making

Star 13/3/89

Remarkably, black Africa has actually become poorer in the 1980's. Factors beyond its control — an "adverse external environment" — usually get the blame. This is wrong. Africa's problems are largely of its own making, and so must be the solutions.

In the 1970's the dollar export earnings of sub-Saharan Africa (henceforth Africa) grew on average by more than 20 percent a year. Exclude oil, because the region includes five oil-exporters, and the rise was still an impressive 13 percent a year.

Between 1980 and 1985 the trend reversed: non-oil export earnings fell by 5.5 percent a year. They have since regained some of the ground, but earnings are still lower than at the start of the decade. The region's capacity to import has fallen in parallel.

The figures for GDP tell a similar story. Output (including oil) declined in the first half of the decade, then recovered, for dismal growth that totalled less than two percent during the whole of 1980-87. Alongside an expanding population, that meant a sharp fall in income per head.

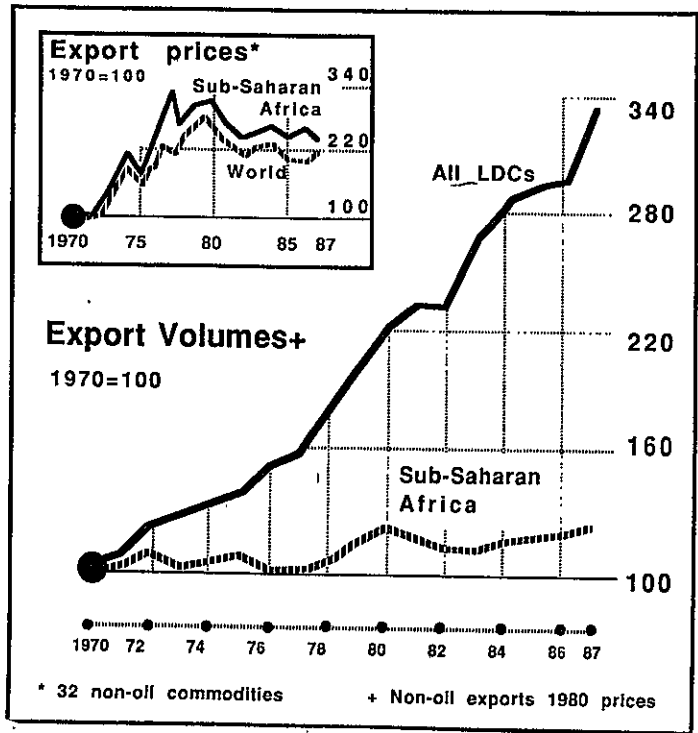
A new joint report from the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme qualifies this picture in important ways. First, a statistical caveat — the biggest of many.

Nigeria

Africa's GDP figures are based on 1980 prices and exchange rates. On this basis, Nigeria's share of GDP is nearly 50 percent. Since 1980 its currency has been devalued massively, reducing the country's share of Africa's GDP to less than 20 percent.

Nigeria has done badly in the 1980's, so giving it a smaller weight makes the region as a whole look better. Using 1987 exchange rates, Africa's output grew by a cumulative 13 percent in 1980-87, instead of by less than five percent.

That aside, however you measure growth Africa has lagged behind other developing countries. The collapse in dollar export earnings is a vital reason for this.



Why did it happen?

A common belief is that in the 1980's the world economy has been crueler to Africa than to other regions — in other words, that Africa's export prices (which are set in world commodity markets) have fallen by more than average ones.

This is true for the oil exporters; for the rest (which are greatly helped by cheaper oil) it is not. Africa has been lucky in its mix of non-oil commodities. Their prices have fallen since 1980, but by only half as much as the world average.

Prices of tea, coffee and cocoa (which count for a lot in Africa's exports) have stayed relatively high, while cereal prices (which matter much less) have tumbled.

If the decline in export earning was not due mainly to lower prices, it must have been due to poor export volumes. So it was. Africa's non-oil export volumes have been roughly static since 1970; over the same period the export volumes of all developing countries have more than trebled (see chart).

To put this another way, if Afri-

ca had merely held on to its 1970 share of the non-oil commodities exported by developing countries, its export earnings would have been \$10 billion higher in 1987. That is as much as the region's annual bill for debt service.

If volumes rather than prices are to blame, this suggests that Africa's distress has been caused mainly by bad policy. This would be an encouraging conclusion because policy mistakes can be put right.

In the mid-1980's many African countries began to reform their economic policies — often to comply with IMF and/or World Bank financing programmes. Reforms included currency devaluations, better incentives for farmers, liberalised pricing systems, lower fiscal deficits and so on. The region's growth rate improved after 1985. Is there a connection?

The report compares carefully the performance of reforming and largely non-reforming countries, before and after 1985. The "strong reformers" are those with adjustment programmes agreed on with the IMF and the World Bank dur-

ing 1985-87.

At first sight, the results are underwhelming: growth, for example, picked up after 1985 in reforming and non-reforming countries alike. But, not coincidentally, the worst of the economic shocks of the 1980's fell on the strong reformers (which is why some of them embraced the IMF in the first place). So to set like against like, the report excludes badly shocked countries from both sides of the comparison.

Strong reformers

The results are striking. Non-reformers still grew faster in 1985-87 than in 1980-84, but the improvement is smaller. The strong reformers, in contrast, leapt ahead. In 1985-87 they grew on average by 3.8 percent a year — better than their own earlier performance (1.2 percent) and, more important, better than the non-reformers (1.5 percent).

In the later period, the non-reformers saw their exports, investment, and consumption per head all fall in real terms. The strong reformers saw all of them. No surprise: good policy makes a difference. — *The Economist*

ECONOMIC REFORMS AND SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Indicator	Period	ALL COUNTRIES		COUNTRIES NOT AFFECTED BY STRONG SHOCKS	
		With strong reform programmes	With weak or no reform programmes	With strong reform programmes	With weak or no reform programmes
Growth of GDP (constant 1980 prices)	1980-84	1.4	1.5	1.2	0.7
	1985-87	2.8	2.7	3.8	1.8
Agricultural production	1980-84	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.8
	1985-87	2.6	1.5	3.4	2.6
Growth of export volume	1980-84	-1.3	-3.1	-0.7	-5.7
	1985-87	4.2	0.2	4.9	-3.8
Growth of import volume excluding oil exports	1980-84	1.7	-2.7	6.1	-4.0
	1985-87	4.8			
Growth of real domestic investment	1980-84	-8.1	-3.7	-3.5	-7.8
	1985-87	-0.9	-7.0	1.9	-4.8
Gross domestic savings (percentage of GDP)	1982-84	9.9	2.3	7.8	6.9
	1986-87	10.7	6.0	10.7	5.8
Growth of per capita consumption (real)	1980-84	-2.3	-1.1	-2.4	-1.8
	1985-87	-0.4	-0.5	0.7	-0.9

Countries with strong reform programmes: Burundi*, Central African Republic, People's Republic of Congo*, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi*, Mauritania, Mauritius, Niger*, Nigeria*, Senegal, Tanzania, Togo and Zaire
 Countries with weak or no reform programmes: Benin, Bourkina Faso*, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia*, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan*, Zambia and Zimbabwe*
 *Countries affected by an external shock

Source: World Bank/UNDP

Africa shows bankers a 'less dismal picture'

SUB-SAHARAN Africa had an image of "unrelenting decline", but the statistics commonly reported "mask a more complex, less dismal picture", said a study of the region published this week by the World Bank (WB) and UN Development Programme.

African countries adopting the structural adjustment measures advocated by WB and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) could point to better economic performances than other countries on the continent, argued the appraisal.

More than half the 45 countries of sub-Saharan Africa had initiated policy reforms since 1983. Results "suggested a strategy of adjustment with growth is viable".

The report focused on the period 1985-87, making some tentative assessments for 1988, and assessed domestic growth, developments in trade and commodity prices, aid flows and debt relief measures, and domestic policy reforms.

Hopeful

Before comparing records of countries which undertook adjustment policies with those that had not, the report examined sub-Saharan Africa's overall economic performance. GDP had grown at an average annual rate of 2.3% since 1984 — less than the region's 3% population growth, but reversing the annual 1.1% rate of decline since 1980.

The report pointed to hopeful developments in agriculture — the dominant sector — which averaged 4% growth between 1985 and 1988. Other developments were less encouraging: the domestic savings rate in the region was only half the rate for other developing countries and gross domestic investment declined in real terms by about 3.5% a year in 1986 and 1987. Import purchases fell almost 40% during 1981-85 and had only risen 3% since. Sub-Saharan Africa's current account deficit rose from \$5.3bn in 1985 to \$10.3bn in 1987.

But excluding oil exports, "sub-Saharan Africa's most recent export

MICHAEL HOLMAN of the Financial Times reports that structural adjustment measures in Africa appear to be bearing fruit.

performance is encouraging, with increasing volume beginning in 1985 and increasing earnings beginning in 1986". A decline in the region's share of world trade for major exports, excluding oil, began to reverse in 1984: market share for coffee and cocoa (accounting for 15% of total export earnings) rose more than 4% a year in 1985-6, after falling at an annual rate of nearly 2% from 1970-85.

Consequences of the region's poor export crop performance were starkly set out. "If African countries had simply maintained their 1970 market share of non-oil primary exports from developing countries, export earnings would have been \$9-\$10bn a year higher in 1986-7", said the report. The shortfall was about as great as total debt payments, or donor aid.

Turning to terms of trade, the report calculated that when oil was excluded, purchasing power of exports since 1985 did not decline.

On capital flows and debt, the report found total net financial flows to sub-Saharan Africa "increased significantly in 1986 and 1987, rising \$3-\$4bn over the 1985 level to more than \$13bn in 1987." Total net flow in real terms for 1987 remained about 15% below the 1980-83 average.

The external debt burden continued to constrain growth. Sub-Saharan Africa's outstanding and disbursed debt increased from about \$6bn in 1970 to \$129bn in 1987 — equal to 100% of its GNP and more than 350% of total exports. Debt service obligations amounted to 45% of sub-Saharan Africa's export revenues in 1986 (for International Development Association recipients the ratio was 47%), but in 1987 the ratio fell to 36% for sub-Saharan Africa, but rose to 49% of IDA countries.

The region's share of official development assistance (ODA) rose from

23% in 1980 to almost 30% in 1987. But real growth of net ODA was lower in 1987 than in 1986 and 1985.

Drawing general conclusions about benefits derived from adjustment policies was difficult, but "evidence suggests reforms and economic adjustment generally led to better economic performance in the region".

Countries implementing the new policies enjoy one clear advantage: "Multilateral and bilateral donors have gradually but significantly shifted aid flows to give greater support to countries with strong, sustained adjustment programmes, while aid to non-reforming countries has begun to decline."

The report compared performance of the two groups in several key areas:

- Despite their larger devaluations, inflation rates were lower in reforming countries than in the first half of the 1980s;
- Governments in reforming countries substantially reduced their fiscal deficits;
- Agricultural price policy became more favourable to farmers in reforming countries;
- Decline in investment was almost arrested, compared with continuing decline;

GDP improved

- Domestic savings rates improved;
- Agricultural production, exports and GDP improved. Agricultural production more than doubled, between 1980-84 and 1985-87, compared with stagnation in the other category;
- Food production grew twice as fast in countries that liberalised food marketing or did not enforce controls;
- Average annual export growth rose 5 to 6% from the early 1980s to 1985-87, about double the rate of non-reforming countries;
- Excluding countries faced by strong external shocks — notably the oil producers — GDP growth rose from just more than 1% during 1980-84 to almost 4% on average in 1986-87. The other group increased only a third as much in 1986-87.

Ghana's new ^{star} gold target ^{17/3/89} ①

ABIDJAN — Ghana's Ashanti Goldfields Corporation expects its gold production to rise to 348'000 troy ounces in 1989 from 305'000 in 1988.

Acting general mines manager Nigel Pearson says underground operations would produce 312'000 ounces, and surface mining 36'000 ounces.

Ashanti Goldfields is 55 percent owned by the government. The balance of shares are held by Lonrho.— Sapa-Reuter.

Good weather eases the pain

May 17/3/89

Cure for Africa's ills remains as elusive as ever



NAIROBI — Kind weather and a boom in metal prices may ease some of Africa's economic pains, but a cure for its ills remains elusive.

"Of the decisive factors at work in the African economic performance in 1989, the prospects of good weather conditions would seem to be the only assured factor," the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa predicted recently.

The Addis Ababa-based commission says African economies grew on average 2.5 percent last year — double the rate in 1987.

They were helped by widespread rains, which boosted farm output by 3.8 percent.

But economic growth still lags behind the rise in population of about

3 percent a year, and is only half what African officials say is needed to put the world's poorest continent back on the road to sustained recovery.

Africa's \$230 billion foreign debt, on which repayment dues swallow more than 40 percent of annual export earnings, is a major obstacle to development.

Despite recent initiatives by industrialised nations, including write-offs, longer repayment periods and new aid, the UN commission reported little evidence of any breakthrough in resolving the debt crisis.

Africa's cereal crop rose a healthy 7.8 percent to 71.8 million tons over the past year.

But Sudan, northern Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique again faced famine or near famine because of civil war or the effects of the 1987 drought, or both.

At the same time Africa, which relies on exports of minerals and crops for nearly all its self-earned income, is still reeling from a slump in commodity prices in the 1980s.

Export earnings for countries south of the Sahara plunged by \$24 billion between 1980 and 1987. Provisional figures from the commission point to a 2 percent fall last year for the whole continent, to \$50.3 billion, though metal producers have fared well.

A jump by nearly one-half last year in world dollar prices for copper — which have continued to soar — means Zambia and Zaire, Africa's biggest producers of the metal and among its most debt-distressed, breathe easier.

A surge in aluminium prices, which rose by nearly two-thirds last year, according to estimates this month by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), proved a boon for Guinea and Sierra Leone.

And Zimbabwe was finally able to scrap plans to shut down nickel mines as prices for the metal surged by 183 percent.

SUFFERING

Oil producers such as Algeria, Gabon, Libya and Nigeria, all members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, are still suffering.

Traditionally they, and non-OPEC oil producers like Angola, Egypt, Cameroon, Congo and Benin, earn about 70 percent of Africa's export revenues. But IMF figures show

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But IMF figures show free-market dollar prices for crude oil last year were on average one-fifth lower than in 1987.

The UN Commission estimates the economies of African oil exporters grew only 1.8 percent in 1988 against 3.7 percent for countries without oil.

After oil, the commission lists coffee, tea and cocoa as Africa's most important — and, currently, least successful — commodities.

Coffee prices rose by 8 percent last year and tea prices by nearly 5 percent, bringing only modest comfort to producers like Kenya and Uganda.

But cocoa prices fell by over one-fifth on average and the Ivory Coast, the world's biggest producer, this month underlined the impact when it reported a rare trade deficit for the first eight months of 1989

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follows:

SOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET

	31.12.88 R'000	31.12.87 R'000
Employed:		
by shareholders' funds	43 638	45 336
by preference capital	550	550
by shareholders' funds	44 188	45 886
by funds of outside shareholders		
by long interest free loan funds	18 879	-
by interest bearing debt	24 379	31 090
by term debt	16 225	-
by short term debt	5 618	5 446
by current debt	2 536	25 644
	87 446	76 976
Position of funds:		
by assets and investments	15 325	9 386
by fixed assets	121 247	98 102
by current assets	136 572	107 488
by shareholders and holding company	49 126	30 512
	87 446	76 976
by financing and lease commitments:	36 576	38 589
by terms of exchange control		
by provisions	50 000	42 270
by asset ratio	2.3 : 1	1.8 : 1
by net value per ordinary share	663c	689c

Long NTC, manufacturers of electrical transformers and high voltage switchgear, increased their contribution to the group. National Flanges maintained their profitability.

Directors have proposed a final dividend of 11 cents and a total of 25 cents for the year covered 3 times

Economic recovery 'must' be primed by Europe'

Regional peace plan: Pik moots foreign aid

11 3
B/Dam 20/3/89

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha has called for Europe to mount a financial rescue operation for southern Africa in the same way that the US did for Europe after the Second World War.

Botha, speaking on his return at the weekend from a tour to Britain, Belgium and Italy, said peace could only come to the region if economic recovery was primed by rich European states.

"My idea was to get Europeans to interest themselves in this new opportunity, which is opening up for them... to provide the funds to try to get the states of southern Africa together to co-operate," Botha said.

"Let us call it a Marshall Plan for southern Africa, a plan which certainly can succeed," he said, referring to the US economic plan which underpinned the recovery of Western Europe after the Second World War.

SA's economy was the richest on the continent, although it was shunned by most of the world because of Pretoria's

apartheid race policies.

Black states in the region were heavily dependent upon SA to prop up their ailing economies.

Turning to his discussions with other European leaders, Botha said he had asked them to be part of the new spirit of co-operation between countries in southern Africa.

He said there was great interest and appreciation in Europe for developments both in SA and southern Africa.

Expectation

Botha said he had briefed his counterparts in Italy and Belgium on the progress made with implementation of the UN settlement plan for Namibia.

There was also a mood of expectation among European leaders about movements in SA to solve the country's internal problems, he said.

There was great interest overseas in the Law Commission report on human rights, real appreciation for the Nami-

bia peace plan and great interest in what could be done to bring about peace in Mozambique.

There were also expectations abroad that there would soon be discussions in SA between whites and blacks about a new constitutional set-up for the country.

Asked if party political developments in SA had any influence on South Africa's image abroad, Botha said he had convinced leaders that, in SA, there was no political difference between the State President and the leader of the National Party.

There was no detrimental effect, as far as SA was concerned, as a result of the leadership in Parliament.

Botha said the position of Nelson Mandela was one of the most important issues he discussed with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in their talks last week in London.

He was reluctant to give details of their discussions, but said he would report to the State Security Council. — Sapa.

Africa 'used as a dumping ground'

Star 21/3/89
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.

New wind of change sweeps through socialist Africa

82w 23/3/87 (1)

By Rory Channing

NAIROBI — Free enterprise looks set to sweep through Africa's largely state-run economies.

"There is a wind of change across Africa," said Mou Charles, a Kenyan businesswoman at the forefront of efforts to promote private business in the world's poorest continent.

"Governments are aware now of the contributions the private sector can make," she said after a recent meeting in Nairobi of the advisory board of the Africa Project Development Facility.

The facility started operations in October 1986 as a joint initiative of the World Bank's private-sector arm, the International Finance Corp (IFC), along with the United Nations Development Programme and the African Development Bank.

It aims to encourage small and medium-sized enterprises in sub-Saharan Africa, advising aspiring entrepreneurs on viable projects and helping existing businesses to expand or diversify.

Unlike the IFC, which assists bigger schemes, the project development facility does not provide funds. But it does help obtain financing for projects with investment costs of 500,000 to five million dollars.

Since African nations started to win independence in the 1950s many governments have given the state an overwhelmingly dominant role in development, often creating a business climate that discouraged private investors.

But economic crises in sub-Saharan Africa, which is ravaged by poverty, hunger, a fast expanding population, civil strife and foreign

debts it can't repay, have led to a policy rethink.

Debate has grown on whether the cash-strapped public sector or private enterprise can best provide needed goods and services and act as an engine for economic recovery.

"State enterprises have failed and most African governments agree with that, (and) that private persons, given the chance, can help," said Esther Ocloo, a Ghanaian businesswoman who sits on the Africa Project Development Facility advisory board.

Pierre Claver Damiba, the chairman of the facility's advisory board, cited the Cape Verde islands, an Atlantic archipelago off north-western Africa, as an example of how centrally managed economies were increasingly being liberalised.

Mixed economies

In recent years the leftist one-party government has moved from strongly Marxist policies to a mixed economy.

Amendments to monetary regulations, for instance, meant not only that private ownership in banks was no longer barred, said Damiba. "But Cape Verde is now open for offshore banking.

"This is an indication of the change in the wind," he added.

"I remember the president of Senegal stating that the less state (involvement) the better. This is a summary of the new economic philosophy in Africa."

But for some, it seems, the message has still to catch on.

Many foreign and local commer-

cial banks and investors are reluctant to increase their exposure in west and central Africa and as a result a number of project proposals considered sound by the Africa Project Development Facility had not yet got off the ground there, Damiba said.

The 30 ventures helped by the facility so far range from a company set up in Nigeria to export roses to Europe, to a project in Kenya which will manufacture raw silk. Another 105 schemes in 24 countries are in the pipeline.

A big problem for small enterprises is a chronic scarcity of risk capital, which currently comes mainly from family savings, and long-term loan funds.

To help overcome this, the International Finance Corp plans to start an Africa Enterprise Fund this year as a three-year experiment during which it will invest up to \$60 million in 100 new projects.

The funds will be disbursed in the form of loans, guarantees and equity-type financial instruments which will generally be made available on commercial terms.

It will also launch the African Management Services Co to provide a package of technical and managerial services to enterprises seeking to operate more efficiently.

The IFC announced plans last December to double what it has spent since its first investment in 1960 to assist private ventures in countries south of the Sahara.

This will mean an extra \$450 million dollars investment in 100 new projects in the near future, it said.
— Sapa-Reuter.

Ghana bites the IMF bullet

8/Day 29/3/87
ACCRA — The shelves of Kingsway supermarket in Accra are once more stacked with tins of English baked beans and sweet-meal biscuits.

The bounty of such imported "luxuries" after years of shortages is proof for Western countries of Ghana's spectacular economic recovery under a rigorous International Monetary Fund (IMF) programme.

The fact that a labourer earns less than \$1 a day and cannot afford these goods is a mere footnote to the impressive statistics charting Ghana's progress.

Ghana's leader, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, who seized power for a second time in a December 1981 coup, has

thwarted political opposition and silenced any criticism of the economic reforms by a now compliant local Press.

①

Rewarded

②

This has given him a free hand to bring in the devaluations, job cuts and removal of subsidies, which when tried in the past two years elsewhere in Africa, sparked riots in Zambia and Senegal, and trade union and press hostility in Nigeria.

Since biting the IMF bullet in 1983 Ghana has been rewarded with more than \$3bn in loans, much of it from the World Bank.

It is now the third biggest recipient after India and China of

the bank's highly concessional International Development Agency loans.

Years of mismanagement and corruption combined with the forced repatriation of more than a million Ghanaians from Nigeria in 1982 and widespread drought and bush fires in 1983 drove the economy to its knees.

The IMF cure — devalue currency, lift price controls, liberalise trade, increase farmers' incomes, sell state-owned industries and slash the 300 000 civil service.

GDP growth may have averaged 5% a year since 1983 but more than half the population lives in poverty, say Western diplomats. — Sapa-Reuter.

Ghanaians plod a tough road to recovery

30/3/89

ACCRA — The shelves of the Kingsway supermarket in Accra are once more stacked with tins of English baked beans and sweetmeal biscuits.

The bounty of such imported "luxuries" after years of shortages is tangible proof for Western countries of Ghana's spectacular economic recovery under a rigorous International Monetary Fund (IMF) programme.

The first black African colony to win independence is now the darling of international aid agencies which see its success as a model for the rest of the continent.

The fact that a labourer earns less than a dollar a day and cannot afford the goods on display is a mere footnote to the tables of impressive statistics charting Ghana's progress.

More than 20 sub-Saharan countries, some of the world's poorest, are trying with mixed results to open up their often state-run economies to so-called free market forces to qualify for IMF loans.

Few have been as successful as this former British colony, which according to World Bank representative Raten-dra Sharma, is the only country to have stuck to the Fund's often painful eco-

nomic reforms over six years without backtracking.

Ghana's leader, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, who seized power for a second time in a December 1981 coup, and his eminence grise, security chief Captain Kojo Tsikata, have thwarted political opposition and silenced any criticism of the economic reforms by a now compliant local press.

This has given them a free hand to bring in the devaluations, job cuts and removal of subsidies which, when tried in the past two years, have sparked riots in Zambia and Senegal, and trade union and press hostility in Nigeria.

Since biting the IMF bullet six years ago Ghana has been rewarded with more than \$3 billion in loans, much of it from the World Bank.

It is now the third biggest recipient after India and China of the Bank's highly concessional International Development Agency loans.

Few economists believe that Rawlings' left-wing government had any choice but to go the IMF.

Years of mismanagement and corruption combined with the forced repatriation of more than a million Ghana-

ians from Nigeria in 1982 and widespread drought and bush fires in 1983 drove the economy to its knees.

The IMF cure — devalue the currency the cedi, lift price controls, liberalise trade, increase farmers' incomes, sell off state-owned industries and slash jobs among the 300 000 civil servants who administered Ghana's 13 million people.

The medicine has been painful. Gross domestic product growth may have averaged five percent a year since 1983 but more than half the population live in poverty, according to Western diplomats.

The aid has been poured into repairing roads and a railway to bring cocoa exports to rejuvenated ports and into rehabilitating gold mines.

This is not yet benefiting the people, said Reverend Asante Ankwu, one of the few outspoken critics of the government.

"After suffering for seven years people still cannot make ends meet. Inflation has eroded their earnings and they cannot afford basic food and clothing," he told Reuters.

Interviews with government workers, labourers and market traders re-

vealed the same concern with inflation which Western economists estimate has come down from highs of more than 100 percent to 40 percent in 1987 and 30 percent last year.

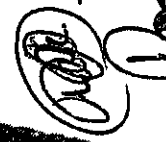
The massive gradual devaluation of the cedi — from an official 2.75 to the dollar in 1983 to a free market 350 per dollar in March — has also jacked up prices and eroded savings.

"This year the government raised the minimum daily wage to 170 cedis. A bottle of beer costs 200 cedis," said one civil servant whose wife and children sell cheap goods on the roadside to supplement his 10 000 cedi monthly salary (\$28).

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa last year highlighted the social cost of IMF restructuring. "Rather than improve the human condition some structurally adjusted programmes have aggravated it because they are incomplete, mechanistic and of too short a time perspective," it said.

Recognising this Western donors have pledged an additional \$85 million to alleviate social hardship caused by the restructuring. — Sapa-Reuter

Black Africa — a mockery of democracy

MS 3113/87


WASHINGTON — Black African leaders demand political power-sharing in South Africa, but it does not exist in black Africa, a Ghanaian analyst has told readers of the *New York Times*.

In a prominently displayed article, the analyst, Mr George B N Ayittey of America's prestige Hoover Institution, described butchery and terror throughout much of black Africa.

"Many Americans feel uncomfortable about the mere mention of such tyranny. They believe it might provide a dangerous justification for apartheid, and divert attention from the noble cause of South African blacks," he wrote.

"This attitude suggests that they apply a lower moral standard to black African leaders than to white South Africans.

"Black Africans vehemently object to such thinking. To their dead compatriots, it made little difference that the hand that pulled the trigger was black. Military insanity and barbarism run amok."

Mr Ayittey said the hopes and aspirations of blacks around the world were lifted when the Rev Jesse Jackson ran for the Democratic presidential nomination. But, he added, Mr Jackson would have been

BY NEIL LURSEN,
The Star Bureau

A black political analyst states that while the aspirations of blacks around the world were lifted when the Rev Jesse Jackson ran for the US presidency, the fact remains that he would have been able to seek office in only two of Africa's 41 countries.

able to seek office in only two of Africa's 41 countries.

"Twenty-two are military dictatorships. The rest are farcical 'democracies' in which only one candidate, under a one party state system, runs for president, wins 99.99 percent of the vote and declares himself President for Life."

Since 1957, he wrote, there had been more than 150 African heads of state, of whom only six gave up power voluntarily and the rest were booted out in military coups or assassinated. Only in Botswana and Senegal were black people allowed to choose their own leaders.

Mr Ayittey's article, given prominence in a newspaper more accustomed to publishing attacks on South Africa, is bound to cause a stir among Africanists in the US.



The Rev Jesse Jackson ... would have been able to seek office in only two of Africa's 41 countries.

In recent months, liberal Democrats here have attempted to put some balance in their anti-apartheid campaign by criticising human rights abuses in black Africa.

But they have concentrated almost exclusively on Zaire, which has ties with South Africa, and on Ethiopia, where civilians have been caught up in a vicious struggle be-

tween the government and rebels. Mr Ayittey casts his net over virtually all Africa, citing horrific incidents in Nigeria, Uganda, Burundi, Angola, Chad, Mozambique, Somalia, the Sudan, Benin, Burkina Faso and Liberia.

Mr Ayittey argued that when whales or zebras were slaughtered, world protests were deafening.

"Why? Is it morally acceptable for black tyrants to butcher black people?" he asked.

Throughout Africa, blacks were demanding political freedom, power-sharing and the right to choose their leaders.

"If the world won't help, perhaps it is better to stay out of Africa. Application of a standard that recognises only white-on-black tyranny is bound to aggravate the plight of all black Africans, including those in South Africa," Mr Ayittey said.

Africa's debt burden in spotlight

Star 3113187
WASHINGTON — Industrial nations must step up their efforts to reduce the debt burden of Africa's poorest countries and measures taken so far have yielded only modest benefits, the World Bank says.

In a confidential report to next Tuesday's meeting of the World Bank/IMF development committee, Bank president Barber Conable says a package of debt relief measures agreed by industrial nations last year has raised several concerns.

"It appears that the initiatives to provide debt relief are unlikely to reduce debt service repayments substantially over and above that occurring in conventional rescheduling," Conable says.

For some countries, the benefit has been as little as \$10 million a year.

The development committee, which

traditionally examines third world problems, convenes at the end of the semi-annual meetings of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, which begins today.

Talks will concentrate on the soaring dollar and a new US initiative aimed at lowering the debt of "middle income" countries such as Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela, but officials will also review on Tuesday a 1988 scheme to ease the \$130 billion burden on sub-Saharan African countries.

The World Bank's briefing paper says there have been some signs of progress in sub-Saharan Africa, with more than half the governments persisting with economic adjustment programmes and recording stronger growth rates. But the report adds: "Clearly a huge task remains."

— Sapa-Reuter

'New spirit' felt in southern Africa

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The issue in South Africa was no longer apartheid but how to create a democracy, a top delegation of the International Freedom Foundation (IFF) said this weekend after a three-week tour of southern Africa.

In an exclusive interview with The Star, the Washington-based organisation's international chairman Mr Duncan Sellars and executive director Mr Jeff Pandin told how they experienced "a new spirit of national reconciliation" in Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and South Africa.

Their impression after meeting senior members of the Nationalist government had been that there was an honest willingness on its behalf to negotiate a future dispensation.

"The NP realises it now is in the unique position to take bold steps towards accommodating the aspirations of all South Africans," Mr Pandin said.

The liberal opposition, he said, could act as a beacon in this regard.

"We met with two of the three leaders of the new Democratic Party and they really said some solid things. The DP is going to have a vast impact."

Speaking on the shift in international attitudes towards South Africa, he predicted the international boycott would "quiet down".

American policy makers in particular were realising sanctions were "an incredibly blunt instrument", he said.

AN eve of April 1 interview (which will appear in fuller form in a forthcoming issue of Optima), the out-going Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker had some final observations on the Namibia-Angola settlement he has spent the past eight years mediating.

Perhaps most striking was his belief that the US having taken the lead role in "creating the realities" that led to the settlement, should now let others — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in particular — shoulder greater responsibility of seeing it properly implemented.

In an echo of Harold Macmillan's "wind of change" as well as of President George Bush's inaugural theme, he opined that "there is clearly, on almost every front in southern Africa, a new breeze, a new set of windows that are open, and I think the British, as probably the world's most experienced external power on this set of issues, have been the quickest to pick up on it".

He noted Thatcher's lightning visit to Windhoek at the weekend. "I think she's quite prepared to make it known that the British have a contribution to make and I think she is absolutely right. In fact, in some respects, she has within her grasp more of the elements of creating things than almost anybody else.

"So if the British have ideas and are prepared to play that kind of leadership role, we would be — I speak for myself here, but I don't think I'd be contradicted — the first to cheer... the same would apply on South African issues themselves.

"The door is open for others. It doesn't mean there won't be issues on which we take a lead, but it means there is now plenty of opportunity to go round."

In the immediate term, there was a vacuum to be filled as the new administration got its act together. "We are a large polity and a large government and it takes us a while in a transition to define what we will do more broadly, however, Crocker appeared to acknowledge that there

Crocker sees UK assuming lead role in southern Africa

SIMON BARBER in Washington

were serious institutional obstacles to the US driving allied policy in the region. The administration cannot, for example, say we are obligated to provide \$128m towards the expenses of Unita, and presto, the money is there. Congress must have the last word, and in having it will likely create all manner of new problems by placing conditions on the funding.

Congress has also seriously limited both the US governmental and private sector roles in Namibia's transition by applying to the territory the same sanctions as it applies to SA itself. This might be "folly", as Crocker called it, but it is Congress's wont to demand equally stupid concessions whenever it is asked to undo its previous stupidity.

One may conclude, therefore, that the administration will look to Thatcher to help "create new realities" — a favourite Crocker phrase — both in Namibia and the region generally that will either pull Congress after them or at least restrain it from further ill-advised action. A case in point might be her ability to exploit the "new breeze" to promote negotiation between Pretoria and the ANC.

One aspect of the settlement in which the US will remain principally involved is the question of reconciliation between Unita and the

AP 24/4/84

MPLA. It heads Crocker's list of "areas, which if I were staying on, I would be keeping a regular eye on. If the MPLA continues to dither on the issue of internal peace or to try and solve it unilaterally, it's going to create a military pressure cooker inside Angola... which is going to put a strain on the Angolan-Cuban-Soviet relationship and it's going to be more difficult for those parties to carry out their side of the bargain."

The US is ready to mediate if asked. "Sure, but there's nothing new in that. We've always said before that this was an African agenda and the African neighbours are in the best position to play a role. But we have been prepared all along to pass ideas and messages when we're asked to do that and we've already done some of that, frankly.

"Perhaps we're closer today than we ever have been to an actual process that you could call a political process. One day (March 13), Unita says these are our terms in a very bold, powerful statement. A week later, you see a statement from Luanda which clearly reflects that they got the message."

Crocker sees the problem lying

largely within the MPLA where "the atmosphere is frequently one of suspicious and factions and manoeuvring, allegations of corruption, ministerial swaps of portfolios and so on, it's going on all the time.

"But this is a particularly sensitive moment as, and we assume this is happening, President dos Santos is seeking a mandate to negotiate with Unita... getting the consensus so the people are on board is a big operation... it may be that some people feel very directly threatened in a personal sense because of either the role they've played, the jobs they hold or the skills they have. They may feel vulnerable."

Crocker is confident that "the Cubans would like to get out as soon as possible, that's what they've told us. I see evidence of it". This leaves the Soviet Union with "some decisions that they haven't yet made... they're going to be left holding the bag because Luanda is going to be without its Cubans pretty soon.

"So either they're going to let his-tory take its course and be left with that bag, or they're going to be encouraging, more directly to be encouraged, more directly to reconcile with Unita."

Whatever he may privately believe about the new allegations of political killing within Unita, public-

ly Crocker is dismissive. He evidently feels that to lend the charges weight will only encourage those in the MPLA who do not wish to negotiate while at the same angering Unita's Congressional supporters (some of his most strident critics) into causing more problems for the regional settlement as a whole — by holding up Unita funds, for example.

"Isn't it a rather remarkable coincidence that this is being talked about in this manner at the very moment when the last remaining excuse for Luanda not to talk to Unita has been removed... if one wanted to resist the inevitable, one might certainly profit from the allegations, though I'm not saying the MPLA invented them."

In the question of Namibia itself, Crocker is concerned that neither Swapo nor the other parties are sufficiently prepared for "the monumental changes that are now going to be occurring.

"It's going to be incumbent on the leadership in Pretoria to do its best to make up for lost time in terms of the signals it's sending, not only to the white community but to others who may be nervous or insecure about the test of public opinion that's coming up... It's in the interest specifically of the National Party leadership to have it go right because it's their settlement.

As for Swapo, "I frankly don't think that from what I've seen up till now they ever expected things to move so fast. They have never had to face this kind of political test — how do you organise, what signals do you send, how do you reintegrate people who have been trained only for living in exile and living off the land and living by the gun?"

"What are the friends of Swapo going to do to encourage Swapo to be responsible and learn by the mistakes of others in Africa? The Front-line states... have a central role. Do they send a signal of stridency and polarisation or a signal of statesmanship and economic common sense?"

THIS interview took place before the cross-Angolan border fighting broke out.

Does the world have any ladders for the Lebanese?

GEORGETTE SAAB, pregnant with her first child and due to deliver in two days, stumbles over her husband to reach a safe room in her building where there is no bomb shelter.

"When the shelling starts I just hold my belly and put my head down. The building heaves and clamps down again. With each thud, I feel I am dying," Georgette Saab says, "And when the explosion comes you feel it is coming right out of your head and pulling trees out of the ground by their roots."

Though the Saabs had waited three years to have their first child, she now wishes it was not coming. "The baby is due any minute. But how can I protect it once it is born?"

Since March 14, some 20 000 shells and rockets have been fired between Syrian troops, their local allies and the Christian-led Lebanese army. In Christian areas, as many as 50 shells a minute have landed.

World fatigue with the everlasting spectacle of Lebanon's convulsions have blunted international interest in this month's horrific shelling. But even by Lebanese standards, it has been a remarkable confrontation between Syrian troops, unloading their firepower on the Christian population, and a Lebanese general bent on driving the Syrians out in what he calls a war of liberation. Despite the terrible cost, General Michael Aoun's struggle appears to have a surprising support among Lebanese, Christian and Muslim alike.

"One night, we could not count the number of shells. It came like a continuous, rumbling storm," says Feyrouz Ammar, a Christian mother of five.

"We put the children on sponge mattresses on the floor, one on top of the other. They lay there shivering and shaking with fright," she continues. "It was like lightning was flickering outside the windows. All you had to do was put your hands over your head. It felt as if our ears were falling off. The children cried, screaming: 'What is going on outside? Why is this happening to us?'"

Families and neighbours huddle together, cowering in fear, waiting for the first light to come up and for the gunmen to go to sleep, so that they too can get some rest.

Though Muslim areas have not been targeted with the same intensity, residents there fear their turn is coming. How long will the Lebanese army and the Christian militias take a battering without responding in kind?

To flower vendor Ahmed Hashemat on the corner of Sadat and Sidani streets in West Beirut, "the violence gripping Lebanon is beyond comprehension: 'In 1975 we knew which roads to take, where the confrontation lines were. Gunmen would stop us and warn us to go home. Now people just get killed on the streets and in their homes. Those who cannot leave the country die from shelling or heart attacks.'"

Hashem's fancy bouquets and baskets, ribboned for happier occasions that have now been cancelled, will probably be tossed out. "It is a little quiet today," he says. "I thought I would let the flowers breathe a little and get some sun before they die."

Simone Kosremelli, 39, an architect, says "Before, if my employees came at 8.15am instead at 8.00, I would be fuming mad. Now, if they show up at 9.30, I am overjoyed that they could come at all.

"My only political activity has been to keep crossing between East and West, says Kosremelli. "No leader ever appealed to me. No idea ever fired up my enthusiasm to become mili-

tant. But what Aoun is proposing today, I like," she says.

What Aoun, 53, Lebanon's Christian Maronite army commander, is proposing is to get some 40 000 Syrian troops out of Lebanon. Christian armies aren't alone in wanting to free themselves of Syrian domination, many Muslims feel the same way.

"The Syrians have taken an oath never to leave this country unless they bring every stone down on our heads before they go," whispered Ali Fawwaz, Shi'ite newspaper vendor. "We are all with Aoun, but who dares say it?" he asked. A municipality worker agrees: "Syrian soldiers have looted our homes in the suburbs. Some people may object to Aoun but what is the alternative to Syria? More division, more fragmentation."

Though Aoun started out as a presidential hopeful with the ambition of being accepted by Syria, his campaign to assert the authority of his military cabinet by blockading militia-run illegal ports along the Lebanese coast has snowballed into a war of liberation he can no longer roll back.

Depending on nothing more than his growing popularity and little moral support and military backing from Syria's archrival, Iraq, Aoun appears to have come face-to-face with the formidable Syrian war machine.

The Syrians and their Lebanese allies, spearheaded by Walid Jumblat's Progressive Socialist Party, say they will not be deterred until Aoun is crushed.

But it is not only a Lebanese-Syrian war. Muslim political groups fighting on Syria's side have a different axe to grind. Syria has offered them all kinds of assistance to confront the Christian political elite and its resistance to reforms that would give Muslims a bigger stake in Lebanon's secretariat system.

Syrian troops have moved in heavy armour, artillery batteries, multi-barrel rocket-launchers that send of 40 rockets at a time, 240mm shells and truckloads of ammunition.

The siege is expected to last two months and the efforts of an Arab League mediation committee are being disregarded here as a waste of time in the face of Syria's resolve to stay and Aoun's irrevocable commitment to push them out.

Mahmoud Hallab, a Lebanese merchant, says he remembers how on a trip to London he once arrived at a Piccadilly Circus to find the streets blocked to traffic while fire engines, tall ladders and big nets were being rushed to the scene.

"A small cat had wandered out of a window sill and did not know how to get back," recalls Hallab. "Does the world have any ladders for the Lebanese?" — The Washington Post

Even by Lebanese standards, this month's fighting has been savage, as a Christian general tries to drive out the Syrians — regardless of the cost.

NORAH BOUSTANY
reports from Beirut



President Assad of Syria

THE WORLD

Sudan: One miracle has happened. Only one more to go

Relief fund organiser John Grant manages to organise a ceasefire in the bitter Sudan war so that he can move food to the starving south. But Grant needs still another miracle ...

A MONTH-LONG ceasefire in Sudan's civil war, due to last until the end of April, has given rise to cautious optimism in the long campaign to deliver urgently needed relief supplies to the southern battle zone.

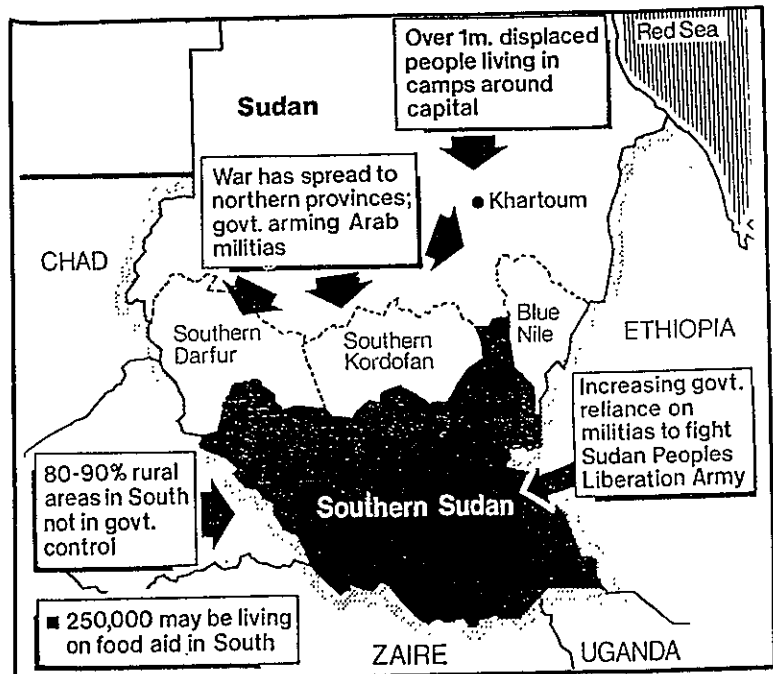
"It took a near miracle to get to where we are now," says United Nations Children's Fund director James Grant, who negotiated the ceasefire agreement between Sudan's government and the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

Grant, who is co-ordinating the relief operations, says another near miracle will be required to enable relief workers to deliver a significant portion of the food needed to avert a repetition of last year's famine, which killed over 250 000 Sudanese.

The SPLA, which has been fighting a bitter war against northern domination since 1983, formally agreed on March 19 to honour what Grant calls "corridors of tranquility" for food delivery. The rebels' acquiescence came despite a string of reported military victories.

Grant is given much of the credit for bringing both sides to terms. Earlier this month — with Sudanese Prime Minister Sadiq el Mahdi's blessing — Grant flew to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to discuss arrangements for peace with SPLA leader John Garang.

The United Nation's World Food Programme has estimated that



160 000 tons of food and non-food supplies, excluding medicine, will be needed in the south's hardest-hit areas this year. The agency issued an urgent appeal for \$21,7-million to support the relief effort.

Because of the expected onset of Sudan's May to October rains, the bulk of the supplies — about 120 000 tons — must be moved to distribution centres in the next five weeks, before roads and dirt airstrips turn to mud. More than half must go in by air, the most expensive method, if the deadline is to be beaten.

Grant calculates the operation's odds of success at 50-50. "But," he says, "when one faces the almost certain prospect, if this doesn't work, of a disaster with four times the death toll the earthquake in Armenia, it's a rather strong impetus to move."

One hope is that the government and the rebels will use the hiatus to negotiate a more permanent solution to the war. That may be a possibility: at a UN-sponsored meeting in Khartoum three weeks ago, Sadiq, who is under increasing pressure from the army to make peace with the rebels, called the war "senseless".

The prime minister said the SPLA's demands, which include a guarantee that Islamic Sharia laws will not be imposed on the largely Christian and animist south, are negotiable.

Geograph of misery: Where the Sudan war victims live

For its part, the SPLA has been enjoying recent military success, reportedly capturing seven government garrison towns in six weeks.

Since they apparently have the upper hand, it is difficult to understand why the rebels would call it quits now. But as one UN official explains, the SPLA did not set out to secede from Sudan. A negotiated peace that meets their demands fairly could satisfy them as much as a military victory.

But before peace can be made, Sadiq must put his own house in order. Three weeks ago, the prime minister dissolved his cabinet under pressure from the military, which had threatened to oust him. Sadiq then formed a new government representing several political parties and an influential trade union federation.

Conspicuously absent from the new coalition is the National Islamic Front (NIF), which rejects concessions on the Sharia issue and wants to continue the war. Before his clash with the military, Sadiq had appeared to be leaning in favour of the NIF position, especially since his government receives significant military assistance from Libya, which backs the imposition of Sharia.

It seems clear that Sadiq is riding a wave of moderation. And that may be good news for the starving people of Sudan. — Africa News.

African countries aim for 'human-centred' development

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ADDIS ABABA — African finance and planning ministers are set to endorse an alternative development strategy which puts greater emphasis on social welfare than curbs prescribed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

The ministers meet to endorse the plan today after four days of talks by the planning ministers who also discussed many other issues including food resources, the locust threat, environmental management and transport and communications.

Ethiopia's Planning Minister Mersie Ejigu, opening these talks

last Thursday, referred to differences Africa had with the fund and bank in the early 1980's and said:

"The search for an appropriate development strategy for much of Africa is just as elusive and as emotionally charged as ever."

Africa's plan for reforms was reviewed by the finance ministers last month in Malawi, then toned down to avoid alienating the fund, the World Bank and other donors.

The thrust, however, remains the same. Africa wants the main say in what shape the reforms take.

"This is a fundamental departure from the current practice in

which external development agencies play a principal role in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of adjustment programmes in member states," says the plan.

Despite growth of economies and exports and improved payments and budget balances in some countries which had adopted orthodox reforms, "starvation and malnutrition, abject poverty, and external dependence have worsened," it adds.

The plan is provisionally called the African alternative to structural adjustment programmes: A framework for transformation and

recovery. *SAW 10/4/87*

It calls for "human-centred" reforms and measures for long-term rebuilding of economies.

It criticises the fund and World Bank, saying they focus on short-term balancing of finances at the expense of social services such as health and education, which have been hit by spending cuts.

"Permanent crisis management is no substitute for development," said a supporting document presented to the planning ministers' meeting and quoting a representative of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, under whose auspices the meetings are held.

The commission's executive secretary Adebayo Adedeji said in an interview on Friday he envisaged no problem in having the framework accepted by the fund, World Bank and donors.

It was consistent, he said, with the long term objectives of the UN programme of action for African economic recovery backed in 1986 by the UN, the IMF and the World Bank.

Adedeji insisted the African alternative was a framework for constructive negotiations with multilateral institutions and bilateral donors. "Africa is too weak, too fragile, too dependent for con-

frontation," he said.

The framework offers a 29-dish "menu", split into four courses. An individual country would choose one or more of several dishes from each course to suit its own needs.

Options include a limit on foreign debt repayments to "manageable" levels, a switch in spending from non-productive activities plus potentially including defence — to ensure at least 30 percent of public spending goes to social services, and greater mass participation in decision-making and implementation of programmes. — Sapa-Reuter

Medicine exemptions

3/10/89 12/4/89
REPRESENTATIONS regarding the exemption of certain medicines from the import surcharge list were being considered, the Board of Trade and Industry (BTI) said yesterday.

BTI chairman Laurence McCrystal said apart from exempting selected items of medical equipment from the list last week, it had also exempted certain agricultural implements.

He confirmed government had exempted certain medical equipment from surcharge retrospectively to August 15.

Items taken off the list included X-ray equipment, therapy and surgical appliances, electro-diagnostic apparatus and dental instruments, while those still on it included microscopes, thermometers, artificial joints, hearing aids, heart pacemakers, blood and plasma transfusion equipment.

DIANNA GAMES

Sectors of the medical equipment industry whose products were not taken off the list are to continue making representations to government to get more items exempted.

Frik Prinsloo, financial accountant of Research Instrumentation, which specialises in microscopes, said they had reapplied last week for microscopes to be removed from the surcharge list.

He said they had originally applied for removal when the surcharges were introduced but had been turned down.

Barry Furnaux, of Laboratory and Scientific, said the surcharges were a constraint on stockholding and cash flow and would push up the already high cost of health research and development.

African ministers want new aid deal

3/10/89 12/4/89
ADDIS ABABA — African finance and planning ministers want to strike a new deal with foreign donors on a strategy for economic reforms, they said after a joint meeting here yesterday.

They adopted a strategy giving high priority to social and long-term development needs neglected in traditional reforms sought by the IMF, the World Bank and other donors in return for aid.

The strategy necessitated partnership among African governments and with development partners, a communique said.

The UN Economic Commission for Africa played a leading role in preparing the strategy, yet to be made public. — Sapa-Reuter.

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12/4/89

Southern Africa a waste site?

The Star's Foreign
News Service

UTRECHT — Southern Africa has been earmarked as a site for lethal chemical waste dumps and processing plants, according to a Dutch investigation.

In a programme broadcast on TROS television last night, Mr Pias Deana, an Italian businessman who works in South Africa, claimed to already have a signed agreement with the Angolan government to install the dumps and plants.

And he added that Namibia and South Africa were being investigated as sites to dispose of some of the world's most lethal chemical cocktails.

Mr Deana said he had teamed up in this scheme with a Mr Arnold Kunstler, who had high-level government contacts in various southern African countries.

"The Angolan government has already signed the agreement to build dumps and chemical waste processing plants," Mr Deana said.

FM

14/4/89

AFRICA

(1)

Dark side

Africa's economies continue to deteriorate, according to a report published by the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). The finding will be seen as challenging the earlier more optimistic World Bank report.

ECA says economic restructuring has been severely limited by external constraints and the problems of debt, deteriorating terms of trade and dwindling capital resource flows.

It criticises the impact of structural adjustment programmes on the poor.

It says that between 1986 and 1988 "deterioration in the overall economic situation in Africa continued unabated. GDP rose by only 1% in 1986 and a mere 0,7% in 1987. Worse still, per capita income fell 2% and 2,2% in those years respectively."

In his preface, Prof Adebayo Adedeji, UN under-secretary general and head of ECA, says: "Any attempt to portray the economic situation in Africa in rosy terms, to minimise the impact of an adverse external environment and to depict the effects of structural adjustment programmes as having been always positive, does not only detract from reality, but is cynical in the extreme."

The report was published on the day African finance and economic planning ministers began a five-day meeting in Addis Ababa to consider a home-grown alternative policy called the African Alternative to the Structural Adjustment Programme. This puts greater emphasis on social welfare than cures prescribed by the IMF and the World Bank.

Africa, it seems, wants the main say in what shape reforms take. "This is a fundamental departure from the current practice in which external development agencies play a principal role in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of adjustment programmes in member states," says the alternative programme. ■

From desert to oasis

WHEN Safaa El Shimy was studying agronomy at the University of Cairo nine years ago, the land on which she now sustains a living was just a barren stretch of sand.

Today that land is part of an agricultural community of university graduates, private investors and former landless farmers. They profitably grow beans, tomatoes, cucumbers, peppers and other vegetables; cultivate guava, apple, pear, citrus and olive trees; and raise livestock.

They live in sturdy new cement houses, clustered in villages served with clean drinking water and electricity. Nearby are schools, clinics and mosques, along with social service centres and a good road network.

The transformation has taken place through a massive scheme to reclaim 875 000 hectares of desert 150 km northwest of Cairo. The project for agricultural development and settlement in Noubaria, to be completed in the early 1990s, will increase Egyptian agricultural land by about 20 percent and create over 75 000 jobs.

El Shimy personifies two special features of the project: Its focus on university graduates and the special attention it pays to women.

After graduation, El Shimy wanted to do something new. The government offered her 12.5 hectares of newly reclaimed land in

By the early 1990s Egypt will have increased its agricultural land by 20 percent as a result of a massive scheme to reclaim a huge area of desert. Over 75 000 jobs will have been created, many specifically for women. MARY LYNN HANLEY reports.

Noubaria.

She was given a house, livestock, and the assurance of technical advice and other support from the General Authority for Rehabilitation Projects and Agricultural Development (Garpad).

El Shimy lives and works her farm alone. On some tasks, like raising ducks, she cooperates with her next-door neighbour. After two years she is making a good income.

Thanks to Nile water stored by the Aswan dam, Egypt has reclaimed 1.3 million hectares of desert in nine years, 500 000 in Noubaria.

Initial reclamation involved seasonal flooding of the land, the system of irrigation traditionally practised in the Nile delta.

This led to waterlogging and salinity, so modern sprinkler and drip irrigation methods which control water use are being applied.

About 40 percent of the reclaimed land is provided to university graduates and landless farmers against long-term soft loans. The rest is sold at market rates to small investors and agricultural companies.

About 30 000 settlers, 6 000 families, are already living in 30 new villages.

The effort is supported by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO).

Wheat is now being grown for the first time on desert land, specially significant since Egypt imports 75 percent of its wheat needs.

Another successful project is the raising of Muscovy duck. The species can weigh four kilograms in 60 days, one sixth the time it takes local species to grow that large.

A new hatching unit will make it possible to distribute 5 000 one-day-old ducklings to farmers every month.

Further innovative work is being undertaken in the middle of Egypt's great Western Desert. There, 33km southwest of Cairo, commercial fishponds lie stocked with tilapia, carp and mullet.

Nearby, ducks, chickens, pigeons, rabbits, bees and cattle are being raised. Fruit trees and vegetable plots flourish under the hot sun, abundantly watered from underground aquifers and protected from sandstorms by evergreen windbreaks.

South
20-26/4/89

Assad: The cunning Syrian Machiavelli

W. M. H. C.
21-22/4/89

DESPITE his apparent isolation within the Arab world, Syrian President Hafez Assad retains an uncanny ability to influence events in the region, demonstrating his importance in the quest for a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement.

In recent months, Assad has reminded his opponents of the pivotal role his regime can play by exercising its power to control much of Lebanon, disrupt the Palestine Liberation Organisation and thwart an Arab consensus on trading land for peace with Israel.

Assad "is far and away the most intelligent and Machiavellian Arab leader", said a Western analyst who has followed his political career over two decades.

In a new biography of Assad, author Patrick Seale concludes that his personal tenacity is the primary reason Syria has been able to maintain its role as a regional power, despite the odds. "At the head of a relatively poor and undeveloped country, he has had a basically weak hand, forcing him to play his cards close to his chest," Seale wrote.

Few political analysts in the Middle East give Assad any credit for initiating regional policies. "What must be calculated is Syria's reaction to any new policy initiative," one Western diplomat in Cairo said. Assad's ability to veto regional decisions through obstructionist tactics, political intrigue or violence has characterised his regime ever since he took power in 1970.

"When someone is isolated, it means his opinions are of no value," said Information Minister Mohammed Salman, a close adviser to Assad. "This saying has been repeated since the end of the October War in 1973," he added, pointing out that since then a number of peace accords and political agreements have been signed or brokered without Syria's participation, yet none has led to a lasting and comprehensive peace in the region.

As Iran's chief Arab ally during its long war with Iraq and the recipient of massive aid from Saudi Arabia, Syria seems well-positioned to play a key intermediary role in establishing a more durable peace in the Gulf region.

Damascus also hosts Palestinian radical groups, including Ahmed Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command.

Jibril's group is a leading suspect in the bombing of the Pan Am jumbo jet that exploded over Scotland last December, killing 270 people. Any conclusive evidence linking Jibril to the bombing would almost certainly incriminate Damascus, which closely governs the activities of Palestinian factions based there.

In Lebanon, Syria's influence is strongest. Although its efforts to

Syria's leader may be isolated in the Arab world, but no-one should underestimate his skill at obstructing or side-tracking regional initiatives, report

**PATRICK TYLER and
NORA BOUSTANY**

force a political settlement among Christian, Moslem and Druze populations have been frustrated, "there is no solution in Lebanon without Syria," a Western official said. Western analysts also say there is little likelihood that American and Western hostages will be freed without some assistance from Syria.

The United States has recognised the country's clout in the region by re-establishing a "constructive" and "high-level" dialogue. US Ambassador Edward Djerejian is said to have developed a personal working relationship with Assad, meeting with him twice in six months — which is unusual for a Damascus-based diplomat.

The Soviet Union also has put a high priority on its relations with Syria, its closest ally in the Arab world, as Kremlin officials seek to take a greater role in defining a new Middle East negotiating initiative.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze made Damascus the first stop of his recent Middle East tour, and this week, Defence Minister Dimitri Yazov will arrive for high-level discussions on military co-operation.

In recent months, Syria's objection to Egypt's readmission to the Arab League has been one of the critical factors delaying an Arab summit meeting, according to Arab diplomats. Egypt was expelled from the 21-member league following the Camp David accords on Egyptian-Israeli peace.

Three months ago, after Assad made a surprise visit to Saudi Arabia, Arab diplomats reported that talks between Assad and Saudi King Fahd had resolved two important issues: Syria would not attempt to block Egypt's readmission to the Arab League, but would only state its "reservation" because of Egypt's adherence to the peace treaty with Israel.

Secondly, Arab sources said, Assad won Fahd's agreement to delay any Arab summit for at least two months to allow Syria time to construct a workable coalition government in Lebanon as a means of keeping Lebanon off the summit agenda. Three months later, the situation in Lebanon remains unresolved.

With such manoeuvres, Assad's personal diplomacy foiled the efforts by Egypt, Jordan and the PLO to call an Arab summit to consider and pos-



Hafez Assad ... still able to manipulate events in the Arab world

sibly ratify the PLO's new peace initiative and present the Bush administration with a unified Arab position on the Arab-Israeli dispute.

By delaying an Arab summit, Assad has denied PLO chairman Yasser Arafat an important forum to show that an Arab majority now supports his position in recognising Israel's right to exist, a "concession" that is antithetical to Syria's strategy of outlasting Israel until it returns Arab lands seized in the 1967 Middle East War.

Meanwhile, Assad has worked to arouse Palestinian opposition to Arafat's moderate stance even while much of the world has applauded PLO efforts to join the peace process and to recognise Israel's right to exist.

Arafat, who considers Assad a dangerous and ruthless adversary after numerous clashes between the PLO and Syrian security forces in Lebanon, sees Assad's hand behind the wave of Palestinian commando violence that Arafat fears could undermine his dialogue with the US government following the renunciation of terrorism, according to PLO officials.

For Egypt, Assad remains a major

obstacle to full re-acceptance in the Arab fold because of his unyielding opposition to the Camp David accords. Syrian Information Minister Salman said the test of improved ties between Damascus and Cairo will be whether Egypt takes further steps to distance itself from the Camp David peace treaty.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak has courted Assad this winter, inviting him to join a new economic co-operation union of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and North Yemen.

Both Egypt and Syria have dropped the propaganda campaigns they once waged against each other and Syria has voiced no objection to Egypt's readmission to a number of inter-Arab organisations.

While keeping Egypt out of the Arab League, Syria has sought to improve bilateral relations with Egypt to serve another goal of denying Iraqi President Saddam Hussein a clear political field on which to wage his own personal vendetta against Assad in supporting Iran's revolutionary leaders in their bid to topple the Iraqi ruler during eight years of war. — The Washington Post

Pik suggests a southern Africa 'Marshall Plan'

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has called on European leaders to join South Africa in a "Marshall Plan" for southern Africa.

Mr Botha said yesterday he had suggested the Marshall-type recovery plan for the region when he met European leaders on a tour last month.

He was speaking at a Johannesburg conference organised by the University of South Africa on "Europe 1992".

"Common interest sug-

gests that Western Europe and the countries of southern Africa should work together to develop the human and natural resources of the region," he said.

In Africa it had been found that capital funds themselves did not bring about development. Managerial and technological competence, personal integrity and dedication in the application of the funds were indispensable.

South Africa was short of funds but had a wealth of technical and scientific knowledge.

unless you have the bill
average prices but

'African states get SA petrol'

1104 20/4/59
CAPE TOWN — SA oil companies were exporting petrol to unnamed countries in Africa at a foreign exchange profit, Economic Affairs and Technology Minister Danie Steyn said yesterday.

SA also supplied petrol to the three BLS countries (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland), the four independent homelands (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) and Namibia, but as they were within the Customs Union these were not technically regarded as exports.

The only difference in prices between SA and these countries was due

Political Staff

to different levels of levies and transport costs, he said.

SA oil companies also exported petrol to other countries subject to the conditions that no financial support by the Equalisation Fund was applicable on these exports, that any of these exports would not detrimentally affect the supply situation in SA, and that "a foreign exchange profit" was realised.

Steyn did not name the African countries outside the Customs Union and said the selling prices in these countries were not recorded on a continuous basis.

1 796 vacancies in Cape Town hospitals

1104 20/4/59
CAPE TOWN — There were 1 796 vacancies at the five state-run hospitals in the Cape Town area at the end of last year, National Health and Population Development Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk said yesterday.

He also disclosed the average occupancy at the Red Cross Memorial Hospital for Children over the past two financial years was more than 106%.

Van Niekerk, who was replying to a question by Dr Marius Barnard (PFP, Parktown), said there were 172 medical vacancies at Groote Schuur Hospital at the end of last year, four at Red

Political Staff

Cross, 87 at Tygerberg, two at Woodstock and eight at Somerset.

All told, there were 873 vacancies at Groote Schuur, 67 at Red Cross, 701 at Tygerberg, 32 at Woodstock and 123 at Somerset.

The total staff establishment at these hospitals at the end of last year was 19 959.

This means that almost 9% of the posts were vacant at the end of last year.

Apartheid is a poser for Pope

Star 29/4/89

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FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

ROME — The delicate issue of how strongly to challenge South Africa's apartheid system will be at the political heart of the Pope's pilgrimage to Africa, which began yesterday.

His tour last year, which involved an unscheduled touchdown in South Africa, was criticised by Protestant church leaders.

Though the Pope made frequent references to human rights, and briefly talked of apartheid while in Zimbabwe, he offered no guidance on how far the bishops of southern Africa should support groups such as the ANC.

This time, Vatican sources say, there will be more clear speaking, though it will be impossible to meet expectations of an all-out verbal assault on South Africa.

"The Pope has strong views about inequality and racism. Both will be expressed unambiguously during the pilgrimage," said a senior cleric.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia will meet the Pope on May 2 and is expected to give an account of how the political conflict with South Africa has affected the rest of the continent.

The Pope's mission will take him to four poverty-stricken countries: Zambia, Malawi, Madagascar, and Reunion — which is still a colony of France.

He will notch up another "first" by flying on a Concorde

airliner.

The Pope will celebrate eight outdoor Masses during the tour and travel more than 21 000km. He returns home on May 8.

Bishop Dennis de Jong of Ndola in Zambia said: "He is coming to us at a moment when we feel very depressed economically.

"We hope his visit will help remind the world that we all belong together and there should be more justice. It will be a great boost for us. It will give us new hope."

The Pope, who regards Africa as one of the key areas for reinforcing global Roman Catholic strength, is said to view his Zambian visit as one the most challenging of his latest pilgrimage.

In Lusaka, he is expected to deliver a hard-hitting attack on apartheid.

But Vatican insiders insist that a visit to South Africa is still possible — probably late next year.

They say the Pope believes his presence in South Africa could prove to be a rallying point.

Another factor which makes this visit to Africa particularly important is that it is the first since the Pope took the controversial step of calling an "African Synod".

Many top-level Vatican officials fear that such a loosely-organised assembly will increase demands for autonomy on too large a scale for the Roman Catholic Church to accept.

But this idea will be among the top items on the agenda during the Pope's talks with cardinals, bishops and clergy.



DILEMMA: How strongly will the Pope condemn apartheid?



Di bowls out the fashion critics

TAKING Prince William to school last week, he was the cricketer look

In a chunky men's sporting sweater worn with culottes and flat shoes, Princess Diana bowled some fashion pundits out and others thought it just ducky.

This week, dropping Prince Harry off at kindergarten, she pitched in with the latest style in her round of Royal gamesmanship — the baseball look (above). And with a smile she acknowledged the interest and controversy the new outfit was arousing.

It consisted of a blue baseball cap, dark green jacket over white sweatshirt, worn with baggy white trousers tucked into cowboy boots. To complete the look, her hair was tied back in a ponytail. — *From News Service.*

Rebel move ①

NAIROBI — Sudanese rebels, who have seized more than 12 garrison towns in the past four months, have declared a surprise ceasefire.

10:24 AM
3/5/89

Chosen again (1)

ALGIERS — Leaders of the Polisario Front, fighting Morocco for the independence of Western Sahara, were re-elected at a congress held near the Algerian oasis town of Tindouf, the Algerian news agency APS reports. *Source 3/5/84*

Pope puts spotlight on Africa

BLANTYRE — Pope John Paul is banking on the hope that his tour of Africa this week will re-awaken world interest in the continent's vast economic, social and political problems, Vatican officials say.

He also hopes his visit, which ends in Malawi today will stimulate Africa's young church into becoming less dependent on foreign missionaries.

"When the Pope comes to Africa the world pays attention to its problems," said his chief spokesman, Joaquin Navarro-Valls.

Vatican officials say the Pope feels so strongly about Africa's future he will make two more trips here next year and may include a visit to South Africa.

He has visited 24 black African countries — four of them on this tour — and has condemned racism frequently.

The credibility he has built up in

PHILIP PULLELLA

black-ruled Africa appears to have made the prospect of a South African visit acceptable.

During this trip the Pope has said apartheid is unacceptable and un-Christian but violence must not be used to overcome it. He has made it clear he will visit South Africa only if he is allowed to speak freely about apartheid.

The Vatican believes the reports and pictures of the Pope touring shanty towns or hugging ragged and undernourished children can make an impact in the West.

"How many people outside Africa remember there are nearly a million refugees from Mozambique in Malawi?" an aide asked. "Now, at least for a few days, the world will be reminded."

Aides hope the Pope's statements on issues from apartheid to debt will register with local and world leaders.

"Is it merely a rhetorical question to ask how many infants and children die every day in Africa because resources are now being swallowed up in debt payment?" he asked diplomats in Zambia on Wednesday.

Foreign debt

His words on the need to protect Namibia's fledgling progress to independence, to end apartheid and to ease Africa's R500 billion foreign debt will be taken as policy by Vatican diplomats in more than 120 missions throughout the world.

When world organisations such as the United Nations and its Food and Agriculture Organisation discuss Namibia or hunger, the Pope's words will be heard.

Some diplomats believe the power of the Pope's messages has been diluted by the frequency of his trips — he has visited 80 countries — and the declining interest they arouse in the media.

Africa has about 75 million Roman Catholics, 20 million more than when the Pope first visited the continent in 1980. It has 17 cardinals, compared with one in 1960, and two of them hold top Vatican posts.

The Pope praised the work of missionaries but said more local priests and nuns were needed to help the Church stand on its own feet in Africa. He has convoked a synod of the church in Africa, which is expected to be held in two years' time. — Reuter.

11

Africa told to face up to problems if it wants help

612M 915754

NAIROBI — Africa must show more resolve in tackling its environmental problems if it wants foreign donors to help, a UN-sponsored report says.

The report says the amount of money allotted by African governments for an environmental campaign launched in 1985 remains a serious block on implementing the plan.

While possibilities for outside assistance exist, donors are waiting for clear evidence of commitment on the part of the African governments before they make their firm and concrete offers, it adds.

Cairo

The report, compiled by officials from the Nairobi-based UN environment programme (Unep) and representatives of African countries, will be submitted to a three-day meeting of the continent's environment ministers starting in Nairobi tomorrow.

The conference is part of the so-called Cairo programme for African co-operation launched in 1985.

The Cairo programme's goals are

to halt environmental degradation, help Africans to produce enough food and energy for themselves and to achieve a balance between environmental resources and the population.

Africa's population has tripled over the past 40 years to 600-million people and is expected to reach one billion by the year 2000.

The conference will pay particular attention to toxic waste dumping in Africa and to threats to the world's ozone layer posed by chlorofluorocarbons, widely used in aerosols, refrigeration and packaging, Unep said.

A row which erupted last year over toxic waste subsided after most of the world's governments adopted a treaty in March to check trade in such waste.

A spokesman for the African group said then, however, that although they approved the treaty they would consult further before signing.

In one case, 4 000 tons of Italian toxic waste was found in leaking barrels in the Nigerian port of Koko. A ship chartered by Italy to remove the waste was turned away from five Western European countries before returning to Italy.

The Cairo programme focuses on four broad areas of concern: deserts and arid lands, rivers and lake basins, forests and woodlands and the sea.

But in a continent fighting to cope with huge foreign debt and widespread poverty, and where services like health and education suffer from shrinking budgets, environmental issues do not necessarily rank among many governments' top priorities.

The report noted a meeting was held in March 1988 between representatives of 19 African countries, 13 donor countries and UN agencies to discuss the programme.

Urged

Donors named projects they were willing to support and suggested African countries approach them for aid. A year later some donor nations had still not been contacted.

African governments were also urged to contribute some of the funds they obtained from the UN development programme and other sources to help implement the Cairo programme. But by February only 15 countries had done so. — Reuter.

African nations fail to report new Aids cases

Star 10/5/84

The Star's Foreign News Service
GENEVA — World Health Organisation (WHO) officials are worrying that failure by African countries, including South Africa, to send in updated reports on Aids may give the public a wrong impression about the real spread of the disease.

"Our monthly statistical reports do not show the true picture because only the advanced nations send us regular new situation accountings," one executive explained.

The WHO global Aids tabulation for April 30 showed a world total by that date of 151 790 known cases cumulative since the disease first appeared in 1979.

SA LAGGING

The figure represented an increase of 5 221 cases or 3,56 percent during April.

"But the increase was certainly much higher and the world total is at least twice as high," the WHO official said.

"We simply are not getting sufficiently regular or complete reports

from many parts of the world and especially from Africa," he said.

The US's latest report to WHO's Aids Centre was dated on April 13. It showed a rise during the previous month of 2 845 cases to a total 89 501 or 59 percent of the world total. The US increase was also more than half the new reported cases.

But that was all but meaningless in view of the age of most of the reports from the badly affected African nations.

South Africa was also behind in its reporting to WHO, with its 195 cases dating back to January 17.

Burundi's 1 408 cases dated back to June 30 last year. Tanzania last reported on December 31 with 4 158 cases. The 5 998 cases in Uganda were reported to WHO on October 31. Zambia last reported on December 31 (1 296) and Zimbabwe was an entire year behind, with its 119 cases reported on April 30 1988.

Kenya's 2 732 cases were at June 30 last year and Malawi's 2 586 cases were reported on the same date.

"This means that the tabulation gives at best a distorted picture of the real situation," a WHO official said.

Star 10/1/57

8 African leaders meet on Angola

The Star's Africa
News Service

Leaders of eight African nations are to meet in the Angolan capital, Luanda, next week to discuss the civil war, the Africa News Organisation, ANO, reported from Luanda.

The meeting, to be held on Tuesday, will be attended by the heads of state from Angola, Mozambique, Zaire, Zambia, Congo, Gabon, Zimbabwe and Sao Tome and Principe.

No details have been released but ANO said the summit would discuss "amongst other issues, the future of the Unita movement in Angola".

Unconfirmed reports said that President Mobutu Sese Sekou of Zaire had decided to stop all support to Unita.

Senate body approves Cohen as head of African affairs

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The appointment of Mr Herman Cohen as the new United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs was approved unanimously by the Senate Foreign Relations Africa Sub-Committee yesterday.

Endorsement by the Senate is expected soon.

Mr Cohen succeeds Dr Chester Crocker, who has taken up an academic post, and has made a

peaceful settlement in South Africa his top priority.

He has told the Senate he is opposed to the imposition of further sanctions against South Africa and that he favours dialogue with the African National Congress.

He is likely to visit South Africa soon for top-level consultations with a wide range of political leaders.

Ethiopia coup bid foiled — reports

NAIROBI — Ethiopia said an attempted coup yesterday was foiled.

State-run radio, broadcasting a statement by the State Council, said the government had ended an attempt by a few officers to overthrow the Marxist regime of President Mengistu Haile Mariam.

The president had just started on a four-day visit to East Germany.

Ethiopian soldiers surrounded the Ministry of Defence in the afternoon with tanks and armoured cars in what diplomats in the capital said could be a coup attempt or an army mutiny.

Two MiG 21 fighters flew over central Addis Ababa shortly after the tanks moved into position around the military headquarters.

Within an hour, helicopter gunships were making regular flights over the city and troop carriers were reported along the airport road.

The State Council statement, monitored by the BBC, gave no details as to how the coup was foiled or how many officers were involved.

Earlier, diplomats said that negotiations of some sort appeared to be in progress.

Ethiopian radio and TV continued to broadcast normally and shops and bars were open as usual, the diplomats and relief workers said.

Rebels who have been fighting the Ethiopian government in the north of the country for 28 years were surprised by the reported coup attempt, said a spokesman for the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF).

— Reuter.

W FARE clearly in a period of accelerating change in the wider international community as well as in southern Africa. One of the most striking current developments is the change in the international posture of the Soviet Union.

It is worth looking at this to see whether there is any justification for the expectations aroused, and whether the change is likely to last.

Both "perestroika" (economic reform and restructuring) and "glasnost" (openness and reform in public and political life) have become well known words.

Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking" in foreign policy, which stems in large part from the domestic needs of the Soviet economy, has led *inter alia* to a new attitude towards the US. There is a search for a new, more stable and co-operative relationship between the superpowers.

The Soviet Union clearly wishes to avoid, more than ever before, the risks of conflict with America. There is no doubt that the cold war — which continued, in spite of periods of détente, for more than three decades — aggravated many conflict situations in different parts of the world and prevented their resolution. Now we are seeing remarkable efforts to settle disputes and conflicts through negotiation and compromise in various regions.

The peace-keeping role of the United Nations, which had been paralysed by the superpower rivalry, has been enhanced.

It would be an exaggeration to say that peace has broken out around the world, but there is undoubtedly a new international mood, and great expectations have been aroused of a new, more co-operative international era.

What is happening in southern Africa — particularly in Namibia and Angola — is part of this hopeful worldwide trend; it is not a unique development. As in other regional conflicts, there is still a long way to go before political settlements and peace are achieved, but for the time being at least we are moving in the right direction in this region. Another changed Soviet policy has been a positive contributing factor.

But will they continue to be positive factors? To see this change in perspective it is worth recalling that, after the Second World War, the Soviet Union

Economic Realities behind new Soviet approach in Africa

JOHN BARRATT

adopted a virulent anti-colonial position and supported national liberation struggles in Africa and elsewhere. Its declared aim was to encourage the revolutionary transformation of these new states in close alliance with the Soviet Bloc.

Then in 1974/5 new opportunities appeared in southern Africa, with the independence of Angola and Mozambique. The assertive intervention of the Soviet Union in the region really began at this point, and Moscow seemed to be having considerable success in the second half of the Seventies.

The Soviet Union became strongly committed, especially in Angola, which needed Soviet and Cuban military backing to maintain the political supremacy of the MPLA over its rival nationalist movements.

This did not mean, as often portrayed in SA, that southern Africa had become a top priority for Moscow. Its increased commitment was part of a worldwide attempt to assert Soviet power after the weakening of the US by the Vietnam and Watergate debacles.

This strongly assertive period did not last very long. Even while the ageing Brezhnev was still in office, it was becoming clear by the early Eighties that the Soviet Union had over-extended itself from a weak domestic base.

Moreover, the Soviet model was not working in the Third World, and

it was becoming obvious that many of the states committed to "scientific socialism" were doing significantly worse economically than those experimenting with market methods and which had trade ties with the West as well as the East.

These economic realities were demonstrated in southern Africa, particularly in Mozambique, which in the early Eighties began to switch away from the Marxist model and towards more economic ties with the West — and also SA.

These factors contributed to the change in the Soviet approach. And it is important to recognise that it was not simply the advent of Gorbachev, which brought about the change. However, it was not until after he became leader that the new approach emerged publicly and was able to develop.

This is one of the reasons why one can argue strongly that the "new thinking" does not simply depend on Gorbachev, and that, even if he is replaced by another leader, the realities — chiefly the economic realities — will still be there to determine the directions of Soviet policy.

The "new thinking" is more widely and deeply spread, as I and other South Africans have experienced in several discussions with Soviet academic analysts and officials over the past year, and it is based on the inescapable realities of the world today and the Soviet Union's own domestic situation.

The conclusion is that a different approach is needed, not only domestically but also in foreign policy —

an approach which will reduce the level of conflict and allow the Soviet Union to become involved in the world economy and move out of isolation. This requires peaceful conditions and greater co-operation, primarily with the US and other major industrialised powers.

In the global context southern Africa is only one of the regions where this "new thinking" applies. But in this region — perhaps more than any other — Moscow has, I believe, seen the possibility of being able to demonstrate that constructive co-operation with the US works to mutual advantage.

The specific issue has been, of course, Namibia. During last year it no doubt saw the chance of being part of a success story and of clearly promoting its new foreign policy approach. And in fact the Soviet participation has, from all reports, been constructive, particularly in helping to bring its own "allies" into the settlement and keeping them there — not always an easy task.

Now the US and Soviet Union seem to be carrying the joint responsibility of keeping the settlement on track — i.e. keeping all the parties (including SA) committed to it.

The achievement of Namibian independence by early next year will be the test for the future. Failure of the process would clearly be a major setback for SA and for Angola. But it would also be a setback for the two

superpowers, and for that reason they will probably both do all they can to see that it does not fail.

Then the door will probably be open for further diplomatic efforts, by both the Soviet Union and US, on other difficult issues in the region — e.g. Mozambique and even SA itself eventually. The superpowers cannot solve our problems for us, but they can make a constructive contribution in promoting negotiations and bringing influence to bear on the parties which have to negotiate.

It seems that Soviet policymakers tend to draw a distinction between the clearly international issues, such as Namibia, in which they can become diplomatically involved, and domestic issues, such as SA's internal politics.

W hat is certain is that Moscow now views a negotiated settlement in SA as the only viable option, and there is no longer any official support for a revolutionary overthrow of the state. There is, therefore, a convergence of views — if not of actual policy — with the US, UK and other Western states on the need for progress towards negotiations, in which all representative parties including the ANC, would be included.

There is also, it seems, a convergence of views on the future of the southern African region and SA's role in it. There is, for instance, a recognition by the Russians that the economic development and future prosperity of the region depends largely on SA's economy and its closer integration into the region.

The Russians clearly are hoping that they will be able eventually to expand their economic links with the region, especially SA, as part of their global effort to become part of the international economy.

I believe the Namibian/Angolan settlement has put us on a road leading to other potential positive developments. However, if the settlement is, after all, allowed to fail, and if there is not sufficient political will on all sides to see it through, it is difficult to envisage the continuation of a peace process in southern Africa, with the present constructive involvement of the great powers. A very exciting and promising opportunity is at stake.

Professor Barratt is director general of the SA Institute of International Affairs. This is an extract from an address to a recent seminar presented by the Institute's Pretoria branch.

150 000 still in revolt in Eritrea

Coup attempt in Ethiopia crushed,

capital calm

Star 18/5/79

①

NAIROBI — Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam returned to the capital Addis Ababa yesterday after a coup attempt by senior army officers was reported to have been crushed, Ethiopian radio said.

The broadcast, monitored by the BBC, said he was greeted by Prime Minister Mr Fikre Selassie Wogderes and other officials.

President Mengistu cut short an official visit to East Germany when troops were reported to have surrounded government ministries in Addis Ababa.

Still in revolt

Ethiopia's Marxist government ordered people to return to work today, but rebels in northern Ethiopia said dissident officers controlling an estimated 150 000 troops in Eritrea province were still in revolt.

Diplomats and other residents in Addis Ababa reported some fighting in the capital yesterday, but the city was quiet by nightfall.

Officials of the rebel Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) said in the Sudanese capital Khartoum that dissident officers controlling 12 army divisions had seized control in Eritrea.

The officers were appealing over local radio for a ceasefire in Ethiopia's long-running civil war, the formation of a broad-based provisional government and moves towards democracy.

Diplomats in Addis Ababa said discontent with the war in the north appeared to be the main reason behind Tuesday's coup attempt. But Ethiopian television described it as "an attempt to undermine the revolution".

Since coming to power in 1977, President Mengistu has imposed Soviet-style socialism on Ethiopia and established close links with Moscow.

Two coup leaders, Major General Merid Negusie, chief of staff of the armed forces, and air force chief Major General Amha Desta died in fighting at the Defence Ministry on Tuesday afternoon and Ethiopian state radio said several other generals had been arrested.

But sources close to the government said the insurgents had killed Defence Minister Major-General Habte-Giorgis Habte-Mariam, who had refused to join the revolt.

Addis Ababa airport remained closed to normal traffic last night, and Ethiopian air traffic controllers were instructing neighbouring countries not to route aircraft near Asmara, the capital of Eritrea province.

The EPLF said in a statement from London that it supported the rebellion and would observe a ceasefire if the army overthrew President Mengistu and "paved the way for democracy".

● A visit to Ethiopia by the Princess Royal was set to be scrapped last night amid fears that her life could be in danger.

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, called for an urgent review of the nine-day trip.

Princess Anne, president of the Save the Children Fund, is due to fly into Addis Ababa on May 29 for an extensive tour of refugee camps. But it would almost certainly mean trips into what is now rebel-held territory. — Sapa-Reuter-The Star Bureau.



FINANCIAL TIMES

Leaders visit hunger
— Vain move to defuse
mounting unrest.

Daily Mail

Labour's black rebellion — Kin-
nock faces fury over rejection of
black candidate.

THE INDEPENDENT

Students' talks with Chinese
leaders fail — Beijing again
plunged into chaos.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Central Banks prepare for a
new intervention as the dollar
continues its upward march.

ADDIS ABABA — Ethiopian
President Mengistu Haile
Mariam, in his first public ap-
pearance since a coup attempt
two days ago, yesterday said
loyal troops had crushed an at-
tempt to topple his government.

In a radio and television ad-
dress, he branded as traitors
army units which tried to seize
power while he was on a state
visit to East Germany.

"The second army division
based in Eritrea (province) has
crushed rebel officers and their
accomplices holed up in (the

My loyal troops crushed coup attempt, says Mengistu

capital) Asmara," he said.

Government forces quickly
regained control in Addis
Ababa, killing two of the coup
leaders — armed forces chief of
staff Merid Negusie and Air
Force commander Amha Desta.

But some of the estimated
100 000 Eritrean-based troops
continued fighting until yester-

day afternoon, Radio Asmara
said.

Diplomats in East Africa
have said the mutinous troops
apparently wanted an end to
Ethiopia's long-running war
with secessionist rebels in Eri-
trea and with those fighting to
topple President Mengistu in

neighbouring Tigray province.
President Mengistu was an-
gered at the dissident troops' at-
tempts to link up with rebels, of
the Eritrean People's Liberation
Front (EPLF).

The EPLF repeatedly said
through their clandestine radio
that they backed the revolt.

The EPLF and the allied Ti-
gray People's Liberation Front
insurgents have scored many
victories against government
troops in the past 17 months. —
Sapa-Reuter.

Dad tells

COHEN told the committee: "I value this opportunity to exchange views with you and to call upon the wisdom of the committee members about the formulation of United States policy towards Africa." I look forward to a continuing substantive dialogue between the Bureau of African Affairs and interested senators and members of Congress in the spirit of openness and frankness.

"If I am confirmed, I hope senators will always feel free to call me directly for information, advice and opinion. I hope the senators will reciprocate by communicating with me and members of my staff in the same spirit.

"Africa is a continent with enormous problems and significant challenges for US policy, but we and the African people continue to have high hopes for the future. I hope we can work together to seek solutions to problems, to rise to some of the challenges, and to fulfill some of the hopes of these courageous hard-working people.

"Africa is important to the United States in a number of ways:

- We are concerned about development because the production of wealth and the stimulation of sustained economic growth in Africa will allow the continent to meet its potential. The United States, in turn, will benefit — for example, from increased export opportunities and the creation of new jobs.

- We are concerned about human rights in Africa because we cannot fail to speak out and work against cruel and inhuman treatment of people wherever it occurs in the world.

- We are concerned about the humanitarian problems derived from natural disasters, wars and famine because the American people, regardless of political affiliation and ideologies, will always come to the aid of victims as we have always done in the past.

- Finally, we care about Africa because twelve percent of the American population trace their ancestry to that continent and want their government to reflect their ties of blood, culture and spiritual heritage.

"The area of Africa that encompasses all of

Herman J Cohen, President Bush's nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, says that apartheid would be a matter of daily concern for him during his tenure. Testifying at his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations committee, Cohen referred to the racist system in South Africa as "the outrageous human rights catastrophe".



Herman Cohen ... "Africa continent with enormous problems"

Bush's man in Africa speaks

Sowetan 19/5/89

these interests and concerns more than any other today, is in the southern third of that continent.

"If confirmed, I do not expect a day to go by during which I would not be deeply troubled by the outrageous human rights catastrophe known as apartheid.

"If we do nothing else in Africa during the next four years, we must work

every day to promote a negotiated, non-violent transition to a new constitutional system which will guarantee equal political rights, and equal economic and social opportunity for all South Africans regardless of race or ethnic affiliation.

"As I look at South Africa today, I see some new thinking and a new sense of realism among all of the protagonists — a development which gives us some hope that progress toward a democratic solution may be achievable.

"On the side of the South African Government, I see growing understanding of the reality that no new system of government can be put in place that is not first negotiated with the active participation of the black majority.

"Their leaders have the capability of vetoing any unilateral government initiatives, and to a great extent already have the power to influence the future of the white community.

On the side of the black majority, I see a



growing understanding of the reality that the white power system will not collapse in the foreseeable future as the result of a frontal assault on government structures.

"Although the courageous challenge to governmental authority from 1984 to 1988 rocked the white community considerably, and stimulated the new realism I just mentioned, it is increasingly clear to the black leadership, in my view, that constitutional change will have to come through a process of negotiation in which there will be no losers.

In the current fluid environment, I feel it is very important for the United States to maintain a significant presence in South Africa, both official and non-governmental.

"We have a major role to play by pushing all parties in South Africa

towards the imperatives of dialogue, negotiation and compromise.

"Our official assistance programs, designed to enhance black political leverage in the period leading to a negotiated settlement, are a key instrument of our policy.

"The American private sector is also doing important work in the areas of economic advancement and social responsibility, and we should be encouraging American companies and non-governmental groups to remain and continue their efforts.

As a result of the successful negotiation leading to Namibian independence and Cuban troops withdrawal from Angola, brilliantly mediated by former Assistant Secretary Chester Crocker, American prestige in the region is at an all-time high.

"I believe we should try to build on that success in order to contribute to peaceful settlements of conflicts in Angola, Mozambique and in South Africa itself.

"In that respect, I know that Secretary Baker plans to consult as widely as possible with congressional leadership, and with relevant groups in the United States who have been concerned with southern African issues over the years. I personally look forward to that consultative process because there is a lot of wisdom in the Congress and elsewhere in the United States that is highly worth tapping.

Call for ivory trade ban

LONDON — Britain called yesterday for a ban on trade in ivory to help protect the African elephant population which is threatened by poachers. *Southern 24/5/69*

Environment Minister Lord Caithness said Britain currently adheres to international conventions which allow limited imports of legally obtained ivory.

“We have been reviewing the position in the light of growing evidence of the decline of elephant population,” said Caithness, who visited Kenya last week to study the poaching problem.

The government now believes “there is a clear case for banning all trade in new elephant tusks at the earliest practical opportunity,” he said.

sets
the past in spite of a low of 29pc after
of the main month
31 Dec 1975

African peace prospects (1) suffer setbacks — survey

LONDON — Peace prospects improved in only two parts of Africa last year — the Maghreb in the far north and southern Africa — and international diplomacy played a key role in both areas, the International Institute for Strategic Studies reported yesterday.

Most African countries suffered major economic and financial problems, compounded by political turmoil or ethnic disputes, the London-based institute said in its annual global survey.

"In northern and southern Africa, international diplomacy had a substantial impact on local prospects for peace."

The survey said the peace agreement to remove Cuban forces from Angola and bring independence to Namibia was made possible by the "untiring efforts" of US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crock-

er. These were "pursued as the USSR was putting more pressure on both Angola and Cuba, and as SA decided war was too costly".

"While the outlook in the rest of Africa continues to seem very grim indeed, in these two areas at least, hopes for a more stable future have risen."

The survey said SA President P W Botha would be unlikely to hold negotiations with the ANC, but a "more flexible approach" could be adopted by his successor.

Precedent

"The 'convergence of interests' between the superpowers, which produced the Angola-Namibian agreement, may have established a precedent that can be applied to the search for a solution to southern Africa's other problems," it added. — Sapa-AP.

SPC

26/5/89.

ETHIOPIA (1) *Final*

Killing the coup

Mengistu Haile Mariam, Ethiopia's Stalinist president, has survived the military coup many had forecast as weariness with an unwinnable war against Eritrean and Tigrean rebels grips the country. The chief plotters were shot — as was the loyal defence minister when he refused to join the revolt — and Mengistu hurried back from an arms-buying trip to East Germany to triumphantly address a rally of 500 000 in Addis Ababa,



Mengistu

warning them: "You must be vigilant against conspirators who want to disrupt the peace and unity of the country."

Mengistu must be a worried man, however. The coup was led by the chief of the army, Major General Meride Negasa, and of the air force, Major General Amaha Desta — whose men joined the mutiny en masse but were prevented from taking much part when loyalist tanks surrounded their base and blocked runways. That such senior officers should have turned is an ominous sign, even if they miscalculated in believing that the low morale of the armed forces after a string of defeats would win them the support needed.

The Addis Ababa regime has dealt harshly with commanders who have lost: after the army was beaten out of a large slice of Eritrea last year, Mengistu had the regional commander as well as two of his senior subordinates shot. The same fate is believed to have met generals who led the retreat out of Tigre province.

Teenage conscripts

Shortages of manpower in the twin wars, which account for 50% of the budget, have been caused by high casualties (more than one in four) and mass surrenders of troops, some of whom have joined the rebels. The government has taken to rounding up teenage boys and sending them to the front with little training.

Thus the mutinous generals were supported by hundreds of senior and middle-ranking officers who want Mengistu to sue for peace with the guerrillas — as does the Soviet Union, to no avail.

Foreign diplomats believe more blood will flow in a possible repetition of the "red terror" in 1977 when Mengistu imprisoned or executed up to 2 000 so-called counter-revolutionaries — chiefly intellectuals, middle-class professionals or anyone related, however distantly, to the royal family of the deposed Emperor Haile Selassie. For the time being, it seems, Mengistu's rule by the sword has yet to meet its nemesis. ■

Bardot Declares War on South Africa

PARIS — Former French film star Brigitte Bardot has called for a new type of war against South Africa.

She wants to stop its flourishing position as a world centre for the ivory trade. She named Tokyo and Singapore as the other two main centres.

Appealing

Bardot, in a 56-minute television documentary, is appealing to the world to save elephants from being massacred.

It is not a new story for South Africans, but Europeans and Americans have been startled by her prediction that there will be virtually no elephants in

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SOWETAN Foreign Service

Africa in four years' time.

"There are about 400,000 at present, but they are being killed for their tusks at the rate of one every four minutes. We can halt this massacre by refusing to buy any ivory object.

"It is pointless to ask governments to intervene. I have personally seen four French presidents about this problem, and apart from promises nothing has been done.

"I am therefore urging the world public to intervene with a consumer boycott. Nobody must buy any ivory statuettes, trinkets, key rings or chess sets or what have you.

"By the end of the year, the international ivory

trade will be in a state of collapse, and orders for ivory will start to fall off.

"This means that poachers in Kenya, Uganda and Zaire will no longer be able to sell tusks, and so will stop slaughtering elephants.

Boycott

"Our consumer boycott can save the lives of tens of thousands of elephants in the next 12 months."

Bardot is a doer as well as preacher.

She said: "Recently I was catching a plane at Orly Airport (Paris) when I saw two men selling ivory articles. I told them that they ought to be ashamed.

"They said they were, but had to make a living. I told them to do something else, because they were accomplices in a massacre."

THE WORLD

Uganda's growing industry — orphans

Most of Uganda may now be at peace but the horrifying ordeals of the country's millions of orphans has not ended. By MICHAEL HILTZIK

RONALD KYEYUNE'S odyssey started when the soldiers shot his father. With so many soldiers about, "we didn't even bury him", Ronald, 15, recalls. "We just ran away."

That was the last he saw of any of his family, and the first step in a sequence of hair-raising escapes. There were times when trucks crowded with children were halted by rebel-hunting soldiers who wanted to shoot them all on the spot. There were officers who ordered their execution and sergeants who helped spirit them to safety. There were government camps and relief camps.

After several years, Ronald wound up at the camp here, a placid place of safety where he was given a sewing machine like his father's. On it he sewed the curtains that decorate the windows.

There are thousands of children in Uganda with stories as horrifying as Ronald's. They saw their parents murdered, were chased through the forests, spent months or years being trucked about the countryside in search of shelter.

During the 15 years of Uganda's civil war, coffee production dropped by two-thirds, cotton exports evaporated, production of manufactured goods ceased. There was only one growth industry — orphans.

The orphans are one of the defining features of Ugandan demography, so important that their care has become the personal cause of the country's



Uganda's president Yoweri Museveni: 7 years of civil war have left thousands of his country's children orphaned

first lady, Janet Museveni. Week after week she can be heard on radio or seen on television exhorting the women of one village or another to "take care of these orphans".

She is honorary chairwoman of an organization called Ugandan Women's Effort to Save the Orphans, which operates out of the president's office.

Yet saving these children will take more than exhortations. Today the number of orphans is not known, but estimates range from one million to three million.

Now peace has come to most of the

country as the reconciliation government of President Yoweri Museveni fights rebel bands only in the north and north-east.

But the machine keeps spewing out orphans — today as a result of an assault on the country by Aids. In the Rakai district, a western region particularly hard-hit by the disease, as many as 120 000 children have lost both their parents.

Uganda is very much a society of children — roughly half the population of 16 million is under the age of 16. So the orphans are a particular burden on communities already hard-

pressed to provide children with clothing and food, and pay their school fees.

In the course of assisting its orphans, Uganda has learnt a number of lessons. One is the inadvisability of allowing children to be moved out of their communities and dispersed across the landscape.

During the fiercest fighting in the central Luwero District, where the troops of President Milton Obote unleashed some historic atrocities in search of Museveni's National Resistance Army, thousands of children were trucked away to remote camps or gathered in Kampala, the capital.

They piled up like spent cartridges in a place known as the Yellow House, an outbuilding on the grounds of Kampala's Mulago Hospital. At times, more than 1 000 children lived in the Yellow House, eventually to be moved to camps in Jinja or other large towns.

When peace finally came, as long as three years after some of the children had first been moved, the youngest could no longer say where they were from. Even some of the oldest could scarcely retrace their steps.

"The lesson of Luwero," said Andrew Dunn, an official of the Save the Children Foundation in Kampala, "is that you don't move a child out of the community unless it's a matter of life or death."

The process of resetting these children often resembles bailing out a continually refilling boat.

"Because the orphanages are there, they're used," Dunn said. "Despite the fact that the war has moved off to the north of the country, they're still full. We've resettled 400 children but their spaces are already filled." — Los Angeles Times

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THE WORLD

Manipulated media fights Algeria's 1 001 rules of repression

SIMMERING revolt among journalists in Algeria's state-controlled media broke into the open last week as both television and daily papers published attacks on manipulation of the media by the country's leadership.

The Movement of Algerian Journalists (MJA), which began a year ago, has become a frontrunner in the country's current struggle for democracy, which MJA members describe as "identical to what is going on in Eastern Europe".

All the media in Algeria are state-owned. Over the last two decades they have been equally known for sophisticated professionalism and for a high level of self-censorship.

"There are 1 001 methods of repression: some journalists were forbidden to write, some to sign their articles, some to travel, some to have passports. The profession has been so battered here, and our work so deformed, that we had lost credibility not only with the general public, but among ourselves," said one MJA member.

The MJA was formed in April last year, largely in revolt against censorship. By August the journalists demands had crystallised around a joint management-journalists' committee which, in any media organisation, would decide on the content of papers and broadcasts.

The then minister of information had agreed to this demand when in October, riots intervened to change the entire political landscape. Journalists of the MJA were the first to condemn the wave of repression, arrests and torture which followed the rioting.

The emergence of an autonomous organisation meant the end of the official journalists' union which, like every organisation in Algeria, had been part of the ruling Front de Liberation National (FLN) structures.

After the promises of a new democracy which followed the riots, its limits appeared almost immediately when the Oran-based paper *El Djoumhouria* on January 19 pub-

Journalists working for Algeria's state-owned media are leading the country's struggle for democracy.

By VICTORIA BRITAIN

lished documents relating to a corruption scandal over the allocation of housing and land which apparently implicated an influential family in the west of the country.

The managing editor of the paper was arrested and then smartly dismissed, while the two women journalists responsible for the articles were also arrested and then freed on bail.

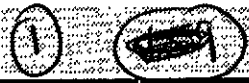
In February, as the new constitution guaranteeing the right to freedom of expression and association was under discussion, journalists protesting about the *El Djoumhouria* case came under pressure. But the impetus towards change remained strong, and within days journalists on the biggest daily paper, *El Moujahid*, were on strike demanding the joint management-journalists' editorial committees first sought last year.

The strike, which lasted a month, ended with the ministry of information allowing committees within all Algerian press organs. The committees meet two or three times a week now and are the scene of sharp power struggles between management and journalists in the reform movement, who appear to be in the vast majority.

The "Algerie Actualité Affair", as the current crisis is known, blew up last week when an editorial in the weekly magazine *Algerie Actualité* entitled "The right to criticise" was excised part way through the print run on the orders of the ministry of information.

The MJA released a tough statement denouncing the government's intervention as illustrating the manipulation of the press in "the fierce struggle between different political factions". — The Guardian, London

Star 116189



Jerusalem strengthens African ties

JERUSALEM — Israel has signed an agreement for political, economic and cultural co-operation with the Central African Republic, 16 years after the small African nation severed relations with the Jewish state, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The "Protocol of Co-Operation" was signed by Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Arens and visiting Central African Republic Foreign Minister Michel Gberera-Bria.

The agreement strengthens cultural and economic relations between the two nations, but includes no military ties.

Mr Gberera-Bria is the highest-ranking Minister from the African nation to visit Israel since ties were severed in 1967.

The Central African Republic was one of 29 African states to sever relations with Israel in the wake of the 1967 Middle East war in a show of solidarity with Arab nations.

African states began resuming relations with Israel after Egypt signed the Camp David peace accords with Israel in 1979.

The Central African Republic re-established relations in January this year. — Associated Press.

P 'n P seeks to expand through Africa

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THE CE of SA's most successful retail chain hopes shortly to see enough political change to realize his greatest dream — expansion northwards through Africa.

Raymond Ackerman, of Pick 'n Pay Stores, is confident that a new generation of leaders within the ruling National Party (NP) will break the apartheid deadlock and ease the strain on the isolated and struggling economy.

"The most natural expansion for us is to go up Africa because they need food at our prices, they need modern marketing techniques. But we can't because of politics," Ackerman told Reuters in an interview.

"I'm busy making movements that way but it's a little bit in the future because of the political situation," he added.

Pretoria's apartheid policies prevent any large-scale economic assault on the vast undeveloped markets in neighbouring black states such as Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Ackerman said he pins his hopes for breaking the political deadlock on the man likely to succeed President P W Botha after September's general election, NP leader F W de Klerk.

Ackerman wants De Klerk to do a deal with the proponents of economic sanctions and disinvestment, setting a date for the final abandonment of apartheid in exchange for a resumption of normal trading links.

Pick 'n Pay is one of SA's most racially integrated firms, with blacks accounting for 40% of management posi-

tions, a proportion which continues to rise.

The company also sponsors an extensive programme of so-called social responsibility — financial aid and support for charities, community aid schemes and anti-poverty projects, aimed mainly at achieving racial harmony and equality.

"Foreign suppliers and organizations need to see there's another side to the coin," he said.

"The government is tightening up this economy much too tightly. As a retailer we feel it, money is being sucked out of the economy," he said.

Ackerman's first tentative attempt at foreign expansion has already foundered on the rocks of political dissent.

In 1984, a Pick 'n Pay hypermarket opened in Brisbane, Australia, but only four years later Ackerman was forced to withdraw because of heavy union pressure.

"Four years' work went down the drain, wiped out by the unions who would not let me open another store. We had to sell out in Australia," he said.

He criticises unions, foreign governments and SA civil rights leaders who call for tougher sanctions.

"I spend an enormous amount of my time going to see my suppliers overseas telling them not to listen to various church leaders and others. The black man does not want him to disinvest, as sure as I'm sitting here."

"I don't say we deserve the opprobrium of the world ... I disagree with the over-moralistic view of people like the Swedish government," he added.

But Ackerman is unwilling to rest on his laurels, having taken Pick 'n Pay from four small stores in 1967 to a chain of more than 100 supermarkets with 26 000 employees.

Pick 'n Pay, which is controlled by the Ackerman family, had a 1988 profit of R67,7m on turnover of R3,87bn.

Now he aims to expand the cash-and-carry business, the smaller corner shop markets and the home improvement sector.

"We have to grow to survive. If we don't grow because we cannot expand in the right area we will just die," he said. — Reuter



Raymond Ackerman

Monday 1/6/87

WOR

SUDAN STOPS PRESIDENT'S FLIGHT

KHARTOUM — Sudan was said to be invoking Arab boycott laws against Israel when it refused overflight rights to a jet taking the president of the Central African Republic to the Jewish state.

The Central African Republic severed diplomatic relations with Khartoum on Monday after the incident on Sunday when President Andre Kolingba was forced to postpone an official visit to Israel.

Sudan, which has accused the republic of annexing a border strip in the western Bahr al-Ghazal province this year, has maintained an official silence on the flight ban.

Khartoum newspapers said yesterday the pilot of Kolingba's aircraft did not inform Sudanese air traffic controllers

he had the president on board but only a very important passenger.

The independent al-Khartoum quoted a civil aviation official as saying Sudan would have allowed Kolingba's aircraft to enter Sudanese air space if the republic had sent advance notice of the trip.

Arab boycott laws, in force since the late 1950s, include a ban on extending overflight or transit rights to aircraft flying to or from Israel.

Egypt is the only Arab country which has air links with Israel.

Kolingba was to have started an official four-day visit to Israel on Sunday. No new date for the trip has been set.

The Central African Republic is one of nine black African states that maintains full diplomatic relations with Israel. — Sapa-Reuter.

Pick 'n Pay in black Africa

Ackerman looks to the north

Star 3/6/89

CAPE TOWN — Mr Raymond Ackerman, head of South Africa's most successful retail chain, would like to do the unthinkable: expand north into independent black Africa.

He hopes that, as apartheid is eroded, economic sanctions against South Africa will be washed away, allowing his stores to set up food outlets in the region.

"The most natural expansion for us is to go up Africa because they need food at our prices, they need modern marketing techniques. But we can't because of politics," Ackerman said.

"I'm busy making movements that way, but it's a little bit in the future because of the political situation."

Pretoria's apartheid policies prevent any large-scale advance on the vast, untapped markets of such nearby black states as Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Ackerman, a fierce critic of apartheid, said he pinned his hopes for breaking the political deadlock on the man who will succeed President P W Botha after a general election in September — National Party leader F W De Klerk.

'Very impressed'

"I'm very impressed with De Klerk. I think we have the ingredients of a man who is going to be a statesman, not just a politician."

Mr Ackerman wants Mr de Klerk to "do a deal" with advocates of sanctions and disinvestment — setting a date for the end of apartheid in exchange for a return to normal trade.

He practises what he preaches — his company, Pick 'n Pay, is one of South Africa's most racially integrated. Blacks, Coloureds and Indians make up 40 percent of its management, and the firm sponsors schemes with racial harmony and equality as their aims.

"Foreign suppliers and organisations need to see there's another side to the

ANDREW STEELE

coin. We're not all white racists trying to hang on to white privilege," he said.

Hundreds of foreign companies pulled out of South Africa during the early and mid-1980s and banking and loan facilities were cut off, forcing the white government to maintain a balance of payments surplus to pay off foreign debt.

Pretoria responded by declaring a partial moratorium on foreign debt repayments and has recently announced a stringent austerity package and credit squeeze aimed at curbing consumer spending — another headache for Ackerman's retail empire.

"The Government is tightening up this economy much too tightly. As a retailer we feel it, money is being sucked out of the economy."

He also criticises the push for tougher sanctions.

"I spend an enormous amount of my time going to see my suppliers overseas telling them not to listen to various church leaders and others. The black man does not want him to disinvest, as sure as I'm sitting here."

Ackerman is unwilling to rest on his laurels, having taken Pick 'n Pay from four small stores in 1967 to a chain of more than 100 supermarkets with 26 000 employees.

Pick 'n Pay had a 1988 profit of R68 million on turnover of almost R4 billion.

To Raymond Ackerman, expansion into black Africa is a dream which must be realised if the giant group is to prosper.

"We have to grow even to survive. If we don't grow because we cannot expand in the right area, we will just die," he said. — Reuter.

TA director arrested for demonstrating

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — TransAfrica executive director Mr Randall Robinson has been arrested for demonstrating outside an embassy in Washington, but this time it was Ethiopia's and not South Africa's.

Mr Robinson led the series of demonstrations outside South Africa's embassy four years ago, and hundreds of leading Americans followed his example.

It became avante garde to be arrested outside South Africa's embassy as a formal way of making a personal statement against apartheid.

In terms of American law it is a misdemeanor to enter the grounds of a foreign embassy unlawfully.

CHARGED

Mr Robinson has now started a similar campaign against Ethiopia's embassy because, he said in a statement yesterday, "Ethiopia, save for South Africa, has been Africa's most (ardent) violator" of human rights.

He was charged and given notice to appear in court after Monday's protest.

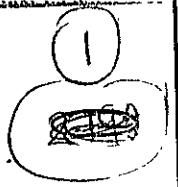
TransAfrica, an African American lobby group on African and Caribbean issues.

Mr Robinson was specifically protesting against alleged human rights abuses by Ethiopia's military government.

star
7/16/89

Laying Africa's ills at doors of black leaders

Star 5/16/89



Black Africa should abandon its victim mentality and openly discuss its fundamental guilt for the situation the continent finds itself in, say two leading African affairs commentators, Mr Baffour Ankomah and Mr Pini Janson.

Mr Ankomah wrote in the latest edition of the *New African* magazine that the failure of black Africa to condemn Swapo's leader Sam Nujoma for violating Namibia's independence agreements was a reflection of the continent failing to condemn its own dictators and political monsters.

Mr Ankomah criticised the chairman of the Frontline states, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia for saying that Africa was not interested in finding who was the guilty party when fighting broke out in Namibia in April.

He could not accept President Kaunda's statement that Africa left it to historians to discover who was at fault.

"Which, historians? If we cannot find who is at fault today, which historians can find the guilty party 10 years into the future?"

"And how can we end violence in northern Namibia when we cannot reprimand the guilty party, when we cannot ask him or them to respect an agreement?"

"This is how we have built Africa on a foundation of sand. This is how we have made monsters out of lead-

A new breed of journalists from black African countries is increasingly abandoning the notion that all of the continent's ills are the result of colonialist and imperialist exploitation. The recent Swapo incursion into Namibia and a conference on a new information order held in Nigeria gave two African affairs commentators, Mr Baffour Ankomah and Mr Pini Janson, the opportunity to lash out at "the victim mentality" in Africa. **JOAO SANTA RITA** of the *The Star's Africa News Service* reports.

ers on the continent. See no evil, hear no evil — and so Africa has for years closed its eyes to monumental errors of judgment by its leaders and today instead of marching forward, Africa is marching backward into poverty and squalor. Some of us are really getting tired of the victim mentality we so much have a relish for," Mr Ankomah wrote.

He added that although Africa could not sweep the United Nations inefficiencies under the carpet, "so can we not fail to rebuke Sam Nujoma in the open".

Catastrophic errors

"Africa is coming of age as an independent continent. We have passively watched on as our leaders have made one disastrous error after another.

"The consequences of such errors have been catastrophic economically, politically and socially. Until now the people, especially the youth who are suffering the consequences of the errors, have allowed the lead-

ers to do as they want. But the time is here to say enough is enough," he wrote and added:

"We have come a long way since independence. Hear no evil, see no evil has done us no good. If Sam Nujoma is wrong, why don't we tell him? Maybe that is all he needs to become a better president."

In an article entitled "Whitewashing Africa" Mr Pini Janson said a recent meeting in Nigeria to discuss a new African information order had failed to identify the real problem affecting Africa's image.

"That Africa suffers a bad press in the Western world is true. But that is not the whole truth. Beneath our moanings about how the Western press relished stories of Mobutu, Bokassas and Idi Amins coming out of Africa are a whole lot of fundamental guilts we are afraid to discuss let alone admit," he said.

Mr Janson said it was true that most Western reporters relished stories of coups, wars, starvation and corruption but, he asked: "Does the reporter really create the news?"



President Kaunda ... historical verdict is far too late

"Or are the experts suggesting that since journalists in African countries either through censure or government repression do not freely expose these modern evils, foreign journalists should acquiesce while a handful of white waste Africa's humanity?"

"It is a reality that has reduced a country like Nigeria from a stupendously rich nation to a beggar nation in less than a decade.

"What will the OAU communication experts do to uncover the records of billions stolen by African leaders and hidden in bank vaults scattered all over Europe and America?" he asked.

He said the conference's decision to adopt a supplementary budget of R1.4 million for a public relations campaign aimed at improving Africa's image was wasted money.

"The experts ignored one fundamental law in public relations. You cannot carve a picture out of rotten wood," he said.

"African leaders have made the continent out of rotten wood and unless the decay is stopped, neither (giant PR firms) Saatchi and Saatchi nor J.W. Thompson can carve an image out of it," he said.

the small society

by Brickman

HOO-BOY! NO MATTER WHAT ANYBODY DOES IN THIS TOWN...

SOMEBODY ALWAYS KNEW THEY WOULD -



BRICKMAN - Yates

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North Africa plans a common market

ALGIERS — Five North African states formed a joint parliament on Saturday as part of plans for a common market stretching from the Atlantic to the Eastern Mediterranean.

The five, Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia, founded the Arab Maghreb Union in February to promote political and economic integration and meet the challenge of the single market due to be set up by the EC in 1992.

The union's charter called for the establishment of a 50-member Consultative Assembly composed of 10 parliamentarians from each state.

"All of the Maghreb must mobilise its immense potential and exploit it rationally to face its neighbours to the north as a partner with weight," Rabah Bitat, president of the Algerian National Assembly, told the parliament's founding session.

The union brings together 62-million people in a region with vast reserves of oil, gas, fish and minerals.

The session called on the five countries' political and professional organisations to intensify contacts towards the goal of unity. It urged co-operation in education, culture, information and economic ventures.

The assembly, which has a purely consultative role, pledged to work for total Arab unity and to help to make the Mediterranean a sea of peace. — Sapa-Reuter.

Rich and poor to meet on debt problem

PARIS — President Francois Mitterrand has invited 30 Third World leaders to meet government heads of the Western world's richest states to discuss the foreign debt burden of poorer countries.

Third World debt is high on the agenda of leading industrial democracies for the July summit here.

Presidential adviser Jacques Attali said leaders of the Group of Seven (G-7) nations, which include the US, UK and Japan, had agreed to join developed world leaders for informal talks on the eve of the three-day summit.

Debt and development would be fully examined. *81 Dec 14/689*

The summit's centrepiece is the need for G-7 to agree on relieving the \$1,3-trillion debt mountain of the so-called intermediate-income nations, mainly in Latin America.

Heads of state of three of these nations and 10 African leaders are expected at pre-summit talks.

Mitterrand is also expected to press for a new international accord on currency stability. — Sapa-Reuter.

Star 15/6/89

Africa's longest conflict ravages Eritrea

KEREN (Ethiopia) — Mrs Aluda Sidai fights back her tears as she tells of the day in 1985 when her husband died in the war and her life became a nightmare.

Aluda (24) and her two young children had to walk more than 120 km from the western outpost of Barentu to reach government-controlled Keren, running a gauntlet of landmines and swollen rivers in the mountainous region. Her family is now one of more than 800 living here as refugees in dirty, fly-infested tents of grass or cardboard.

Civilians, many of them children, have borne the brunt of the 28-year-old war between government troops and insurgents of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), who want independence for Eritrea.

It is not known precisely how many people have been press-ganged, killed, maimed or displaced in the war, but hundreds of thousands have died. Africa's longest-running conflict, it costs Ethiopia about R2 142 million a year, half its annual economic budget.

A senior official of the ruling Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE), said the war had displaced about 353 000 people in and around Keren.

While senior WPE officials in Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa, frequently shout the slogan, "Revolutionary Ethiopia or death in defence of the motherland", few of them have witnessed the misery that has traumatised Eritrea.

Another senior WPE official in Keren said: "The nearest front line is 45 km from here, but in the war in which we are engaged this is not 'far away'."

Ethiopia's 300 000-strong army, one of the largest in Africa, has been beefed up by more than 200 000 militia in a bid to hold the ferocious rebellion at bay.

More than 150 000 regular government troops have been deployed in Eritrea and its neighbouring Tigray province, where rebels allied to the EPLF are fighting to topple the government.

One resident of Keren said: "Almost every family has been touched by the war. You either have a son or daughter who is in the armed forces or the other side (rebels) ... There is no way to escape." — Reuter.

... of central planning and control.
To some extent this has already hap-
pened. Against the background of strikes

Ethiopia moves on economic reform

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ADDIS ABABA — Economic reforms to boost private investment in small industry and tourism in Ethiopia were announced by its marxist government at the weekend.

The reforms were the latest in a series of cautious moves to liberalise Ethiopia's state-controlled economy.

An official decree raised the amount of capital private investors could put into individual projects, the official Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) said.

The decree also offered tax holidays, exemption from customs duties, and other fringe benefits to investors.

The reforms, aimed at stimulating the economy and boosting employment, began with the partial liberalisation of grain marketing in early 1988.

The ceiling for capital investment by individuals in small-scale industry was raised to \$968 000 from \$242 000.

The ceiling for individuals investing in hotels was raised to \$1.4m from \$97 000.

Entrepreneurs investing in joint ventures with the state would be allowed to invest up to \$2.9m in private capital. — Sapa-Reuter.

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③ ① 3

African heads to meet on Angola

810 a 19/6/89

LISBON — At least 10 African leaders will meet in Zaire this week to discuss ways to end the 14-year war in Angola.

Right-wing rebels are likely to be involved, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said from Luanda at the weekend.

It was not clear whether a Unita representative would attend the conference, or be in Kinshasa for private, parallel meetings.

Lusa noted that a recent article in the official daily *Jornal de Angola* appeared to pave the way for peace talks, previously rejected by Marxist authorities in Luanda.

"Objective conditions are being created to enable Angolans to discuss their differences with a view to the consolidation of national unity," the newspaper said, according to Lusa.

No date was given for the meeting. Lisbon's Unita spokesman was not available for comment.

Lusa said the countries likely to attend included Angola, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau. A similar summit was held last month.

Last year Angola, Cuba and SA signed peace settlements providing for Namibian independence and the staged withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola. — Sapa-Reuter.

③ ① 3

11 states to talk in Zaire on Angola peace plan

Star 25/6/87
KINSHASA — Eleven southern African heads of state will meet at Gbadolite in Zaire on Thursday to discuss a political settlement in Angola.

Government sources revealed this yesterday, and said they did not rule out participation in the meeting by rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita.

The summit could pave the way for an end to Angola's 14-year civil war through negotiations between the Marxist government in Luanda and the Unita rebel movement.

The talks are expected to be mediated by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

Gbadolite is the hometown of President Mobutu Sese Seko, who has covertly supported Unita.

Besides President Mobutu, other leaders expected are those from Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zambia, Tanzania, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and Mali.

The Unita spokesman in Lisbon, Mr Alcides Sakala, has been quoted as saying the preliminary talks could lead to a transitional government as early as July. He added that Dr Savimbi had "agreed to withdraw to New York for some time". — Sapa-AP.

Conservationists are divided on ivory ban

NAIROBI — Pressure is building up for a worldwide ban on the ivory trade to save Africa's elephants — but would a ban really work?

Conservationists and concerned African governments are divided.

Supporters of a ban, such as Kenyan director of wildlife Dr Richard Leakey, say Africa's elephant population is being decimated by poachers.

Ivory prices have trebled to about \$200 a kilo (R560) over the last 20 years. Poachers armed with automatic rifles and chain saws slaughter up to 80 000 elephants a year.

BAN OPPOSED

Dr Leakey and many prominent conservationists say banning the ivory trade would eliminate the poachers' market and drive down prices to a level where elephant hunting would be less attractive.

But opponents of a ban, such as Mr Rowan Martin, the director of research of Zimbabwe's wildlife department, say the real incentives for elephant hunting are competition between man and wildlife for land, lack of effective controls and Africa's crushing poverty, which makes ivory a valuable commodity at any price.

They say that instead of banning the ivory trade, the interna-

tional community should do more to control it.

With Africa's human population doubling every 20 years, the range land of elephants and other wild animals is bound to decrease drastically in the near future.

So opponents of a ban say efforts should focus on protecting elephants and other endangered species, such as the rhino, in national parks and reserves.

"The international ivory trade is almost irrelevant to the issue of elephant conservation in Africa. The trade is largely passive and takes what Africa produces," Mr Martin argues.

"The real problem is the cost of conservation," he said in a recent report on the ivory trade in southern Africa, which formed part of a study of the trade for the Convention of International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES).

Mr Martin and Kenya-based elephant expert Mr Ian Parker have independently calculated that African governments need to spend at \$200/sq km to adequately protect wildlife in their national parks. Few attain this goal.

Mr Parker said in a recent study that Kenya spends only \$26/sq km (R72) on Tsavo National Park, where most of its remaining 15 000 to 18 000 elephants live.

Tsavo is ravaged by poachers — two were shot dead by park patrols last week — but Kenya spends \$231/sq km (R644) on maintaining its smaller Amboseli National Park, where poaching has been virtually eliminated.

Kenya and Tanzania, which depend heavily on wildlife-oriented tourism, are leading the campaign to ban ivory trading.

Their call for a ban last month drew support from the United States and the European Community and Dr Leakey is confident CITES will outlaw the ivory trade at its next meeting in Switzerland in October.

HARD TO ENFORCE

But he admits a ban would be hard to enforce.

Only two African countries have so far openly supported a ban and Zimbabwe and South Africa, which allow controlled hunting yet maintain stable elephant populations, actively oppose it.

Zaire, Gabon, Congo and the Central African Republic, whose dense forests harbour most of Africa's remaining 400 000 to one million elephants, have so far said nothing. Yet poaching on their territory provides most of the world's ivory. — Reuter.

S Y F R E T S

W E A L T H



Many of the refugees are school children.

At least five million people in Africa — out of a world total of more than 12 million — are refugees, and the number is rising by the day.

All the Southern African countries with the exception of Namibia and Mozambique — themselves among the biggest exporters of refugees — are host to almost two million of the continent's refugee population.

An estimated 150 000 refugees are living in South Africa, having fled the protracted civil war in Mozambique between forces of the Frelimo government and those of the rebel Renamo movement.

Many of them are in the Eastern Transvaal and, like refugees in other parts of Africa, must make the best of their lot in new and unfamiliar surroundings.

Other Mozambican

5 MILLION REFUGEES AND RISING

Sowetan 21/6/89

FOCUS

fugitives are among the refugees living in Swaziland, whose 29 400 refugee population includes many exiles of South African origin.

A number of factors give rise to the exodus of people from their countries.

Those leaving South Africa have done so mainly because of the political situation in the country, which they found intolerable. But many other refugees, as in the case of Sudan and Mozambique, have been forced by armed conflict and the accompanying food shortages to abandon home.

The refugee problem has its own ironies: Some 345 000 have sought shelter in Western Ethiopia, fleeing their homes in Sudan.

They left behind a raging civil war and scarcity of food — and are making the best of what they can in Ethiopia which itself is in the grip of guerilla warfare and food shortages brought about by the fighting and

Yesterday was the 15th commemoration of Africa Refugees' Day which is observed worldwide. The Sowetan Africa News Service focuses on the continent's homeless and displaced.

crippling recent droughts.

Another irony has been the Sudanese making their way to Northern Uganda. They began arriving in large numbers — about 3 000 in one day in March — three months ago.

They were received by Ugandans who had themselves just arrived back home from exile, having fled the dictatorships of Milton Obote and Idi Amin and Obote once more.

In at least two countries the refugees are retracing their footsteps homeward.

Last week Namibian exiles, many of them

victims of a 23-year war between South African forces and guerillas commanded by Swapo, began arriving home and in the first seven days of the repatriation exercise some 5 015 had returned.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees aims to have at least 41 000 Namibian exiles back home by the end of next month in what could be the biggest airlift in African history as most of the refugees are airlifted from various countries which had granted them asylum.

In Uganda some 300 000 refugees, according to the UNHCR, are already back home and the repatriation of all Ugandan exiles is almost complete.

TWO of the world's poorest nations, Ethiopia and Malawi, are between them host to almost one and a half million refugees.

Malawi is sheltering 627 000 exiles and Ethiopia 685 000.

On the other hand Mozambique, Somalia and Sudan have created a refugee problem translating into more than a million and a half people.

Many of the exiles are women and children.

But while most countries have extended warmth and courtesy to refugees, sharing with them what they have, there has been resentment and even discrimination in others.

A few weeks, at a meeting of more than 50 countries taking part in the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee in Nairobi Ugandan minister of justice, also attorney-general, Professor G.W. Kanyeihamba, said refugees were not always welcome in some countries of asylum.

He did not name the countries but said: "For a refugee it is one of the most devastating discoveries to find himself or herself an outcast."

"The land where he has sought refuge may not want him but he does not have the option of returning home. In practice he or she is stateless."

Star 22/6/89

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Ethiopian rebels united only in desire to crush Mengistu

SHEEB — The two rebel groups which control large chunks of rugged northern Ethiopia are like twins raised in different families.

The secessionist Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) has drifted away in ideology, military strategy and lifestyle from the guerillas of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF).

Although the two groups healed a three-year rift last year and agreed to co-operate on military campaigns, rebel leaders told one of the few journalists to visit both groups recently that sharp differences remain.

"We've never seen anything good come of Marxism-Leninism," said EPLF foreign affairs official Mr Girma Asmerom, during an interview in the northern town of Sheeb.

When the EPLF split away from the main Eritrean rebel alliance in 1970, it did so under a Marxist banner.

And it was still firmly Marxist 14 years ago, when it

launched guerilla training for the student radicals of a new rebel group in Eritrea's neighbouring province of Tigray — the TPLF.

Since then, the teachers have moderated their policies while their pupils have veered in the opposite direction.

Most guerilla leaders in Tigray are members of a political party which advocates policies of the late Josef Stalin and strict Marxism-Leninism.

The TPLF continues to rely on a hit-and-run guerilla strategy and says that its "infrastructure is mobile" and spreads throughout Tigray.

The EPLF abandoned the guerilla tactics it taught the TPLF in 1977 after a series of stinging defeats, and adopted the strategy of a country defending its borders.

It now fights a conventional war along 320 km of trenches and fortifications. In the far north it has settled in a permanent community with factories, offices and hospitals.

Both movements have won

stunning victories in the past 15 months which have left a vast area of craggy mountains, highland plateaus and blistering desert in their hands. The TPLF occupies nearly all of Tigray, while the EPLF holds all of western and northern Eritrea.

For centuries Arabs and Turks held the northern ports, and today most Eritreans on the coast are Muslim, while the highlanders are Christian, as is most of Tigray.

The Red Sea also brought Italian invaders, who founded Eritrea colony after failing to conquer Ethiopia in the 1890s.

They built factories and schools in Eritrea, while Tigray has remained as a peasant-based economy.

Rebels say Italian colonisation created a separate national identity for Eritrea. Camouflaged factories, hidden in the rocky gorges of the EPLF's mountain heartland, recall the Italian industrial legacy, churning out plastic sandals, pharmaceuticals and even pasta.

Tigrayan rebels have branded the EPLF reactionary for dis-

owning guerilla warfare. "They (the EPLF) are isolated from the population. The people have to have a taste of the revolution," said TPLF spokesman Mr Haile-Kiros Gessesse.

The differences led to a bitter split in 1985, when the EPLF closed its borders and Tigrayan rebels founded their own political party, the Marxist-Leninist League of Tigray.

Two years later, the Eritreans diverged further from the TPLF when they eliminated all denunciations of "Imperialism" and "Zionism" from the EPLF programme and voted for a mixed economy, foreign investment and a multi-party system in a future Eritrea.

"We have learned from the negative experience of other liberation movements," the EPLF's Girma said.

But above all, both groups seek the overthrow of Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam, which led them to sign an agreement last April and join forces in a military campaign in February. — Reuter.

There's truth

Star 3/7/84



US 'hopeful' about southern Africa

PRETORIA — Americans were aware the "winds of change are blowing in southern Africa", newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen said today.

Mr Cohen was to lead the US delegation to a meeting in Luanda on July 7 and 8 of the Joint Commission set up by the Angola/Namibia accords to monitor the implementation of the settlements.

He will visit other countries in the region including South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia, the Congo, Gabon and Cote d'Ivoire. He will be in South Africa on July 3 and 4 and July 10 and 11.

He said in a statement issued by the United States Information Service

(USIS) that he was pleased to have the opportunity to visit South Africa so soon after his appointment.

"Americans are well aware the winds of change are blowing in southern Africa. This gives us hope, for we share your desire that all the people of this region may live in justice, peace, and prosperity."

Among these events, he included cooperation to implement UN resolution 435, progress toward internal settlements in Angola and Mozambique, improving relations between South Africa and its neighbours, and signs of readiness for dialogue among various parties within South Africa. — Sapa.



● BASHIR

New Sudanese leader imposes military dictatorship

CAIRO — Sudan's new strongman has promoted himself to general, held out an olive branch to rebels in the south of the country and received crucial Arab support for what looks like Khartoum's latest military dictatorship.

Omar Hassan al-Bashir, an obscure paratroop brigadier until he ousted

Prime Minister Sadeq al-Mahdi's civilian government on Friday, sacked 30 senior army officers on Saturday and said he would act as head of state, commander-in-chief of the armed forces and defence minister.

As soon as he took power, Bashir dismantled three years of democratic

rule in Sudan under Mahdi. He suspended the constitution, declared a nationwide state of emergency and dissolved parliament, political parties and trade unions.

Capital punishment, he said, awaited anyone who tried to resist his rule over Africa's largest and poorest country.

He vowed to fight corruption and black marketeering and to ease the economic hardships facing the majority of Sudan's 25-million people.

He appealed to rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), fighting government troops since 1983, to lay down their arms and enter peace negotiations. — Sapa-Reuter.

Nov 4/7/67

An image gradually changing for better

The role of South Africa in southern Africa is being reassessed, but the situation needs careful handling. **GERALD L'ANGE**, editor, The Star's Africa News Service reports.

South Africa, long reviled as the destabiliser of the sub-continent, is gaining reluctant recognition in Africa as a key player in bringing peace to the area.

Having played a major part in the successful Namibia negotiations, the Republic is now being seen to have an important role in the efforts to end the war in Mozambique, and even an indirect role in the bid to bring peace to Angola.

Pretoria has not been exonerated of destabilisation, however, and it clearly stands to make even greater political gains from the situation if it can begin to show clean hands on destabilisation.

The turning point has been its cooperation in the Angola-Namibia negotiations which led to the signing of the New York agreement last year. The dividend of goodwill gained from this has grown as it has been seen to be keeping faith in the implementation of the Namibian independence agreement.

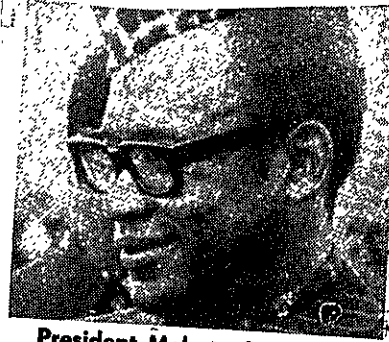
This in turn has opened the way to the Angolan peace initiative and South Africa, even though it may be only peripherally involved, stands to get at least some reflected credit if the negotiations do not collapse.

Much more direct benefits are likely to come South Africa's way if it is seen to be helping to end the war in Mozambique, which it has been accused of fomenting through its support for the Renamo rebels.

Important steps have been taken in that direction with the revival of the Nkomati Accord, with the Maputo government's tacit acceptance that South Africa is no longer aiding Renamo and with the suggestion from Maputo that negotiations with the Renamo rebels may now be acceptable.

These developments are boosting Pretoria's campaign to win wider and more open acceptance in black Africa as a whole.

This campaign may have been given a leg-up at the African summit meeting in Gbadolite, Zaire, last



President Mobutu Sese Seko
... defied conventional opinion.

weekend at which the Angola initiative was launched with the MPLA government and the Unita rebels agreeing to a ceasefire.

According to knowledgeable sources, South Africa's role in the Angola-Namibia initiatives and its potential for helping in future peace exercises was given tacit recognition at Gbadolite, if not directly then through the acceptance of Unita, which had long been labelled a South African stooge.

The Gbadolite meeting was nothing more than a first step on what could be a long and rocky road towards reconciliation in Angola. But South Africa may already have gained some indirect advantages through its association with Zaire, which has become the key mediator in the Angolan conflict.

Zaire has major trade links with the Republic and has had more open political dealings with this country than most African countries. Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko is therefore in a good position to promote Pretoria's role as a key player in the peace initiatives if he chooses to do so — and his past actions suggest that he might.

Defying conventional opinion in the OAU, he received President Botha on a formal visit to Zaire last year, and knowledgeable observers would not be surprised if he came to South Africa on a reciprocal visit this year.

Such a visit would do much to put the steam back into Pretoria's diplomatic drive into Africa, which gained strong momentum with President Botha's meetings in quick succession last year with the presidents of Mozambique, Malawi, Ivory Coast and Zaire and with the king of Lesotho, but which faltered when Mr Botha was laid low by a stroke.

In an interview, South Africa's Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said the Gbadolite agreement, coming "in the slipstream" of the Angola-Namibia settlement, could tip the scales in southern Africa from confrontation to negotiation in the resolving of disputes.

And if the MPLA/Unita conflict could be settled by negotiation, it would encourage similar efforts in Mozambique where attention was already being focused on the possibility of a negotiated solution, he said.

AFRICA

Sudanese Prime Minister still free, says coup leader

CAIRO — Sudan's coup leaders widened the crackdown on former government politicians yesterday, but said Prime Minister Sadeq al-Mahdi had so far evaded capture.

The head of the 15-man military junta, Gen Omar Hassan al-Bashir, was quoted by state radio Omdurman as saying 30 people had been arrested, but Mahdi was still at large.

A member of the junta urged the public to turn in Mahdi and several top aides. Bashir said he thought the fugitives were still in the Sudanese capital Khartoum.

Radio Omdurman said Khartoum Airport had reopened for international flights. It had been closed since the Friday coup except for Muslim pilgrimage flights to Saudi Arabia.

Reuter reported from Khartoum yesterday that the city was quiet with businesses operating normally.

Diplomats said the mystery sur-

rounding Mahdi's fate had led to speculation that he might have been executed but the news was being withheld to prevent possible violent reaction against the junta.

"Mahdi was not killed," Bashir has said. "Contrary to what has been reported by some sources, he has not been arrested so far."

Erratic

He said Mahdi, in office since Sudan's first free polls for nearly two decades were held in 1986, would be caught soon. Reuter's correspondent reported on Friday that he and several other people saw Mahdi being driven to Khartoum's Kobar Prison shortly after the announcement of the coup.

Telephone and telex links with the outside world, restored 24 hours after they were cut on Friday, remained erratic.

Bashir, 45, a little known brigadier

until Friday's coup, has imposed a state of emergency, suspended the constitution, dissolved parliament, abolished political parties and trade unions and stopped all non-military newspapers from publishing.

He has vowed never to allow political parties to return and accused their leaders of corruption and embezzlement of public funds.

Egypt's Middle East News Agency (Mena) yesterday quoted Bashir as saying he would reform trade unions, but he gave no details.

Mena said an envoy of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak paid a brief visit to Khartoum on Sunday and met Bashir. Egypt recognised the new Sudanese administration on Saturday.

The envoy, identified by diplomats as intelligence chief Hassan Amin Nimr, assured Bashir of Egyptian and Arab support, Mena said. — Sapa-Reuter.

B1004 4/27/89

Third World aid 'must rise'

BONN — Industrialised nations should drastically increase aid to Third World economies to help them overcome staggering debt burdens, said a report released yesterday.

The report also said the US could play a key role in solving the \$1.2 trillion Third World debt problem by reducing its massive fiscal and current account deficits.

The recommendations were made in a report prepared by former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and a group of independent experts formed in 1988 by the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

The report said in the last five years developing countries had suffered from a reverse flow of funds, meaning more capital had left those countries than had come in.

The net investment flow from industrialised countries to developing countries dropped to \$10bn in 1986 from \$20bn in 1982, it said.

To counter this trend, the report said sizeable amounts of official development assistance (ODA) were urgently needed to start and support the self-sustaining economic growth essential to developing countries' efforts to free themselves from the debt crisis.

The Schmidt plan calls for doubling ODA loans provided by industrialised countries in the next five years. It also suggests studying a "mechanism of automaticity" that would gradually let each donor country's ODA loans increase as a percentage of gross national product.

The Schmidt panel specifically focuses on the plight of the poorest debtor nations, mostly located in sub-Saharan Africa. For these, it recommends the establishment by the industrialised nations of a \$1bn endowment fund administered by the African Development Bank. — Sapa-AP.

SKW 6/7/89 (1)



President Jawara ... encouraging African countries to close ranks.

Africa inter-trade goals are elusive

NAIROBI — Africa has set its sights on creating a common market by the year 2000, but the path is proving rocky, progress slow and the dream a distant one.

"Now as the greater part of the continent celebrates its third decade as a sovereign entity, the prospects for political and economic unity are, at best, hazy," said Kenya's daily *Nation* newspaper recently.

Its remarks coincided with the end of a summit of one of the world's poorest economic groupings, the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

The summit represented the latest step among regional groupings to integrate trade and economies, ostensibly to prepare for an African common market.

Tariff and other trade barriers will be relaxed to boost intra-African business, which in 1988 accounted for only 4 per cent of the continent's total export earnings. The rest of the trade was with the developed world.

African states hope that co-operation in transport, energy research and agriculture will pay dividends and ease pressures on the coffers of governments as they pool resources to establish multi-country ventures.

INTEGRATION

Gambia's President, Sir Dawda Jawara, as ECOWAS president, warned members last week, however, of the need to work closer.

"The fact that our achievements in economic integration over the years fall short in some of the biggest sectors underscores the need for the sub-region to close ranks," he declared.

African leaders endorsed the goal of a unified market by the year 2000 in their so-called Lagos Plan of Action in 1980, a blueprint for developing the world's poorest continent.

The executive director of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, Mr. Adebayo Adedeji, urged African states last April to advance the deadline in order to meet challenges posed by the creation of a single, barrier-free European Community market after 1992.

ENORMITY

A communique following the ECOWAS summit urged west African states to "take all necessary measures to revitalise and intensify their own integration process" to meet the European challenge.

Proponents of an African common market argue that unless the continent is able to deal and bargain collectively on trade and other economic matters, it could end up worse off than now.

But the *Nation*, in its recent editorial, said the enthusiasm for existing sub-regional blocs when they were planned has tended to dissolve as the enormity of the required sacrifices becomes apparent.

It made no direct reference to the summit of ECOWAS, which was set up in 1975 and groups Anglophone and Francophone states ranging from oil-endowed Nigeria to impoverished desert countries like Mali and Mauritania.

But it said the division between Francophone and Anglophone countries was as wide as ever, territorial wrangles between neighbours were common, and the obsession with parochial national interests as fervent as ever. — Reuter.

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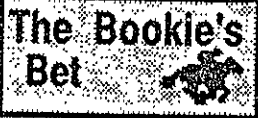
Africa devises recovery plan

LONDON — Africa launched its own plan for recovery from economic stagnation yesterday.

A report by the Economic Commission for Africa, the UN thinktank based in Addis Ababa, called for "adjustment with transformation" and criticised the harsher aspects of reform programmes put forward by international financial institutions.

ECA executive secretary, Professor Adebayo Adedeji, called the 1980s "a lost decade" and said a quarter of Africa's population was now dependent on food imports.

He stressed reform was essential for Africa but said orthodox programmes of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had not produced sustained growth. — The Independent News Service.



Gosforth Park tomorrow: Best bet — Diareus, Race 4. Best eachway — Fred's Ambition, Race 9.

Uproar over toxic waste

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

A Government investigation into the feasibility of a huge toxic-waste plant near Alexander Bay on the west coast has been described by opposition politicians and environment groups as shocking.

Government spokesmen confirmed yesterday that such an investigation was being made.

If approved, the plant could mean the importation of 500 000 tons of toxic waste a year, which would make South Africa a major dumping ground.

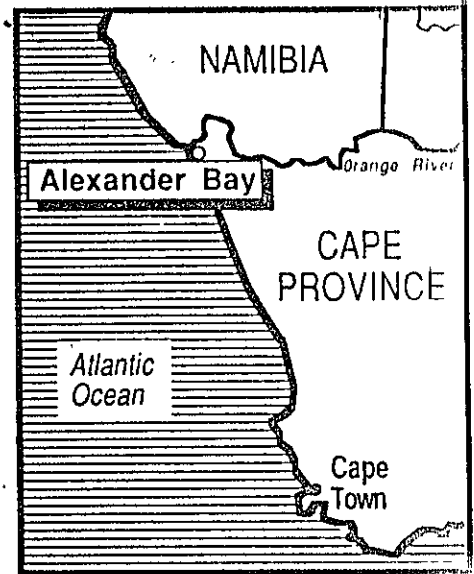
The Democratic Party spokesman on environmental affairs, Mr Rupert Lorimer, said the concept was horrifying. He would oppose it unless the final product was non-toxic and there were substantial financial advantages in terms of foreign currency.

The Conservative Party's environmental spokesman, Mr Carel Schoeman, also condemned the plan, saying the party would oppose it strongly.

Mr Boet du Preez, chief executive officer of the Habitat Council, the co-ordinating body for voluntary organisations concerned with the environment, said he was shocked.

While acknowledging the financial benefits of such a scheme, he said the potential danger of toxic-waste disposal along the coastline was considerable.

Professor Richard Fuggle of Cape



Town University's department of environmental science said a toxic waste plant had merit, but it should be carefully investigated and not endanger the environment.

The director of the Endangered Wildlife Trust, Dr John Ledger, said: "One's first reaction is of horror."

"But if a country has the expertise to dispose of toxic waste in a responsible way, one should rather opt for that instead of having it being thrown round carelessly."

ETHIOPIA

① Email
7/7/89

Out of the red

What makes Ethiopian Airlines the oddest success story of Africa is that it is an aggressive company, run exclusively by Ethiopians on strict capitalist lines within the ambit of one of the world's most rigid, centrally planned, Marxist economies. The airline's managers estimate that this financial year (to June) the company will make a net profit of US\$24m on revenues of approximately \$240m — marking a significant advance over the previous year's \$8.5m.

Ethiopia's Marxist rulers allow the company to retain most of those profits for reinvestment. The government also allows it to keep a substantial part of its revenues in foreign currency in offshore bank accounts to service its loans and to purchase spare parts. All Ethiopian Airlines is expected to pay government a dividend on equity, a 5% capital charge, but no profit tax.

Over the next 10 years, the airline plans to spend \$1.2bn on new plant and aircraft. Last month, it officially announced a \$387m deal to buy six Boeing 757s with Pratt & Whitney engines over four years as the first leg of this investment programme. Big commercial banks like Chase Manhattan, Irving Trust and Citibank fall over each other to finance Ethiopian Airlines deals. The company has a triple-A credit rating in the international financial community.

Started in 1946 by Trans World Airlines, since 1971 the company has grown without foreign expertise and resources. During the last 18 years, it has undertaken its most ambitious expansion which, in 1988, culminated in the launch of a manufacturing operation to produce a turbo-engined crop duster and a maintenance centre. Contracts have been negotiated with Zambian Airways, Angolan Airlines, Sudan Airways and Uganda Airlines — but the company has also carried out work for such prestigious carriers as Lufthansa and British Midland. A mobile repair team of highly-skilled engineers and technicians conducts on-site maintenance outside Ethiopia.

While these ancillary services provide only 9% of Ethiopian Airlines' annual revenue, the company sees them as an integral part of its long-term plan to become "the African carrier." Last year, Ethiopia, with its expanded route network, boosted its total number of passengers to 583 000 and it expects a further growth rate of between 15% and 20% this year. ■

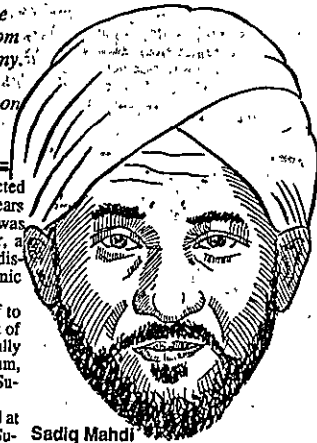
① WWA 2-13/7/89

Stent

THE WORLD

Ousted — the ruler who wouldn't shut up and run his land

A civil war in the south, the death of 250 000 people from starvation, a crippled economy. And still Sudan's Prime Minister Sadiq Mahdi talked on — until the coup.
By BLAINE HARDEN



Sadiq Mahdi

WHEN Sadiq Mahdi was elected prime minister of Sudan three years ago, Africa's largest country was hobbled by a ruinous civil war, a bankrupt economy and a bitter dispute over a harsh code of Islamic law.

When soldiers drove Mahdi off to prison last Friday morning, as part of what appears to have been a carefully organised military coup in Khartoum, the same three problems hobbled Sudan. If anything, they were worse.

The 53-year-old Mahdi, educated at Oxford and the great-grandson of Sudan's greatest hero, the fabled Mahdi who routed the British in 1885, was exceptionally eloquent in discussing Sudan's problems but was stubbornly unwilling to take practical measures to solve them.

His chronic inaction had made him an object of derision among many Sudanese. Everyone in Khartoum, from his fellow ministers to taxi drivers, had the exact same advice for Mahdi, namely, shut up and do something.

The prime minister never seemed to take the advice to heart.

The military officer who led the coup, Brigadier Omar Hassan Ahmed Bashir, said on Omdurman radio that Sudan was tired of listening to Mahdi talk. He said the prime minister was overthrown for "wasting the country's time and energy by just talking too much".

As Mahdi talked, southern Sudan last year weathered a famine in which an estimated 250 000 people died of hunger and hunger-related disease. The famine was triggered by massive displacement of southern tribes as a result of the country's six-year-old civil war.

One major reason for the high death toll was indecision and delays by Mahdi's government in granting international relief organisations access to the south. A second reason was Mahdi's personal decision to give an unprecedented level of modern firepower to Arab militia whose traditional enemies are the Dinka, the large southern tribe that is the backbone of the rebel army.

Widespread raiding by well-armed Arab militia stripped tens of thousands of Dinka of their cattle and crops and left them vulnerable to starvation.

In his election campaign of 1986, Mahdi, who always dresses in the long snow-white robe and turban of a Moslem imam and who prides himself on his idiomatic American-English, promised a speedy resolution of the war. He said he was sympathetic to the concerns of the rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army, which is fighting for greater southern political power and for the abolition of Islamic *sharia* law in the country.

Mahdi vowed then to relegate the harshest provision of *sharia*, which demands amputations for petty crimes, to "the dustbin of history".

But two years later, after appointing a number of commissions to study Islamic law, after saying in an interview he had personally given the subject a "very substantial input of intellectual rigour", his government approved a *sharia* code that was harsher than the one he condemned in 1986.

Among other provisions, it required stoning to death for adultery, crucifixion for armed robbery and an unspecified method of death for apostasy or renunciation of Islam.

That code, like virtually every initiative of Mahdi's government, was later withdrawn after endless debate, and Sudan was back to where it had started when Mahdi was elected.

The one substantial move that his government did make, agreeing to a ceasefire with the SPLA, was forced by the military. In March, the army issued an ultimatum, calling on the prime minister either to make progress on peace talks or resign.

On the economy, Mahdi proved himself as Hamlet-like on issues of war and religion. He consistently promised reform — and he spoke about it in interviews with an impressive grasp of economic theory — but refused to actually do it. He rejected demands from the International Monetary Fund for a sharp devaluation of Sudanese currency.

Interest payments on Sudan's foreign debt alone would consume 110 percent of the country's annual export earnings — if they were paid. Interest payments are not and have not been paid since the mid-1980s.

The country's economy is viewed by the World Bank, the principle agent of economic reform on the continent, as perhaps the most fouled up in all of sub-Saharan Africa. Everyday life in the country has become increasingly grim, with chronic shortages of food and spare parts.

But it appears to have been the civil war, not the economy, that finally brought down Mahdi. The prime minister was consistently reluctant to enter into discussions with the southern rebels, despite repeated and embarrassing military losses to them in recent years.

As the grandson of the Mahdi, and the hereditary leader of a powerful northern Moslem sect called the Ansar, the prime minister proved himself less a secular leader than an Islamic one. He seemed less concerned about national peace than shoring up political support in the Moslem north.

In an interview in 1987, Mahdi characterised the war as nothing more than a "nuisance".

"Of course it is costing us money, of course it is costing us lives. But it is like you have lost your finger. You don't die because you have lost your finger," he said.

It appears that the military, which was actually fighting and dying in the war, did not see it the same way. — The Washington Post

don't you draw picture



I had in



We've got the last word on the future



ry Trudeau

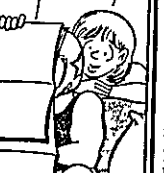
OF COURSE SHE IS! WHAT AN HONOR, MR. HEFNER!



NO, NO, I WEAR IT. LOOKS LIKE I'LL HAVE TO TAKE IT IN, THOUGH.



BUT TO SAY SHE'S RIGHT UP THERE WITH MISS MAY '83, 1955 AUGUST '74, NO MISS JUNE '68.



AWWWW! IT'S HER. SHE'S CHANGED HIM. SHH!



iving costs and do not expect the Government's recently announced R60 handout to make much difference to them.

Building a new road to economic recovery

Star 10/7/89
LONDON — A document which attacks Africa's pervasive lack of democracy and argues for more democratic political structures to facilitate development seems an unlikely product of the continent's United Nations-funded economic think-tank.

It is also surprising, given the source, to read a critical commentary on the fact that developing Africa spent less on education than on the military in the mid-80s. Or that annual public expenditures on health have accounted for less than a third of military outlays.

Yet these are among the sentiments underpinning a new economic recovery programme for Africa, launched in London. It challenges the policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank.

The architect of the document — "African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes", endorsed at a recent meeting of African finance ministers — is Professor Adedeyi, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), based in Addis Ababa.

Africa had been candid about the nature of its problems, said Mr Adedeyi at his press conference. And he was equally candid about what the ECA sees as a failure on the part of the world's leading lending and development institutions.

Painting a bleak picture of a continent in continuing decline, he went on: "It has now become apparent that the orthodox structural adjustment programmes that Africa has been pursuing have failed to overcome the economic crisis and in many cases have made recovery even more difficult."

The charge is the latest development in a long-running dispute in which the Economic Commission, other UN agencies such as Unicef, non-governmental agencies such as Oxfam and most African governments, are at odds with the IMF and the World Bank over how to respond to Africa's economic crisis.

A UN Economic Commission for Africa document, released last week, attacks some of the key tenets of IMF and World Bank policies in Africa. They are inappropriate or applied without sufficient consultation and flexibility, it says. **MICHAEL HOLMAN** reports.

Since the fund and the bank control most available aid and development resources, the alternative programme stands little chance of getting off the ground in the short term.

But it provides an important indicator of the anger and frustration of many African governments, which maintain that although they have been implementing IMF and World Bank-inspired policy reforms, hardship is increasing, stability is being undermined and capacity to service growing external debt is declining.

Among the measures the document advocates are multiple exchange rates, limits on debt service payment so as to allow more resources for development, selective subsidies and price controls, and cuts in defence spending and in non-productive public sector activities. It also recommends limited use of deficit financing for productive and infrastructural investments, differential export subsidies and what it calls greater mass participation in decision-making and implementation of programmes.

Above all, the document stresses the need for more consultation between governments and lending institutions — based on greater recognition that the continent's widely diverging economies are not susceptible to a single solution — and more effort to alleviate the impact of adjustment on Africa's poor.

In the coming months formal and informal consultations among the protagonists will be continuing in the search for the consensus that Mr Adedeyi says Africa seeks.

The real issue is not whether to adjust or not, but what kind of adjustment is needed, he concludes. — **Financial Times**.

US to end opposition to debt write-offs

By JOHN LICHFIELD

The United States decides to write off some African debts.

WASHINGTON — The United States is to write off about 20 percent of its loans to 16 of the poorest countries in Africa, bringing its debt policy more or less in line with other Western countries.

The Bush administration will abandon from October 1 America's opposition in principle to the forgiveness of inter-government debt, stubbornly maintained by the Reagan administration.

The shift in policy will affect only about \$1 billion (R2,7 billion) or less than one percent of the total Western debts of black African countries.

But the decision, announced by President George Bush, is seen as a significant departure from the rigid international debt policies of the Reagan era.

In part, Washington's aim is to encourage large commercial banks to sign up for the new, private debt forgiveness strategy for middle-income countries announced by the US Treasury Secretary, Mr Nicholas Brady, earlier this year.

Programmes

Administration officials said the African debt write-off would extend only to US development aid economic assistance loans to countries with economic programmes approved by the International Monetary Fund or World Bank.

Only 16 of the 40 or so black African countries would be affected.

Loans for military equipment, food or other export credits would not qualify.

The 16 countries to benefit would be Benin, Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire.

They owe between \$4,5 billion (R12,15 billion) and \$5 billion (R13,5 billion) to the US government.

According to the World Bank, black African debts to the West totalled \$109 billion (R294,3 billion) in 1987, a crushing 85 percent of the region's GNP.

Most was owed to governments rather than private banks.

At the Toronto summit of the world's seven leading Western economies last June, six countries agreed in principle to forgive some debts to African countries.

Refused

President Reagan refused to commit the US to cancellation of debts, but agreed to spin out the nominal repayment of the loans indefinitely.

Other countries argued that forgiveness was a more helpful policy because it allowed the countries to seek new investment loans.

The Reagan administration refused to accept debt cancellation, largely for ideological reasons.

"They simply took the view that debts were debts," said Mr John Williamson of the Institute of International Economics.

This announcement follows the pattern of Mr Bush's disposing of some of the more extreme and indefensible positions of his predecessor.

Negotiators have reported the first signs of progress in talks between large US commercial banks and the Mexican government on the voluntary reduction of the country's \$95 billion (R256,5 billion) foreign debt.

The negotiations are seen as a crucial first test of the Brady plan for reducing the debt burden of middle-income countries, mainly in Latin America.

After talks last week between 15 of the largest US banks and the Mexican Finance Minister, officials said plans were emerging for a 35 percent reduction of Mexican commercial loans worth \$54 billion (R145,8 billion).

— The Independent News Service.

Aid for Africa detailed 1

SUB-SAHARAN African countries received \$13,4bn — more than half SA's total Budget — in development aid from Western countries and Japan in 1987.

A paper prepared by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London said this aid by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) went particularly to countries with serious debt problems.

All aid-giving countries supplied almost \$50bn in official development assistance to the developing world and to multilateral institutions.

The 18 DAC members, Japan and the EC Commission supplied \$41,5bn of this aid — on average 0,35% of their GNP.

Arab countries gave \$3,3bn, or 1,16% of GNP, and the Soviet-led Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) supplied an estimated \$4,9bn in aid.

The aid was in the form of cash grants, loans, and commodities, either directly to countries or to multilateral institutions such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the Africa Fund and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

RIAAN SMIT

DAC members were concentrating their help on the poorest Third World countries, particularly African countries with serious debt problems.

Their net disbursements to least-developed countries (including contributions through multilateral agencies) increased from \$8,7bn in 1986 to \$9,6bn in 1987.

In the last few years, DAC members had softened their loans to poor countries. The terms of past arrangements had been adjusted, and official debts had been rescheduled more frequently.

Canada and Switzerland had adopted all-grant programmes, and Denmark was to widen the group of countries eligible for grant aid.

Arab aid, especially that from the Gulf States, was still mainly of a non-project kind. More and more was being given in the form of commodities such as oil and oil products, wheat and fertilizer rather than cash grants and loans.

This aid was concentrated on Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa. The largest non-Arab recipient in 1987 was Senegal.

Foundation wants controlled ivory trade

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The Rhino and Elephant Foundation has supported calls for a ban on the ivory trade into Europe and North America, but is in favour of controlled trade from southern African countries to the Far East.

This is in line with the position taken by the South African delegation to the Convention on Trade in Endangered Species (Cites) meeting in Gaborone last week.

Delegates from 15 African states were unable to reach agreement on a world wide ban, with representatives from north Africa — where elephants herds have been seriously depleted — in favour of the ban and those from southern Africa — where there is an abundance of elephant — opposed to it.

It is estimated that 80 percent of all elephants currently alive in Africa are outside protected conservation areas.

Dr Clive Walker of the Rhino and Elephant Foundation believes the southern African countries have enough ivory to sustain the demand from the East and that the legitimate ivory trade should be allowed to continue, with the application of strict controls and checks.

But present levels of trade could not be sustained and a ban on imports to the West could substantially help to slow down the trade.

However, the local trade in elephant products, such as those obtained through the Kruger National Park's culling programme, was in no way endan-

gering the elephants and should be allowed to continue.

South Africa currently draws well over R7 million annually through culling.

Mr Walker said his organisation supported the proposal made by South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana and Mozambique at the Gaborone meeting of establishing a Regional Ivory Marketing and Control System.

These countries were unified in their objective of reducing the ivory trade to the lowest possible level, using the entire elephant carcass to maximise revenue and ensure that the control of the resource and its revenues are retained locally.

Full details of this scheme were expected to be announced at a meeting of Cites in Switzerland in October.

POSITION

The Rhino and Elephant Foundation has taken the position that:

- Poaching over the past 20 years is primarily responsible for the threat to the elephant.
- The escalating price of ivory, official corruption and deterioration in the economies of most African states is the major force behind this over-exploitation.
- African governments, with few exceptions, will be unable to prevent the continued decline of their elephant populations.
- A reduction in demand is likely to lead to a reduction in poaching.
- African countries have yet to work out how many elephants they can sustain.

B/Dam 13/7/89

Poverty casts shadow over French festivities

PARIS — Leaders of poor and indebted nations, gathering in Paris yesterday to honour the French Revolution, hope the heady spirit of 1789 will infuse a summit of the world's seven wealthiest powers.

The bicentenary celebrations and the Group of Seven summit, staged simultaneously at French President Francois Mitterrand's personal request, will turn Paris into a diplomatic epicentre for the next four days.

At least 30 leaders were expected in the heavily-policed French capital, and many from Africa, Asia and Latin America were clearly bent on pushing the Third World Debt crisis to the top of the agenda.

The presidents of Mexico and Brazil, the top Third World debtors, held a tete-a-tete last night — signalling the will to extract maximum relief from the G-7 summit.

Bread

Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's founding father and for many a spokesman of the world's dispossessed, appealed in stark terms for action on the \$1,3-trillion Third World debt burden.

"Bread is being taken from the poor of the south and millions of children are being allowed to die or go naked in order to balance the books of the bankers," he said in an open letter to G-7 members France,

Japan, the US, West Germany, Britain, Italy and Canada.

The three-day annual summit opens on July 14 as the bicentenary festivities reach their apogee with a stunning musical parade down the Champs Elysees.

American soprano Jessye Norman will sing the revolutionary anthem La Marseillaise recalling the day 200 years ago when a poor mob — the *sans-culottes* who could not afford noble breeches — stormed the Bastille prison, heralding the end of monarchical rule.

Socialist Mitterrand adopted the unofficial title of "Third World advocate" when he was first elected in 1981. He has encouraged other summit partners to make debt a priority in talks which will also cover monetary policy and the environment.

But he has been stung in the past week by accusations from the French left that his notion of starting the rich man's summit on Bastille Day was an insult to the modern world's *sans-culottes*.

Critics noted that the G-7 leaders and the rest would dine at different banquets on the 14th.

Others decried the presence of leaders like Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, who is accused of having a personal fortune approaching the size of his impoverished country's debt.

Jacques Attali, Mitterrand's closest aide and the summit organiser, was forced to reply. He said all the

leaders in Paris would eat together at least three times and have ample opportunity for bilateral meetings.

Asked about Mobutu, he said both the invited leaders and those who requested to come were welcome. But Mitterrand agreed, in a magazine interview, that some requests for an invitation had been embarrassing.

Guillotine

Understandably none of Europe's crowned heads will be at the party. Many are related to King Louis XVI and his wife Queen Marie-Antoinette, who both lost their heads in the revolution.

Another absentee in the celebrations is the guillotine, the sophisticated instrument which beheaded at least 17 000 French during the bloody post-revolutionary era known as The Terror.

The Mitterrand government has preferred to flip through that chapter and recall instead the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man which it says inspired the pro-democracy movement in China.

But British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who has sparred with Mitterrand for years, declared bluntly in pre-summit interviews that the revolution had no universal message and that The Terror could not be forgotten. — Sapa-Reuter.

South
13-19/7/89

Shedding new light on Africa's droughts

MAJOR increases in agricultural production have been achieved in Africa's drought-prone Sahel region in the past 20 years.

In a new report by the Swiss-based International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), some cherished myths have been shattered.

The document reviews the IUCN's Sahel Programme, which began five years ago as a result of "deep alarm" at the effects of drought in the Sahel and the Horn of Africa.

The Sahel region includes large portions of Gambia, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkino Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya.

Despite the harrowing images of starvation, each Sahelian region appears to be producing more food than it is consuming and there are no trends of declining nutritional status among the population.

However, at this stage output is not enough to keep pace with a population growth rate which is among the fastest in the world, observes Dr Michael Norton-Griffiths, editor of the report.

In addition, drought years have had little influence on the steady growth in livestock, which have increased from 168 million to 233 million in the last 25 years.

Starving

Another drought myth is that the total amount of rain is the key to agricultural productivity.

Even in the worst drought years, all the countries of the Sahel have continued to trade in agricultural produce. During the Ethiopian famine, for example, Ethiopian melons were being exported to Europe at the same time as Ethiopians were starving.

But then famine is rarely about a lack of food but more reflective of how certain groups of people are unable to buy food, argues Norton-Griffiths.

Perhaps the most damaging myth of all to be debunked by the report is the theory known as the "Tragedy of the Commons".

This widely-held idea postulates that common ownership of land leads to rural people degrading their natural resources.

Resources

It is based on the argument that two competing users of a public pasture or forest will both choose to deplete the resource for immediate gain in the belief that if one conserves there is no guarantee that the other will do so.

This theory has helped boost the colonial policy of individual land ownership, which is seen by governments and international agencies as necessary to development.

The report blames land tenure concepts imposed from above for creating situations in which poor people have been progressively excluded from resources, production has not increased, and the environment has not been conserved.

But research among African pastoralists has shown that systems of common property are widespread, and work, because it is in everyone's interest to make them work.

What has gone wrong is not community control, with its careful system of checks and balances, but misguided state intervention. The state as a whole does not emerge well from the report. — GEMINI NEWS

African debt is 'small change'

NAIROBI. — The foreign debt of Africa's poorest nations is "small change" in the Third World debt crisis, but they are least able to carry the burden, a UN-sponsored report says.

The report, commissioned by the UN African Recovery Programme, proposed that creditor governments cancel all debt on aid owed to them by low-income, sub-Saharan countries.

"The 31 countries which fall in that category are the ones least able to cope with the debilitating drain of resources," said the report released here.

It put the sum owed by such countries at \$68-billion (about R180-billion), calling it "small change" compared with Third World debt totalling \$1.3-trillion (about R3.40-trillion).

Some 86 percent of the 31 countries' debt was owed to official creditors. "Thus low-income Africa's debt poses no threat to the international financial system and the relatively modest amounts involved ought to be a spur for a speedy solution," it added.

The countries are Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zaire and Zambia.

Menu of options

Underlining the fundamental weakness of African economies, the report noted that in sub-Saharan Africa the ratio of debt to economic output, measured by gross domestic product, was nearly twice that for the world's most indebted countries.

The proposed write-off of aid debt was one of several recommendations. They included pruning a menu of options for debt relief drafted at the Toronto summit of the seven biggest industrial democracies in June last year.

The leaders of the seven — Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, the United States and West Germany — were meeting again in Paris this weekend and the debt crisis was on the agenda.

The UN-sponsored report urged the Paris Club of official creditors to scrap the third and last option on the Toronto menu, which allows longer debt repayment terms.

This merely contributed to an increase in debt stock and future debt service obligations unless it was expected that the principal would be paid when due.

It would therefore offset relief provided under the menu's other options which offer partial debt cancellation and interest rate cuts.

The report said creditor governments should also cancel more than one-third of the debt incurred by low income African countries on export credit, extended on mainly commercial terms.

Alternatively, they should consider concessionary terms such as the 0.5 percent annual interest and 40-year repayment period set for credits extended by the World Bank's soft-aid affiliate, the International Development Association.

It proposed rescheduling agreements should cover three years which would avoid costly and time-consuming annual negotiations.

Comparable

It also said the Paris Club should be expanded to include countries belonging to the 11-member Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) and the 13-nation Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec), and that they should be pressed to offer comparable terms.

The report noted that some donors, notably the United States, Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union, had not cancelled any aid debt owed by low income African countries.

Canada, West Germany, Scandinavian countries and the United Kingdom had by the end of last year already cancelled nearly all aid debt owed by such countries and France last May announced it would cancel all their debt to Paris.

Washington dropped its opposition to debt cancellation in early June, announcing that from next October it would start to forgive up to one billion dollars of debt from development loans to sub-Saharan Africa.

In keeping with the Paris Club's policy, only those countries which accept reforms approved by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are eligible for the proposed debt write-offs.

The 45 countries south of the Sahara, including low-income states, owe nearly half of Africa's total \$230-billion (about R580-billion) foreign debt. — Sapa-Reuter.

Health care study seeks special deal for Third World women

WASHINGTON — Women in the Third World need special health care that goes far beyond their role as wives and mothers, according to an international study.

"Women's home production responsibilities in developing countries include obtaining water, producing and preparing food and gathering firewood, all without benefit of modern appliances; nursing, preparing special foods and herbal remedies; and taking family members for medical treatment," it said.

"Women farmers grow at least 50 percent of the world's food. Women's low earnings, poverty and often sole responsibility for maintaining households add to the burdens of their dual home and market roles because women must work longer hours to earn even a minimally acceptable level of income."

Heavy work can lead to special leg and back problems. Fetching the water exposes women to waterborne diseases such as schistosomiasis, which causes internal haemorrhages. Long hours in the fields can bring on pesticide poisoning.

Women in the Third World also suffer especially from malnutrition due to lack of proteins, anaemia and other diseases caused by a shortage of iron, the report said. Older women seem to have more diabetes and possibly more high blood pressure than in other parts of the planet.

"We don't need the infant health rationale for attention to be focused on women's health," said Mr Allan Rosenfield, dean of the School of Public Health at Columbia University. He spoke at a round-table presenting the report.

It pointed out that many women in Third World countries do not know about the benefits of health care or where it can be found, and often lack the time, money and transport to get it when they do.

The report is called "Strengthening Women: Health Research Priorities for Women in Developing Countries."

It was prepared by a group of six: Dr Shushum Bhatia of India, who teaches population dynamics

at Harvard University; Dr Dambe Duale, director of Sanitation Rurale in Zaire; Dr A W Patterson, director of the Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute in Kingston, Jamaica; and three members of the International Centre for Research on Women — Joanne Leslie, Michael Paolisso and Judith Tynan, all Americans.

Advisers included Ms Mayra Buvinic of Chile, director of the centre.

Dr Patterson said in a presentation to the round table that in the Third World one out of every four deaths of young women — in some countries one out of every two — is related to pregnancy and childbirth.

Other women's health problems are related to gender but not to motherhood: reproductive infections, sexually transmitted diseases, Aids, cancer, infertility, management of birth control and violence.

The report called for more research that distinguishes results by gender, by geographical region and which takes social and cultural facts into consideration. — Sapa-AP.

Call to cancel Africa's 'small change' debts

NAIROBI — The foreign debt of Africa's poorest nations is "small change" in the Third World debt crisis, but they are least able to carry the burden, says a UN-sponsored report.

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"The 31 countries which fall in that category are the ones least able to cope with the debilitating drain of resources," said the report released here this week.

It put the sum owed by such countries at \$68bn, calling it "small change" compared with Third World debt totalling \$1.3-trillion.

Weakness

About 86% of the 31 countries' debt was owed to official creditors. "Thus low-income Africa's debt poses no threat to the international financial system..."

The countries include the Comoros, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia.

Underlining the fundamental weakness of African economies, the report noted that in sub-Saharan Africa the ratio of debt to economic output, measured by gross domestic product, was nearly twice that for the world's most indebted countries.

The proposed write-off of aid debt was one of several recommendations. Others included pruning a menu of options for debt relief drafted at the Toronto summit of the seven biggest industrial democracies in June last year.

The leaders of the seven — Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, the United States and West Germany — were meeting

again in Paris this past weekend and the debt crisis was on the agenda.

The UN-sponsored report urged the Paris Club of official creditors to scrap the third and last option on the Toronto menu, which allows longer debt repayment terms.

This merely contributed to an increase in debt stock and future debt service obligations unless it was expected that the principal would be paid when due.

It would therefore offset relief provided under the menu's other options which offer partial debt cancellation and interest rate cuts.

The report said creditor governments should also cancel more than one-third of the debt incurred by low income African countries on export credit, extended on mainly commercial terms.

Alternatively they should consider concessionary terms such as the 0.5% annual interest and 40-year repayment period set for credits extended by the World Bank's soft-aid affiliate, the International Development Association.

Aid debt

It proposed rescheduling agreements should cover three years, which would avoid costly and time-consuming annual negotiations.

The report noted that some donors, notably the US, Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union, had not cancelled any aid debt owed by low income African countries.

Canada, West Germany, Scandinavian countries and the UK had by the end of last year already cancelled nearly all aid debt owed by such countries and France last May announced it would cancel all their debt to Paris. — Sapa-Reuter.

Rebel ivory body planned

Own Correspondent

6/24/17/189
GABORONE — Countries in southern Africa with growing elephant populations will launch a breakaway organisation to market ivory in the Far East if, as expected, an international ban on ivory trading is ratified in Switzerland in 10 weeks' time.

The southern African move, spearheaded by Zimbabwe, has opened up the most serious split in the history of the modern wildlife conservation movement. Details of the new marketing scheme will be made public at the next meeting of CITES (the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species) in Lausanne.

The Zimbabweans, backed strongly by Botswana and SA, say veiled threats of sanctions by the US and international conservation movements, will not deter them.

"The countries pressing for the ban in international trade are precisely those which have failed disastrously in the management of elephant populations," said a senior member of the Zimbabwean delegation who attended a stormy meeting in Gaborone of the African Elephant Working Group (AEWG) of CITES.

"We in the south have the most successful elephant management programmes in Africa. We will not abandon them either to save face for other countries that have failed, or to provide more employment for London and Washington-based conserva-

tion ideologues."

The delegate added: "One American here threatened to withdraw \$8m of projected aide to Zimbabwe, and a similar amount from Botswana if we did not go along with the ban. We told him to go to hell."

Tanzania and Kenya are the two African countries behind the drive for a total international ivory trade ban. They have the support of the US, the EC, the World Wide Fund For Nature and the US-based Wildlife Conservation International.

Dramatic drop

The African elephant population is down to 625 000 this year, figures prepared by a renowned Nairobi-based elephant expert, Iain Douglas-Hamilton, discloses.

The statistics show a dramatic drop in the population from 735 000 in 1988 and 1,3-million in 1979.

"The downward population trends, for the great majority of countries are sufficiently large to predict extinction in the near future," says the ban proposal for the Lausanne meeting which the Tanzanians have drawn up.

Summit endorses debt plan

PARIS — Leaders of the world's seven largest industrialised democracies wrapped up their abbreviated summit yesterday saying decisive action was urgently needed to protect the environment.

The summit leaders also gave an endorsement to Washington's strategy for solving the Third World debt problem and touted their efforts in improving the world economy, according to a draft of the final communique that was to be read by French President Francois Mitterand late yesterday.

The leaders planned to adjourn earlier than scheduled, citing the harmony of the summit, which was caught off-guard the day before by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's request that his economy be linked to that of the West.

For the first time in 15 years of econom-

ic summits, an extensive portion of the final communique was devoted to environmental problems.

In the draft, the leaders said: "There is growing awareness throughout the world of the necessity to preserve better the global ecological balance.

"This includes a serious threat to the atmosphere, which could lead to future climate changes."

The leaders of the US, Britain, West Germany, Japan, France, West Germany and Italy said: "Protecting the environment calls for a determined and concerted international response and for the early adoption, worldwide, of policies based on sustainable development."

The summit nations also endorsed the debt-reduction strategy unveiled on March

To Page 2

Summit

10 by US Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady. US officials had hoped that Mexico, the plan's test case, would come to an agreement with its creditors before the end of the summit.

While the so-called Brady plan was not mentioned by name, the communique clearly endorsed it, urging commercial bankers to "increasingly focus" on reducing debt service costs to complement new loans to those countries.

The leaders found much to boast about in the performance of the economy this year, but they called for continued vigilance against rising inflation.

"Inflation, where it has increased, will continue to receive a firm policy response so that it will be put on a downward path."

The draft singled out the US, Canada and Italy as countries where further reductions in budget deficits were needed. Sapa-AP.

From Page 1
● See Page 5

UN launches a new plan to halt the economic ruin of Africa

LONDON — The UN launched a new plan yesterday to stave off further economic ruin in Africa, saying World Bank and IMF programmes had failed.

Executive secretary of the UN's Economic Commission for Africa, Adebayo Adedeji, said the past

decade had been one of disaster and economic failure for Africa which must not be repeated.

The new plan is the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP).

51 Day 7/7/57
It says tighter credit as advocated by World Bank/IMF can cause inflation and cuts in output and investment, even if current account improves.

About 30 African nations have such programmes. — Sapa-Reuter.


R140-m aid for SA's neighbours

Star 21/7/89
WASHINGTON — The US House of Representatives Appropriations Committee has approved a \$50 million (R140 million) development grant for South Africa's neighbours.

Another R5,6 million will be used to protect African elephants. ① ~~②~~

Aid for these two items, approved on Wednesday, formed only a minor part of the overall grant for Africa which totalled nearly R2,1 billion.

The lion's share of US aid went, as usual, to Israel (R8,4 billion) and Egypt (R5,6 billion). This year's aid budget included new grants for Poland and Hungary. — The Star Bureau.

FW invited (1)
Star 21/7/89
for talks by
African 
leaders - Pik

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk has been invited for negotiations by several African leaders, says the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Interviewed by Radio RSA in Pretoria, he said Dr Kenneth Kaunda's invitation to Mr de Klerk had been another step towards direct communication between African heads of state and the South African Government.

He said it was clear Africa wanted to enter into open dialogue with South Africa and that the rest of the world should take notice of this development.

REASON TO BE PROUD

Commenting on the recent peace initiative in Angola, Mr Botha emphasised African leaders had reason to be proud as they had succeeded in bringing President Jose Eduard Dos Santos and the leader of the Unita movement, Dr Jonas Savimbi, to the negotiating table.

He said Mr de Klerk would probably not be able to accept all invitations because of his tight election programme. He said the invitations would be attended to as soon as possible after the general election on September 6. — Sapa

African revolutions that now need 'rectification',^{Mr 25/7/87} 10

PARIS — A new wave of army coups d'etat, this time pro-Western, can be expected in black Africa in the near future in the name of "Rectification", according to observers here.

The way has already been led by one of the 10 poorest countries in the world — Burkina Faso, previously known as Upper Volta.

It had been ruled by a leftist military junta, like many other impoverished, landlocked African countries.

But these juntas, which seized power to pursue a so-called national revolution, are starting to collapse under the weight of their economic and demographic problems.

Recent developments in Burkina Faso, a former French colony, is considered by observers here as an important test case for Africa.

Its revolution was brought about in 1983 when Colonel Thomas Sankara seized power to become Africa's youngest president at the age of 34.

The whole country was literally turned upside down in his zeal for change, including renaming the country Burkina Faso, meaning

BY JAMES TOMLINS, The Star's Foreign News Service
Collapsing economies under leftist governments in Africa are opening the door for right-wing coups.

"Country of Honest Men"

Colonel Sankara was assassinated on October 15 1987 by his most faithful aide, Captain Blaise Compaore, who is today president.

He gave the stunned nation the following reason for his action: "The revolution was going astray, and needs 'rectification:'"

Economics Minister Mr Henri Zongo, in an interview here, explained what went wrong with the Sankara revolution.

Colonel Sankara believed that he could govern by making hour-long speeches, or adopting high-minded international campaigns like boycotting South Africa. But according to Mr Zongo, one of his most appalling errors was to raise the price of beer by 75 percent at a single stroke, threatening the breweries with immediate bankruptcy.

Colonel Sankara banned the import of mangoes, on the grounds that they were grown in abundance in the north of the country. But trans-

port is so poor in Burkina Faso that the local product could not be sent south to the main market in the capital, Ouagadougou.

When Colonel Sankara became president in 1983, the country's total industry after two decades of independence was composed of only 11 operating factories. Colonel Sankara did little to build up the industrial sector which today employs 20 000, compared to the country's 35 000 civil servants.

Perestroika

This is where "rectification" comes in, although Mr Zongo said that it was wrong to liken it too closely to "President Gorbachev's perestroika."

But in the African context, French observers believe that "rectification" does bear comparison to this new trend in the Soviet Union which could sweep through demoralised leftist African regimes.

Mr Zongo admitted: "In all African countries ruled by a leftist revolutionary junta, there is fear amongst certain categories of the people."

"Burkina Faso did not escape from this phenomenon."

"Private traders did not feel safe. "This feeling of insecurity was accentuated by government language about them which made them feel like pariahs in society."

"This led to a flight of capital abroad. The 'rectification' led, amongst other things, to restoring confidence in private and foreign firms. In other words, a liberalisation in all sectors."

"We must accept the evidence before our own eyes. The state cannot do everything, and therefore there is an absolute necessity to bring in private initiative."

Burkina Faso, under Colonel Sankara, looked towards Moscow and Colonel Gaddafi.

Those painful days are over with the introduction of "rectification".

French observers here believe that this trend is gaining ground, and other black capitals will follow Ouagadougou.

NAME

NO.

AUTHOR INDEX

SALDRU WORKING PAPERS

Challenge to keep the West interested

The Superpowers are losing interest in Africa, says Dr Karl Magyar, and South Africa is losing its economic war. **DAVID BRAUN** of The Star Bureau reports.

WASHINGTON — Africa was in danger of becoming totally irrelevant to the West, a strategy conference in Washington heard this week.

Dr Karl Magyar, a research associate of the US Air Force University and a former political scientist at the University of the Witwatersrand, told the Strategy '89 conference Africa produced only two percent of the world's wealth.

With the Soviet Union losing interest in the continent, the United States would also lose interest, he predicted. Africa was on the verge of becoming totally irrelevant to Western interests.

It was a great challenge to keep the major powers interested in Africa, Dr Magyar said. Perhaps it would be better for the continent if a few conflicts kept up the rivalry, and therefore the interest of the superpowers, he said as a flippant aside.

Dr Magyar said Africa was the graveyard of ideologies. Rebels and governments mouthed commitments to ideologies in order to get foreign support.

The big powers need to implement a policy of arms starvation in order to keep African conflicts low-key and localised.

Referring to South Africa, Dr Magyar said the country had won the military struggle for the region but was losing the war economically.

Pretoria had done a marvellous job for itself in the region, he said, although some had fallen into its lap, such as the collapse of Mozambique and the Soviet Union's stalling in the back of the African National Congress.

Won the wrong war

The ANC might deny this, he said, but the movement was facing a potential split because of Russia's actions. One part wanted to negotiate with South Africa; the other wanted to reorganise its aggressive policy.

He said: "To some extent South Africa has won, but it has won the wrong war. The real war is on the domestic and social front. South Africa's economy is hurting badly and it is getting worse. The economy will probably destroy the existing structures in South Africa far sooner than any military offensive would."

Dr Magyar said the South African authorities were the masters of control of the masses and were well prepared militarily — but economically they were not prepared at all.

"They have developed a very respectable plane in the Cheetah, fine guns and no doubt a nuclear bomb. But it has all been a huge waste of money because these things are totally inappropriate for their needs of the future," he said.

On Mozambique, Dr Magyar said the government controlled only about 20 percent of the country. Government territory was really limited to three islands in a sea of hostile land: the areas around Maputo, Ncala and Beira.

He said the government labelled anyone in the bush as a member of Renamo but that was a gross over-simplification and distortion. Besides Renamo there was a substantial number of Frelimo dissidents who had taken to the bush because of disenchantment with their conditions.

SOVIET-AFRICAN relations have been built from scratch over three decades of active Russian presence in Africa.

What we have is a ramified system of political, economic, cultural and even military relations. Thousands of Soviets are working in Africa and thousands of Africans are studying in the USSR.

How does this dovetail with Soviet economic potential? It is an open secret: The first thing we had to understand was that Africa and poverty were two regrettable synonyms, and that our friends had to be helped.

Where realistic projects were concerned the profit was mutual, and the investments have borne tangible fruit. But wishful thinking — departmental efforts merely — "to be present" — are quite another matter.

Benefits

Examples are many. There was a time, for instance, when the Soviet Ministry of Water Resources was seriously considering a project to irrigate the Sahara. However, the Africans said thanks, but no thanks. The bitter pill is better medicine says popular wisdom, and this is highly applicable to Soviet-African economic relations.

But let us not lament. A great many needed and useful projects have been built in Africa over the years — the Aswan Dam, gas pipelines in Libya and Algeria, hydroelectric plants in Guinea, a maternity hospital in Brazzaville, to name but a few. Soviet physicians, teachers, geologists and agronomists are still doing their work with no trumpeting and no expectation of rewards in the least developed provinces, in malaria marshes and in tropical heat, far

Kremlin urged to take a fresh look at Africa policy

S/Tues 20/7/81

Boris Piyat skin
a senior Russian correspondent says it's time Moscow revised its views on Africa

away from their embassies and with no amenities to speak of. This is the truth, but not the whole truth. For example: The group of Soviet experts in Mozambique is one of the largest in Africa. But here is some information worth considering. Not a single industrial or agricultural project has been built there in 15 years of co-operation.

Of course, the complicated military and political situation in the region was a major hindrance, but there have also been miscalculations, when competent decisions yielded to shoving-off.

Thus, when Samora Machel visited Moscow, the late Leonid Brezhnev decided to present a steel mill to the faraway country. Luckily, the people charged with the task of conducting a feasibility study saw that without the resources and the market for the mill's output the project would fail.

Thanks to them, the money was saved. Yet the idea was not discarded. Instead of a steel mill it was decided to build an agricultural implements plant.

The 12-year-old story is about to come to a more or less successful conclusion. The Beira plant is producing tinware, and when its first

stage is started up in October it will produce hoses.

Thus the mistakes made during the years of stagnation are now being paid for and Soviet experts are trying to make up for the lost years.

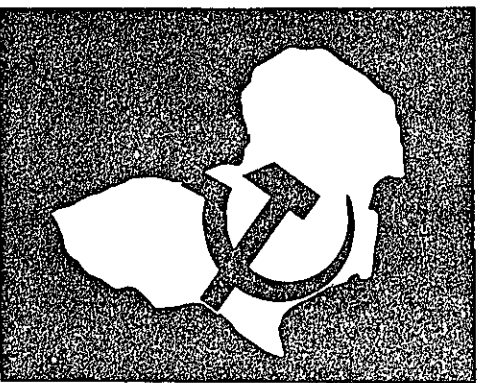
Thus and other examples compel one to conclude that technical aid is no good in most cases. It provides for the USSR to supply the equipment and the experts for installation, while the African side is charged with construction work and eventual management of the enterprise.

However, this usually leads to delays because of a lack of both means and expertise. The equipment rots in the hot tropical sun and the Soviet side pays even more to restore it, which makes the project more expensive and harms the prestige of the USSR.

Isn't it time for us to undertake a critical review of our economic ties with Africa? If we undertake ventures in Africa they should be wrap-up projects that are compatible with the local raw materials base and complete with programmes to train personnel.

Hypocritical

Though there is new thinking evident in Kuznetsov's attitude towards Africa's economic and political problems it is, as though by force of inertia, we lower our voices as soon as we start talking about the need to save money on foreign aid. The embarrassment about which I have already spoken is largely left over from the period when our motto was: "No differences with freedom-loving Africa". The Press was allowed to write anything about the Americans or the



British, but not a single negative word about Africans. In such a situation of self-deception and stereotypes, when the idea of eternal friendship was forced on each one of us, we were not supposed to notice any negative developments in newly-independent countries. Hypocritically, we turned a blind eye to the growing ulcers of corruption, nepotism and dictatorial trends in young African nations. And we had to pay a high price for the lies and for avoiding the truth.

The new thinking we profess today calls for a critical re-evaluation of old attitudes. The contrast between old and new attitudes is borne out all the more obviously by present-day Soviet diplomacy. New, unorthodox, approaches to our relations with African nations are designed to make these relations more dynamic and truly mutually advantageous.

The Soviet Union's constructive contribution in many countries, and above all in "Iron-line" Mozambique, shows a more flexible and constructive approach to the changing situation in the region. This is borne out by the expansion of political and economic contacts between Maputo and Pretoria. So, do we need Africa?

There are about five dozen sovereign countries which are members of the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement. They are building their lives today thinking about the future. Africa is a treasure house of unique cultures. It is part of our life without which there will be no harmony.

● Extracted from an article by Izvestia's correspondent for Central and Southern Africa

Africa's bold plan for a common market

By RORY CHANNING of Reuters in Addis Ababa

ARBUS 7/18/89 (1)

AFRICAN leaders have given the nod to the outline of a potentially momentous treaty — a pact to create an African economic community.

ECONOMICS

They are on course to sign the document in mid-1991, the year before the European Community creates a single, barrier-free market for its 12 member nations.

Advocates of an African community say the European plan poses challenges that add to the urgency of their task.

"To bring about an accelerated and equitable socio-economic development in our region, the founding of such a community is, indeed, crucial," Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam told a summit in July of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Timetable

The summit approved proposals drawn up by an OAU steering committee last November which outlined the concept of such a community and the institutional machinery, transitional measures and provisional timetable needed to reach the goal.

The summit resolution did not elaborate on these points.

But a summary of the steering committee's work, presented by outgoing secretary-general Ide Oumarou to

a closed door session of the summit, envisages the gradual removal of obstacles to free movement of people, goods, services and capital.

"The concept of a community further implies the existence of a unified monetary system and that the economic, social and cultural policies of the member states have been harmonised," said the report, a copy of which was obtained by Reuters.

Prelude

The report envisages the establishment of an African Common Market over 10 years from 1998, as a prelude to developing a full-fledged African Economic Community over the next 20 years.

The timetable allows two years for ratification of the treaty after it is submitted to African leaders for signature in mid-1991. It would enter into force in 1993.

By then a Free Trade Area, scrapping tariff and non-tariff barriers on intra-African trade which currently accounts for only four per cent of the continent's total export earnings, should have been set up in existing sub-regional groupings.

Overlapping

The timetable allows 15 years from the time the treaty comes into force to develop a Continental Customs Union and adoption of a common external tariff system for trade with non-African countries, overlapping steps to launch the common market.

African leaders endorsed the goal of a unified market by the year 2000 in their so-

called Lagos Plan of Action in 1980, a blueprint for developing the world's poorest continent towards a goal of so-called collective self-reliance.

But they were urged at their latest summit to try to advance the deadline significantly.

"Time is not on Africa's side," said Adebayo Adedeji, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

Negotiations

He said it was becoming increasingly clear the world of the future was one of trading blocs and economic groupings, which stood to gain from collective clout in trade and other negotiations on economic affairs.

He listed the single European Community Market from 1992, the existing US-Canada Free Trade Area, the Australian-New Zealand Free Trade Agreement and a proposed economic grouping in Asia which he likened to the 24-nation, Paris-based Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development.

"The real losers in the 1990s and beyond are those areas, especially Africa, where the process of economic integration is yet to be fully consolidated," Adedeji said.

He and other proponents of a unified Africa argue that unless the diverse continent is able to deal and bargain collectively on trade and other economic matters, it could end up worse off than now.

African states hope that integration and co-operation in transport, communications,

industry, energy, agriculture and other projects would ease pressures on national coffers as they pool resources for multi-country ventures.

The formation of an Arab Maghreb Union last February means there is no sub-region now without an economic grouping, designed to ease the passage of a pan-African alliance.

But most of these have suffered slippage in timetables for integration. Kenya's Nation newspaper warned last month that the prospects of political and economic unity remained at best hazy.

Divisions between Francophone and Anglophone Africa were as wide as ever, territorial disputes were common and an obsession with national interests was as fervent as ever, it said.

Challenges

The steering committee proposals adopted at the recent summit underscored the challenges ahead, declaring a need for "sincere political will".

An African community would be a supranational entity empowered to tackle major political and economic challenges on behalf of member states unable to do so themselves, it said.

"Members should therefore be prepared to surrender a part of their sovereignty in favour of the Community in some areas (and) sectors of collective interest, considered to be of priority and strategic importance," it added.

Censorship and sensationalism smother news in Africa

In many ways Africa is still the dark continent where views on the role of the media are unenlightened.

Journalists assigned there find themselves caught between their editors' definition of what is "news" and African criticism of the Western press for sensationalising. As a result, it is one of the most under-reported regions of the world.

In news terms, the continent is viewed as a vast black hole fringed by Libya and South Africa. With the exception of these two countries, it is not a player in the great global power game, and so it is the first to bite the dust when editorial budgets are tightened.

Many editors reinforce the notion that Africa is engulfed in chaos, veering between apocalypse and inertia, by encouraging us to write stories on genocide and hunger. As a result, the Western media present a repetitive litany of coups, corruption and famine that most readers neither understand nor care about.

Reconstruction

Uganda, for instance, has always yielded up a wealth of lineage. Although no one has ever run a poll on it, it is likely that the number of people in Britain who know that Idi Amin is reputed to have kept human livers in his fridge is far higher than those who know that Uganda has embarked on a national reconstruction programme with the help of the World Bank and other Western donors.

"Not starving people again," my editor sighed when I sought permission to accompany the BBC trip that brought the 1984 Ethiopian drought to the attention of the rest of the world, illustrating that even hard-nosed newsmen can misjudge the mood of their readers.

This is not fair to Africa. It deserves better than easy stereotyped images. Yes, repression and authoritarianism are flourishing in one-party states where leaders are buffered from reality by coteries of sycophants. But there are also exceptions such as Mauritius, Senegal,

MARY ANN FITZGERALD, writing in *The Independent*, explains why Africa so often bites the dust in newsrooms of the British newspapers.



Sudan and Botswana where there is still the benefit of pluralist choice.

To a certain extent these inroads into democracy are mirrored in the national presses. Senegal, one of the countries that has come closest to multiparty democracy, has an exceptionally lively press with its own version of the *Canard Enchaîné*. In Uganda there has always been an array of polemical broadsheets on the streets even though it has been a struggle to find the paper to print them on.

A general rule of thumb is that the press is as fossilised as its leadership. Malawi, which has been under the dictatorial rule of life President Kamuzu Banda for a quarter of a century, is considered the worst victim of press censorship by human rights organisations.

Malawi's security regulations allow Dr Banda to detain anyone he considers a threat to public security, which, in presidential terms, means critics of his policies. Reporters who send information abroad that may not be in the country's best interests can face life imprisonment.

Mr Osborne Mkandawire, an em-

ployee of the department of information, which reports directly to Dr Banda, died last November, having been severely and regularly tortured with electric shocks, probably over a seven-month period. Three journalists arrested at the same time have since been released. They were never charged, but their apparent crime was to report to Africa-interest magazines in London that the Malawian economy had suffered a major setback.

Consequences

There are harsh consequences elsewhere for those who do not toe the line. Journalists in 20 countries have been sentenced or detained during the past year as a result of what they have written, according to Amnesty International.

Of 28 journalists whose arrests were recorded in 1988 by "Attacks on the Press", a compilation of incidents against journalists around the world published by the US-based Committee to Protect Journalists, 26 were held without charges being brought against them.

The policy of shooting the bearer of bad tidings works. Newspapers in

Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Togo, Ghana and other countries have become muted against a backdrop of selective proscription and jail sentences. Most of those that survive are controlled through ownership by the government or the ruling party.

Only 15 of the 50 black African states allow independent newspapers.

The growing trend towards censorship has been linked to unstable regimes by the International Monetary Fund and human rights organisations.

Governments become more authoritarian to make dubious political decisions or tough economic reform more palatable.

Survival

But it is not only the Africans' concern for survival that places the role of adversary squarely on the shoulders of the foreign press. African journalists, it must be remembered, come from the same background as their leaders. Their cultural legacy has values that distance them from the Western outlook. The African tradition of chiefs receiving "hongo" (tribute in the African lexicon, bribes in the Western one) makes dictatorship and corruption seem less offensive.

The foreign press, however, with its mixture of cynicism, dedication, idealism and disillusionment, bears the brunt of the fourth estate's responsibility to tell the truth and coax change. Because of African self-censorship, it falls on us to forestall the demise of justice and freedom by exposing its abuses.

If we adhere to the maxim that today's news wraps tomorrow's fish and chips, then the pain involved in being a purveyor of the truth is worthless. But if, as I believe, the exposure of corruption, tyranny and abuse brings hope to those who have been tortured and victimised and to those who stand in danger of receiving the same kind of treatment, then it is worthwhile. — The Independent News Service.

① w mail

18-24/8/89

Food! Sudan sends wagons to the starving

A 50-WAGON Sudanese government relief train entered a rebel area on Wednesday, carrying 1 500 metric tons of relief supplies for the starving civilians trapped in the war-torn south of the country.

The relief and rehabilitation commissioner, Mohamed Kamal Shawgi, said the train left Maker Wednesday morning and was expected to arrive in Mabor in the afternoon. Both towns are controlled by the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

The relief effort is a part of the international Operation Lifeline Sudan, initiated by the United Nations in April, to relieve some three million starving people.

Wednesday was the first time a government train had entered a rebel area since the military government headed by General Omer Beshir seized power on June 30. A month after the coup, the SPLA gave the green light for the operation to resume.

Shawgi also disclosed that a river steamer pulling five barges loaded with 1 750 tons of relief supplies was on its way to the southern town of Renk.

Both rail and river transport are crucial for the success of Operation Lifeline Sudan, as trains and boats are cheap and carry more supplies than expensive chartered planes.

Beshir said recently his government would never use food as a weapon against "innocent civilians".

Last year over 250 000 civilians in the south died of starvation as both the rebels and the former government refused to allow food to move. —
Deutsche Presse Agentur

Australia explores African mining

SYDNEY — Australian mining companies, not satisfied with tapping the vast resources of their own continent, are stepping up their presence abroad. And not just in south-east Asia and North America, but further afield in, of all places, Black Africa.

The list of Australian companies with exploration and mining interests there is hardly lengthy, but it is growing all the time.

Some Australian mining houses, such as CRA and Renison Gold Fields, have long had indirect links with Africa through their principal shareholders abroad. The difference now is that Australian-owned groups are becoming well-established in their own right, as the list shows:

- Broken Hill Proprietary (BHP), the minerals, petroleum and steel giant which is Australia's largest company, announced in March the development of a gold project in southern Mali, near the Ivory Coast border.

BHP has a 65 percent interest and is the operator, while the Mali government holds the remainder. The deposit is estimated to have up to nine million tons of oxide and sulphide ore of about 3 to 3.5 grams per ton. It will be mined

tion to produce 70 000 ounces of gold per year.

- Bridge Oil, owned 42 percent by Elders Resources NZFP, which is part of the Elders empire, is known mainly as an oil and gas producer, but in one of the mining sector's most unlikely successes, it operates a diamond mine at Areador in Guinea.

The mine is known less for the volume of diamonds it produces than for their quality. Since 1986 it has produced four gems of more than 100 carats, including one of 255 carats auctioned in March for more than \$10 million, the highest price ever paid for a rough uncut diamond.

Located in the south of the country, on the border with Sierra Leone and Liberia, the mine has proven and probable reserves of 950 000 carats. Bridge's stake is 40 percent, while the government owns 50 percent. Other shareholders include the World Bank and the agency distributing the diamonds.

- Pancontinental Mining, a gold and coal miner best known for its frustrated efforts to mine uranium in Australia, has a 25.5 percent indirect interest in the Siguiri gold project in north-east Guinea. The operator, Union Miniere, has a 25.5 percent stake, with the government holding the remaining 40 percent.

The project came into operation in July 1988, and involves processing a series of alluvial deposits. The aim was production of 55 000 ounces in the first year, rising to 80 000 ounces thereafter.

- The Northern Queensland Company is involved in the rehabilitation of the Konongo/Oberemase mining areas in the Ashanti region of Ghana. Operations of the first new gold mine to be developed in Ghana for 40 years began last January.

The Australian group holds 70 percent of Southern Cross through a 58 percent-owned Canadian company. The government's state gold company holds the remainder.

The Northern Queensland Company says production has reached an annual rate of 33 000 ounces, and hopes to double this to 66 000 ounces. Contained gold reserves are put at 617 000 ounces.

- Intercontinental Gold & Minerals and MC Mining, two Perth companies, announced an agreement in April with Sierra Leone to develop a mineral-sands deposit in Rotifunk, previously studied by a consortium of Bayer and Preussag.

A resource of 146 million tons is said to have been delineated of 0.6 percent rutile, 0.8 percent ilmenite and 0.06 percent zircon. Annual production is pro-

of ilmenite and 6 000 tons of zircon, worth about A\$40 million a year. A final feasibility study is now being conducted.

- Walthalla Mining, through Golden Shamrock Mines and Titan Resources, in both of which it is a significant shareholder, is involved in a gold exploration venture in Ghana, which has identified a nine-million ton resource grading at about 2.9 grams per ton.

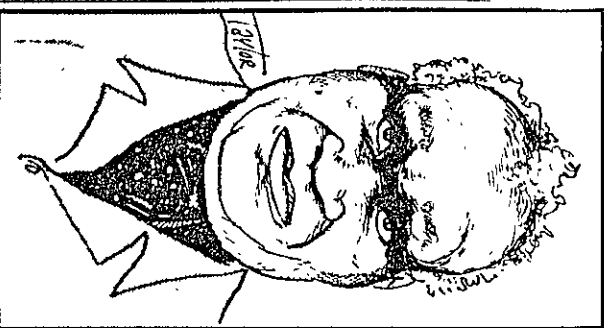
- Delta Gold, through its subsidiary Mansasa Mines, is in negotiation with Zimbabawe and bank lenders to start mining and processing platinum, nickel, palladium, rhodium, copper, gold and cobalt.

The \$160 million-to-\$200 million project, located on the Great Dyke near Hartley, has proven and probable reserves of 40 million ton and will furnish three percent of world platinum output, as well as eight percent of Zimbabawe's current foreign exchange earnings.

All told, this Australian mining presence in Africa is a mere shadow of its involvement in countries like Papua New Guinea, Indonesia or Fiji. But it is a reflection of the sector's increasing diversity and its internationalism marks a break with the past, when Australian mining was itself dominated by foreign

NEWS

In Africa, suspicion ^① in the world, high esteem



PRESIDENT KAUNDA: Competence questioned.

ZAMBIA'S president, who last week became the third African leader to meet South African acting State President Mr F W de Klerk, is playing a pivotal part in southern African peace initiatives.

Yet his competence in this and other roles is widely, if usually secretly, questioned.

In the Lusaka Magistrate's Court this week four men, including the former Zambian Army commander, Lieutenant-General Christon Tembo, were charged with attempting to overthrow the government last year.

The four men have been held for almost a year without trial, under a law which allows for indefinite detention — a reflection of the contradictions of President Kenneth Kaunda's policy of "humanism", under which protection of human rights is supposed to be guaranteed.

"Since the establishment of the party participatory democracy in

1973, Zambians have lived in a monolithic state which is no better than a police state" a Zambian political detainee, Mr Henry Kalenga, said last year in a letter to the monthly New African magazine.

Despite his poor human rights record at home, and the poor state of his country's economy, President Kaunda is regarded by the outside world as one of Africa's great statesmen.

His constant support for liberation movements in southern Africa has earned him that honour, even though in southern Africa itself he is often regarded with suspicion.

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, for example, is known to have had deep suspicions of him because of Zambia's attempts to deal with the Rhodesian government behind his back during the war for independence.

The Zambian president was the last of the Frontline states lead-

Personality

KENNETH KAUNDA

Written by:
JOAO SANTA RITA

ers to be invited to visit Zimbabwe after its independence.

Mr Kaunda's latest public claim that the Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had agreed to go into exile, when this was not the case, could only have served to reinforce Dr Savimbi's scepticism of the Zambian president's ability to solve the crisis in Angola.

After all, Mr Kaunda was one of Dr Savimbi's greatest supporters when the Angolan civil war broke out in 1975, and public-

ly condemned the Cuban intervention — only to switch sides when it became clear the MPLA was winning.

Internally, too, there are signs of growing dissatisfaction with Mr Kaunda's economic policies.

"I sometimes wish that our president would give as much attention to his own nation's problems as he does to South Africa's," a Zambian official recently told a visiting journalist.

Zambia has a foreign debt of about R15 000 million. Inflation is running at 60 percent.

Per capita income has fallen by 30 percent in 12 years. Spending on education is down by 62 percent over the same period, and 200 000 youngsters — unable to be placed in schools — are thrown on to the labour market every year.

With staple foods often in short supply, twice as many children are dying of malnutrition as a decade ago.

The cost of much of the food that is available is beyond the reach of the average Zambian. Prices of all basic products except mealie meal have tripled since the government lifted controls on July 1, sparking riots in the main centres.

But there can be no doubt that President Kaunda, who is also chairman of the Frontline states, will remain an influential figure in southern Africa for as long as he is in power.

A devout Christian who loves to sing hymns, he always carries a freshly ironed white handkerchief in his left hand and frequently weeps into it when making speeches about the tribulations of the region. He maintains that his inspiration as a leader is his "love for mankind as a whole".

President Kaunda was born in 1924 and became Zambia's ruler on October 24 1964.

He is married and has eight children.

Mengistu and separatist rebels agree to meet

Carter in bid to bridge Ethiopian chasm

ATLANTA — Former President Jimmy Carter plunges into a diplomatic minefield this week when he hosts critical talks between Ethiopia's Marxist government and rebels in Eritrea province to try to end their 28-year-old conflict, Africa's longest-running civil war.

Diplomats and political analysts in East Africa and the parties themselves have admitted the chasm between Ethiopia and Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) rebels is so wide it will be hard to bridge it at the talks opening tomorrow in Atlanta, Mr. Carter's home town.

And yet both Ethiopia and the EPLF, fighting since 1961 for the independence of the strategic northern province, know that failure to make some sort of progress will weigh heavily on them and their war-weary supporters.

"The importance of these talks is the fact that the two sides are meeting at all after all these years of conduct which has created deep mistrust and antagonism on both sides," said a Western diplomat in Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa.

The Eritrean war has killed hun-

dreds of thousands of people, forced nearly a million others to flee to neighboring states as refugees and crippled the economy of Ethiopia, which is spending half its annual budget on defence.

The first direct peace talks between the EPLF and President Mengistu Haile Mariam's government were hosted by East Germany in 1978.

They collapsed, with each side accusing the other of not showing readiness to negotiate.

Since then both sides have held several inconclusive and secretive talks through intermediaries.

Unenviable task

"Mr. Carter's task looks unenviable at the very best. The two opposing sides hold what appear to be fundamentally irreconcilable positions," said a diplomat in Kenya.

Now, as during the 1978 East Berlin talks, the EPLF is demanding the independence of Eritrea, once a colony of Italy, while Ethiopia says its territorial integrity is not negotiable.

Mr. Richard Joseph, director of African Studies at the Carter Presidential



President Gorbachev

Centre in Atlanta said, "The main aim of the meeting is to try and arrive at some point that will reduce the level of distrust that exists."

"Both sides realise that this is a very important and unparalleled opportunity for them."

Mr. Carter, who as US President clinched the 1979 Israeli-Egypt peace pact, is himself aware of the daunting task ahead for him.

"These are very intransigent, difficult, dividing issues that have never been addressed in a substantial way before," he told the *Atlanta Journal*.

Officially the Atlanta meeting will

deal mainly with procedural issues such as the venue for future talks, the agenda and if further observers should be appointed.

But an EPLF spokesman in London, Mr. Yemane Meskel, told Reuters: "We are going into these talks with an open mind to discuss serious issues even now, if this is necessary."

The latest peace initiative was launched by President Mengistu in May, a few days after he violently crushed an attempt by the country's military commanders to seize power.

The officers were demanding a rapid end to the Eritrean conflict, Africa's longest-running civil war.

President Mengistu offered the EPLF and its allied Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), fighting in Tigray province adjacent to Eritrea, talks without pre-conditions, a long-standing rebel demand.

Diplomats have noted that besides the attempted coup, Ethiopia has been under pressure from its main backer, the Soviet Union, to negotiate peace, especially since the rise of Kremlin leader President Mikhail Gorbachev.

"Gorbachev has told Mengistu that the war is unwinnable and that the Soviets may have to cut further military supplies to drive his point home if necessary," a Western diplomat in Addis

Ababa said.

The EPLF's chief supporters, Iraq and Syria, have improved their strained ties with Addis Ababa, signalling to the rebels that further aid may be halted if the EPLF does not cooperate in peace talks.

"Everyone, especially the ordinary people in Ethiopia, are clearly tired of this war."

"Both sides will have to try to ensure the (Atlanta) talks don't fail or they will risk losing support from their followers," an African political analyst in Nairobi said.

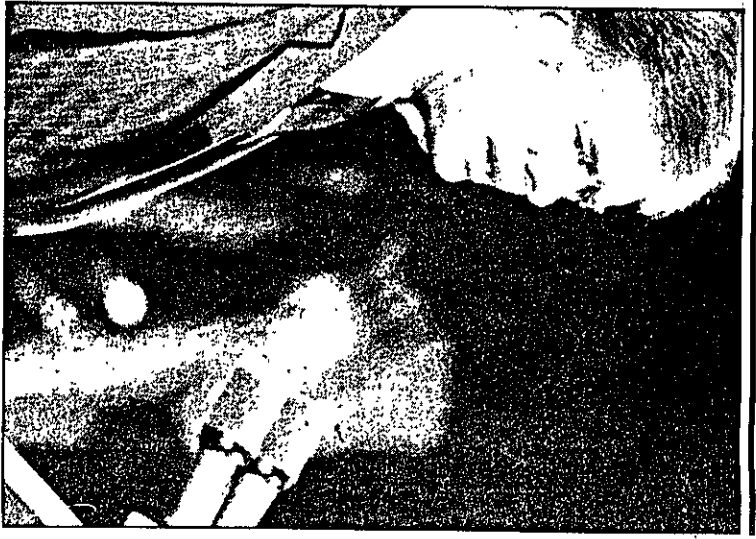
The American government, although not involved in the talks, supports Mr. Carter's initiative.

"Our view is that we fully support the peace process and consider it important," an American embassy spokesman in Ethiopia said.

But the talks are being held a few days after fresh fighting has erupted between Ethiopian troops and TPLF insurgents, breaking a three-month lull in the bloody conflict.

President Mengistu announced the outbreak of fighting last Thursday, saying the TPLF had launched an unprovoked attack on government positions.

But the TPLF, fighting to topple President Mengistu since 1975, denied this. — Sapa-Reuters.



Former president Jimmy Carter is aware of the daunting task involved in bringing together both sides.

MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT

The black hole of Africa

AK645
7/19/89

By MARY ANN FITZGERALD of The Independent in London

IN many ways Africa is still the dark continent where views on the role of the media are unenlightened. Journalists assigned there find themselves caught between their editors' definition of what is "news" and African criticism of the Western press for sensationalising. As a result, it is one of the most under-reported regions of the world.

In news terms, the continent is viewed as a vast black hole fringed by Libya and South Africa. With the exception of these two countries it is not a player in the great global power game, and so it is the first to bite the dust when editorial budgets are tightened.

Many editors reinforce the notion that Africa is engulfed in chaos, veering between apocalypse and inertia, by encouraging us to write stories on genocide and hunger. As a result, the Western media present a repetitive litany of coups, corruption and famine that most readers neither understand nor care about.

Uganda, for instance, has always yielded up a wealth of linage. Although no-one has ever run a poll on it, it is likely that the number of people in Britain who know that Idi Amin is reputed to have kept human livers in his fridge is far higher than those who know that Uganda has embarked on a national reconstruction programme with the help of the World Bank and other Western donors.

"Not starving people again," my editor sighed when I sought permission to accompany the BBC trip that brought the 1984 Ethiopian drought to the attention of the rest of the world — illustrating that even hard-nosed newsmen can misjudge the mood of their readers.

This is not fair to Africa. It deserves better than easy stereotyped

images. Yes, repression and authoritarianism are flourishing in one-party states where leaders are buffered from reality by coteries of sycophants.

But there are also exceptions such as Mauritius, Senegal, Sudan and Botswana where there is still the benefit of pluralist choice.

To a certain extent these inroads into democracy are mirrored in the national presses. Senegal, one of the countries that has come closest to multi-party democracy, has an exceptionally lively press with its own version of the *Canard Enchaîné*, the satirical French weekly.

In Uganda there has always been an array of polemical broadsheets on the streets even though it has been a struggle to find the paper to print them on.

A general rule of thumb is that the Press is as fossilised as its leadership. Malawi, which has been under the dictatorial rule of life-president Kamuzu Banda for a quarter of a century, is considered the worst victim of Press censorship by human rights organisations.

Malawi's security regulations allow Dr Banda to detain anyone he considers a threat to public security, which in presidential terms means critics of his policies. Reporters who send information abroad that may not be in the country's best interests can face life imprisonment.

Osborne Mkandawire, an employee of the Department of Information, which reports directly to Dr Banda, died last November having been severely and regularly tortured with electric shocks, probably over a seven-month period. Three journalists arrested at the same time have since been released. They were never charged, but their apparent crime was to report to Africa-interest magazines in London that the Malawian economy had suffered a major setback.

There are harsh consequences elsewhere for those who do not toe the line. Journalists in 20 countries have been sentenced or detained during the past year as a result of what they have written, according to Amnesty International.

The policy of shooting the bearer of bad tidings works. Newspapers in Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Togo, Ghana and other countries have become muted against a background of selective proscription and jail sentences.

Most of those that survive are controlled through ownership by the government or the ruling party. Only 15 of the 50 black African states allow independent newspapers.

The growing trend towards censorship has been linked to unstable regimes and to the International Monetary Fund by human rights organisations. Governments become more authoritarian to make dubious political decisions or tough economic reform more palatable.

But it is not only the Africans' concern for survival that places the role of adversary squarely on the shoulders of the foreign press. African journalists, it must be remembered, come from the same background as their leaders. Their cultural legacy has values that distance them from the Western outlook.

The African tradition of chiefs receiving hongo (tribute in the African lexicon, bribes in the Western one) makes dictatorship and corruption seem less offensive.

Meanwhile the foreign Press, with its mixture of cynicism, dedication, idealism and disillusionment, bears the brunt of the fourth estate's responsibility to tell the truth and coax change. Because of African self-censorship, it falls on us to forestall the demise of justice and reason by exposing its abuses.



Non-aligned leaders accuse SA of genocide

Star 8/9/87

BELGRADE — The heads of non-aligned states ended a four-day summit early today with a declaration that scaled down anti-Western rhetoric and urged the developed world to help close the wealth gap between north and south.

The summit dragged on past midnight as officials of the 102-member grouping wrangled over the venue for the next meeting of non-aligned foreign Ministers in 1991. Ghana was eventually chosen in preference to Venezuela.

The 10-page declaration, drafted by Yugoslavia, largely jettisoned the harsh attacks on imperialism and colonialism which have marked non-aligned statements since the movement was founded in 1961.

It also struck a new note by stating that improved United States-Soviet relations had led to a general easing of world tensions and created "a window of opportunity for the international community".

But it said this had failed to arrest a dra-

matic deterioration in the economies of the majority of Third World countries, burdened by debt and under-development.

"We appeal to the developed world to face ... the conflict which is older and deeper than the cold war and bloc confrontation — the conflict between affluence and poverty," it said.

In addition to the general declaration, the conference adopted 42 other statements on a variety of political and economic themes, including regional conflicts ranging from Latin America to Cambodia.

The statements papered over differences between members and the summit's one attempt at mediation — a bid by United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar to bring Gulf rivals Iran and Iraq closer to peace which ended in failure.

African nations overrode Yugoslav efforts to draft a restrained statement on South Africa and pushed through tough language accusing Pretoria of genocide and

destabilising its neighbours.

In a speech at the summit's final session, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda denounced what he called "modern Nazism" in South Africa and ridiculed Wednesday's elections as "of the few by the few".

Middle East tensions also surfaced when Lebanese delegate Mr William Habib protested that a statement on Lebanon did not call for the withdrawal of foreign forces, an apparent reference to the 33 000 Syrian troops in the country.

Much of the summit focussed on economic problems. The leaders proposed that a UN forum should be created to tackle the Third World's debt burden.

Shortly before the gathering ended, former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere announced that a summit-level group of 13 nations had been set up to discuss economic issues and co-operation programmes among the developing nations. — Sapa-Reuter.

Anti-apartheid groups get grants

GENEVA — More than half the grants awarded this year by the World Council of Churches' Special Fund to Combat Racism went to four groups in southern Africa.

Of the total of \$635 000 awarded, WCC general secretary Dr Emilio Castro reported today, \$352 000 (55,4 percent) went to four groups involved in "fighting" white minority rule — the African National Congress (\$100 000), Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (\$67 000), Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) (\$20 000) and Swapo (\$165 000).

Algerian leader presses for reform

Star 11/9/89

ALGIERS — Algerian president Mr Chadli Benjedid, determined to create a democracy rare in the Third World, has counter-attacked conservatives who want to hamstring his reforms.

Officials close to Mr Chadli say he is anxious not to perpetuate the National Liberation Front's (FLN) 27-year stranglehold on power.

He has vetoed a new press law which disappointed human rights activists, requested a review of election rules criticised by the opposition and delayed local voting to give the ruling party's new rivals more time to get organised.

But the outcome is undecided. "Democracy is in danger," says Mr Mustapha Tounni, who heads an opposition party coalition. "The real fight is between the democrats and

the anti-democrats.

Dramatic political reforms were launched in Algeria after youth riots in which scores of people died last October.

Mr Chadli has the support of most of the leadership of the FLN, which has ruled since independence.

Resistance has come from the party rank and file — government employees who feel threatened by change — and from the FLN-dominated national assembly.

Mr Tounni has called for the dissolution of the 295-seat assembly, saying it is incapable of shaping a truly democratic future.

Algerians are impatient for better living standards. Protests over housing and water shortages erupted in several towns recently.

Mr Chadli says democracy is

needed to restore public trust in the government, the key to improving a debt-burdened economy dominated by inefficient state enterprises.

The national assembly passed landmark laws in July to provide for freedom of the press, a multi-party electoral system and the formation of opposition political parties.

But human rights and opposition leaders criticised aspects of the laws.

The electoral law, for example, bars those married to foreigners from parliament.

The media law permits new publications only in Arabic, a language still poorly mastered by Algerians educated under French colonial rule.

Mr Chadli vetoed the information

law last month, and sent the electoral law to the constitutional council to assess its compatibility with the new constitution and to evaluate the distribution of seats in local assemblies.

Finally, he responded to opposition demands to postpone local elections set for December.

The government daily *Horizons* said last week that reforms had been "seriously threatened and losing substance."

"The increasingly worrying isolation of reformists, along with the difficulties of expression of numerous democratic segments of civil society, have probably pushed President Chadli to come out of a watchful reserve and give a push to the democratic process," the newspaper said. — Sapa-Reuter.

By JOHN BULLOCH

Old-order myths oust reality from the summit of Non-aligned Nations.

LONDON — In a rare moment of prescience, the 102 countries represented at last week's Non-Aligned Movement's summit conference in Belgrade left unresolved the question of where their next gathering should be — deputing to a meeting of Foreign Ministers next year the task of rejecting President Daniel Ortega's invitation to Nicaragua.

The truth is that if there is another Non-Aligned summit, it will be a strictly social occasion, a mere photo-call for the Third World.

It was a mark of this ninth summit, held 28 years after the inaugural conference in Belgrade,

History in The Star

LONDON — The Whitechapel horror continues to shock the world. A 12th mutilated body has been found. That the assassin remains undiscovered is a circumstance unknown in the history of crime.

50 Years Ago

The Warwick Castle's escape from submarine attack was due to its master, Captain Simpson, ordering his ship to steer straight for the enemy. The submarine submerged and the Warwick Castle made good her escape.

25 Years Ago

A report from Blantyre says the fissure in the foundations of Dr Banda's leadership of Malawi — considered to be as stable as granite — has been repaired.

Non-aligned ^{Star} ^{12/9/89} ① nations meeting for last time?

that Mr Ortega and President Muammar Gaddafi of Libya were the lions of the show, easily eclipsing such heavyweights as Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Mr Hosni Mubarak and Mr Robert Mugabe.

At the end, President Janez Drnovsek of Yugoslavia declared that the summit was an important basis for adapting the Non-Aligned Movement to "new challenges of our time". Yes, but not in the way he meant.

For the main result of the meeting was that a number of the more sensible leaders set up new groups to try to do what the whole movement could not — to negotiate debts, seek a better economic order for the deprived south of the world, and to force the rich countries to heed the pleas of the poorest.

Mr Julius Nyerere, the former Tanzanian president who brought his country to the brink of bankruptcy through his determined adherence to methods shown not to work, announced the formation of the summit-level Group for South-South Consultations and Co-operation.

Mr Nyerere said the 13 countries in his new group would "enhance our cohesiveness in world forums ... and increase our collective bargaining power".

Earlier, another 11-nation

group was established by Peru to lobby the leading non-communist industrial countries.

But the summit signally failed to make any progress on regional conflicts.

The presence of their peers could not pressure Iran or Iraq into any movement towards a real peace, President Mubarak failed to reconcile Senegal and Mauritania, Mr Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organisation did not get any backing for an attack on Zionism, and the Lebanese representative could not persuade the delegates to back a call for all foreign forces to get out of his country.

When preparations for this conference were being made, Yugoslavia lobbied for "more realistic" discussions and resolutions, by which it meant a recognition, that the time had come to negotiate a new order.

President Fidel Castro saw the way things were going, and decided not to attend.

Others did, and forced through resolutions on "neo-colonialism, genocide and Nazism" in South Africa, and other ideas from the past — all of which made it more likely that just as Belgrade was the setting for the first meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement, so it was for the last. — The Independent News Service.

Savimbi not present to sign draft peace plan

KINSHASA — Eight African leaders including Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe yesterday drew-up a draft declaration of a peace plan agreement which they hope to be signed by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to end the 14-year-old Angolan civil strife.

Dr Savimbi, who was expected to sign the Gbadolite Agreement on Angola at the meeting, did not attend a day-long summit held at Nzele, 60 km from the Zairean capital, the fourth to focus on the implementation of the Angolan peace programme.

The presidents of Angola, Zaire, Gabon, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Congo said in a communique that a draft declaration would be presented to Dr Savimbi.

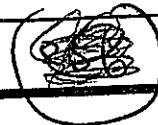
It was not made public but diplomatic sources said it was largely a reaffirmation of the Gbadolite Agreement, Ziana, the national news agency reports.

The eight leaders said in the communique that they were committed to the June 22 Gbadolite Agreement at which Dr Savimbi accepted a ceasefire, the reintegration of his rebels into Angolan institutions, and to retire in exile "while the peace process is in progress or until such a time that his presence is required in Angola".

Dr Savimbi has denied that he ever accepted going into voluntary exile. His Unita movement renounced the June 24 ceasefire and resumed fighting last month following a Harare summit at which the eight leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the Gbadolite Agreement at which Dr Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos shook hands. — Sapa.

Star 19/9/89

(1)



Economic reforms put Africa back on track

WASHINGTON — Economic growth in Africa recovered in 1988, counter to the general perception that the continent is in unrelenting decline, but per capita incomes remain 15 percent lower than they were a decade ago, the World Bank said.

The Bank's annual report estimated growth last year at 3.0 percent after a contraction of 1.4 percent in 1987.

The recovery, which was shared by most countries in the region, reflected better weather, improved terms of trade and the implementation of structural economic reforms.

However, because population growth outstripped output growth, per capita incomes fell 0.4 percent last year, the Bank said.

Despite a decline in oil prices, the oil-exporting countries of West

Africa grew an estimated 4.5 percent.

A striking performance by Nigeria, especially in the manufacturing sector, contrasted sharply with that of Cameroon, which is only just beginning to introduce the type of economic reforms needed to reverse a steep drop in output in the past three years, the Bank said.

Ghana continues to stand out among the countries of West Africa, growing six percent last year, the Bank said.

Per-capita output in the Ivory Coast, by contrast, shrank by around 12 percent in 1987-88, in part because a distorted farm pricing system put undue emphasis on cocoa at the expense of more promising export crops.

In Eastern Africa, Uganda recovered from early setbacks to its

economic stabilisation programme to grow 4.5 percent last year, while Kenya continued the increase in per-capita income that began in 1984.

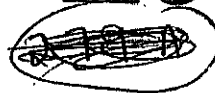
Mauritius, which has chalked up average annual growth of seven percent since 1984, has been so successful that it must contend with a set of problems unusual for Africa, the Bank said — a tight labour market and an excessive concentration of export activity in garments and textiles.

The countries of southern Africa enjoyed positive per capital growth for the first time in a decade, due to four factors — good weather, the initial benefit of economic reforms, growth in donor-financed imports, and, in the case of Zambia, an improvement in the terms of trade, the Bank said. — Sapa-Reuter.

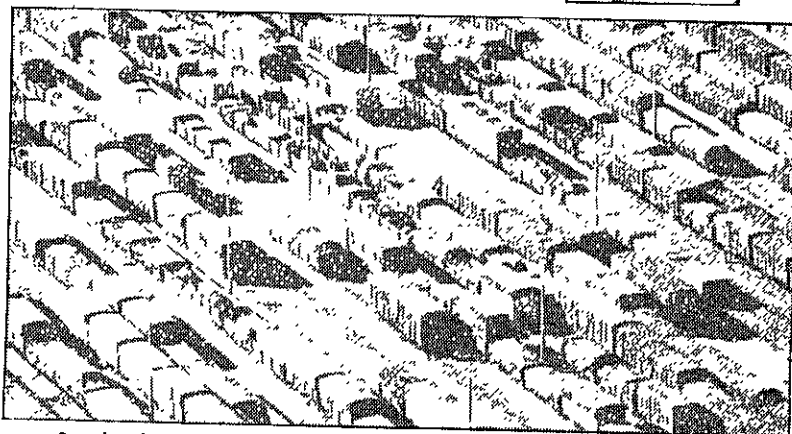
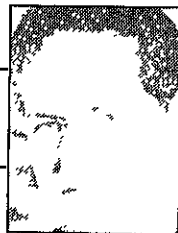
SA could play key role in African common market

star 19/9/89

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By **RON HAYWOOD**,
Executive Director of the SA Federated
Chamber of Industries



South Africa supplies much of her neighbours' rolling stock needs.

The tentative new mood of optimism about the political outlook has started to revive debate about the chances of creating a sub-Saharan economic community — a vast common market reaching from South Africa as far north as the equator and beyond.

Should the goal be seen as possible reality or a myth?

Three decades ago, Prime Minister Mr Harold Macmillan of Britain delivered his "winds of change" speech and from that moment onwards we have not only faced cold winds throughout the continent but in very many countries head winds as well.

However, recent events may widen the potential for bringing about warmer winds — perhaps even tail winds to encourage economic co-operation.

There are many obvious constraints that could temper optimism, not least the development strategies that have been used by many if not most African countries.

Many have moved from free market economies to centrally planned economic systems, meaning a classic conflict of capitalism versus socialism.

The creation of single-party states and even dictatorships has placed the main emphasis on short-term planning, with outsiders from both the West and the East competing for influence.

More and more reliance has been placed by many African states on hand-outs from such sources as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in order to survive, not to spend on improvements for the future. With longer-term planning ignored, whole infrastructures have sunk into neglect.

Using the United States dollar in comparison, while the per capita income in Switzerland by 1986 had grown to \$17 680 (about R49 000), it languished at \$850 (R2 380) in South Africa, \$620 (R1 730) in Zimbabwe, \$210 (R590) in Mozambique, \$160

(R450) in Zaire and an equally meagre \$160 in Malawi. In many African countries, real gross national product has been slumping even lower.

In all the gloom, the World Bank has now warned: "The long-term trend of decline persists and Western companies as well as governments are actively de-linking themselves from the continent."

Even now, socialism has not yet lost its emotional appeal and a host of deep-rooted political and other problems still obstruct the freeing of economic activities.

However, economic realism is starting to impact on political ideology, forcing a complete re-look at the African continent and the whole question of political and economic structures.

The outlook for the successful launch of a sub-Saharan economic community relies on three issues:

- Stability within the individual countries of the region.
- Progress in South Africa with its internal reform process, the key to

the potential of its external foreign policy.

● Acceptance of South Africa as a respected member of the community, pledged not only to its own development but also to the enrichment of inhabitants of the entire region.

South Africa is ideally placed to make a major contribution in view of its considerable infrastructure and existing ties and links with several neighbours.

Let's look at the economic structure of the region. The Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC) zone, which comprises Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Angola and Tanzania, has a combined population of 68 million — more than twice the 32 million population of South Africa.

Yet the most recent published figures available show that at a 1985 count South Africa accounted for no less than threequarters of the whole region's gross domestic product and

as much as two-thirds of all its exports. South Africa also provided 50 percent of all SADCC imports and provided a market for 30 percent of all SADCC exports.

No fewer than 8 000 units of all the rolling stock running daily on the railway lines operated in neighbouring countries, worth about R700 million, belong to SA Transport Services, on loan under various agreements.

Given peace in the region, an economic community could soon start opening up a far bigger rail network with more links between member nations.

South Africa generates 60 percent of all the electricity used in Africa and has the potential for establishing a grid throughout the whole sub-Saharan region, which would open far-reaching new industrial and socio-political opportunities.

Though it is rarely highlighted, South African investments elsewhere on the continent amounted to more than R3,5 billion at a 1986 count. They have already played a major role in opening up the mineral wealth of neighbour countries.

And more investments are in the pipeline — diamond mines in Angola, a huge soda ash project in Botswana, the highlands water scheme in Lesotho among them — that promise tremendous new opportunities for the region.

Assistance has also been flowing from the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

The outside world has come to acknowledge the need for economic co-operation on the continent, too.

Feelings have been summarised by the Overseas Development Council in the United States: "South Africa seen as an integral part of the region presents a challenge and an opportunity," it said in a recent assessment. "This region, with serious support for a regional development strategy, could be the key to building a different kind of future for the southern half of the continent."

SA and black states link to form ivory cartel

SOUTH AFRICA and five black neighbours have sunk their racial and ideological quarrels to form an international ivory-selling cartel, angrily thumbing their noses at the developed world's "eco-freaks".

Announcing the formation of the cartel at a Press conference in Harare, Zimbabwe's South African-born Minister of Natural Resources, Mrs Victoria Chitepo, lashed out at the ignorance of the Green movement

Walkin' back

FORMER child star Helen Shapiro is releasing a new single — 28 years after topping the charts with Walking Back To Happiness.

Call for aid

THE Organisation of African Unity has urged members and the world community to raise more than R600-million to help destitute people in Angola.

By DON JACOBS
Harare

in North America and Western Europe over the realities of elephant conservation in southern Africa.

While poaching has decimated herds in Kenya and Tanzania, exploding elephant populations in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, South Africa, Malawi and Mozambique have to be culled to check damage by marauding tuskers to the crops of peasant farmers.

United

The statement said Africa was "frankly tired of the patronising approach" of the vocal Green lobbyists in the developed world who failed to consult southern African governments before demanding the European Community and the United States ban

imports of ivory or elephant-skin products.

A united front by southern African states would defuse expected protest marches by the Green movement at next month's scheduled meeting in Switzerland of the Convention for Trade in Endangered Species, announcing a rejection of the ban and a "common marketing strategy in the interests of conservation".

Burden

"For years the rural people of Zimbabwe have carried the burden of large elephant populations in the country," protested Mrs Chitepo. "We cannot allow international conservation politics to divert us from our primary responsibilities."

Game rangers say southern Africa's estimated 200 000 elephants are in no danger of extinction.

MUD-SLINGING TO SUPPORT IVORY BAN

Star 25/1/89

With an international meeting on the ivory trade scheduled to take place in Switzerland next month, the issue of an international ban is becoming increasingly heated. There is intense conflict between southern African countries who want controlled export and central African states who support an outright ban. **DAWN BARKHUIZEN** reports.

Stern has been poured on claims that the South African Government is using legal ivory trade as a smokescreen to support its involvement in a billion-dollar international smuggling network based in Hong Kong.

The claims were made in London by Mr Allan Thornton, a director of the Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA).

He said South Africa was a central gathering point for illegal ivory and rhino horn to be smuggled to the East. "Elements" within the Government were protecting certain dealers inside the country, he said.

South Africa and Zimbabwe were at the forefront of the battle against a world-wide ban on trading in ivory — legal or illegal — with the aim of maintaining a "legal" trade, no matter how small. This would be used as a smokescreen to launder poached tusks.

And he said it was "simply not true" that herds were not in danger and well-managed in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

South Africa was using the ivory trade as "part of its destabilisation process of other southern African countries".

He also accused the Zimbabwean government of attempting to suppress reports of army and government involvement in the slaughter of thousands of elephants. He said 1,000-odd elephants had been killed by paratroopers on the Mozambican border.

Dismissed with contempt

Mr Clive Walker, vice-chairman of the Rhino and Elephant Foundation, dismissed "with absolute contempt" the allegations, saying they were a "political smear by a left-wing so-called conservation group".

"EIA are trying to make political capital out of an emotive issue and embarrass South Africa. These nonsensical outpourings do conservation a disservice."

"It is utter rubbish to suggest that South Africa or Zimbabwe slaughter elephants to feed an illegal ivory trade. Elephants are culled on sound ecological principles."

He said there had been a small amount of poaching in Zimbabwe and very occasionally elephant were poached in South Africa. But both countries had sheltered populations which were growing.

Mr Rupert Lorimer, Democratic Party spokesman on Environmental Affairs who has been closely involved with the issue,



The proposed worldwide ban on the ivory trade is not supported by most southern African countries, and this has led to wild allegations of governments supporting illegal poaching being made in London.

said the EIA appeared to be grossly misinformed.

"In the past, certainly, South Africa was a clearing house for illicit ivory from all over South Africa — but without the sanction of the authorities."

Subsequently the authorities had tightened up, were in the process of introducing far heavier penalties for traffickers and a crack Endangered Species Protection Unit had been established by police.

"The picture has certainly changed and I am personally aware of the enormous scope of the investigations under way and individuals under surveillance. The number of

ivory traffickers recently caught is proof of this," Mr Lorimer said.

The deputy director of environmental conservation for the Department of Environmental Affairs, Dr Mike Cohen, described EIA allegations as "irrational, absurd and without a grain of truth".

"Our healthy elephant herds are proof of our fine track record," he said.

The ivory trade is a hot international topic with countries in central Africa, where elephant populations have been wiped out, calling for a total world ban. They argue that the continued sale of ivory

sustained utilisation of wild life resource with strict controls."

In South Africa elephant are only culled in the Kruger National Park where there is a burgeoning population. All revenue, about R10 million, is ploughed back into conservation. It is money that conservationists say they cannot do without and which would otherwise be wasted.

In Zimbabwe "Operation Campfire" had successfully drawn rural populations living alongside elephants into protection and culling campaigns. Villagers, who benefit from legal culls, realise the long term benefits of nurturing their elephants and protecting them from poachers.

Zimbabwe, which has about 52,000 elephants, last week announced their support for an ivory producers' cartel designed to thwart a possible international ban, saying the dangers of an outright ban posed an even greater threat to the animal. A total ban would rob thousands of people of their livelihood and spur poaching.

Countries that would be included in the cartel were members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference; Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Mr Walker said the rest of Africa had failed to protect their elephant and rhino populations. Poor rural communities living alongside elephants who had not been drawn into conservation projects posed a great danger to the beasts.

Failed to manage

Dr Cohen said: "Those countries pushing for an outright ban have largely failed to manage their own elephant. The programme in Zimbabwe in which rural communities living alongside elephants were rewarded in controlled culling schemes have effectively put a price on wild life and added to its preservation."

Dr Cohen said South Africa was not a member of the SADC and had not been party to the decision regarding the cartel. He was in favour of the proposal that ivory be exported under strict controls to one market and said it would be sad day for conservation if South Africa were left out of the operation.

It is unlikely however that a cartel will be formed until a decision has been made on the ban at the CITES meeting. Should the ban be instituted it would be up to the individual countries concerned decide on their future policies, Dr Cohen said.

In recent months police have uncovered several large consignments of illegal ivory in South Africa and Namibia and several poachers have been arrested. This month alone more than 53 tusks of slaughtered elephants were found in a Cape Town house. Police were unable to quantify ivory recovered since the formation of their unit.

Business Day

SURVEY

Increasing contact between SA businessmen and African leaders gives hope for heightened economic co-operation. SUSAN RAMMELL reports on the new mood of optimism which recognises the interdependence of the nations of the subcontinent and the need to develop common infrastructures.

Agricultural productivity needs boost

IN COMMON with the rest of the Third World, Africa needs higher levels of agricultural productivity to provide an adequate food supply for its increasing population and to generate greater export earnings to fund industrialisation.

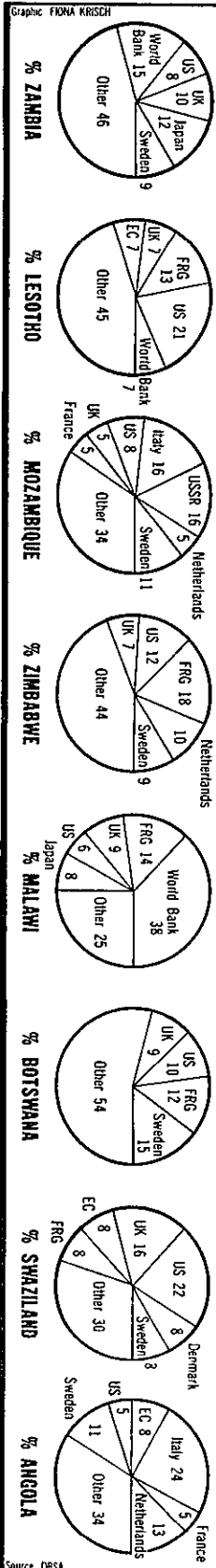
This is one of the main findings of a study by Peter Lawrence and Ian Livingston made available to Business Day by the Africa Institute.

Agriculture, which provides between 30% and 60% of GDP in most African countries, amounts to only about 15% in the southern African region.

The study notes that much of the failure of African countries to remain self-sufficient in food production can be traced to government policies of encouraging export cash crop production, principally by setting relatively lower producer prices for

Development in southern Africa

Major donors of development assistance to SADC countries in Southern Africa, 1986



Pragmatism supercedes politics?

TRADE between South Africa and its neighbours increased by about R60m in 1988, according to estimates. Fostered by a more relaxed political environment, trends suggest continued momentum.

New plans for SA development programmes and investment in southern Africa have been submitted by the SA Development Commission, SADC, and other agencies. These include a major programme for increasing self-sufficiency and reducing economic dependence on SA.

With greater contact possible, inter-regional commerce is likely to grow rapidly, with the po-

But higher levels of trade, and greater development of regional infrastructure is a goal with inestimable benefits for the entire sub-continent.

To SA, a thriving north would open markets for goods, and a share through joint capital investment projects in a wealth of natural resources from minerals to the competitively priced energy of hydro-electric power.

For southern Africa it is SA that presents the most viable and most economic source of the skills and knowledge these countries now recognise to be vital for the development of eth-

cient and viable industrial, agricultural, and environmental infrastructure.

SA, so often dubbed the economic powerhouse of the region, is perhaps more importantly the only storehouse of technical know-how relevant to African conditions.

This description of logical economic interdependence is true of the last 20 years. What is new is black Africa's readiness to explore these options in a new mood of pragmatism, and with a new hope in free enterprise.

There are a number of recent milestones. As regards Mozambique, talks between SA ministers and President Joaquim Chissano were held in Maputo on July 18, signalling a more open attitude towards SA.

On July 31, it was announced that the ruling Frelimo party had made a major shift away from Marxism-Leninism, approving plans for a mixed economy in which private enterprise would play a major role.

This creates many new opportunities for private investment from SA in commerce, tourism and other activities.

Moves towards a settlement in Angola and Cuban military withdrawal have aroused hopes that this rich country may begin to

rebuild its economy with new opportunities for foreign investment.

Richard Cornwell, head of the Africa Institute's information division, says, "There is no doubt private enterprise and foreign capital in particular, will be able to identify many sectors they can engage in profitably."

"But at present the security and political impediments loom large. Luanda is likely to change its ways slowly. Likewise, the economy will only mend gradually, for the damage has been deep and widespread."

On Namibia that "the experience of Botswana and Angola has taught African socialists that economic disaster is inherent in their policies, and that the precipitous flight of white capital and skilled nationals are that no significant nation-state and assets is to be expected soon after a SADC government comes to power."

"As regards mining (which furnishes approximately 30% of the country's GDP), any government, regardless of its political persuasion, is likely to seek a share. The transitional government of national unity has already acquired 50.4% of the voting interest in Rossing Uranium."

Another significant development is a growing number of SADC member countries who now officially support future trade opportunities with South Africa.

SA has traded missions in five of the SADC countries.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda is the most recent to have held official talks with both SA chambers of commerce and SA politicians.

At the Africa Institute's AGM last month, chairman Prof P. Smit said, "More than any other year since 1960, the past year has been marked by developments which hold the promise of ultimately bringing peace and stability to southern Africa."

Spokesmen from such quarters as the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the SA Department of Foreign Affairs and the SA Foreign Trade Organisation's Africa division all say there is a new mood of pragmatism and realism in the attitude of the future states to SA, on economic co-operation and development.

There may be some keys to this trend - including the harder line being taken by the World Bank and the IMF towards Third World lending.

John Mare, a deputy director of the Department of Foreign Affairs, comments, "When the EEC opens up 1992 to formally open up Europe as a trading area, African countries won't get continued favourable terms of trade. Rapprochement between East and West increasingly seeks economic trade with each other rather than Africa."

Salto's Paul Ronge agrees, "There is a real fear among African leaders about 1992. There is a lot of insecurity, and they have great expectations of South Africa."

If correct, these predictions mean SA will see rapidly growing demand for investment, ideas, new products and, more than anything else, for skills and training.

Considering that SA has 100 little training and skilled manpower for its own needs, the gates could be on new, faster and simpler methods of training and greater participation in the SA program for students for training on the job.

AECI MD Mike Sander says, "There's a hunt to what you can do in training relatively uneducated and unskilled people. Even a university graduate has to learn practical skills at a given pace."

Science-based technology and practical education have never been passed on to Africa and we have to redress the gap.

"Nowhere in Southern Africa at this stage is there a sufficient education system to address those needs. We need a new approach that places more emphasis on science and on mechanical skills. Industrial careers have to be sold to make people aspire to them."

"South Africa itself is only part of the way up the learning curve. Africa is right at the beginning. But the Southern African region is so rich in resources, if economic co-operation was really developed, it would unlock tremendous potential."

Open question

The implementation of UN resolution 435 in Namibia, "Africa's last remaining colony" and the fifth most important mining country on the continent, has future investment potential an open question but without marked pessimism.

Investors and small business in the country will probably wait to judge post-election economic leg-islation. A certain amount of confidence is suggested by almost R200-million of new commercial property investment currently under construction or on the drawing board.

Dr Erich Linstner, director of the Africa Institute, comments in a recent bulletin

Region/Country/Territory	1970	1980	1986
MALAWI	11	30	37
ZAMBIA	19	30	18
LESOTHO	25	33	41
MOZAMBIQUE	33	35	28
SWAZILAND	33	35	28
ANGOLA	43	45	53
ZIMBABWE	45	45	53
NAMIBIA	14	22	46
SOUTH AFRICA	8	7	6
Lebanon	21	35	43
Qatar	20	28	34
Kenya	13	28	34
Kazakhstan	13	28	34
Kazakhstan	13	28	34
TURKEY	27	44	51
INDONESIA	32	49	57
YEMEN	15	27	37
CINCHI	16	18	57

“WHY was it that Africa, the cradle of humanity, remained ‘the dark continent’ for so many thousands of years?”

Perhaps the reason lay in Africa's unique transport problems, and the current transport crisis north of the Limpopo has brought us face to face with them again — after decades of people thinking they had been resolved for all time.

Africa's rivers have always been hostile to navigation, and land transport posed an insuperable “energy problem” for the early travellers. But steampower in the 1890s suddenly demolished all the old barriers. Bulawayo, as the hub of central Africa's rail system, became Rhodesia's largest city.

Until the invention of the strip road (by the country's first chief road engineer, Stuart Chandler), cars floundered in mud and sand. It was only in the 1950s that a good, wide-far network of roads was developed, and Salisbury (now Harare) prospered.

Shades of 'the dark continent'

By Day 26/9/89

MICHAEL HARTNACK
in Harare

Now, 99 years on, both road and rail transport systems in Zimbabwe are in dire trouble.

Buses are crashing, with horrific loss of life, for lack of roadworthy parts. Police continually plead they are physically unable to get to the scene of the crime. Industrialists claim they cannot fulfil export contracts north of the Zambezi because of unserviceable delivery trucks.

Air transport offers no easy answers. Growers of fruit, flowers and fresh vegetables say they cannot exploit the promising West European market to the full because of the incapacity of the monopolistic state-owned national carrier. Tourism is a fraction of the volume it could reach under an “open skies” policy.

But it is at the National Railways of Zimbabwe that there is the gravest crisis, caused by the emigration of skilled repair technicians and lack

of foreign exchange for spares.

Despite the lease from SATS of 20 locomotives (four of which were put out of action last month in a crash near Beitbridge), Zimbabwe has 130 000 tonnes of stranded freight. Industries transport committee chairman Brian Stock. In Harare alone, 1 000 wagons are waiting to be shunted for off-loading, while more serious logjams exist elsewhere.

At the beginning of September the NRZ's tally of serviceable locomotives sank to an all-time low of 108 out of 285. The country needs at least 156 on the rails every day to move its

basic national needs, says the Deputy Transport Minister Amna Hughes.

The NRZ's Indian expatriate manager, Nau Nihal Singh, says an order for 190 000 tonnes of maize for Mozambique could only be moved “with great difficulty”, while the railways could not hope to deliver the full 450 000 tonnes international food donors would readily buy from Zimbabwe's large (and costly) 1.9-million tonne maize stockpile.

Production of Zimbabwe's biggest foreign currency earner, its tobacco crop, may be curtailed next season by a shortage of coal for curing.

The Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Company (Zisco) is desperate for supplies, not only of coal but of iron ore from Buchwa mine.

In August, the coal yard outside Harare received from the NRZ only 20% of its normal supplies, and had to cut deliveries to hospitals. As a

result, all but emergency operations were cancelled because sterilisers could not work, and patients were asked to re-use what would normally be regarded as soiled linen.

Some bedding went unwashed for six weeks, the Sunday Mail reported, and staff feared an increased risk of contracting AIDS from unlaundered items.

Stock says at least R1.5bn is needed to bring the NRZ back to efficiency.

“It is getting worse, not better,” he warned. “What is needed to cope with this situation is instant reaction by government.”

Assumptions about the resolution of Africa's transport problems have fallen away. Recent experience gives frightening support to the view of Robin Hallett, an authority on African affairs, that if we do not master this crisis we may be looking in the next century to a continent broken up into many regions where outsiders, as in the 18th Century, never venture.

REVIEWS

'Depressed, yet excited'

Chikane visits SA refugees in Africa

A visit to South African refugees in Botswana and Tanzania by the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), and Bishop Stanley Mogoba, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, left Dr Chikane "depressed, yet excited", the SACC said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

It said Dr Chikane visited the Dukwe Refugee Camp in Botswana with officials of the Botswana Council of Churches last week.

There are about 200 South African refugees at the camp. He was able to speak confidentially to some of the refugees and to listen to their problems individually.

In Tanzania, Dr Chikane was joined by Bishop Mogoba in discussions with the Pan Africanist Congress.

Relationship

The relationship between the SACC and the PAC was raised in the discussions as well as the relationship between churches internationally and the PAC.

"The discussions revealed that many of what were considered to be problems are actually perceptions which access to correct information could dispel. Many of these problems were consequently dealt with," the SACC statement said.

The church leaders raised a concern with the PAC with regard to the movement's seeming rejection of the Organisation for African Unity's formula for negotiations.

They requested the PAC to review the situation and to inform them accordingly. The question of unity was referred to throughout the talks but was not discussed

in depth. The PAC expressed a preference for "principled unity" rather than just "unity in action", the statement said.

Dr Chikane also visited two ANC projects and settlements at Dakawa and Mazimbu in Tanzania, where about 1 600 South African refugees currently live and work. The settlements had development projects in the fields of farming, health care, education, building and the clothing industry.

The Mazimbu settlement also ran a nursery school, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College and a hospital.

Mr Chikane expressed excitement at the attempts of these settlements to attain self-sufficiency.

Dr Chikane and Bishop Mogoba visited other South African refugees in Tanzania.

They had discussions with them and listened to their problems. Conditions of South African refugees in refugee camps in Tanzania and Botswana was described by Dr Chikane as "depressing and frustrating".

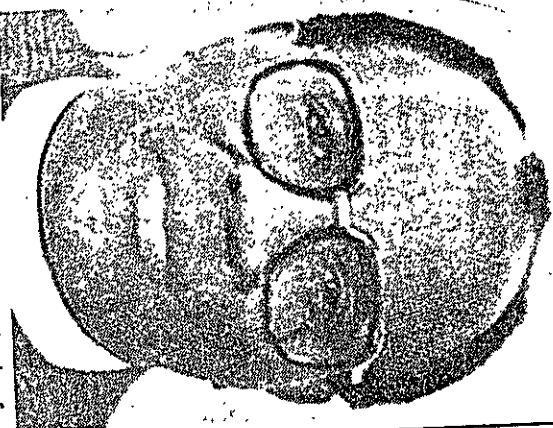
He expressed the gratitude of the people of South Africa to the commitment of the Tanzanian people to the struggle for freedom in South Africa when he met President Mtwinyi and the Tanzanian Foreign Minister Mr Benjamin Mkapa.

Dr Chikane gained a clear impression in the discussions that the President and people of Tanzania viewed the struggle of the people of South Africa as their own because until apartheid was removed, Africa as a whole could not be totally free.

"The OAU manifesto which has now been endorsed by the Non-Aligned Movement and is likely to be discussed by the United Nations is an indication of the initiative and leadership of Africa to end the apartheid system," Dr Chikane said. — Sapa.



The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC... listened to problems.



Bishop Stanley Mogoba... visited refugees in Tanzania and Botswana.

... instituting a long grace period of about 10 years and an agreement for the money to be repaid in local currencies. The

Angolan government leaders as well as Savimbi are in Washington this week, seeking support for their positions. — Sapa-Reuter.

Black Africa spends less on arms ⁽¹⁾ survey

LONDON — Military spending is falling in many black African states, and some of the continent's conflicts are inching towards resolution, says the International Institute for Strategic Studies in its annual survey. *Bl Day 6/10/87*

The report says there have been no major arms purchases in the region in both dollar and local currency terms over the past year. SA is the only country that

is increasing military spending.

Zimbabwe's expenditure is unchanged, but Mozambique is spending half the figure of three years ago, and Nigeria's defence budget is down 30% in dollar terms, says the report.

Uganda's spending is also lower, but information from other major countries is insufficient to form firm conclusions, it says. — Sapa-AP.

DTA claims

Mobutu to continue to mediate in conflict

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — African heads of state meeting in Kinshasa have agreed that President Mobutu Sese Seko will continue to mediate in the Angolan conflict and will now submit a "draft declaration" to the Angolan rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Reporting from Kinshasa the Mozambique news agency AIM said Dr Savimbi had been invited to attend the summit meeting at which the presidents of Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe discussed peace proposals for

Angola.

He had, however, refused to attend it because of preparations for a Unita congress to be held next week.

The agency said the heads of state had agreed on "a draft declaration". They also agreed their next meeting would be held in Gabon but gave no date.

The meeting follows the near collapse of the peace talks following different interpretations of what happened at Gbadolite in Zaire in June when Dr Savimbi and the Angolan president, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, met for the first time.

Star 20/9/89

① 2 PA

Region on the agenda

The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — Southern Africa will be on the agenda when Foreign Ministers of the United States and the Soviet Union meet for talks later this week.

US Secretary of State Mr. James Baker told a press briefing in Washington yesterday he would be discussing the southern African situation generally with Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze.

He said he did not expect to get into detailed discussions about the De Klerk government.

Mr. Baker said: "As you know, when we congratulated that government on its election and caught a little flak for doing so, we made it very clear that that congratulation was tempered with a desire on our part to see them move expeditiously in a whole host of areas having to do with the abolition of apartheid. I hope we will see that."

Southern Africa will be on the agenda, but it will almost certainly not be anywhere near the top. The issue was referred to only in passing by Mr. Baker during a lengthy briefing he gave journalists on the summit.

THE WORLD

Sudan's rebels are prepared to negotiate peace

THE Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) is ready anytime for peace talks outside the country with Khartoum's military rulers, rebel leader Colonel John Garang said in Nairobi this week.

The SPLA is waiting for a reply from Khartoum to its peace proposals, Garang told a press conference. The rebels rejected secession of the south and were determined to protect the unity and territorial integrity of the Sudan, he said.

The SPLA has submitted a four-point peace plan at a meeting in Addis Ababa in mid-August with representatives of the Sudanese government.

- Formation of a broad-based government of national unity, comprising the regular army, the SPLA, political parties and trade unions;

- Creation of a new army, consisting of the army and the SPLA;

- Convening of a national constitutional conference to draft a new constitution; free general elections; formation of a democratic government and ratification of the draft constitution by the new parliament.

The SPLA has fought for more than six years for power-sharing between the Christian and Animist south and the Moslem-dominated north.

"We are waiting for the other side to come back to the negotiating table," Garang said. "However, it seems that they are preparing for a new offensive."

"Again they say that peace must come from the barrel of the gun. Well, if they continue that way, I can foresee their downfall."

Garang said he had asked Southern African leaders to use their influence to impress upon Khartoum the need for a new united democratic Sudan and to accept the SPLA proposals.

The Sudanese military coup of June 30 had thwarted a hopeful peace process, the rebel leader said.

Although originally reluctant to talk peace, the prime minister before the coup, Sadek al Mahdi, had finally come round to doing so under the combined pressure of military defeats, an army ultimatum, a dramatically worsening economic situation, and pressure from the trade unions and the international community.

Meanwhile Sudanese military leader general Omar Beshir this week ruled out a return to party politics.

Beshir, who was speaking to visiting Kenyan academic and noted African human rights activist, Ali Mazrui, said: "Return to party politics at the moment is impossible."

He also played down a request by Mazrui, who had been sent by the government to address the on-going peace conference in Khartoum, to release all political detainees.

— Deutsche Presse Agentur.

A HUGE family reunification programme is underway in Ethiopia, taking children back to the families from whom they were separated during the 1984-5 famine.

One million people died in the tragedy and one of the government's responses was to resettle families from the worst-hit northern regions in the more fertile western and south-western provinces.

Families were separated, force was used and, in the rush, there was no proper screening so that men, women, and children too weak to travel died on the way.

By the end of 1986, about 600 000 of the government target of 1.5-million had been moved.

While those who made it are trying to rebuild their lives hundreds of kilometres away from their place of origin, the government Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, helped by Save the Children Fund and the United Nations Children's Fund, are reuniting thousands of children, left alone in resettlement areas, with relatives still living in the highlands.

Out of 20 000 children believed to be in need of reunification, more than

Piecing together families separated by the famine

In the mad scramble to beat the Ethiopian famine of 1985, thousands of children were separated from their parents.

Today, slowly, the families are being pieced together again.

EDITH SIMMONS reports

10 000 have been settled.

A team working in resettlement areas identifies the children, some in orphanages or with foster families. Other teams, based in the highlands of Wollo and Shoa, follow the information put down in a questionnaire by the children and trace surviving family members. The distance between the two teams averages 1 000km, with one radio link between them.

Fifteen-year-old Mohammed and his two younger sisters are among the displaced children: "Because of the

famine, my mother and father quarrelled a lot. There was no food in the house and we were very hungry. I left and went with my sisters to our uncle's home.

"One night, I heard my aunt tell my uncle we could not stay because they had run out of food. I took my sisters and we walked to the bus going to a place where there would be food."

Although they are not told about it beforehand, the incomes of the families are assessed by the social workers, and extra support, either a sheep or a cow, food rations, new clothes and blankets, are provided to help with their extra responsibilities.

But reunification does not work for all children, as the director of an orphanage explains: "Some of our children deny having parents or any relatives alive. It is not callousness, only a question of survival."

For children who managed to sur-

vive starvation and death, the orphanage provides a sense of security that they have never experienced before and that the world outside may never be able to provide.

Also, not all children have relatives. A group of 20 000 children now live in 106 orphanages throughout Ethiopia where they will remain until they are 16.

Kebede, 50, is sitting close to his teenage son who was reunited with his family 18 months ago. But their life together is far from easy. Kebede says: "My son left to look for food. Later, a neighbour came to say my son had been found dead over the mountain. I did not recognise the body, but buried him and mourned him. Often I thought that the child I had buried might not be my son."

"Once the famine was over, I walked to the orphanage and found my son alive. But even now, we do not have enough food and my son of ten goes to bed hungry."

The father looks down, then adds: "I know one morning I will wake up to find him gone." — Gemini News

Eritrea: So clean, so pretty, so tragic

The beautiful Ethiopian city of Asmara has the look of an armed camp. All that is keeping the rebels from attacking is the faint prospect that peace talks may bear fruit.

MICHAEL TILZIK reports

A VAN swept around a corner, passing a clutch of soldiers and momentarily stowing by a crowd of children playing in the street.

"Italiano. Italiano," they shouted, running after the vehicle.

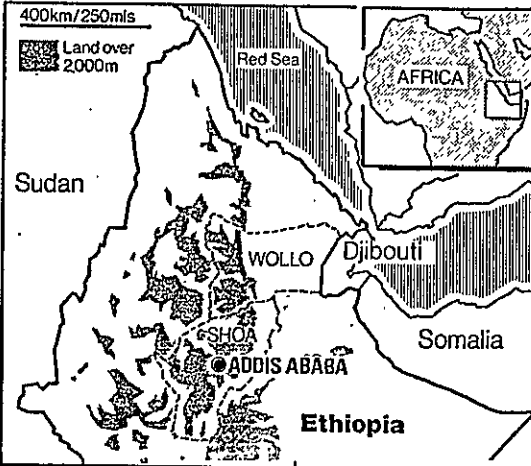
"In this town," the driver explained, "Italiano means any foreigner who is not a Russian."

It is not unusual to hear a resident of this northern city, a lonely outpost of Ethiopian government control almost entirely surrounded by Eritrean rebels, talk in terms of the foreigners who have invaded, occupied, and built up the place over the years.

It was the Italians who turned Asmara from a rough urban agglomeration into a city, during their adventure in Eritrean colonialism beginning in 1890. The British evicted the Italians during the war year of 1941. Later, 5 000 Americans poured their dollars and their pop culture into the place while staffing a United States radio relay station on the edge of town from the late 1960s until 1976.

More recently came the Russian military advisers to help the Ethiopians fight rebels.

Today, Asmara is Ethiopia's second largest city and its most cosmopolitan, the beneficiary of the land's freshest climate and most stunning vistas. But all its glories are overlaid by the mean reality of the rocky and mountainous landscape enveloping it.



Where the famine struck, killing a million and separating 600 000
Picture: GEMINI NEWS

Eritrea, of which Asmara is the capital, is Ethiopia's grimmest province.

Over this land the secessionist guerrillas of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, or EPLF, have fought a 28-year war of independence.

Meanwhile the region's capricious climate, which throughout history has brought drought roughly every 11 years, has bequeathed crop failures in four of the last six years.

This year the rains failed again, Eritrea's crop is so bad that international relief agencies estimate more than a million of its people will need emergency food aid to avert starvation in the next year.

Taken together, the drought and the war make for an atmosphere of unex-

ampled disaster. It is relieved only by Asmara's own Brigadoon-like municipal air.

Here, 32km from the encroaching Sudan desert, deep within a ring of virtually impassable mountains and on a highlands plain accessible only by air and a serpentine mountain road running 96km in from the Red Sea, lies a city of mysterious grace.

The sidewalks of even its most modest alleys, let alone its wide boulevards, are paved with intricately-patterned tiles — like so much else, a legacy of Italian artisans. Two local factories still produce the tiles.

Everything gives an impression of impeccable tidiness, from the streets kept spotless by 300 sweepers to the white-washed trunks of the olive trees lining every promenade.

Turn a corner and one is likely to be surprised by an Art Deco gas station with sweeping curves and porthole windows, painted in fresh pastel.

Inescapably, Asmara's surface prosperity shows its cracks. At first glance, one is struck by shops filled to the brim with imported goods of

every description, some sent over by family members by Eritreans at work in the oil industry of the Gulf states.

But a second look discloses that most of these goods are quite ancient, cheap plastic cameras from Hong Kong or rusted toys gathering dust. The people crowding a small shop are not customers but the owner's friends, idly watching the time pass. Despite Asmara's surface affluence, three decades of war and cons of natural disaster have sapped the city-dwellers' ability to buy anything but essentials.

Always scarce, water is already being rationed, at an alarmingly early point in the season. And bulking large over the city's future is its vulnerable lifeline, a 96km mountain road to the Red Sea port of Massawa, from which it gets all its fuel and other key supplies. It is an article of faith that if the rebels choose to make Asmara fall they need only cut the road.

The public and officials seem to agree that all that is holding the guerrillas back is the prospect, however faint, that peace talks with the government may bear fruit. The preliminary phase of the talks recently adjourned in Atlanta and are scheduled to resume under the mediation of former US president, Jimmy Carter, in Nairobi on November 18.

Nevertheless, Asmara has the look of an armed camp. Sullen soldiers, almost all of them shipped in from elsewhere in the country, occupy virtually every street corner. Some estimate place the Asmara garrison at 150 000 soldiers. That is half the Ethiopian army, itself the largest in sub-Saharan Africa.

Just outside the city limits, the signs of war are evident. On the edge of town, at a settlement called Hazhaz, are 2 400 war refugees, 2 000 of them children, live in vast corrugated-metal barracks, waiting for the day when they can return to their farms in neighbouring Tigre province.

Scarcely a hilltop on the main road south-east out of Asmara is undomed with an artillery bunker. In shioned out of boulders. — Los Angeles Times.

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Africa's crushing burden of debt

APCCS
13/11/89
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By RUTH SINAI of The Associated Press in Washington

THE debt of sub-Saharan Africa, where some of the world's poorest nations struggle to subsist, is not the world's heaviest but it is the most over-looked and hardest to bear, experts say.

ECONOMICS

The region owes about R300-billion, most of it to other governments or to international institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

According to the World Bank, 31 countries are members of Africa's low-income debtor group, those with a per capita annual income of R900 or less.

The biggest debtors, according to the Bank's ranking, are the Ivory Coast, with R30-billion dollars in debt, and Nigeria, with R65-billion.

Earnings

The heaviest immediate burden on Africa's debtors is the payment of interest.

If they paid interest in full, most African countries would use up 30 to 40 percent of their export earnings. Most countries, however, pay only about 20 percent of their foreign earnings, either rescheduling repayment of the rest or amassing arrears.

The problem has been exacerbated by the plummeting prices of raw materials on world markets, which resulted in heavy losses of export earnings for African countries this decade, and by poor government management.

The vicious debt circle contributes to another problem, that of disproportionate debt in comparison with the size of the economy.

Carol Lancaster of the Institute of International Economics said low-income African states are by far the most indebted group of

countries in the world relative to the size of their economies, a fact which discourages investors thus contributing to a steady decline in living standards.

In recent years, the industrialized nations decided to act in concert in order to ease the sub-Saharan debt.

The 1987 economic summit of the world's seven richest economies in Toronto adopted a decision to provide easier terms for rescheduling Africa's payments.

Cancel

That was followed by several governments' decisions to cancel some of the African debt. President George Bush announced last summer he would cancel R2,5-billion owed by states in sub-Saharan Africa.

For Africa, the decision is significant, as about 30 countries grapple with economic recovery programs imposed on them by the IMF as a condition for additional lending by the IMF, World Bank and other institutions.

The programs include measures to reduce government intervention in the economy and encourage development of the private sector. The recipes vary, but they usually include devaluation of the currency, elimination of price and wage controls, liberalisation of trade, and shrinking the size of the bureaucracy.

Gauge

For the most part, the recovery programs are too new to gauge their success.

"This is a period of experimentation with what works best," said Miss Lancaster. "But we're in for a long period of adjustment — it could take decades."

Meanwhile, Christina MacKenzie reports from Brussels that when Africa suffers a major catastrophe, such as the Ethiopian famine in 1984, the public reaches deep into its collective pocket to help — but during Africa's normal sad cycle of drought, famine and war, most aid comes

from funds allocated by world governments.

Even the Red Cross, Medecins Sans Frontieres or other private agencies rely on government funds for humanitarian aid or development projects.

Indeed, the 12 European Community nations supply more than half the world's total public aid to Africa.

Latest figures available from the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development show that the world's total public aid to Africa in 1987 amounted to R38-billion.

Donors

Aid to desperately poor sub-Saharan countries amounted to R31-billion while countries in North Africa — Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt — received most of the rest.

By country, the top five donors to sub-Saharan Africa in 1987 were: France, which gave R6-billion, Italy (R2,6-billion), West Germany (R2-billion), the United States (R1,8-billion), and Japan (R1,3-billion).

The EC as an institution provided R2,6-billion in aid to Africa in 1987. Of this, R2-billion went to sub-Saharan Africa, R255-million went to North Africa and the rest was unspecified.

Sub-Saharan Africa received 23 percent of the world's bilateral aid grants and 43.5 percent of European aid in 1987 and figures for 1988 and 1989 are likely to show similar amounts.

Other large donors to sub-Saharan Africa are Canada and the Nordic countries, which together supplied about 15 percent of the region's aid in 1987.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which operates exclusively in war zones, is concentrating its aid this year on southern Sudan, Angola and Mozambique.

So far this year, the ICRC's aid programs in these three

countries has been worth R212-million dollars, financed largely by the United States, Britain, the EC and Sweden.

Relief

In contrast to the ICRC, the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies operates in non-war zones. "Africa remains the major centre of our operations," director of operations Stephen Davey said. But there had been a change in the past few years in the kind of aid, worth R135-million in 1988.

The Red Cross societies "have to maintain a commitment to basic relief, that is, supplying food, but we're seeking to include better drought monitoring schemes and distributing dry rations to people" before starvation sets in, Davey said from his office in Geneva.

In Ethiopia, for example, the Red Cross is planting trees to prevent deforestation and is trying to improve the water supply.

Brigitte Vasset, program director for Medecins Sans Frontieres, said its strategy had changed, too. "We were present in Madagascar in 1986 for a malnutrition program and now that problem is more or less solved so we're concentrating on a vaccination program."

Cancelled

Some governments have also modified their aid, including cancelling or rescheduling some debt owed by African countries.

Belgium's annual direct aid to Zaire, its former colony, amounts to R300-million, most of which is spent on salaries of 1 200 Belgians working in 280 education, health care and agriculture projects.

This year, Belgium cancelled R600-million in Zaire's public and commercial debt and agreed to a 14-year grace period during which interest payments on the remaining R800-million dollars of commercial debt will be paid into a fund to be used for development projects in Zaire.

French fund (1) to aid African industries (2)

YAMOUSSOUKRO — The French government is to establish a fund to guarantee medium- and long-term industrial investment loans to African and French companies operating in Africa.

French Co-operation and Development Minister Jacques Pelettier announced creation of the fund at a conference in the Ivory Coast capital Yamoussoukro.

The conference, taking place this week, on the future of trade relations between Africa and Europe after 1992, was organised jointly by the Versailles and Ivory Coast Chambers of Commerce. 6/10/89 16/11/89

The scheme is to be financed and administered by the French Government.

It will encourage the competitiveness of the private sector by establishing lines of credit to industries whose access to loans is hampered by liquidity problems facing many African banks.

The value of the fund will be announced on November 16.

African countries had to become more competitive and prepared for the changes ahead, Pelettier said. — Financial Times.

Glasnost sets Africa free ⁽¹⁾ Relly

B/Dary 24/11/87
TORONTO — Russia's reform policies had unwittingly set most of Africa free to try to find more pragmatic solutions to their problems, Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said yesterday.

In his address to the Empire Club of Canada here, Relly said it had been a profound revelation for the under-developed world to have heard directly from Moscow that Marxism did not work and was not therefore for export.

This had turned the mind from the centrist demands of the state to a re-emphasis on the individual. It freed neighbours to look at each other for what they were, and not as potential surrogates for some remote ideology.

For SA it had meant the escape of the country's long-standing fixation with Moscow's supposed nefarious designs. This had allowed SA to see its future as being in its own hands.

"Sadly those in the SA Communist Party and many academics on the left in SA seem to have been impervious thus far to Mr Gorbachev's message and the practical experience over the last 30 years."

However, in Mozambique and Angola, regional assistance and co-operation had become the accepted wisdom and meetings between SA and neighbouring states were indicative of African reality, Relly said. This new development had also been helped by the broad implications of glasnost and President George Bush's recognition of global interdependence.

"I think the Reagan administration set in hand the notion that in southern Africa resources were too limited for them to be wasted on bush wars and that sights should be set on regional co-operation."

Compared with the major OECD nations, Relly said SA was a poor country, but it was reasonably placed by the undemanding standards of the African continent. It was thus able to face the daunting task of creating an amalgam of the First and Third Worlds which the times, population growth and rapid urbanisation were thrusting towards each other at great pace.

Relly said SA was standing on the threshold of a new era, but warned that the international community's support of sanctions would diminish the ability of any government in SA, present or future, to achieve desirable practical equity among its people.

It was a mistake for the world to see SA as an isolated problem as it was part of the southern subcontinent of Africa and its people. — Sapa.

The Comores: tourism is its hope for future

NAIROBI — Here are the main facts about the Comores Islands, whose President Ahmed Abdallah was assassinated on Sunday night:

OFFICIAL NAME:

Federal Islamic Republic of the Comores.

POPULATION:

510 000 (1989 estimate) of whom 60 000 live on Mayotte island which is still under French rule. The population is descended from a mixture of Arabs and Africans.

LANGUAGES:

The official language is French but the national language is Comorian, a dialect of Swahili, the Arabic-based lingua franca of East Africa.

AREA:

2 033km². The Comores are an archipelago of volcanic islands in the Mozambique channel 300km northwest of Madagascar and 300km east of the African continent. There are four main inhabited islands — Grande Comore, Anjouan, Moheli and Mayotte. The 2 361m Kartala volcano on Grande Comore is still active and last erupted in 1977.

CAPITAL:

Moroni on Grande Comore island. Population 20 000.

ARMED FORCES:

The backbone of the government's security forces is the 300 to 500-strong presidential guard, commanded by white mercenaries. The regular army consists of under 1 000 men. There are several hundred gendarmes and police. There is no navy or air force.

RELIGION:

Islam is the official religion, and 99% of the population are Sunni Muslims.

ECONOMY:

The economy has traditionally been dependent on the export of vanilla, cloves and ylang ylang, an essential oil used in the manufacture of perfumes. However, vanilla and clove prices have plummeted during the 1980s and the country relies on foreign aid to survive. The main hope for the future is tourism. SA has financed a large beach hotel on Grande Comore. Most of the population is engaged in

subsistence agriculture and relies on rice imports. There is small-scale fishing.

Imports run at about \$50m a year and exports between \$10m and \$20m a year, depending on vanilla and clove prices. The main imports are oil, rice and manufactured goods.

The GDP of the three islands was officially estimated at \$183m in 1988, giving a per capita income of \$410.

RECENT HISTORY:

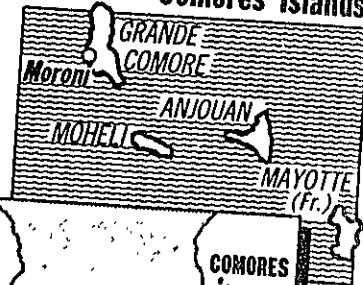
The islands were first settled by Arab seafarers about 1 000 years ago. The Arabs brought in slaves and established a series of small sultanates on the different islands.

France colonised Mayotte in 1843 to take advantage of its good anchorage. France extended its influence to the three other islands during the rest of the 19th century and formally annexed the archipelago in 1904. After voting against independence in a referendum in 1958, the islands received a measure of self-rule in 1961. A fresh referendum was held in 1974. About 95% of the electorate voted yes, but 63% on Mayotte voted to stay French. A row with Paris ensued which ended with Grande Comore, Anjouan and Moheli unilaterally declaring independence on July 6 1975.

Abdallah, a conservative, was proclaimed president of the new republic. He was deposed a month later by Prime Minister Ali Soilih with the help of French mercenary Bob Denard. Soilih embarked on a period of radical social and economic reform but he became unpopular. Starved of French aid, the economy disintegrated. In 1978 Denard landed on Grande Comore with white mercenaries and overthrew Soilih to restore Abdallah to power.

Abdallah signed a series of agreements which restored French aid and gave France base facilities on the Comores. The mercenaries have put down several attempted coups and have helped to establish increasingly overt links between the Comores and SA. SA has put about \$50m of aid and investment into the Comores since 1980 and a weekly SA Airways flight links Moroni with Johannesburg. — Sapa-Reuters

Monday 28/11/89
Comores Islands



Island is peaceful, says hotel manager

THERE was no fighting in the streets of the Grand Comores capital city Moroni, where President Ahmed Abdallah was assassinated on Sunday night, Galewa Sun manager Bruce Thompson said in a telephone interview from the island yesterday. He said the hotel's general manager, Michel Altbert, had made several trips into Moroni yesterday and the situation was normal.

Meanwhile SAA spokesman Robert Quayle said the flight from Jan Smuts to Moroni would take place as scheduled on Saturday morning.

An SAA airbus seating about 250 passengers flies weekly to the archipelago of four islands in the Mozambique Channel, northwest of Madagascar. Quayle said the flight was usually over-booked.

Holiday

Central Statistical Service figures show 1 252 South Africans departed for the Comoros in the six months to June — about 1 000 of these in May and June.

Thompson said there was no sign of any military presence on the island. "We have seen no evidence of military vehicles or personnel."

He said there was to be a period of mourning.

Thompson said reports of the assassination had been broadcast by local radio stations in Comorean, but none of the hotel's management spoke the language.

"We know the president was assassinated, but that is all."

The assassination had posed no problem to the hotel staff or its guests, he said. — Sapa.

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Colonel Bob Denard

Argus 29/12/89

Denard claims SA abandoned mercenaries

The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — French mercenary Colonel Bob Denard, reported to be under house arrest in South Africa, planned to return soon to France, he said in an interview published here.

He complained that "I was abandoned by South Africa, who I served faithfully in Comores for 12 years, because Pretoria now wants to wear the cloak of respectability".

"The South Africans have become so respectable these days that a man like myself, who has served them so well, is an embarrassment. My men and I are of no further use."

"The departure of Cubans from Angola and recent events in the Soviet Union leave them a free hand in Southern Africa.

"All of a sudden they want to be respectable. That explains elections in Namibia and concessions to anti-apartheid movements, less dangerous since they have lost Moscow's support.

"We mercenaries harmed Pretoria's world image, so they stopped paying us."

ASSASSINATION

Colonel Denard gave his interview by telephone to top French journalist Jean Larteguy, who published it in Paris Match.

Colonel Denard continued to deny allegations that he assassinated Comores President Ahmed Abdallah. He maintained that the president's military aide, Sergeant Jaffe, shot him by accident.

He said that "once this case against me in France has been settled, I will return home".

Colonel Denard faces charges following an unsuccessful mercenary raid he led in 1976 to overthrow President Kerekou of Benin.

B/Day 29/11/89 (288) (1)

World Bank points the way for Africa

KAMPALA — For African countries wary of embracing hardline capitalism or socialism, the World Bank has identified another development route — the Nordic way.

The bank noted many African governments have been reappraising the state's role in their economies.

"In the past the thinking of African policymakers has been dominated by the dichotomy between capitalist and socialist development models," it said in a report issued this month. But: "The Nordic development paradigm offers an alternative development model ..."

Countries such as Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia appear already to have moved towards the Nordic option, softening their formerly hardline Marxist policies to give market forces a greater role in the economy.

"A root cause of weak economic performance in the past has been the failure of public institutions," remarked the World Bank in its report, Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Development.

By 1987, it noted, the sub-Saharan region of 450-million people could muster an annual economic output of around only \$135bn, as measured by GDP.

About 30 countries of the Sahara had incomes per person ranging between \$130 and \$450 a year, and only four boasted per capita incomes of more than \$1 000.

Yet, in the mid-1800s the Nordic countries — Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland — also had low incomes and agrarian economies.

But in 1987, the five had transformed their societies into modern industrial economies with average per capita income of \$19 670, slightly above Japan and the US.

"Their success resulted from a social market economy with its combination of free-enterprise economic policies and active social policies," the bank said. — Sapa-Reuter.

B/Day 29/11/89

Shipments of copper from Zambia fall

DAR ES SALAAM — Zambian metal shipments, mainly copper, through this Tanzanian port fell to 11 000 tons in the week to yesterday from 19 800t previously, shipping agents said. (300)

Copper shipments through Dar es Salaam are expected to reach 45 000t this month, below 48 170t in October but well above the port's average of 35 000t, they said.

Traffic on the Tanzania-Zambia (Tazara) railway was heavy in the week and 10 000t of fertiliser awaiting shipment to Zambia was cleared, the agents said.

Tazara faces an acute shortage of serviceable rolling stock.

Port officials said up to 16 102t of exports from Zaire, Burundi and Malawi were handled in the week, up from 11 810t. Imports reached 17 904t in the same period, from 16 700t.

The amount of general cargo awaiting shipment inland fell to 20 000t from 35 000t the previous week, while the stockpile of containers rose to 500 from 420.

Zambia's drive to move more cargo to and from the coast by road slowed down due to frequent breakdowns on the poorly maintained Tanzania-Zambia highway.

Four 35t trucks crossed the border into Tanzania, down from 12 last week. — Reuter.

**TOSHIBA FAX
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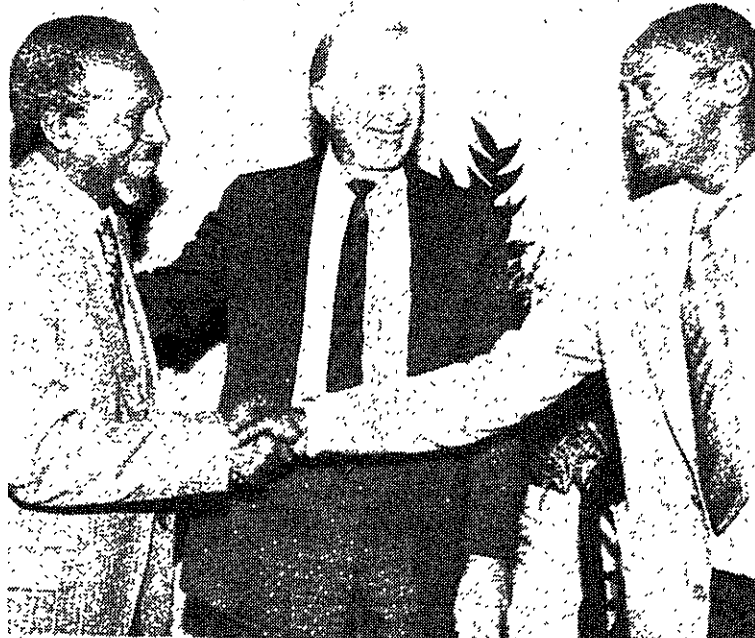
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Former US president Jimmy Carter brings together Ethiopian government leader Yishagere Yigietu, left, and Eritrean People's Liberation Front leader Al-Amin Mohamed Saiyed after eight days of peace talks in Nairobi. The two sides have agreed to hold full-scale negotiations early next year, chaired by Carter and former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, in order to end Africa's longest-running war. They have also agreed to have seven international observers from the OAU, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Tanzania, Sudan, Kenya and the UN.

Picture: REUTERS.

Renewed calls for Ethiopian food aid

B. Dan
30/11/89

Own Correspondent

1

NAIROBI — Fears of another catastrophic famine in Ethiopia are being met with renewed calls from Western aid agencies for more help.

Estimates of the number of people who may be seriously affected by this year's drought vary from 2- to 6-million. Ethiopia has said 2-million will need food aid, a figure that may be based on those accessible to the government, as an escalation in recent fighting in the north has put many families behind rebel lines.

However, last week a senior UN official said the figure was 4-million. This included Tigre, a region held entirely by Tigrean rebels, and Eritrea, where the rebel Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) holds most of the countryside.

The figures game is an all-important factor in determining how much food donor governments supply. In 1984, estimates by the UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation undercut the Ethiopian government's own assessment of the drought, leading to a serious shortfall in prompt aid, which contributed to many deaths.

More than 7-million people needed food aid in the 1984-85 Ethiopian famine, in which about a million died. Famine in 1987-88 was averted by an early response.

This year distribution will be made harder by the spreading war.

There is also competition over who gets the aid. Two rebel relief agencies — the Eritrean Relief Association (ERA) and Relief Society for Tigre (REST) — made their appeals for food aid known last month for a total of 4-million people in rebel-controlled areas.

These agencies, which both have good reputations, believe they can best supply peasants in the worst hit areas. They carry out relief operations from across the Sudanese border.

attributable income in Rembrandt's inter-
im results ends on June 30.

Comores mercenary takes over

PARIS — Colourful French mercenary Bob Denard appeared yesterday to have taken control of the the Islamic Republic of the Comores Islands, following the murder there of President Ahmed Abdallah on Sunday. *blom 30/11/89*

About 200 people were reported under arrest, French journalists were being confined to their hotels and other journalists were not permitted to land on the two main islands of the archipelago, Grande Comore and Anjouan.

Denard, who was head of the presidential guard, and had helped put President Abdallah in power 10 years ago in a bloody coup, apparently led his 500 men and 30

Own Correspondent

European officers in a spectacular rocket attack on the police headquarters and local army barracks at Moroni, the capital on Grande Comore, during Tuesday night.

Bob Denard is a former Foreign Legion officer and is said to be closely connected to the French secret services and to the CIA.

Sapa-Reuter reports an expelled French journalist, Joseph Edern, as saying that the army has been disarmed and may be dissolved.

Edern, who was not allowed to attend

To Page 2

Comores

blom 30/11/89

the Abdallah's funeral on Tuesday, quoted residents on the island as saying that no foreign representatives were present.

He said the three most senior officers of the gendarmerie on Anjouan island were Frenchmen, but they had stopped wearing uniforms. He also said SA paid the salaries of the 20 to 30 mercenaries who command the presidential guard and that it helped to equip the force.

Residents said yesterday the island was calm and there had been no shooting since Sunday when Abdallah was killed.

From Page 1

TANIA LEVY reports a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday SA's involvement in the Comores "did not include funding of mercenaries".

The spokesman said the SA government stood by its statement earlier this week that it was confident SA financial investments in the islands were safe.

The situation was being closely monitored and SA's trade representative had reassured the department everything was quiet.

Violence and want cause African migration

VIOLENCE and want are altering the face of migration within the African continent, says a report from the International Labour Office.

As a result, one out of every five African migrants today is a refugee, and one refugee out of every two in the world is African, the report says.

Most migration in sub-Saharan Africa is no longer a matter of individual choice but is driven by fear of the armed conflicts and by the spectre of hunger that hovers over an increasing number of periodically drought-stricken countries.

Africa is torn between ideology and reality. The ideal is unity, fraternity, sharing. It is reflected in the 17 inter-governmental groups that have been formed in recent times. But the day-to-day reality is reflected in the mass expulsions of migrants by these countries. In the past 20 years five-million people have been forced to leave their new-found homes.

BBB
Business Day Reporter

Tracing the history of deportation in Africa, the study measures the impact and analyses the legal basis of governments' decisions to expel.

One prime example is Ghana. Between 1.2-million and 1.5-million Ghanaians were forced to leave Nigeria in 1983 and another 150 000 in 1985. Ghana was already struggling with a deteriorating economy, which almost collapsed under the weight of the returning migrants.

An estimated 35-million Africans live outside their own country.

Of all the forms of migration, perhaps the most typically African is border migration, where hundreds of thousands of people cross international borders every day without going through any formalities.

The political borders in Africa, set up arbitrarily by the colonial powers

in 1885, cut across the territories of homogeneous populations with the result that every country in Africa shares at least one ethnic group with a neighbouring country.

Another category is organised migration. This basically refers to the movements of low-skilled workers intended to offset a temporary or long-term labour shortage. The flow of workers to SA from neighbouring states is organised migration.

While many migrants, both legal and illegal, cross national borders in Africa seeking a better life than their home countries can offer, the burgeoning refugee movements are the most alarming for African governments and international aid agencies.

The study cites UN statistics that put the number of African refugees at approximately five-million in 1988 — up from 300 000 in 1960. Moreover, between 1971 and 1986 the refugee population more than quadrupled.

CMC Trip
Day, December 1, 1988

De Klerk flies to see Boigny

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk leaves for the Ivory Coast this morning for talks with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny which will essentially attempt to resolve the civil war in Angola.

It will be Mr De Klerk's first overseas visit as head of state, although he did travel to Zaire and Zambia as leader of the National Party. It was the Zambian journey which prompted the final showdown with his predecessor, Mr P W Botha.

President Houphouet-Boigny, who is now 84, was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for his commitment to the peaceful resolution of Africa's problems, but was unsuccessful.

It is now being suggested that he wants to be the key figure in resolving the Angola problem and so line up another attempt at the prize.

To become the peacemaker in Angola, President Houphouet-Boigny will be trying to replace another South African "ally", Zaire's Presi-

dent Mobutu Sese-Seko, the current broker in the region whose attempts have not met with any success so far.

If the Ivory Coast president does succeed in replacing his Zairean counterpart he will have to overcome the same key problem, Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The ruling MPLA government of President Eduardo dos Santos wants Dr Savimbi to go into exile at least temporarily as a pre-condition to negotiations. And, as the number of Cuban troops north of the 13th parallel dwindles over the next 30 months, MPLA anxiety is likely to grow.

Dr Savimbi is refusing to leave Angola and it is here that the South African head of state could play a key role.

The Ivory Coast president has already met Dr Savimbi in the Ivory Coast and today he meets another key player in the region.

Mr De Klerk, who will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, will also brief his counterpart on developments in South Africa, such as the possible release date for Mr Nelson Mandela.

Drumms for F W Bongo welcome for De Klerk

YAMOUSSOUKRO, Ivory Coast. — President F W de Klerk arrived here yesterday to a tumultuous welcome from a brass and bongo band and thousands of cheering Ivorians.

The South African contingent, comprising Mr De Klerk, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, his deputy Mr Leon Wessels, director-general of the State President's Office Dr Janne Riekerink as well as director-general of Foreign Affairs Mr Niel van Heerden, was welcomed by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, his cabinet and a guard of honour.

The SA party arrived shortly before lunch and was treated to a colourful reception by the multiple tribes that make up the Ivorian people.

They lined the perimeter of the airport and danced in colourful costumes to the thunderous playing of bongo drums.

Hundreds of children greeted the 132-member party with chants of "vive De Klerk" and "vive dialogue" as the SA contingent departed to the guest house on the presidential ground.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Houphouet-Boigny, one of the few African leaders to have consistently argued in favour of dialogue with South Africa, are to hold talks which are expected to focus on peace in Southern Africa, Angola and Mr De Klerk's reform programme.

President Houphouet-Boigny treated the SA visitors to a state party yesterday where gifts, including South African paintings and a few bottles of Amavuh, the only alcoholic drink to be made from an indigenous African plant, were presented to President Houphouet-Boigny.

He is expected to take them on a tour of his administrative capital which was recently moved from Abidjan to Yamoussoukro.

The 24-hour visit was Mr De Klerk's first to an-

other African country since he became State President in September.

The meeting followed one earlier this year between Mr Houphouet-Boigny and Mr Pik Botha when it was believed the possibility of a full state visit was discussed.

Although the Ivory Coast does not have official diplomatic relations with the Republic and maintains an official trade ban on SA goods, ties between the two countries have been greatly strengthened while the rest of the continent has argued for sanctions and SA's isolation as a means of forcing an end to apartheid.

Announcing Mr De Klerk's visit three weeks ago, Mr Houphouet-Boigny reiterated his "abhorrence of apartheid, but retained the view that dialogue is the key to change.

In January 1989, Pretoria was believed to have established an unofficial mission in the Ivory Coast, but no official announcement was made.

The head of mission was named in French newspapers and recalled to SA in February. He returned to Abidjan in July.

But since then there has been no sign as to whether there are negotiations between the two governments on the issue of forming full diplomatic relations.

The Ivory Coast first stood out among African nations in September 1974 when it hosted a visit by then prime minister Mr John Vorster. Since that time only the Ivory Coast, Zaire and Malawi have maintained a policy of dialogue with South Africa.

In November 1987, South African Airways and the French airline UTA were given landing rights at Abidjan Airport for flights between Europe and Johannesburg.

Following this agreement, South African goods, particularly fruits, vegetables and meat, have become readily available in the Ivory Coast. — Sapa and UPI

CAK 7/15
2/12/89

Comoros elections within 40 days

PARIS — The interim president of the Comoro Republic, Said Mohamed Djohar, announced "the organisation of free and democratic presidential elections in the next 40 days", Agence France-Presse (AFP), the French news agency, reported from Moroni, capital of the archipelago.

"My mission consists of organising free elections within 20 to 40 days," Mr Djohar said in a radio broadcast on Thursday night. President of the Comoro Supreme Court, he took over after the assassination on Sunday of President Ahmed Abdallah Abderrahmane.

Calm reigned in the Indian Ocean island capital yesterday, AFP reported, noting only a discreet presence of the Presidential Guard at the airport and in the centre of town.

The 500-man Presidential Guard is recruited and trained by French mercenary Bob Denard. The news

agency said Presidential Guard men controlled the airport and the centre of the capital, but that there were no roadblocks and no identity checks.

"The gates of the presidential palace, situated on the seaside, were closed and men of the Presidential Guard, normally posted in front of the building, were strangely absent, reinforcing the impression of a vacancy in power," AFP said.

There were guards at other ministries, however. Street life was back to normal and shops were open again after being shut for three days.

Djohar said in his radio speech that "an investigation has been opened" into the assassination of the president, but he gave no further details.

The interim leader appealed "to all of the foreign partners (of the Comoros) to continue cooperation" and noted that "all obligations undertaken by the Comoran state, both bilateral and international, will be respected." — Sapa-AP.

Ivory Coast gives F W red-carpet welcome

YAMOUSSOUKO (Ivory Coast) — President Felix Houphouët-Boigny (84) rose from his sickbed yesterday to welcome South Africa's President de Klerk who is paying a State visit here.

Salute

However, Mr Houphouët-Boigny, who is suffering a bout of malaria, had to rest after lunch and delay his talks with Mr de Klerk, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his deputy, Mr Leon Wessels. Talks were due to resume late last night.

When President de Klerk stepped off an SAA

jumbo jet on arrival at the Ivorian capital, he was greeted by a 21-gun salute, brass band, traditional bands and dances. A 100 m-long red carpet was laid out for him and he inspected a guard of honour.

Thousands of local people, many waving South African flags, lined the streets of Yamoussouko, Mr Houphouët-Boigny's home town, which he recently declared the capital.

Mr Houphouët-Boigny was the first black African leader to support dialogue with South Africa in 1971. There was speculation this weekend that he was considering open-

DAVID BREIER Political Correspondent

ing official diplomatic ties with South Africa. He is due to retire next year.

The Angolan civil war was expected to top the agenda of Mr de Klerk's talks with Mr Houphouët-Boigny, who has repeatedly called for dialogue with Pretoria despite opposition from hardline anti-apartheid leaders.

South African officials say privately that little concrete can be expected from the talks.

But, they said, the civil war in Angola and the abortive peace talks last

June, in which Mr Houphouët-Boigny played a leading role, would be discussed in detail.

The Angolan peace talks have been undermined by the collapse of a ceasefire in the bush war between Unita rebels, supported by Pretoria, and Angola's Marxist government.

Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) has complained that the principal mediator, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, can do no more to break the deadlock, and Mr Houphouët-Boigny has been mentioned as a possible replacement. But Portuguese Presi-

dent Soares, who met the Ivorian leader last weekend, dampened speculation of such a handover and said that Mr Houphouët-Boigny would remain in the background.

Reform

The Ivorian leader is likely to ask Mr de Klerk to use his influence over his Unita allies to bring them back to the negotiating table.

Mr de Klerk's plans to reform South Africa would also be a key item in the talks and the possible release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela would probably be raised, officials added. — Reuter.

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday stated publicly for the first time that imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be freed — "but I'm not prepared to speculate on when".

Speaking at a news conference after a day of talks with Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, he said: "As and when it is possible, he will be released."

After a two-day visit, marked by the rousing welcome he received, Mr De Klerk also said reforms undertaken by his Government were being recognised by African and other foreign governments.

"There is a spirit of hope, and people are reaching out for one another in South Africa," he said.

Asked if he hoped to establish full diplomatic ties with Ivory Coast, whose President has praised his reforms, he said: "I don't think it is a dream. It can become a reality."

But he wouldn't speculate on the timing of such a move, because the Ivory Coast must make its own decision.

Trade

"I strive to normalise relationships throughout Africa, wherever and whenever possible. And I have no doubt that in that process the Ivory Coast will obviously be one of the first possibilities," said Mr De Klerk.

President Houphouet-Boigny has made it clear that, though he favours closer economic ties with SA and favours negotiations to end apartheid, Mr Mandela must be released before full relations can be established.

Mr De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, arrived on Friday on a 24-hour visit.

The talks between the two leaders centred on the 14-year-old civil war in Angola. They discussed how to restart stalled peace talks

**'Release
as and
when
it is
possible'**

between Luanda's Marxist government and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita. President Houphouet-Boigny has maintained close ties with Unita.

South African products are openly sold in the Ivory Coast, despite an OAU ban on trade links. South African Airways has a direct flight between Johannesburg and the capital, Abidjan.

President Houphouet-Boigny, 84, who has met former SA leaders John Vorster and P W Botha, advocates dialogue rather than trade sanctions as a means of getting Pretoria to dismantle its apartheid policies.

This has earned him indirect criticism from SA's hardline opponents like Zimbabwe and Nigeria.

Mandela!

FW's promise

Sunday Times Political Staff, Yemoussoukro

3/12/89

Political Staff

CONDITIONS for the resumption of full diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Ivory Coast have been spelled out in a front page editorial in

the Ivory Coast daily newspaper *Fraternite Matin*.

The conditions would be the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency and the start of negotiations.

Fraternite Matin made it quite clear in an editorial the day President FW de Klerk arrived in Yamoussoukro that "it all depends on De Klerk".

Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela's release was "not a dream and could become a reality". He acknowledged that the ANC leader had been discussed with Ivory Coast president Mr Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

"I have no news for you in that regard," he said, adding that the government was constantly reviewing the situation and "as and when it is possible, he will be released".

Addressing a press conference prior to returning to SA, Mr De Klerk said the talks had ranged from practical issues of mutual concern to political developments in Africa.

The Ivory Coast president, he said, had been very interested in developments in SA and the latest initiatives.

South Africa was prepared to play its part in

(1) [initials]
Art 7/1/85 4/12/89
'Ties with SA depend on Mandela's release'

Southern Africa on a constructive and positive level.

Asked whether SA planned to approach the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) for membership, Mr De Klerk said: "I don't think we should press for membership. We must normalise relations with as many countries as possible and membership will flow from that."

Mr De Klerk said he had not asked Mr Houphouet-Boigny to help SA normalise relations with other countries, but had no doubt that he would inform other countries of the conclusions he had drawn from the talks.

Asked whether he was not caught between the two fires of black demands and the white right-wing, Mr De Klerk said he did not feel he was caught "and not between fires".

If there were fires, he added, he would put them out.

He said it was impossible to satisfy everyone, but that he believed the majority of South Africans supported the process which had begun in SA.

"There is a spirit of hope and people are reaching out to one another in South Africa."

SA, France,
Star 4/12/89 ①
 EC may cut
 foreign aid ②
 to Comoros ③

By Aidan Hartley,
 The Star's Africa
 News Service

MORONI — Vital foreign aid to the Comoros Island republic from South Africa, France and the European Community may soon be halted in an attempt to force the mercenary-led presidential guard to give up the power they usurped after the assassination of President Ahmed Abdallah Abderamane a week ago.

Diplomats in the troubled island's capital of Moroni have indicated that financial pressure, rather than direct military intervention, would be the best option in ridding Comoros of the mercenaries.

Both France and South Africa, previously seen as backers of the joint presidential guard/Abdallah regime, now seem determined that the mercenary-led guard must go.

South African and French diplomats on the island were seen together at the South African run N'Galawa Sun at the weekend, and it is believed that South Africa may soon issue a statement condemning the guard take-over.

The mercenaries, beset from all sides, have continued to fortify key points around the capital of Moroni in case of military attack.

Eight hundred French Foreign Legionnaires on the nearby French controlled island of Mayotte have been put on alert as a precaution in case France decides to act decisively.

However, despite their concern, it is thought that the mercenary leaders of the presidential guard still are not allowing the local rank and file members of the guard to carry live ammunition for their weapons.

The man who controls the mercenaries, Colonel Bob Denard, spent the weekend seemingly unconcerned at the international moves going on around him. He was relaxing at his beachside bungalow in the north of the island.

He has promised to speak to newsmen about the situation "some time this week".



Things are looking up . . . the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha tour the enormous Basilique Notre Dame de la Paix, in Yamoussoukro, on their weekend State visit to the Ivory Coast. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek

F W hopes for Ivory Coast diplomatic links

YAMOUSSOUKRO — President de Klerk, seeking to end South Africa's isolation in black Africa, said at the weekend that he hoped to establish diplomatic ties with the Ivory Coast.
After talks with Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, Africa's longest-serving leader, Mr de Klerk said that formal relations with the West African country were possible.
"I do not think that it (diplomatic ties) is a dream, it can become a reality, but I do not

want to bind the government of President Houphouet-Boigny and I do not want to make specific predictions," Mr de Klerk told a press conference here.
The Ivorians had no comment to make on their relations with Pretoria.
The talks between the two leaders centred on the 14-year-old civil war in Angola. They discussed how to restart stalled peace talks between Luanda's Marxist government and Western-backed Unita rebels.

President Houphouet-Boigny has close ties with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

DIALOGUE

Mr de Klerk said he greatly valued the relationship with President Houphouet-Boigny, one of the few African leaders to have maintained a dialogue with Pretoria.

South African products are openly on sale in the Ivory Coast, despite an Organisation of African Unity trade ban.

South African Airways has a direct flight between Johannesburg and the country's main city, Abidjan.

President Houphouet-Boigny (84), who has met former South African leaders Mr John Vorster and Mr P W Botha, advocates dialogue rather than trade sanctions as a means of getting Pretoria to abandon apartheid policies.

This has earned him indirect criticism from South Africa's hardline opponents such as Zimbabwe and Nigeria.

Pretoria has sent elephants and white rhinos for a safari park. President Houphouet-Boigny is building near Yamoussoukro, the sprawling but almost deserted capital, he has carved out of the plantations around his native village.

Mr de Klerk and his delegation returned home on Saturday night confident that the visit was an overwhelming success and would contribute to better relations throughout Africa. — Reuter.

Aid to Comores suspended — Pik

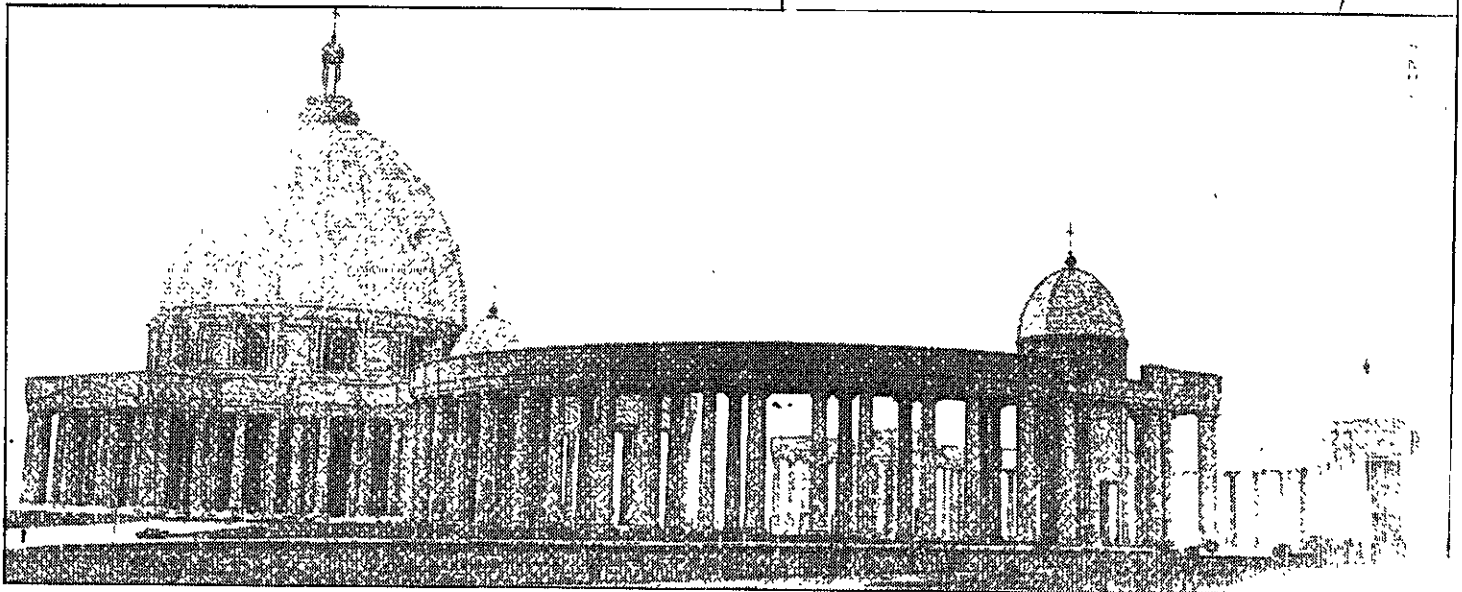
By KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African government has suspended all aid to the Comoran Presidential Guard "and other co-operation" with the Comores in what amounts to a virtual admission that the South African-funded guard must have played a rôle in the assassination of President Ahmed Abdallah Abderamane last week.

In a statement today by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, it was announced that "in the light of the tragic events which led to the assassination", South Africa would:

- Suspend aid to the Presidential Guard and other co-operation with the Comores pending a resolution of the situation.
- Call for the immediate departure from the Comores of "all expatriate elements who obviously do not enjoy the support of the majority of Comorans" and who "prevent the exercise" of their democratic rights.
- Support all efforts aimed at allowing the people of the Comores to decide their own future in a peaceful and democratic manner without outside involvement.

If South Africa's example is followed by France and the European Community, the other major sources of foreign aid for the country, then the Presidential Guard could not survive.



The enormous Basilique Notre Dame de la Paix in Yamoussoukro, which President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha visited during their trip to the Ivory Coast.

Benign rule of the one-man party



A fierce-looking tribal dancer who greeted President de Klerk.

Despite being ruled by one dictator since 1959 the people of the Ivory Coast appear satisfied with their lot, reports The Star's Political Correspondent, DAVID BREIER.

The Ivory Coast is governed from its new inland capital of Yamoussoukro from a marble presidential palace protected by a wide crocodile-infested moat and four-metre-high walls.

For South Africa's long standing friend in West Africa is more than a one-party State — it has a one-man party in Africa's longest-serving ruler, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny who has been in power since 1959.

Overwhelmed

Last week, the ageing president who is officially 84 but generally believed to be closer to 90, played host to South Africa's President F W de Klerk, and his entourage who were overwhelmed with hospitality.

The people in the streets of the town appear satisfied with one-man rule. For although he may be a dictator, he is a benign one.

His people enjoy a thriving free market economy — the large ramshackle market at Yamoussoukro still goes strong well past midnight and the night life would put all similar-sized South African towns to shame.

Officially 100 percent of all votes cast in the last election in 1985 were for President Houphouet-Boigny.

The town enjoys his special patronage as he was born there and owns much of the tribal land in the area. This led to his decision to move the capital from the large coastal city of Abidjan with its 2 million people

to the small backwater of Yamoussoukro.

The town could be a smaller version of Umtata, but with huge extravagant prestige buildings standing in splendid and apparently meaningless isolation in the bush.

The locals are especially aware of the colossal basilica built in imitation of Saint Peter's in Rome. For them it is not an exercise in vanity and futility. It appears to have injected a national pride in a country which needs it as the economy has declined along with falling commodity prices.

The equally lavish Peace Centre is a huge conference complex which would be the envy of South Africa.

But local people point out that spending money on prestige building projects is far preferable to spending it on MiGs.

The thousands of people lined the streets and waited at the airport to welcome Mr de Klerk were well-drilled and many wore the T-shirts of President Houphouet-Boigny's party.

Stability

But their enthusiasm was not that of an oppressed people. There was genuine friendliness.

However, next year the ageing President is due to retire and to be replaced by a governing team. When Houphouet-Boigny goes, the Ivory Coast could do worse than retain the stability which it has enjoyed since independence, despite the large number of tribes which make up its 11 million people.

Star 6/12/89

SA 'to aid Ivory Coast gold mines'

LONDON — In a spin-off to Mr F W de Klerk's state visit to the Ivory Coast last week, South Africa is to provide the country with a comprehensive and substantial technical aid package, centred on developing its gold mining industry.

Reports on this in London yesterday, from the capital of Yamoussoukro, were met with a brusque "no comment" from an Ivory Coast Embassy spokesman, clearly reluctant to discuss his country's relations with South Africa.

He declined to give his name, saying he could not be sure whom he was talking to, said the Ivory Coast had no formal diplomatic relations with South Africa and refused to discuss growing unofficial trade relations between the two countries. He then put down the telephone.

According to reports yesterday, Mr de Klerk discussed the package with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny during his visit to Yamoussoukro.

The Ivorian Embassy spokesman said Mr de Klerk's visit had been solely to enable him to inform Mr Houphouet-Boigny of developments inside South Africa.

Mr Houphouet-Boigny has been consistently out of step with other leaders in maintaining informal contact and dialogue with South Africa.

Despite the lack of formal diplomatic ties and an official trade embargo against South Africa, the SA Government has, for a number of years, provided the Ivory Coast with limited technical assistance, mainly in the agricultural sphere.

Star 7/12/89

① (18)

Foreign Legionnaires on standby

Armed intervention feared in Comoros

By Ken Vernon,
The Star's Africa News Service

Mercenary leader Colonel Bob Denard has dug in his heels and is resisting French and South African efforts to "bribe" him to leave the Comoros Islands — increasing the possibility of French military intervention.

There are unconfirmed, and unconfirmable, reports from mercenary sources that numbers of soldiers of fortune are beginning to head towards the islands in anticipation of getting "a piece of the action" should anyone try to forcibly dislodge Colonel Denard's Presidential Guard.

'Bluff it out'

Radio broadcasts monitored in Mauritius have spoken of Colonel Denard "reinforcing" himself.

According to diplomats in touch with the situation in the Comoros, Colonel Denard believes that he has nowhere to go should he leave Comoros, even with a hefty bribe in his pockets, and suggest that he may opt to try to bluff it out to the end.

"A number of the old guard mercenaries have actually said they would rather die fighting, as they have lived, than be forced out to live in poverty after having lived like kings for 10 years," a diplomat said.

"Denard has never lost a battle and may feel he has everything to gain and nothing to lose by fighting to the end."

Since he took control of the islands two weeks ago after the assassination of President Abdallah, Colonel Denard has kept disarmed Comoran Army troops busy fortifying key installations on the island.

Build-up

There are an estimated 350 members of the Presidential Guard, in the main consisting of local black Comorans, but led by about 50 white mercenary officers. However, after two attempted coups carried out by members of the guard, they do not usually carry loaded weapons. It is not known if they would fight if confronted by regular troops.

According to reports, France recently bolstered the number of Foreign Legionnaires on the nearby French-run island of Mayotte to 800, and it is known that a naval vessel capable of transporting them to the Comoros docked recently at the island.

Meanwhile, diplomatic sources have confirmed that President Abdallah approached both South Africa and France earlier this year for help in getting rid of Colonel Denard and his mercenary-led Presidential Guard that has effectively run the island since the colonel installed Abdallah as president in a coup in 1978.

This has strengthened speculation that Colonel Denard may have been responsible for the assassination of the president.

● See Page 28.

African refugees 'make up half of the world figures'

— One out of every five African migrants is a refugee and one refugee out of every two in the world is African, a supplement of the December edition of the International Labour Office (ILO) Information said.

This was a result of violence and want that were increasingly altering the face of migration within the African Continent, the supplement said.

For the most part, migration in sub-Saharan Africa was no longer a matter of individual choice but was driven by fear of the armed conflicts and by the spectre of hunger that hovers over an increasing number by periodically drought-stricken countries.

This was one of the findings of a new ILO study — Sergio Ricca: International migration in Africa — that presented a comprehensive picture of past and present migration in Africa.

Africa is torn between ideology and reality. The ideal is unity, fraternity and sharing. This is reflected in the 17

intergovernmental groups that had been formed in recent times.

But the day-to-day reality is reflected in the mass expulsions of migrants by these countries. In the last two decades some five million people had been forced to leave their new-found homes.

"Indeed, it is something of a paradox that a continent which claims attachment to such generous values as common endeavour for development should accept the precariousness and suffering that accompany the migration of its people," the study said.

About 35 million Africans live outside their own country — 10 percent of the population of sub-Saharan Africa.

Perhaps the most typically African migration was border migration, where hundreds of thousands of people cross international borders every day without going through any formalities.

"These crossborder movements are simply natural movements of people belonging to the same ethnic groups," the study explained. — Sapa.

SAPE
M 12/88



secure community," he said.

Optimism over African group

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — The outgoing secretary-general of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) of southern and eastern Africa, Mr Bax Nomvette, has painted an optimistic picture of the organisation's progress during the past two years.

In contrast to previous years, he said, the organisation had made significant progress towards its aim of economic integration through the elimination of trade barriers between member countries.

CURRENCIES

There had also been a growth in the use of the PTA clearing house which centralised the register and control of intra-regional transactions in national currencies.

Almost all member countries now used PTA travellers' cheques, he said, adding that it was now time to create a common monetary union to facilitate and accelerate the process of economic integration.

Mr Bingu Wa Makhari-ka of Malawi is the new PTA secretary-general.

U 7/12/89 Mercenary dictator's days are now numbered

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Star 7/12/89

MORONI — Colonel Bob Denard, the French mercenary who last week seized power in the Comoros islands after President Ahmed Abdallah's assassination, was surrounded by a crowd of 500 chanting "murderer" as he left a mosque in Moroni this week.

Colonel Denard, accompanied by a group of his white mercenaries, had gone to the mosque to attend a ceremony known as "hitima", in which he sought to proclaim his innocence of Abdallah's killing. Custom demands that 30 sharif, or descendants of the Prophet Mohammed, should have been present at the service, which was requested by Colonel Denard, but none turned up.

Instead, Comorans gathered around his car as he left the mosque, wearing Muslim garb. They hurled accusations at him before being beaten back by his white henchmen.

The incident reflects the 60-year-old Denard's desperate efforts to remain in power on the islands, in spite of his isolated position.

France, the Comoros' former colonial ruler and greatest donor, has strongly condemned recent political events which brought Colonel Denard to power. And South Africa, which until recently had financed the Presidential Guard that controls the islands, announced the suspension of all aid to the Comoros.

Safe passage

In Moroni there is speculation that South Africa and France will offer the mercenaries safe passage and a "golden handshake" to evacuate the islands.

Colonel Denard, however, holds a Comoran passport and is married to a local woman who has borne him two children. After 15 years on the islands, he controls a large business empire, including real estate and shares in two luxury tourist hotels managed by Sun International.

He claims to have converted to Islam and calls himself Mustapha Muhaju.

His love for the Comoros may account for his connection with Abdallah's murder nine days ago. The president was almost certainly on the verge of expelling the mercenaries with the help of South Africa and France, which both agreed on a plan of action during a visit to Paris by South Africa's director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, last month. Colonel Denard was to have left by the end of the year.

Observers in Moroni believe Colonel Denard may bring pressure on the acting head of state, Mr Said Djohar, to announce the government's

After 15 years as a behind-the-scenes dictator in the Comoros, former mercenary Colonel Bob Denard is under strong local and international pressure to quit the islands. South Africa, which has been embarrassed by its past support for him, is believed to be joining the effort to oust him. This report from AIDAN HARTLEY of The Star's Africa News Service.



Bob Denard . . . appears determined to remain in the Comoros.

support for the existence of a Presidential Guard led by a contract mercenary force. Mr Djohar and others in the Abdallah's government are virtually hostages of Colonel Denard, say diplomats.

Most Comorans also believe this and are convinced Colonel Denard and his right-hand man, Major Dominique Melacrino (alias Marques), personally tortured and murdered President Abdallah and his personal bodyguard in the presidential palace.

Schools are being boycotted and civil servants are striking to protest Colonel Denard's seizure of power. Some Comorans have said the mercenaries should be killed to prevent them returning to the islands.

South Africa and France are believed to be

adamant that Colonel Denard must leave. France is reported to be prepared to use troops based in the French islands of Mayotte and Reunion to remove him if necessary.

However, diplomats are evasive over the details of the deal to be offered to Colonel Denard and what may happen subsequently in the islands.

Questions still remain:

- Where will Colonel Denard and his men find asylum? Colonel Denard, after nearly 30 years as a mercenary, would go to prison if he returned to France. He was indicted by a Paris court in 1987 for his involvement in a failed coup d'etat against Benin President Mathieu Kerekou. France is expected to put pressure on South Africa to take him in, but Pretoria's image has been damaged in the affair and might not be able to accommodate such a pariah.

Most of the other mercenaries are free to return to France and Belgium.

Political vacuum

- Who will fill the political vacuum left by the mercenaries' departure? Recriminations against Comorans who collaborated with the mercenaries in business and the Presidential Guard are certain to follow, political observers in Moroni say. Quite apart from the mercenary question, resentment against the Abdallah government had been increasing for some time.

The popularity of the handful of opposition parties and exile groups has increased as a result of the dire economic situation in the islands.

- Will South Africa and France involve themselves in assisting elections and legislating a new constitution, if there is to be one? South Africa is known to be patronising opposition leader Mr Abdallah Mouzaair and defence secretary, Mr Ahmed Abdu. But Pretoria will have to tread carefully after its associations with Colonel Denard.

Since the election of a radical is almost impossible, the islands' foreign policy is unlikely to change. The Comoros will probably request increased economic aid to assist with their R690 million debt. Both France and South Africa have expressed a preference for channelling aid into development rather than guns, and the islands were negotiating with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for assistance when last week's events took place.

These questions will need answers soon, as Colonel Denard's presence in the Comoros seems unlikely to last into 1990.

Press expelled as Comorans rebel

CAR-Trip 8/12/89 (1)
MORONI — Mercenaries controlling the Comoros islands yesterday ordered all foreign journalists to leave the Indian Ocean archipelago, only hours after street protests erupted against the soldiers of fortune.

Reuters correspondent Robert Powell said he and nine other journalists were given less than an hour to pack and head for the airport. "I do not have to give reasons," a mercenary told Powell when asked why the journalists were being ordered out.

The mercenaries form an elite presidential guard formed to protect President Ahmed Abdallah, but hundreds of Comorans, blaming mercenary commander Colonel Bob Denard and the other mercenaries for his assassination last month, called for their departure in spontaneous street protests which were quelled by the heavily-armed guardsmen yesterday.

"The situation here is electric and there are rumours everywhere that France is about to invade the islands to chase away the mercenaries," Powell said.

France has announced that it is preparing to evacuate French nationals from the islands. — Sapa-Reuter

SA, FRANCE in COMOROS deal

CAPL TINS
12/12/87
①

PARIS. — A South African journalist has defied an order to leave the Comoros, as France and South Africa negotiate a "golden handshake" deal with rogue mercenary Colonel Bob Denard.

Journalist Ken Vernon of the Argus group and Johan Kuus, a Sipa photographer, were told by a mercenary under the command of Colonel Denard, known as Captain Leguerrier or Captain Siam, to board a flight to Naitrohi from a tense Moroni last night.

But Sipa reports that Vernon refused and has taken refuge in the home of South Africa's trade representative in the capital.

Thirteen journalists were expelled from the islands on Thursday.

Yesterday French diplomatic sources said there was talk in Moroni of "an honourable way out" for Colonel Denard, with a substantial financial settlement attached.

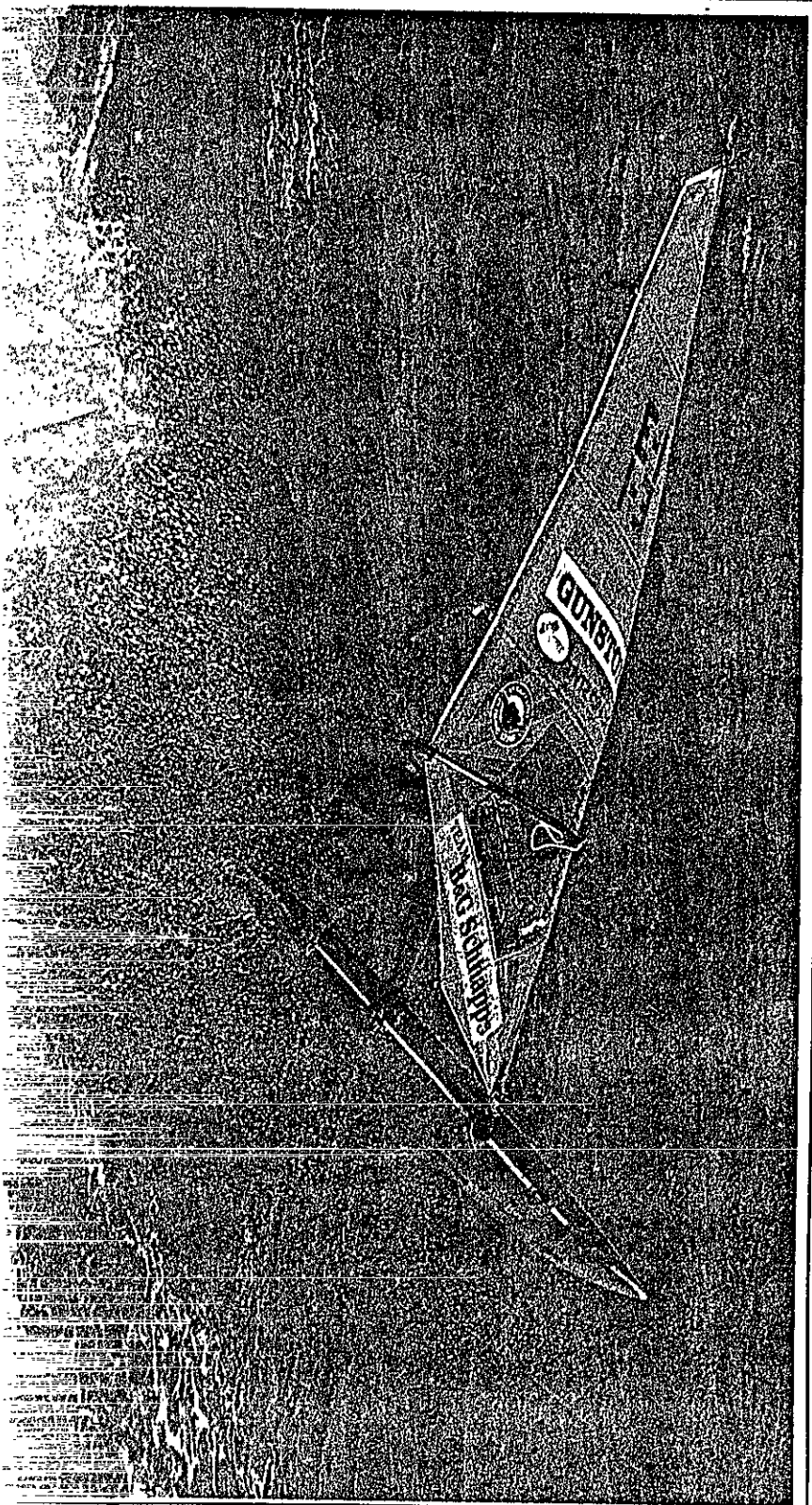
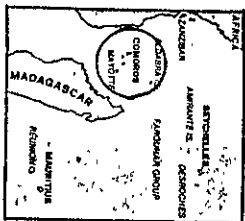
Colonel Denard took control of the islands after President Ahmed Abdallah was assassinated two weeks ago. He heads a group of 30 mercenaries who trained and command the 500-strong Comoran presidential guard.

Diplomats confirmed that the talks were "progressing" and that negotiations were being conducted jointly by France

and South Africa. The mercenaries are likely to demand various financial inducements and a safe passage out of the Comoros, possibly via South Africa.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said South Africa expected Colonel Denard to leave the Comoros within the next few days.

Pretoria was in close communication with the



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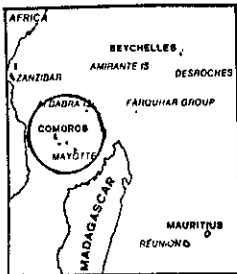
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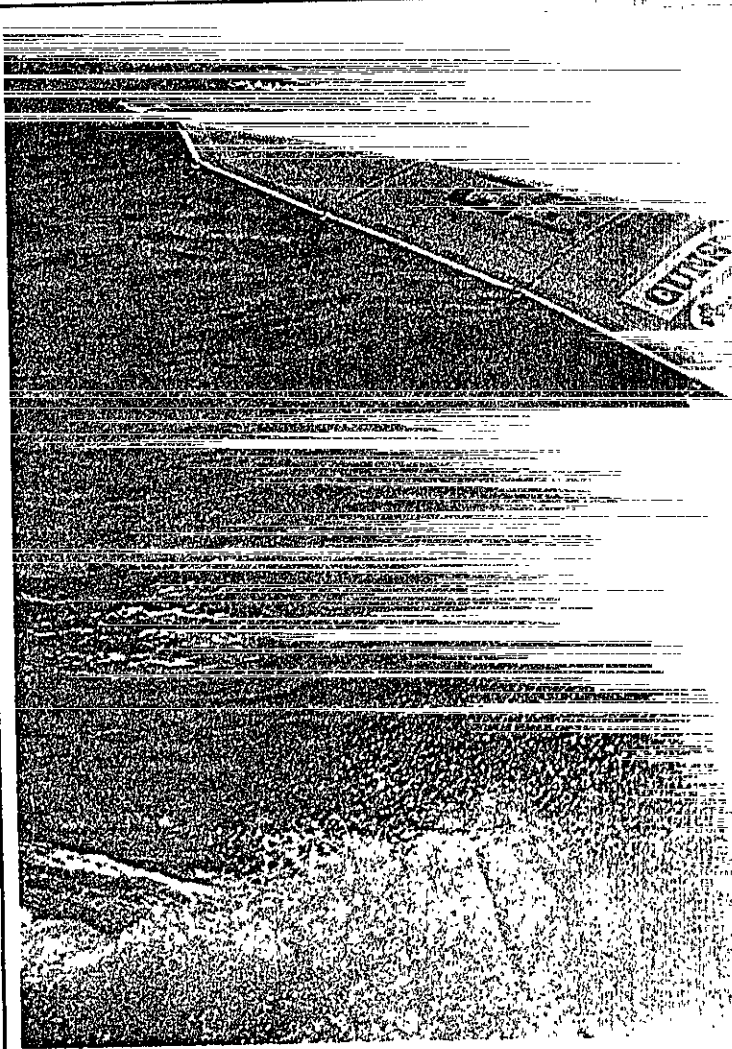
Pretoria was in close communication with the French.

According to diplomatic sources, France is likely to intervene militarily — even if a settlement is reached with Colonel Denard.

Diplomats suggested France would step in either to airlift its nationals to safety or to stave off a breakdown in law and order if the hated presidential guard collapses.

The nearby French island of Mayotte is bristling with army and naval personnel and equipment which has arrived over the past three days.

About 400 marine commandos and elite troops of the parachute regiment have arrived by sea and air and four military transport planes and five transport helicopters are on alert. Three warships are also standing by. — Sapa



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TIME IS RUNNING OUT IN COMOROS

Good life drawing to a close for mercenaries

By STEPHEN ROBINSON

NAIROBI — My stay on the sun-drenched spice islands of the Comoros ended abruptly on Thursday evening as I padded in my swimming trunks through the lobby of the main tourist hotel, on my return from an inspection of the island's famed beaches.

I felt a firm hand on my shoulder, spun round, and found myself peering up at the enormous shaved head of a French mercenary. Momentarily I contemplated adopting a tone of righteous indignation — the "get your hands off me, I'm a British journalist" approach to dealing with dodgy foreigners in far-off climes; but a quick glance at the ominous bulge in the jacket of his safari suit shattered my confidence.

My presence in the Comoros, I was informed in broken English, "was no longer requested", and I had 20 minutes to pack my bags before I was driven in the mercenary's own Peugeot to the airport.

The incident, trivial enough in itself, puts the lie to the mercenaries' claim that it is business as usual on the Indian Ocean archipelago. In theory there is a legally installed president in charge of the islands, a local by the name of Said Mohamed Djohar, whom no one had heard of until he was propelled into power following the assassination two weeks ago of President Ahmed Abdallah.

Island legend

The islanders blame the assassination on Colonel Bob Denard, a French veteran of mercenary wars throughout Africa and elsewhere, who has effectively run the Comoros for the past 10 years. Denard first deposed Abdallah shortly after the Comoros unilaterally declared independence from France in 1975 but three years later, when it was found that the man Denard had installed in his place — President Ali Solilih — turned out to be a closet Maoist, the Frenchman was sent back again, reportedly with the support of African coups. President Solilih was sitting in bed smoking pot with several of his girlfriends when cut down by Denard's henchmen — or so the island legend goes.

Abdallah was reinstated, while Denard stayed on to become head of the 500-strong Presidential Guard, which in turn was led by 30 French and Belgian mercenaries. South Africa picked up the bill for the Presidential Guard and Denard made sure Abdallah toed Pretoria's line.

The Comoros, which lie halfway between Mozambique and Madagascar, were of strategic importance to South Africa, allowing for the supplying of

Renamo guerrillas fighting the Marxist Mozambican government.

Unsavoury

Mr Marco Boni, South Africa's stocky, mustachioed diplomatic representative in Moroni (he is a dead ringer for the South African-born England cricketer Allan Lamb) is now in charge of the delicate process of distancing Pretoria from the regime there.

"In the wake of the Soweto uprising of 1976 we were desperate to find allies in black Africa," Mr Boni recalls. "We got into bed with a number of unsavoury governments, this one included, but now we are determined the mercenaries must leave. We are talking about this happening in a matter of days, not weeks."

With breathtaking hypocrisy Mr Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, announced this week that South Africa was suspending all aid to Denard on the grounds that the Comorians were being denied "their democratic right to self-determination". France similarly announced this week it had cut all aid, reckoned to be about \$25 m (about R66 m) a year.

Less agreeable

Pretoria's particular concern is the £15 m (about R61.5 m) soft loan it gave the Comoros to build two tourist hotels on the island, now operated by Sun International, South Africa's largest hotel group.

The Comoros is a fly-speck archipelago which deals in spices and, more recently, in suntans for the less agreeable brand of white South African tourist. Distinctive Johannesburg accents can be heard on the terraces of the two main hotels and over the roulette tables in the casinos.

It is very important for South Africans to be able to travel into black Africa because it suggests to them that not everyone out there hates them. Besides, it really is a heavenly place.

Even during my abortive stay in the Comoros it became clear why Colonel Denard and his men were reluctant to leave. The Comoros coastline is one long, white sandy beach running down into the clear Indian Ocean: the whole island appears to be ringed by mature palm trees, and the interior is covered in lush indigenous vegetation.

Heyday

The women — who range in colour from mulatto to ebony — are simply beautiful. Colonel Denard, grey-haired and now aged 60, met a particularly



TWO FACES . . . The Comoro islands reflect vastly differing backgrounds and ways of life, which these two pictures illustrate vividly. The main picture shows an old building which conjures up images of the islands' slave-trading days while (inset) is one of the reasons why the islands have become so popular with South Africans — the casino. Pictures: SUN INTERNATIONAL BROCHURE

The mercenaries have created for themselves an idyllic way of life in one of the most romantic places in the world.

But for the disinterested visitor, the brooding presence of the white mercenaries is the main scar on what is otherwise a paradise. They hang about at the airport, in the centre of the capital Moroni; with their reflector sun-glasses, their butch khaki fatigues, and swaggering gait, they look as they have been supplied by Central Casting.

Hedonistic

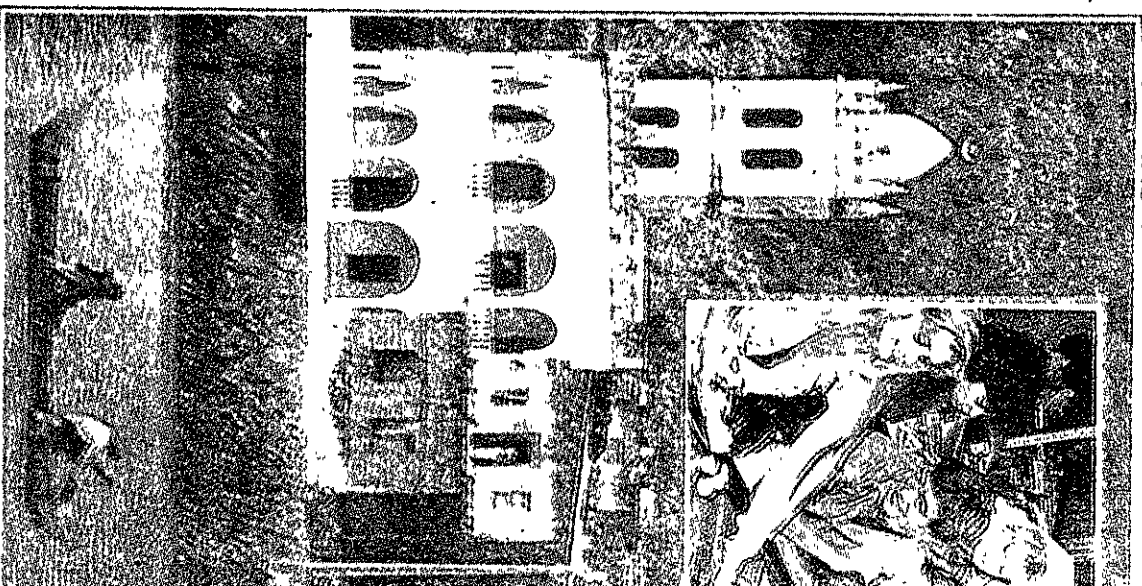
But even to the most insufferable saloon-bar bore who might be seduced by the mystique which some believe surrounds "soldiers of fortune", there is nothing noble about Colonel Denard's crowd.

To begin with, they have broken the first code of mercenary soldiers, which is never to hang around in the place you have "liberated". Colonel Denard's men have no ideology; they are not fighting communism or any brand of black tyranny. Their reasons for staying are purely hedonistic — they are protecting their place in paradise.

Forget about visions of the Wild Geese — many of the ageing, podgy Belgians and Frenchmen who strut around town look more like overweight suburban bank managers than soldiers of fortune.

Rumours abounded that France was preparing to send in 350 members of the Foreign Legion from the nearby island of Mayotte to oust Colonel Denard and his men. I put this to one of the mercenaries as he searched my baggage before I was forced to board my plane.

He spat contemptuously: "We are staying here and we will fight if we have to." He sneered, scratching his pot belly. Somehow one could not help thinking that if Paris were moved to send in the Legionnaires, Colonel Denard and his men might go the same way as the late, unlamented President Ali Solilih.

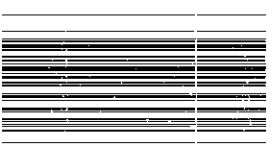


exquisite 15-year-old a few years back and made her his sixth wife. They now have two children and Denard professes to have converted to Islam, the dominant faith on the island.

There are many fine old buildings in Moroni, several mosques, and grand buildings dating back to the islands' heyday as a major slave-trading centre.

Many of the other 30 or so mercenaries have married local women, or at least taken them as mistresses.

Those who have been there longest have made small fortunes by adding to the web of corruption which envelops every aspect of the local economy. Colonel Denard is reliably understood to have made a very large fortune indeed.



He wondered whether political considerations had come into play.

covers many tribal areas including Anosa, Zuni, ...

Denard wants free elections on islands

APR 13/12/83

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — Mercenary Colonel Bob Denard, who has been in control of the Comoros Islands since the assassination of President Ahmed Abdallah on November 26, says he would like to see free elections in the Comoros, with UN observers.

If the new government were to ask him to leave he would discuss it, but he was worried about his Comoran family. "Where would they go?" Also, he said, with why reference to past exploits, "one day they ask me to go, the next they want me back."

As negotiations between France, South Africa and the colonel seemed bogged down over conditions for the departure of the mercenary force and its leader, the French newspaper Le Figaro yesterday published the fullest account yet of the embattled soldier's position.

Colonel Denard firmly denied that he was the murderer of President Abdallah, but said that he would not reveal details of how the death had occurred until the 40 days of mourning was up.

His relations with the late president had

been "like family life". He was still on good terms with the family, which he offered as evidence of his innocence of the murder.

Colonel Denard accused the foreign press of having whipped up suspicion of him in Moroni. The rest of the country remained quiet, he said.

He confirmed that South Africa had paid the salaries of his men until the death of President Abdallah.

He was not prepared to budge from the islands, he said, unless he was offered "an honourable way out" with a financial settlement and some guarantee of safety for himself and his men. "It would be spiritual death, but we will go."

He dismissed the French military preparations on Mayotte as "ridiculous" attempts to intimidate him. He said that he would never fire first on French forces, but that he and his men had a right to defend themselves.

Colonel Denard denied that he was running the country. All he had ever done was look after security.

One of the problems about removing Colonel Denard, French diplomatic sources admit, would be that chaos could ensue. The French forces might be called upon to help restore order.



COMOROS FORCE ... A French paratrooper stands guard under a coconut tree on the island of Mayotte. Behind him is a troop-carrying Puma helicopter. Four hundred crack French soldiers and four warships are at Mayotte for a possible invasion of the Comoros.

Pictures: REUTER

SURRENDER

Comoros mercenaries on way to SA

CA 1-1978 15/12/77 (1)

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Mercenaries from the Comoros Islands have finally surrendered and are expected in South Africa today or tomorrow.

Last night a Foreign Affairs spokesman said it was possible Frenchman Colonel Bob Denard and his fellow mercenaries would come to SA within the next two days, probably in transit to a destination still being negotiated.

However he could not deny the men could stay in the country for a short time. The possibility of their families being flown out to SA was unlikely, he said. The men would not come to SA on the SAA flight tomorrow, but special logistical arrangements would be made, he said. There was no suggestion that SA would contribute to any financial incentive offered to the men to leave.

It was not known whether such an incentive or the French military presence brought into the area this week was persuading the 30-odd white mercenaries to leave the island. Negotiations continued for French troops to ensure law and order temporarily in the Indian Ocean archipelago after the mercenaries leave, diplomatic sources said.

France, SA and Comoran inhabitants have protested against the continued presence of the mercenary-led presidential guard which seized control of the island republic when President Ahmed Abdallah was assassinated on November 26.

Many believe the mercenaries were behind the assassination, but Colonel Denard has denied these allegations.

The Foreign Affairs spokesman said SA was trying to keep its involvement to a minimum but was assisting the French and Comoran authorities negotiating the mercenaries' departure in every way possible.

He said matters bearing on the departure included charges facing Colonel Denard and other guard members in France. These have been laid by relatives of mercenaries killed in the unsuccessful coup attempt Colonel Denard led in Benin in 1977.

The spokesman said SA's trade representative on the island, Mr Marco Boni, had been doing an outstanding job as SA's sole representative.

Mercenaries 'can't stay'

Capt. T. W. B. 16/12/89 (1)

Denard's men here, but not for long

JOHANNESBURG. — A bitter Colonel Bob Denard, ordered out of the Comoros Islands by French paratroopers yesterday, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport last night with 21 of his middle-aged mercenaries.

Heavy security surrounded the Safair transport aircraft and the uniformed mercenaries were shepherded by Foreign Ministry officials. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said at a news conference that most of the mercenaries would be put on flights to France within 48 hours. The government had only allowed them into South Africa temporarily at the request of Comoran authorities and after consultation with France. Colonel Denard's status was being discussed by France and South Africa, but it appeared that the

veteran mercenary was insisting on staying put until "safe passage" arrangements had been made. He is reluctant to return to France, where he faces possible criminal charges for his part in an unsuccessful coup in Benin, two years ago. Mr Botha would not say whether Colonel Denard would be allowed to leave the airport. "The idea is to get them out of here as soon as possible," said Mr Dries Venter, a Foreign Affairs official. He said the mercenaries had been carrying side-arms, which were confiscated. Colonel Denard and his men embarrassed the two South African officials who accompanied them to the chartered aircraft on Grande Comore, the main island, earlier yesterday. The men insisted on boarding in their uniforms and with their weapons. The French troops who had effectively taken control of the islands refused South African pleas to help disarm them. Mr Marco Bono, South Africa's trade representa-

five, said this was Colonel Denard's "final act of bravado". He said the mercenaries gave up their weapons after the aircraft hatches were closed. The Comoros crisis ended with a whimper early yesterday when French paratroopers landed in four helicopters and two transport aircraft at the airport near Moroni. The French military attaché immediately ordered Colonel Denard and his men to leave the islands and announced that French troops would maintain security until Comoran politicians had formed a government. Before leaving, Colonel Denard was asked how he felt. "How do you think I feel — like dancing?" and praised Allah. The French Defence Ministry described their action as a "military assistance mission" requested by the Comoros government — Daily Telegraph and Sapa-Reuter

AS this week's angry scenes in the House of Commons made abundantly plain, the emotional rhetoric aroused by the British Government's decision forcibly to repatriate Vietnamese boat people who entered Hong Kong illegally, confuses in most minds the distinction to be drawn between the refugee and the economic migrant.

Britain urgently needs fresh definitions which will be better comprehended.

The 1951 United Nations convention which refers to the refugee as one with "a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" relates to roughly 14-million people in the world today who seek asylum.

It doesn't include many millions more, the so-called economic refugees — such as those from Vietnam — who leave their country not from fear but with a desire to improve their lot elsewhere.

Changed

In a world bulging with statistics, we have no idea what their total may be. The Demographic Year Book reports departures to another country or area by major categories, but there are too many gaps in the tables to offer much guidance. Few Third World countries keep statistics.

In the post-war years, the pattern of world migration has changed fundamentally. Whereas much of the movement in the first half of this century emanated from Europe, most of it during the last 30 years has sprung from the Third World.

Paradoxically, the end of the

Wave of refugees becomes a flood

W F Deedes

writing in the Daily Telegraph, examines the world's growing refugee problem

colonial era and the advent of authoritarian governments had the effect of stimulating migration.

Political and economic conditions in newly independent countries produced a fresh wave — both of refugees seeking asylum and economic migrants fleeing from poverty.

An example of the first was the great exodus of Asians from Kenya and Uganda in 1968 which impelled the Labour Government to extend restrictions on immigration — restrictions which they had so bitterly opposed when arch-Tory R A Butler introduced them in 1961-2.

London Transport, British hospitals and teashops actually set out to recruit migrants from the Caribbean on the grounds of a supposed labour shortage in Britain, just as Germany later drew into her industries the "guest workers" from Turkey and elsewhere.

Jet air travel greatly quickened

this movement and created a need to control it — just as the coming of the steamship had driven Britain to impose its earliest immigration restrictions at the turn of the century.

That experience unquestionably has its bearing on the attitude of the British Government towards both the Vietnamese boat people and the wider obligations to the British passport holders of Hong Kong.

Self-appointed marshals of public opinion may rage furiously about British honour in Hong Kong, but British governments have learned from hard experience the risks of open-ended commitments to immigrants for whom no adequate social provisions have been made.

Exodus

On the horizon, it is already possible to discern a new dimension to the migrant movement. We may soon face a huge exodus from Africa. The population of sub-Saharan Africa has doubled in 25 years, far exceeding the continent's capacity to support it. It will have doubled again by 2010.

"This exceptional demographic surge," the World Bank warned in a recent report, "will be accompanied by massive pressures for migration — both national and regional — creating social and political tension."

At the close of the First World War, General Smuts said: "Humanity has struck its tents. We cannot tell whither they are journeying."

That far-sighted observation holds good 71 years on, but the caravan has grown longer — and poorer.

CAE Times 18/12/89

Denard and 3 at a 'hide-out'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mercenary leader Colonel Bob Denard and three fellow soldiers of fortune have been taken from Jan Smuts airport to a secret Witwatersrand hide-out.

Foreign Affairs officials said yesterday the four had been given armed protection but were not being held in detention.

The other 18 of the 22 mercenaries who arrived in South Africa from the Comoros on Friday flew out of the country on Saturday night.

Six of them — one Belgian and five Frenchmen — were immediately taken into custody by French police in Paris and will be held until investigators can determine whether they are wanted for any crimes.

Colonel Denard's young Comoran wife and their two children were among the group.

Colonel Denard is negotiating with the French authorities for indemnity

for crimes he allegedly committed during an abortive coup in Benin in 1978, officials said.

The four mercenaries remaining in South Africa have been granted temporary residence permits. A Foreign Affairs official said he hoped the four would leave as soon as possible.

The official reiterated that Colonel Denard would not be allowed to stay in South Africa.

Meanwhile, Colonel Denard's men organised a 24-hour drinking party for themselves in the transit lounge at Jan Smuts airport while they awaited flights to Europe.

They started with tinned Russian caviar and French champagne "liberated" from the Comoros before they left and continued with a large variety of South African wines and beer.

Airport security men kept a wary eye on the carousing men but did not interfere. Several brawny young men describing themselves as "old colleagues" joined the party.

Police question mercenaries

PARIS. — Nine of 22 white mercenaries who seized power in the Comores before handing over to French forces last week have arrived in Paris and have been questioned by police.

The eight Frenchmen and one Belgian travelled yesterday on two flights from South Africa, one via Lisbon.

Orly Airport police said the Belgian, who they identified as Mr Joseph Wallendorff, was expelled to Belgium. The others were allowed to leave for their homes in France.

The mercenaries, who commanded the Presidential Guard, took control of the Indian Ocean islands after President Ahmed Abdallah was assassinated in his palace on November 26.

Their leader, Colonel Bob Denard, has denied that he or his men were responsible for killing him but few believe him.

Colonel Denard and his men flew to Johannesburg on Friday amid intense pressure for them to leave the Comores.

Colonel Denard remains in South Africa pending the outcome of negotiations on his future. It is expected that he will leave soon.

However, French police sources said Colonel Denard, a Frenchman, was not expected to go to France, where he risks deportation to the West African state of Benin to face murder charges arising from an unsuccessful coup attempt.

The mercenaries handed over power in the Comores on Friday to a French military task force which will stay in the islands, off Madagascar, for two years to train security forces. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See page 23.

SA influence on Comores wanes

From KEN VERNON
Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — The prominent position that South Africa has achieved in the Comores at a cost of hundreds of millions of rands is in jeopardy after a virtual French takeover in the island republic.

South Africa has been comprehensively out-manoeuvred by the French each step of the way during negotiations to remove Colonel Bob Denard and his fellow-mercenaries after the assassination of President Ahmed Abdallah three weeks ago.

The result is that while South Africa has been left holding Colonel Denard and his band of men, the French have been left holding the Comores.

French control

French police officers control the Comoran police, French military officers control the remnants of the Comoran army and French paratroopers control the Presidential Guard Colonel Denard created to run the country.

"We have now been thrust back into the colonial period," said one young politician. "The

French are again in control and will undoubtedly organise for their man to win the presidential election."

The waning of South Africa's fortunes was evident even at the Hahaya Airport outside Moroni on Friday when Colonel Denard handed over control of the islands in a formal military parade to the French military attaché.

The picture the world saw was of a handful of South Africans standing by helplessly while the mercenaries ran the show to the end, at one point even assaulting a journalist trying to report their departure.

At the day's end the Comoran government implicitly acknowledged the new French rulers of the Comores by issuing a public statement, read over the radio, thanking the French for helping get rid of Colonel Denard — with South Africa's role being totally ignored.

Apart from the obvious South Africa presence of the two Sun International-run hotels, South Africa initially aimed to achieve a toe-hold in Africa via the Comores.

The islands are also poten-

tially valuable to South Africa as an air-bridge to the Far East and perhaps elsewhere, the international airport at Moroni being only one of three in black Africa that are open to South African scheduled flights (the others are at Cape Verde and at Abidjan in the Ivory Coast).

Export channel

While it is not clear whether South African traffic might have passed through the Comoros, the islands have been widely regarded as a channel for South African imports and exports, possibly including arms.

Though South African commercial penetration of the islands will probably continue, possibly on a smaller scale, the high-profile aid projects that cost South Africa millions of rands may be discontinued as the French re-assert themselves.

There appears no imminent danger of South Africa losing its present landing rights on the islands, though much depends on political developments during the coming weeks.

● See page 23.

Days of Africa's soldiers of fortune numbered

ARBUS 18/12/89 (1)

By **ANDREW STEELE** of Reuter

SOLDIERS of fortune like Frenchman Bob Denard, who has finally lost his kingmaking role in the Comores Islands, have played a prominent but mainly ineffective role in many of Africa's simmering conflicts.

Mercenary leader Bob Denard and his men flew to Johannesburg on Friday as pressure mounted on them to leave the Comores.

Military experts say the days when colourful mercenaries like Denard and "Mad" Mike Hoare used the continent and Indian Ocean mini-states as their personal playground and fiefdom are nearing an end.

Nine of 22 white mercenaries who seized power in the Comores before handing over to French forces last week arrived in Paris yesterday and were questioned by police.

The eight Frenchmen and one Belgian arrived on two different flights from South Africa, one via Lisbon, police said.

Denard is one of four remaining in South Africa pending the outcome of negotiations on his future, an airport police spokeswoman said.

Deportation

French police sources said Denard, a Frenchman, was not expected to come to France, from where he risks deportation to the West African state of Benin to face murder charges arising from an unsuccessful coup attempt.

South African expert Al Venter says the demand for soldiers of fortune is waning because warring parties now use more sophisticated methods of undermining the opposition. He thinks Denard, 60, has probably now fought his last battle.

"Bob has overstepped the mark this time. It is difficult to know what he will do. But he is very wealthy, he'll find somewhere to take him," Venter said.

He said that Denard's mercenary force was one of the more successful of recent times, having succeeded in controlling the Comores for more than a decade.



Colonel Bob Denard (right) talks to a French soldier at Moroni Airport in the Comores before flying to South Africa.



"Of the 100 of so conflicts in Africa over the past two decades, mercenaries have probably been involved in about a dozen. But the record of their performance is not good," Venter said.

Invasion

East of the Comores, the Maldives was the scene of an invasion in November last year when 400 mercenaries made an unsuccessful bid to overthrow President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom.

The coup, the third since the islands achieved independence in 1968, was crushed with the help of 1 600 Indian paratroopers. The mercenaries, who tried to flee in a boat, were dragged ignominiously back into port.

One of the most spectacular mercenary failures was that of the legendary soldier of fortune "Mad" Mike Hoare who led a group of mainly South African mercenaries who tried to take over in the Seychelles in 1981.

They were thwarted at the airport customs point just after arriving on a scheduled airliner. Six men were captured but 44 hijacked another plane to South Africa.

On mainland Africa, mercenaries have been used in a host of the continent's bloodiest regional conflicts, including the Biafran, Rhodesian and Zairean civil wars.

Denard himself took an unsuccessful part in the Biafran conflict, in the Angolan civil war, and in an abortive raid of mostly French mercenaries in 1977 to overthrow the marxist state of Dahomey.

Invited back

In the Congo, which in 1971 changed its name to Zaire, white mercenaries and Belgian paratroopers were used to help the Congolese army quell anti-government rebels.

Moise Tshombe, who led a secession movement against Zaire's first post-independence prime minister before being forced into exile, was invited back home in 1964 to form a government and put down insurgents.

But he was eventually forced to resign in 1965 in favour of the former Belgian colony's current head of state, President Mobutu Sese Seko.

South Africa is often accused of providing the mercenary manpower to destabilise its neighbours.

Investigator

In 1987, the UN Human Rights Commission adopted a resolution condemning the use of mercenaries in the Third World, particularly by South Africa, and appointed a special investigator to report back on the problem next year.

The resolution strongly condemned South Africa "for its increasing use of armed mercenaries against national liberation movements and for the destabilisation of the governments of southern African states".

Denard for Ivory Coast?

Own Correspondent

PARIS — France and SA are applying pressure on the Ivory Coast to accept Col Bob Denard, the mercenary leader forced out of the Comores last week, diplomats said yesterday.

Meanwhile, a French television report claimed that Paris and Pretoria paid between £3m to £4m to get the 60-year-old veteran of several African and Middle East coups to quietly leave the island.

The state-owned FR3 French channel had a reporter on the plane that took Denard and about 20 of his men to SA last Friday, three weeks after the assassination of the Comores President Ahmed Abdallah Aberemane.

French government officials, who were becoming increasingly embarrassed by the whole Denard affair, refused to comment on the report.

The mercenary leader, who with about 30 other French and Belgian mercenaries ran the Comores presidential guard, is currently under house arrest in Pretoria.

According to French sources, he is being "debriefed" to make sure that he does not reveal details of any of his past exploits for France or SA.

SA financed the presidential guard, while France had made varying degrees of use of the French-born mercenary.

Denard is wanted in his home country for his role in an attempted overthrow of the Benin government in 1977.

In 1975, Denard helped depose Abdallah, but then in 1978 provided the military muscle to bring him back to power.

The colonel has admitted he was present when Abdallah was assassinated on November 26, but has denied pulling the trigger himself.

Both Paris and Pretoria are anxious to get Denard out of the public mind as soon as possible and African diplomats said

□ To Page 2

Denard

both were urging Ivory Coast to offer him a home in exile.

It is one of the few African countries left where he has not been involved in some kind of plot.

Denard went there only a few months ago to take a message from former SA

president P W Botha to Ivory Coast leader President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

SA President F W de Klerk, visited the Ivory Coast recently to forge new links with the former French colony.

Denard could leave Pretoria within the next few days, the diplomatic sources said.

□ From Page 1

B12m
20/12/84
B12m 20/12/84

After a 'lost decade' Africa faces scant hope

News 22/12/89 ①

From RORY CHANNING
of Reuter in
Addis Ababa

AFRICA, mourning a "lost decade" of development, will enter the 1990s worried that political changes sweeping Eastern Europe might scupper its own aid, trade and investment hopes.

"We in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) welcome very much the co-operation and the rapprochement between the East and the West," the OAU's assistant secretary general, Ahmed Haggag, told Reuters.

"But there are certain apprehensions which the African countries harbour towards the future," he said in a recent interview.

"We hope the superpowers and other industrialised countries will not relegate Africa to a lower priority, which will affect cooperation and trade," he added.

Famine

The continent's most prominent economist, Adebayo Adedeji, said it was possible that foreign funds which might have reached Africa would now be diverted to reforming East European countries like Poland, Hungary and East Germany.

As a result, he said, "the external resource famine from which Africa is currently suffering may be intensified in the 1990s."

Adedeji, executive secretary of the Addis Ababa-based United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, said that in nearly all major yardsticks of economic performance Africa was worse off now than 10 years ago.

He mentioned deteriorations in living standards, education and health services, agriculture, mining, industry, inflation and balance of payments.

The number of African countries classified as least developed reached 28 last year — a jump of one-third in 10 years — out of 42 worldwide.

The continent's foreign debt has climbed nearly five-fold to R550-billion, on which scheduled 1988 repayment dues equalled a crippling four-tenths of annual export earnings.

"Without doubt the 1980s have been, socially and economically speaking, a lost decade for Africa," said Adedeji.

He has fiercely criticised the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for extracting reforms, in return for aid, that he says placed too much stress on budget

cuts to balance short term finances.

In the process, he charged, they neglected immediate social needs and longer term structural transformation of Africa's fragile, narrowly based economies which rely largely on exports of minerals and crops.

The World Bank floated a major rescue plan on November 21 to haul sub-Saharan Africa out of its poverty, calling for aid that would dwarf the sums spent on rebuilding Western Europe after World War II.

It proposed that donors should raise official, concessional development aid to the region by four per cent a year during the 1990s, from R35-billion next year to R48-billion (in 1990 prices) by 2000.

This far exceeds the R25-billion received in 1986, the latest year for which the Bank gave details, which was the same in nominal terms as the cost of the US Marshall Plan that rebuilt post-war Europe.

Asking whether Africa's decline could be reversed, and saying "yes... the alternative is too awful to contemplate", the report goes some way towards answering the criticisms of Adedeji and his supporters.

It urged a long-term "people centred" strategy based on more spending on educa-

tion, health, science, technology and decaying infrastructure and environment.

It would combine deeper and prolonged reforms, including special measures to alleviate poverty and protect the vulnerable. But assistance should be more selective and performance-based, strongly favouring those governments pursuing sound and sustained reforms.

The World Bank report appears to have been largely compiled before it became clear how dramatically events would unfold in Eastern Europe, and makes no mention of these or their possible impact on aid and investment flows to Africa.

Recovery

One week after its release Adedeji, who earlier warned African governments they would have to take charge over their own destinies and rely more on their own resources, declared:

"Given the existing international economic and geopolitical order, and increasingly stiff conditionalities attached to whatever limited resource flows there are likely to be, there is little hope for any large-enough external resources being made available in the 1990s to sustain African economic recovery and transformation."

SA arms sold to Somalia, paper claims

Star 22/12/89
Pretoria Correspondent

South Africa has apparently entered into an arms deal with Somalia following a high-powered visit by Somali generals to Pretoria earlier this year, a London newspaper has claimed.

But South African sources have either dismissed the claims or refused to comment.

The report in *The Independent* claims that armaments from South Africa have begun to arrive in Somalia following a top secret tour by two Somali generals to South Africa early this year during which they met senior defence ministry officials and returned with promises of military aid.

Similar claims were made in 1985 when the foreign press reported on a secret military pact between the two countries.

Reports then linked the supply of weaponry to the granting of landing rights in Somalia to South African Airways.

An Armscor spokesman said today the organisation did not comment on any of its transactions or customers.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said South Africa did not sell weaponry to Somalia.

The Ministry of Defence would not comment.

Ethiopia may allow food aid through to rebel zones

^{SM 23/10/89 ①}
LONDON — The Ethiopian government appears to have decided in principle to allow food aid through to starving people in rebel-held territory, and says it is studying a proposal from the Ethiopian churches for a plan to take food across the front lines.

If the government does allow the food through, the relief operation will be made simpler and thousands of lives could be saved.

The situation is far worse than had been thought earlier. A Food and Agriculture Organisation report says Ethiopia will need more than a million tons of food aid next year — three times the earlier estimate.

Four million people are facing starvation in Eritrea and Tigray. Their

crops have failed because of drought.

The problem is exacerbated by civil war. As long as the Ethiopian government is not allowing access to the famine region from the Red Sea ports or the capital, Addis Ababa, food will have to be brought across the border from Sudan.

Diplomats and aid agencies are still studying the text of a statement made late last week by the Ethiopian Foreign Minister, Mr Tesfaye Dinka, in which he said that the government had instructed its official relief agency, the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission to co-operate with Ethiopian church agencies in working out a detailed plan to bring relief food to the affected regions. — The Independent, London.

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Denard 'not leaving SA immediately'

Col Tink 23/12/89

JOHANNESBURG. — French mercenary Colonel Bob Denard quashed reports yesterday that he was about to leave South Africa immediately — although his stay would be “obviously temporary”.

But South Africa's Foreign Affairs Department said yesterday Col Denard had reached agreement with an undisclosed foreign government and was due to leave last night on a flight from Johannesburg.

Col Denard told a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport that he was being briefed by his lawyer on his legal position in France where he faces charges for attempting a coup in Benin in the 1970s.

Looking well-groomed, he wore a blazer, red tie and blue shirt, but dragged his right leg.

His voice broke as he told journalists about the Comoran wife and children he left behind when he was evacuated from the islands.

He denied he had assassinated Comoran President Ahmed Abdallah, saying he had “fraternal bonds” with the late president.

But he declined to answer questions “because I reserve my answers for defending myself if necessary”, he said.

More than 30 of the mercenaries flew to Europe last week, but Col Denard was allowed to stay in South Africa temporarily while he negotiated to obtain permanent residence elsewhere.

Acting Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Leo “Rusty” Evans said South Africa was not involved in negotiations with France for indemnity for Col Denard. — Sapa

Provisional government to be set up in Comoros, meeting decides

MORONI — The main political groups in the Comoros Islands, ruled briefly by white mercenaries after the country's president was assassinated a month ago, agreed yesterday to form a provisional national unity government.

The groups decided at a meeting that the provisional government should organise a multiparty presidential election, ending single-party rule in the Indian Ocean island chain northwest of Madagascar.

Participants said the meeting agreed, after 10 days of round-table discussions, to proclaim an amnesty for all political prisoners and open an inquiry into the death of President Ahmed Abdallah.

The islands were taken over by 30 mercenaries, who commanded the powerful Presidential Guard, after the president was assassinated in mysterious circumstances on November 26.

Most diplomats in Moroni believe the late president was shot dead by the mercenaries who were supposed to protect him, but mercenary leader Colonel Bob Denard denied this.

The mercenaries were forced to leave on December 15, under pressure from France and South Africa, and French troops have been helping the government maintain law and order since then.

Delegates at the meeting, convened

by interim president Mr Said Mohamed Djohar, did not set a date for the formation of the provisional government.

In addition to the ruling Progressive Comorian Union, a loosely organised party centred around the late president, there are five established opposition parties. But a host of new political groups have sprung up since the assassination.

The conference set up a national electoral commission to organise and supervise the election, which many politicians expect to take place within six months.

It decided to repeal a 1979 law that made the islands a one-party State, and a rule stipulating that each presidential candidate must be supported by at least five elected representatives from each island.

This rule has made single-candidate elections inevitable in this country of 450 000 people, since one island, Moheli, sends only five deputies to the national parliament.

The conference also passed a resolution urging France to return the island of Mayotte to the Comoros.

Mayotte, which voted against independence in a 1974 referendum, remained French when the other three islands in the archipelago unilaterally declared independence a year later. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Ivory Coast opens door to links with SA

PARIS — Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny opened the door to diplomatic relations with South Africa in an interview published yesterday.

He told the influential French daily *Le Monde* it was up to Pretoria, which is campaigning to end black Africa's diplomatic boycott, to make the first move.

"South Africa has not yet asked us, it is not up to me to do it," said Mr Houphouet-Boigny, interviewed in Abidjan on December 19.

Africa's longest-serving leader said his conservative West African country's policy was to have relations with any foreign state provided it respected the Ivorian regime.

President de Klerk said earlier this month after a meeting at Mr Houphouet-Boigny's home town of Yamoussoukro that he hoped to establish diplomatic ties.

REALITY

"I do not think that it (diplomatic ties) is a dream, it can become a reality but I do not want to bind the government of President Houphouet-Boigny and I do not want to make specific predictions," Mr de Klerk told a news conference on his first foreign trip since taking office in September.

At that time the Ivorians had no comment to make on their relations with Pretoria.

The establishment of diplomatic links with the Ivory Coast would be a political coup for Mr de Klerk, who has vowed to end racial discrimination in South Africa.

President Houphouet-Boigny has earned criticism from most African states for his long-standing policy of dialogue with Pretoria. — Reuter.

Only 2 800

managers are

black — survey

Staff Reporter

There were only 2 860 blacks in managerial, executive and administrative positions in the country, compared to 180 000 whites, according to the recently released "Race Relations Survey".

Published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, the survey documents social, economic and political trends in 1988/9.

The chairman of the National Manpower Commission, Dr Hennie Reynders, said one of the reasons for the lack of black managerial progress was the attitude of white personnel. Although they paid lip service to black advancement, they displayed an unwillingness or inability to do so in practice.

On the labour front, the number of man-days lost in strike action during 1988 was 914 388, against 5,8 million in 1987 — an 84 percent drop.

Strike action in the first six months of 1989 was up by almost 200 percent compared with the same period the previous year.

Workers' wages increased an overall average of 22,5 percent in the first five months of 1989. However, there was a downward trend in wage settlements between unions and employers. The increases averaged 16,7 percent in the first five months of 1989 — lower than the 1988 average of 17,9 percent.

There were an estimated one million registered unemployed people, but the real unemployment figure was probably closer to three million.

HÄGAR the Horrible

By Dik Browne

IN A SITUATION LIKE THIS,

ORDINARILY.

GD L A

Black states 'to help find SA solution'

PARIS — Moderate African leaders are secretly planning a joint move to help find a solution in South Africa, one of them revealed here yesterday.

President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast, interviewed in the evening news paper, *Le Monde*, said: "We are not inactive. But I cannot tell you what we are planning."

He did not name the other African leaders.

He said President de Klerk, whom he met recently, made a "very good impression on him".

Asked if he would open diplomatic relations with South Africa, he said: "As Pretoria has not asked me to do so, it is not for me to do it."

● Negotiations are in progress that could lead to the Ivory Coast opening full diplomatic relations with South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Pretoria yesterday.

● Malawi already has full diplomatic relations with South Africa. — Sapa-AP.



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.

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

Africa is all set to try again

Star 2/1/90



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

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.

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.



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.

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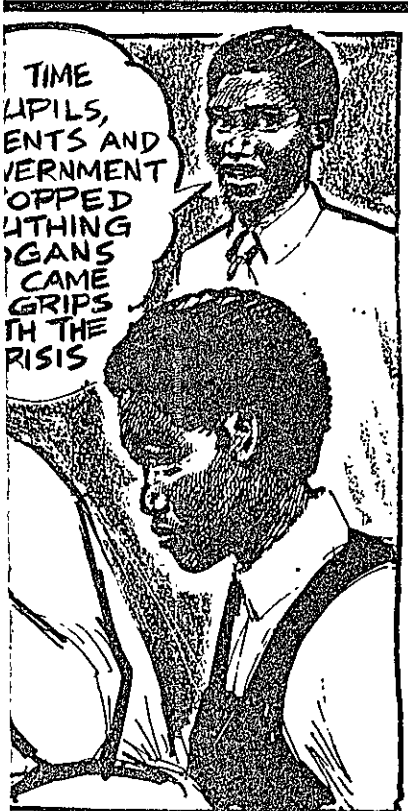
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Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg

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Glimmer of hope in Africa's gloom

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Few African countries are likely to progress beyond crisis management in 1990, according to a *Times* forecast.

Rosemary Richter writes that "the four horsemen of Africa's apocalypse will continue to ride much of the continent in 1990".

"There are civil wars, misgovernment and corruption, a population doubling every two decades, so fast, that economic growth cannot keep pace with social demands, and, linked to the first three, grinding poverty and environmental degradation."

Richter says even in a good year, black Africa cannot feed itself, "and 1990 begins with the familiar symptoms of impending famine in Ethiopia and the serious risk of a repeat of the widespread starvation in southern Sudan which killed around 250 000 people in 1988."

Some wars which looked in sight of solution at the beginning of 1989 continue, including those in Angola, Mozambique and in the Western Sahara.

"Others, notably in Somalia, have sharpened. In theory, superpower co-operation in 1990 should lend wings, as it did over Namibia, to the peaceful settlement of disputes in the Horn and southern Africa. But lessening East-West rivalry has also taken Africa out of the limelight.

"Increasingly, marginalised politically and economically, Africans may have to provide more evidence of a willingness to help themselves in 1990 — not just economically, but in the reform of their national institutions."

She says the fact that more and more Africans recognise this gives some reason for optimism.

"Of the 44 countries of black Africa, half could now be said to be seriously reforming their economic policies, cutting back bureaucracies and easing the state controls which have strangled enterprise and trade, paying their farmers fairer prices for their crops and introducing currency reforms.

"Pressures for political reform are beginning to build, but the trends are not promising. In many countries repression will probably deepen in 1990."

STAT 3/1/90 1

continent's population would... still grow for the next 60 to 70 years. "No region of the world has ever managed to develop with so high a rate of population growth," the bank says.

Even in those countries where peace has arrived or is on the horizon, it is likely to take most of the new decade to revive their war-shattered economies, given optimum circumstances. Some have fallen not just 10 years behind in the development process, but 20 or 30.

The World Bank's prescription for Africa calls for increased aid about 4% a year through the 1990s from the developed nations. But many African politicians and planners worry that East European countries will siphon off aid dollars.

As if those problems weren't enough, a new peril arose in the 1980s: AIDS. Health authorities estimate that 1.5-million to 2-million Africans, mostly young adults, will die of AIDS in the 1990s, draining the continent's shallow pool of skilled workers. — AP-DJ.

Africa faces 'nightmare scenario'

REID MILLER
in Nairobi

BEDEVILLED by wars, corruption, mismanagement and a burgeoning population, Africa is ending a decade of economic decline and facing what some experts say could be a "nightmare scenario" in the 1990s.

The nightmare: increased hunger, disease, poverty and conflict on a continent already desperately poor and largely unable to survive on its own without massive doses of foreign aid.

While warning of possible new violence elsewhere, many observers predict an end to war in the coming decade in Mozambique, Ethiopia, Sudan and other embattled African countries as combatants fight to stalemate and exhaustion.

Namibia ended the 1980s with an election for a constitutional assembly and will enter the world of independent nations in the coming year. Peace also seems closer in neighbouring Angola. And SA, which has long meddled in both those countries, appears to be changing some of its contentious policies.

But, with the exception of SA, the

write than the suggested changes will be in coming to a continent whose rulers have too often equated power with plunder.

The World Bank and others have also stressed the need for a sharp reduction in Africa's birth rate. At 3.2% it is the highest ever seen anywhere in the world and one that inexorably accelerates pressures for land, food and jobs, and threatens new internal and cross-border conflicts.

Fertility

The population of sub-Saharan Africa in 1965 was only half the 450-million it is now and if current trends continue it will double again to 1-billion in 20 years.

The World Bank estimates that even if fertility fell tomorrow to two children for each African family, the

debt and deprivation. The World Bank, in a study that took nearly three years to complete and was released in late November, says there is a solution for Africa — one that depends largely on Africans themselves and calls for a sharp reversal of past practices.

The bank blames many of Africa's problems on corruption, poor government marked by bureaucratic bungling, and misguided economic practices rooted in Marxist-Leninist theory. All that, it says, must end.

It is perhaps the bluntest assessment the bank has ever made of any of the world's economies, but it may have been far easier and faster to

Solution

That was about the same as Belgium, with a population of only 10-million.

The comparison, as well as any, illustrates the depths of poverty from which most African nations are struggling to emerge, only, in many cases, to slip deeper and deeper into

New realities slow to permeate some black countries

Eastern bloc events will have a profound effect on Africa

The overthrow in Europe of the one-party rule which many African leaders emulate poses a dilemma which RICHARD DOWDEN of The Independent examines.

LONDON — Recent events in Eastern Europe have important implications for many African countries which had close connections with the old regimes.

But some countries are coming to understand these implications more quickly than others.

In Mozambique, long linked with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, there is a sense of pride that the ruling Frelimo Party dropped its adherence to Marxism-Leninism at its fifth congress back in July.

In Namibia, days before the collapse of the communist regime in Prague, a Czechoslovakian journalist was given a special interview with Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma ahead of his Soviet colleagues because Czechoslovakia was regarded as still loyal to the cause.

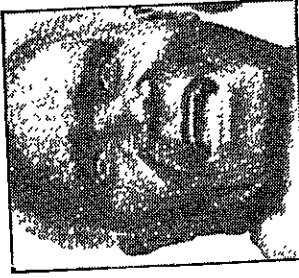
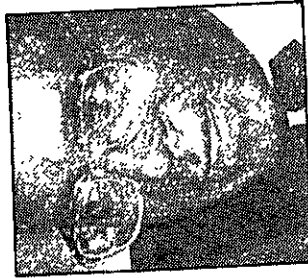
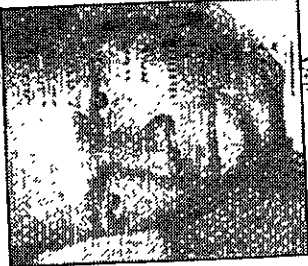
In Benin, after demonstrations demanding democracy, the ruling People's Revolutionary Party dropped its commitment to Marxism-Leninism.

In Zimbabwe, the ruling party has just renewed its advocacy of a one-party state based on Marxist-Leninist principles. Editorial opinion in the government-controlled newspaper has tended to depict the uprisings in Eastern Europe as a trick by the capitalist West. At a recent party rally, the President, Mr Robert Mugabe, gave warm welcomes to North Korea, China and Rumania.

Africa will be profoundly affected by developments in Eastern Europe. Many African leaders had close links with East European socialist states.

A lot of West European aid money for Africa will now be diverted to Eastern Europe and the tenet of the one-party centralised state has been an important concept in African political development. Many African leaders came to power fighting for socialism as well as national independence.

The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were more than willing to back them with weapons and advisers, reinforcing the ideology and establishing alliances. Guinea, Somalia and Congo were all Marxist-Leninist states allied to the Soviet Union at one time.



From the left, Presidents Chissano, Kaunda, Mugabe and Dos Santos... one-party rulers who face a new dilemma.

Apart from President Mugabe, there are few devout socialists among Africa's leaders. Ideology has often been an end rather than a means. So, too, has the one-party state. It is not about the triumph of the proletariat in Africa. One-party rule in Africa is about trying to establish national unity in young, fragile countries.

The argument against multi-party democracy has been that political parties become rallying points for tribal or religious groupings. But this is often true of one-party states, too. And in Africa, the winner takes all. There are not many African politicians who came second and survived.

Similarly, state control of African economies is usually more about structures of political power and patronage than redistribution of wealth.

In southern Africa, however, the new realities are slow to permeate. The Frontline states are telling the Soviet Union that it is betraying its historic mission in Africa, and the Voice of Freedom, the African National Congress radio station, still speaks of building a revolutionary army, intensifying the armed struggle and the advance to people's power. — The Independent News Service.

More recently, Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique have been the closest Eastern bloc allies. But the Soviet Union is now seeking political compromises in all three countries, in the conflicts where formerly they backed one side to win. Moscow has also told its allies if they want more weapons they must pay in hard currency.

As the Soviet Union withdraws from the continent, African states most closely modelled on socialism have been forced to open up their economies to Western capital and to allow greater economic flexibility.

But the influence of the socialist bloc spreads far wider than its immediate allies. African politicians, with varying degrees of sincerity, have adopted the language of socialism to justify their cause. Many leaders in Africa owe their political legitimacy to the struggle for national independence against colonialism and exploitation.

Phrases condemning imperialism and capitalism, supporting the struggle of the masses, are rhetoric which comes naturally to their politics. Even countries not explicitly socialist adopted the language of Marxism-Leninism. In Zambia, for example, political leaders have to call each other comrade in public.

Opening up Africa

Africa is still a minor customer for SA exports but is rapidly growing in importance. Africa now accounts for 10% of exports compared with 6,5% in 1984. Estimates put the total flow of trade between SA and the rest of the continent at more than R5bn.

Traditionally, steel and chemicals — which includes fertilisers, pesticides and drugs — are the largest categories of exports. But there has been an increase in manufactured goods and foodstuffs.

David Muirhead, of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation's Africa desk, says there has also been a significant increase in the number of African business visitors, especially from Zaire. (1) (Z)

Muirhead notes that manufacturing in SA is geared for the domestic market and the African market is not so dissimilar from the local black market. Household textiles and pots and pans are obvious areas for expansion.

"The Europeans have generally made a hash of Africa. But we have an advantage through the better understanding we have of the continent because we live on it. That may sound obvious but for years we've not really acknowledged it. We've relied on traditional markets in the northern hemisphere."

Muirhead adds that as Europeans look inward after 1992, and push up investment in eastern Europe, the southern hemisphere will have to rely on its own resources. However, on his visits in Africa he has encountered unrealistic expectations of the investments SA can make. SA's economy, he points out, equals less than a quarter of France's.

Businesses often venture into countries well ahead of politicians — a case of the flag following trade. RIH International, for instance, has been operating as Iscor's agent in the frontline states for 10 years. Eight years ago it started supplying the Ivory Coast through a European office.

"When President F W de Klerk visited the Ivory Coast recently, we tended to think that he was opening up a new market. But we've been there for years," says RIH International MD Roy Jones.

One of the Ivory Coast's advantages is that it is part of the CFA franc zone, so foreign exchange is relatively accessible.

However, Jones warns that Africa shouldn't be seen as an alternative market by those affected by sanctions in Europe and North America.

"These markets have totally different requirements. Though the political climate is improving, hardline countries such as Nigeria and Ghana aren't going to lift sanctions

in a hurry. And, of course, Africa is a slow growth region and looks likely to stay that way for the moment."

The most significant move into Africa this year has been in Zaire, where wholesaler Metro Cash 'n Carry decided to open a store. It also opened one in Maputo. Metro MD Tony McDiarmid says Zaire was chosen to kick off the venture because it's not hostile to SA. It is politically stable, allows profits to be repatriated and US dollars are sufficiently available there.

"It also has an informal sector that's 20 years ahead of ours and 50 times as big. There are 24-hour, spaza-type stores on the road to the airport. But it doesn't have a proper wholesaling network. At the moment, retail stores operate a bulk store and goods could change hands three or four times in the distribution chain before they reach the customer."

McDiarmid expects the merchandise in Metro's Kinshasa store to be 50% South African, 35% local and the balance mostly from the European Community. "Our research shows that it will be most competitive to buy poultry and dairy products from the EC. SA should provide most of the canned goods, toiletries, wine, confectionery and household cleaners."

Metro has no intention of opening a retail supermarket. Nevertheless, McDiarmid maintains that Zaire would provide lucrative opportunities for an experienced Third World supermarket chain, such as sister company Jazz or its rival Score. Now there is only one good supermarket in Kinshasa and, judging by its prices, it could do with some competition, he says. (1) (Z)

Warehouse constructed

Another venture in Zaire has been Premier International's construction of a R7m bonded warehouse and its R32m contract to supply food to the mining industry. It supplies a whole range of foodstuffs from maize flour to cooking oil, canned fish and beer.

Muirhead adds there are good reasons why other businesses haven't been keen to deal with Africa. "African countries are often inaccessible to SA passport holders, or at least they need visas, and they're uncertain of what kind of reception they're going to get when they get there. There's also a general perception that African countries are bankrupt, so they won't get paid. But even if governments are bankrupt, there's often a demand for goods."

Dealing with French-speaking countries adds other problems: Not only do they understand little English but specifications are based on French, not British, standards.

Energy is another area ripe for business development. Negotiations are still under way with Zaire's electricity authority, but Eskom CE Ian McRae hopes there'll be three transmission legs on the continent by the turn of the century — one through Angola and Namibia; another through Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and a third through Mozambique and Tanzania.

New democracy a threat to Africa

By DAVID BRAUN
of the Star Bureau

WASHINGTON.—Budding democracy in Eastern Europe presents a danger for Africa in the form of rapidly diminishing Western interest and financial support, US Africa watchers fear. **5/11/90**

Several prominent newspaper articles on this theme have been published in recent weeks. The concern is that the US, strapped for cash to meet its own needs, is most likely going to be tempted to divert its foreign aid resources to buttressing emerging freedom in Europe rather than continuing to pour cash into the African pit.

Mr Robert Browne, staff director of the House of Representatives Sub-committee on International Finance, who is a specialist on US aid to sub-Saharan Africa, said he was recently flabbergasted when the Congress approved, in a matter of days, more than \$900 million (\$2.25 billion) in development aid to Hungary and Poland over the next three years.

He said he had struggled for 16 years to increase Washington's awareness of the importance of Africa. Total US aid for all African countries south of the Sahara currently runs at less than \$600 million (\$1.5 billion) a year.

US policy analysts say America

has steadily slipped in recent years as a major donor to Africa. Four other countries, including Japan, currently give more annual assistance to Africa.

The tragedy, they say, is that many African nations have in recent years made harsh sacrifices to set their economic house in order. Real economic reforms have been made, and the foundations for viable economies have been laid.

The financial recklessness which marked so many post-independent African countries has become a thing of the past. Now, when Africa needs the aid most, there is a real danger that international assistance will dry up.

The biggest threat to Africa in this regard is Eastern Europe, where post-communist societies have captured the imagination and concern of the free world. All the East European countries which have thrown off their communist masters are in desperate need of massive amounts of financial and other assistance.

There is concern in the West that unless such aid is forthcoming, the experiments in freedom will fail, and give way to new forms of repression.

With only so much international aid to go around, Africans in danger of once again becoming the forgotten continent, experts say.

Africa in the cold^①

By Julie Walker

AFRICA does not warrant a mention in The Bank Credit Analyst Research Group's outlook 1997. " " tion for global investors.

"Global liquidity remains tight despite the rally in world gold prices. Tight money conditions in Europe and Japan and late-cycle pressures in North America warn of a continued squeeze over

the next several months."

Its world at a glance map summarises investment prospects. Poor economic and investment prospects are expected in the UK, higher interest rates are still possible in West Germany, but in the long run prospects are bullish from development in East European countries.

Real-estate inflation has re-emerged in Japan, and in-

terest rates will remain firm. Credit growth has weakened in Australia and the economy is poised for a downturn.

The Philippines coup attempt is a reminder of political instability in many emerging markets. The Taiwan market is ready to panic.

The key is diversification in emerging markets, says the outlook.

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New Comoros status for SA

President Said Mohammed Djohar of the Comoros has conferred the powers of a consul on the South African trade representative in the archipelago, Mr Marco Boni.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria confirmed the development after reports that the Comoros had granted diplomatic status to South Africa.

Mr Djohar has been acting as president of the Indian Ocean islands ever since the abortive coup in November in which President Ahmed Abdallah was killed. — Sapa.

AS THE new decade begins amid the ruins of socialism's failed policies, the view that the Third World has largely been the architect of its own underdevelopment over the past 40 odd years is gaining credibility.

Following on the South American research of Hernando de Soto, a recent World Bank report brought into question the conventional Third World wisdom that poverty was the result of Western exploitation. The same conclusion is reached in another work, this time by leading French economist Guy Sorman.

His three-year study, *La Nouvelle Richesse des Nations* (The New Wealth of Nations), is directly inspired by Adam Smith's original work. An investigation into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, Sorman visited 18 countries in South America, Africa and Asia, meeting heads of state, poets, philosophers, economists, farmers and the man in the street.

His findings are a devastating indictment of how Third World governments have systematically undermined their economies and impoverished their peoples. Thus, in Mexico, government officials decide on the size, location and farming rights of parcels of land, which has led to agrarian development being mired in endless bureaucratic conflict.

The plots are rarely greater than half a hectare; they cannot be merged; productivity gains are impossible; government crop prices are too low. "The farmers... are therefore, in their own way, perfectly logical in not working a lot. They prefer to watch television or emigrate to the US," says Sorman, who notes that the same "idle Mexicans" have only to cross the US border to become hard-working and industrious.

In Argentina, whose national income before the Second World War was comparable with that of Canada and Australia, exports (like beef) are at historic lows because of taxes, government deductions, inflation and general economic uncertainty. Sorman also quotes IMF statistics showing that about 70% of the \$50bn

The Third World as the architect of its own failure

ROBERT GENTLE

lent by Western banks was never used but simply re-exported to private accounts in the US and Switzerland between 1975 and 1983.

"On all continents, money has a natural tendency to leave countries that are badly managed and to escape from political folly. The originality of the Argentinian case is not that the capital left, but that it did not come back." (The quoted IMF figures for the "disappearance" of money from Venezuela, Peru and Mexico are 50%, 35% and 33% respectively.)

Further north lie the extremes of wealth and poverty of Brazil, the result of skewed development orchestrated by the state at the expense of small business and the broad mass of the population. Public funds are poured into grandiose projects (the biggest dam in the world, the longest highway in the Amazon, the first nuclear reactor on the continent — the whole orgy being financed largely by international debt and inflation) while basic infrastructure, education, health and agriculture languish unattended.

A state bourgeoisie of military personnel, technocrats, big businessmen and politicians holds sway while an estimated 75% of Brazilians are economically marginalised.

"Contrary to Marxist theory, which explains development by exploitation of the masses, Brazil's

masses have not been exploited. They have been ignored — and that is worse," says Sorman.

In India, every business is subject to a licence, while the output of large industries is limited by law ("to leave some business for small companies").

The result? Licences can take up to four years to obtain, corruption is rife, industry has no incentive to expand, products are expensive (no economies of scale), technologically backward (no innovation) and few new jobs are created. At the anti-quoted Jessor heavy engineering factory, a shocked Sorman discovers the average age of the workers is 50 — Jessor has created no new jobs in over 10 years.

But it is Tanzania that emerges as the ultimate basket case, the result of African socialism, or Nujama — forced collectivisation, the destruc-

tion of local business and the exportation of agricultural surplus at predatory prices by the state.

Thus while world prices of cashew nuts, a traditional Tanzanian export crop, rose 350% from 1970 to 1981, its farmers only saw 91% of this rise as the state cashed in on the difference. The Tanzanian farmer, displaying the same logic as the Mexican or Argentinian farmer, simply stopped producing for export and turned to subsistence farming.

In Cancun in 1981, Nyerere remarked that whereas Tanzania needed to sell only four tons of coffee in 1965 to import a tractor, the figure was now 20 tons. But, Sorman says, while it is the same coffee, it is by no means the same tractor.

Meanwhile, thanks to Nyerere's international reputation, Tanzania has been kept aloft by international aid. Sorman says Nyerere is the only Tanzanian product that has, over the past 20 years, exported itself with any degree of success.

Sorman then looks at Southeast Asia where countries like Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and Korea have deliberately fostered an enterprise culture and tuned their economies to providing constantly differing products to changing world markets.

Korean Vice-Prime Minister Kim Man Je is quoted as saying that Africans have not understood the world market, which "is not a system of

social security that guarantees each country a constant revenue stream. These Asian countries, Sorman shows, escaped from mass poverty in barely 25 years, bringing their huge populations into the wealth-creating process instead of marginalising them. Their overall distribution of salary is consequently more equal than that of Sweden.

They formulated fiscal policies to encourage saving, monetary policies to promote exports, invested in a ruthlessly meritocratic education system to promote productivity and attended to basic infrastructure.

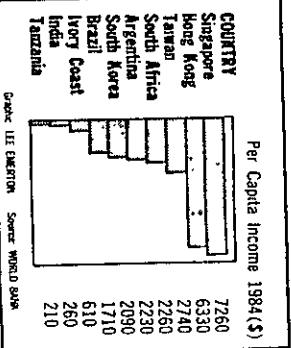
Taiwan's agrarian revolution, with its emphasis on private property and high crop prices, is a world success story. The ruthlessly businesslike approach to state management by the Singapore government prompted an embarrassed Milton Friedman to describe the country as a gigantic free enterprise company with 3-million employees.

Ironically, socialists today often use the experience of these countries as proof of the superiority of state planning.

Quoting Nobel prize-winning economist Arthur Lewis, Sorman says that both the peasant farmer and big industrialist are ultimately entrepreneurs. If they are not assured of a stable and predictable institutional framework in which to operate, they stop taking risks, attend to their immediate needs, and create neither wealth nor jobs.

On an encouraging note, Sorman concludes that this message is finally being accepted — with varying degrees of enthusiasm — in the corridors of power of the Third World. The recent upheavals in Eastern Europe, which even Sorman could not have anticipated, can only hasten the process.

References to financial and commercial fraud were transposed in a paragraph of the article by Graham Boyd on this page yesterday. The relevant sentence should have read: "The attraction SA gills hold for foreign investors derives mainly from the excellent rate of return enjoyed by foreign investors when they use forwards to purchase gills and receive interest payments in commercial funds"



Capt T... 11/1/90 (1)
Denard seeks visa extension

JOHANNESBURG. — The Department of Home Affairs yesterday confirmed that Colonel Bob Denard, the Comorean mercenary leader, had lodged an application for a time extension on the temporary visa issued to him.

Col Denard arrived in South Africa in December. Negotiations with the French authorities on his future destination are continuing. Col Denard was granted permission to stay temporarily in South Africa till January 22. — Sapa

Africa's economies face black future

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 Adedede Adededeji, 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

As Africa emerges badly battered from a traumatic decade, AUSTAIR MATH-ERSON of The Observer looks at its economic prospects for the 1990s.

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. **SA 12/1/90**

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

1. ALGERIA



Independence: 5 July 1962. Former French colony. Leader: Col Chadli Bendjedid, b. 1929, President since 1979. Capital: Algiers. Main ports: Algiers, Oran, Annaba, Bejaia, Arzew. Area: 2 381 741 km². Population: 23 101 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 95%; Secondary: 54%; Higher: 7% (1985). Adult literacy: 49% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 62 years (1987). Religion: Muslim 99%. Languages: Arabic (official), French, Berber. Balance of payments: Imports: \$11 219 mn; Exports: \$10 045 mn (1987). Budget: \$18 938 mn (1989). GDP: \$64 579 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$2 680 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Dinars 7.65 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Petroleum and natural gas (97%), other minerals, wine, fruit and vegetables. Notes: Riots in 1988 paved the way for introduction of political reforms...

7. CAMEROON



Independence: 1 January 1960. Former French trusteeship. Union with southern part of British Cameroons 1 October 1961. Leader: Paul Biya, b. 1933., President since 1982. Capital: Yaounde. Main ports: Douala, Limbe, Kribi. Area: 475 442 km². Population: 10 927 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 107%; Secondary: 23%; Higher: 2% (1985). Adult literacy: 36% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 56 years (1987). Religion: Animist 59%; Christian 40%; Muslim 21%. Languages: French and English (official), Fang, Banileke, Fula. Balance of payments: Imports: \$3 124 mn; Exports: \$2 117 mn (1987). Budget: \$1 807 mn (1989/90). GDP: \$12 663 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$360 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329.28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Oil (52%), coffee, cocoa, timber. Notes: Biya succeeded Ahmadou Ahidjo in 1982 after 22 years of stable if authoritarian rule. One of Africa's bloodiest coup attempts made in 1984 when Muslim northern troops rebelled...

13. EGYPT



Independence: 28 February 1922. Former British protectorate. Leader: Lt-Gen Hosni Mubarak, b. 1929, President since 1981. Capital: Cairo. Main ports: Alexandria, Port Said. Area: 1 001 449 km². Population: 50 954 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 85%; Secondary: 62%; Higher: 23% (1985). Adult literacy: 48% (1976). Life expectancy at birth: 62 years (1987). Religion: Muslim 90%; Christian 9%. Languages: Arabic (official). Balance of payments: Imports: \$14 684 mn; Exports: \$8 061 mn (1987). Budget: \$12 768 mn (1989). GDP: \$36 105 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$670 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Egyptian pound 2.56 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Petroleum (43%), cotton. Notes: Mubarak has continued the country's democratisation by allowing opposition parties to contest parliamentary elections...

2. ANGOLA



Independence: 11 November 1975. Former Portuguese colony. Leader: Jose Eduardo dos Santos, b. 1942, President since 1979. Capital: Luanda. Main ports: Luanda, Lobito, Namibe, Cabinda. Area: 1 246 700 km². Population: 9 200 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 93%; Secondary: 13%; Higher: 1% (1985). Adult literacy: 40% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 44 years (1986). Religion: Animist 84%; Christian 16%. Languages: Portuguese (official), Kimbundu, Umbundu, Kikongo, Chokwe, Kwanyama. Balance of payments: Imports: \$2 020 mn; Exports: \$2 385 mn (1987). Budget: 3 750 mn (1989). GDP: \$6 668 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$722 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Kwanzas 30.39 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Petroleum (89%), coffee, diamonds, timber. Notes: The peace agreement providing for the withdrawal of South African and Cuban forces from Angola...

8. CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC



Independence: 13 August 1960. Former French colony of Oubangui-Chari. Known as Central African Empire 1977-79. Leader: Gen Andre Kolingba, b. 1935, President since 1981. Capital: Bangui. Main ports: Pointe Noire (Congo), Douala (Cameroon). Area: 622 984 km². Population: 2 727 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 66%; Secondary: 16%; Higher: 1% (1986). Adult literacy: 40% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 50 years (1987). Religion: Animist 60%; Christian 35%; Muslim 5%. Languages: French and Sangho (official), Banda, Boye, Zande, Swahili, Arabic. Balance of payments: Imports: \$379 mn; Exports: \$184 mn (1987). Budget: \$204 mn (1988). GDP: \$1 077 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$330 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329.28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Coffee (31%), diamonds, timber, cotton. Notes: Kolingba seized power in 1981, but in the face of growing political resistance decided in 1987 to attempt to legitimise his regime...

14. EQUATORIAL GUINEA



Independence: 12 October 1968. Former Spanish colony comprising Mbini (Rio Muni enclave), Bioko (Fernando Po) and Pagalu (Annobon) Islands. Leader: Lt-Col Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasago, President since 1979. Capital: Malabo (on Bioko Island). Main ports: Malabo, Bata. Area: 28 051 km² (Mbini 26 017 km², Bioko Island 2 017 km², Pagalu Island 17 km²). Population: 373 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 93%; Secondary: 10% (1983). Adult literacy: 27% (1980). Life expectancy at birth: 46 years (1987). Religion: Christian 96%; Animist 4%. Languages: Spanish (official), Fang, Bubi, Ibo. Balance of payments: Imports: \$67 mn; Exports: \$33 mn (1987). Budget: \$25 mn (1988). GDP: \$65 mn (1985). GNP/capita: \$197 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329.28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Cocoa (35%) and timber. Notes: Economically destroyed during brutal dictatorship of Macias Nguema (1968-79). Joined French-speaking mainland neighbours in Central African Customs and Economic Union in 1984. Government has survived a number of attempted coups...

2a. CABINDA



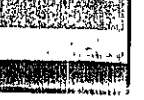
Independence: Angolan province. Capital: Cabinda. Main port: Cabinda. Area: 7 270 km². Population: 81 265 (1970). Notes: Cabinda enclave, separated from Angola by Zaire River, provides most of Angola's revenue from offshore oil fields.

9. CHAD



Independence: 11 August 1960. Former French colony. Leader: Hisene Habré, b. 1942, President since 1982. Capital: N'djamena. Main ports: Pointe Noire (Congo), Douala (Cameroon), Lagos (Nigeria). Area: 1 284 000 km². Population: 5 273 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 43%; Secondary: 6% (1986). Adult literacy: 25% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 46 years (1987). Religion: Muslim 45%; Christian 6%; Animist 49%. Languages: French (official), Arabic, Sara, Sangho. Balance of payments: Imports: \$480 mn; Exports: \$168 mn (1987). Budget: \$373 mn (1988). GDP: \$975 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$150 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329.28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Cotton (44%) and livestock. Notes: In 1989 Chad and Libya agreed to seek a political rather than military solution to their long-standing border dispute. Habre's government faced with aftermath of coup attempt in April, and serious clashes have occurred with rebels operating out of Sudan's Darfur province.

15. ETHIOPIA



Independence: Ancient empire. Former Italian colony of Eritrea incorporated in 1952. Leader: Gen Mengistu Haile Miriam, b. 1937, Head of State since 1977, President 1987. Capital: Addis Ababa. Main ports: Assab, Massawa, Djibouti (Djibouti). Area: 1 223 600 km². Population: 44 788 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 36%; Secondary: 12% (1985). Higher: 1% (1985). Adult literacy: 55% (1983). Life expectancy at birth: 47 years (1987). Religion: Christian 45%; Muslim 45%; Animist 10%. Languages: Amharic (official), Fang, Galla, Tigrinya, Arabic. Balance of payments: Imports: \$1 270 mn; Exports: \$633 mn (1987). Budget: \$2 898 mn (1988/89). GDP: \$5 378 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$130 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Birr 2.05 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Coffee (64%) and livestock. Notes: In 1987 military formally relinquished power to new People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, with Mengistu Haile Miriam as first President. Secessionist rebels have scored considerable military successes against government forces in Eritrea and Tigray...

3. BENIN



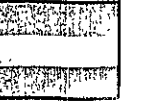
Independence: 1 August 1960. Former French colony, known as Dahomey until 1975. Leader: Brig-Gen Mathieu Kérékou, b. 1933, President since 1972. Capital: Porto Novo. Main port: Cotonou. Area: 112 622 km². Population: 4 315 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 65%; Secondary: 20%; Higher: 2% (1985). Adult literacy: 26% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 50 years (1987). Religion: Animist 70%; Christian: 15%; Muslim: 15%. Languages: French (official), Fon, Yoruba, Bariba, Somba, Fulani. Balance of payments: Imports: \$471 mn; Exports: \$211 mn (1987). Budget: \$323 mn (1989). GDP: \$1 570 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$300 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329.28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Cocoa and cotton (47%), palm products, coffee. Notes: Kérékou seized power in 1972, in fifth military coup since independence. Initially official policy was ostensibly Marxist-Leninist, but threatened disintegration of economy compelled a modification. Government has adopted austerity measures and a structural adjustment programme to address worst economic crisis since independence...

10. COMOROS



Independence: 6 July 1975. Former French colony. Leader: Internal President Said Mohamed Djohar. Capital: Moroni. Main ports: Moroni, Mutsamudu, Fomboni, Dzaoudi (Mayotte). Area: 2 236 km² (including Mayotte Is). Population: 424 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 89%; Secondary: 69% (1982). Adult literacy: 48% (1980). Life expectancy at birth: 56 years (1987). Religion: Muslim. Languages: French and Swahili (official). Balance of payments: Imports: \$85 mn; Exports: \$23 mn (1987). Budget: \$41 mn (1988). GDP: \$198 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$370 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329.28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Vanilla (77%), cloves, ylang-ylang. Notes: Three islands in the group of four declared themselves independent from France in July 1976. Mayotte elected to stay under French rule. First President Ahmed Abdallah Abdoulemone deposited in August 1976, but reinstated with help of French mercenaries in May 1978. Mercenaries were subject of controversy after they suppressed an apparent coup attempt in 1988. Abdallah assassinated in November 1989 and intervention by France and South Africa led to expulsion of mercenaries. Provisional Government in power pending elections.

16. GABON



Independence: 17 August 1960. Former French colony. Leader: Albert Bernard (Omar) Bongo, b. 1935, President since 1967. Capital: Libreville. Main ports: Libreville, Owendo, Port Gentil. Area: 267 667 km². Population: 1 047 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 123%; Secondary: 25% (1985). Higher: 4% (1983). Adult literacy: 62% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 52 years (1987). Religion: Christian 60%; Animist 40%. Languages: French (official), Fang, Mpongwe. Balance of payments: Imports: \$1 370 mn (1987); Exports: \$1 310 mn (1987). Budget: \$1 209 mn (1989). GDP: \$3 500 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$2 760 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329.28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Petroleum (69%), timber, manganese, uranium. Notes: Mineral- and oil-rich Gabon has second highest per capita income in Africa. Traditionally close relations with France, though Gabonisation has now become an important political issue.

4. BOTSWANA



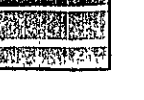
Independence: 30 September 1966. Former British Protectorate of Bechuanaland. Leader: Dr Quett Masire, b. 1925, President since 1980. Capital: Gaborone. Main ports: Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth (South Africa). Area: 581 730 km². Population: 1 146 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 105%; Secondary: 31%; Higher: 2% (1986). Adult literacy: 61% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 59 years (1987). Religion: Animist 75%, Christian 25%. Languages: Setswana and English (official). Balance of payments: Imports: \$1 406 mn; Exports: \$1 866 mn (1987). Budget: \$938 mn (1989/90). GDP: \$1 517 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$1 050 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Pula 2.04 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Diamonds (81%), beef and livestock, copper-nickel. Notes: Masire's Democratic Party won landslide victory yet again in 1989 multi-party elections, against a badly disorganised opposition. The major problem confronting government in long-term will be ensuring better distribution of benefits of Botswana's diamond and cattle wealth. Member of SADC but strong economic ties with SA. Member of South African Customs Union.

11. CONGO



Independence: 15 August 1960. Former French colony. Leader: Col Denis Sassou-Nguesso, b. 1943, President since 1979. Capital: Brazzaville. Main port: Pointe Noire. Area: 342 000 km². Population: 2 020 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 163%; Secondary: 87%; Higher: 6% (1983). Adult literacy: 63% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 59 years (1987). Religion: Christian 50%; Animist 47%; Muslim 3%. Languages: French (official), Lingala, Kikongo. Balance of payments: Imports: \$1 296 mn; Exports: \$1 045 mn (1987). Budget: \$755 mn (1989). GDP: \$2 132 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$870 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329.28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Petroleum (90%), timber. Notes: Sassou-Nguesso, who seized power in 1979, officially espouses Marxist socialist policies but has implemented policies of liberalisation and privatisation in attempt to attract investment and trade from Western countries. Petroleum exploitation has boosted government revenue in recent years. Brazzaville featured as the venue for the talks leading to the Angola/Namibia peace accord.

17. THE GAMBIA



Independence: 18 February 1965. Former British colony. Leader: Sir Dawda Jawara, b. 1924, President, in power since 1965. Capital: Banjul. Main port: Banjul. Area: 11 295 km². Population: 797 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 75%; Secondary: 20% (1985). Adult literacy: 25% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 43 years (1987). Religion: Muslim 85%; Christian 15%. Languages: English (official), Wolof, Mandinka, Fula. Balance of payments: Imports: \$112 mn; Exports \$115 mn (1987). Budget: \$87 mn (1988/89). GDP: \$188 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$220 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Dalasi 6.13 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Groundnuts (81%), fish. Notes: Abortive attempt to topple Jawara followed by alliance between Gambia, one of Africa's smallest and poorest states, and French-speaking Senegal. Senegambia Confederation formed in 1982 was dissolved in September 1989.

5. BURKINA FASO



Independence: 5 August 1960. Former French colony. Known as Upper Volta until 1984. Leader: Capt Blaise Compaoré, b. 1952, President since 1987. Capital: Ouagadougou. Main port: Abidjan (Cote d'Ivoire). Area: 274 200 km². Population: 8 330 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 35%; Secondary: 6%; Higher: 1% (1986). Adult literacy: 13% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 47 years (1987). Religion: Animist 65%; Muslim 30%; Christian 5%. Languages: French (official), Dioula, Tamashaq, More, Gourmaniche, Peul, Bissa, Kassam. Balance of payments: Imports: \$793 mn; Exports: \$315 mn (1987). Budget: \$354 mn (1989). GDP: \$1 650 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$200 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329.28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Cotton (37%), livestock, sheanut (karité). Notes: Compaoré seized power after disagreements within ruling National Revolutionary Council led to 'palace coup' in which revolutionary leader Thomas Sankara was murdered. In 1989 Compaoré's two deputies executed after allegations that they were plotting his overthrow. Despite lip-service to revolutionary ideals, Compaoré's dictatorship seems to be pressing for economic liberalisation and closer ties with the West.

12. DJIBOUTI



Independence: 27 June 1977. Formerly French Somaliland. Known as French Territory of the Afars and Issas 1967-77. Leader: Hassan Gouled Aptidon, b. 1916, President since 1977. Capital: Djibouti. Main port: Djibouti. Area: 21 783 km². Population: 370 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 32%. Adult literacy: N/A. Life expectancy at birth: 47 years (1987). Religion: Muslim. Languages: French and Arabic (official), Somali, Afar. Balance of payments: Imports: \$288 mn; Exports: \$39 mn (1987). Budget: \$136 mn (1989). GDP: \$281 mn (1985). GNP/capita: \$276 (1984). Currency: \$1 = Djibouti francs 174.94 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Hides and skins, leather products. Also handles large amount of Ethiopian cargo. Notes: Despite limited natural resources has prospered as a result of neutrality in conflicts between Ethiopia and Somalia and pro-West stance. France pays millions to maintain a base at the strategically situated port and conservative Arab countries donate aid.

18. GHANA



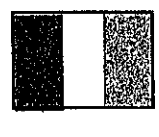
Independence: 6 March 1957. Formerly British colony of Gold Coast. Leader: Flight Lt Jerry J Rawlings, b 1947, Head of State since 1981. Capital: Accra. Main ports: Accra-Teme, Takoradi. Area: 238 537 km². Population: 13 599 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 66%; Secondary: 39%; Higher: 2% (1985). Adult literacy: 30% (1980). Life expectancy at birth: 54 years (1987). Religion: Christian 43%; Muslim 12%; Animist 38%. Languages: English (official), Nzima, Ga, Dagbani, Ewe, Housa, Fante, Twi. Balance of payments: Imports: \$1 289 mn; Exports: \$943 mn (1987). Budget: \$849 mn (1989). GDP: \$5 080 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$390 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Cedis 276.08 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Cocoa (67%), gold, timber. Notes: Rawlings, who seized power in 1981, tried initially to impose a Libyan-style political system but has won international respect for pragmatic steps to revive bankrupted economy, despite resulting domestic political difficulties. Several coup attempts in recent years have failed but there is mounting criticism among radicals of his close relations with Western financial institutions. Revival of limited democracy in the form of local elections has not been unqualified success.

6. BURUNDI



Independence: 1 July 1962. Formerly part of Belgian trusteeship Ruanda-Urundi. Leader: Maj Pierre Buyoya, b. 1949, President since 1987. Capital: Bujumbura. Main ports: Mombasa (Kenya), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania). Area: 27 834 km². Population: 4 978 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 59%; Secondary: 4%; Higher: 1% (1986). Adult literacy: 38% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 49 years (1987). Religion: Christian 60%; Animist 39%; Muslim 1%. Languages: French and Kirundi (official), Swahili. Balance of payments: Imports: \$300 mn; Exports: \$110 mn (1987). Budget: \$258 mn (1989). GDP: \$1 258 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$250 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Burundi francs 163.64 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Coffee (69%), tea. Notes: Since the recurrence of ethnic violence in 1988, Buyoya has tried to improve government's image. Major Hutu given greater representation in government, including half of cabinet portfolios. Effort made to improve relations with Burundi.

19. GUINEA



Independence: 2 October 1958. Former French colony.
Leader: Col Lansana Conté, President since 1984.
Capital: Conakry.
Main port: Conakry.
Area: 245 857 km².
Population: 6 500 000 (1987).
School attendance: Primary: 29%; Secondary: 9%; Higher: 1% (1985).
Adult literacy: 28% (1980). **Life expectancy at birth:** 42 years (1987).
Religion: Muslim 95%; Animist 3%; Christian 2%.
Languages: French (official), Mande, Fulani, Sousou.
Balance of payments: Imports: \$560 mn; Exports: \$594 mn (1987).
Budget: \$386 mn (1987).
GDP: \$2 060 mn (1987). **GNP/capita:** \$320 (1987).
Currency: \$1 = Guinea francs 583 (July 1989).

Major exports: Bauxite (68%), alumina, diamonds, gold.
Notes: Following death of Sekou Touré in 1984, army under Col Conté seized power and abolished the dictatorial government institutions that had destroyed civil liberties and caused thousands of Guineans to live in exile abroad. Military government has shown no strong ideological inclinations and ties with traditional trading partners like France have been strengthened.

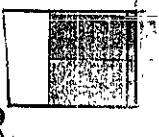
23. LESOTHO



Independence: 4 October 1966. Formerly British protectorate of Basutoland.
Leader: King Moshoeshoe II, b. 1938; Maj-Gen Matsieng Lekhanya, b. 1938, head of military government since 1986.
Capital: Maseru.
Main ports: East London, Port Elizabeth, Durban (South Africa).
Area: 30 355 km².
Population: 1 629 000 (1987).
School attendance: Primary 115%, Secondary: 22%; Higher: 2% (1985).
Adult literacy: 65% (1985). **Life expectancy at birth:** 56 years (1987).
Religion: Christian 93%; Animist 7%.
Languages: English, Sesotho (official).
Balance of payments: Imports \$442 mn; Exports: \$335 mn (1987).
Budget: \$225 mn (1989/90).
GDP: \$367 mn (1987). **GNP/capita:** \$370 (1987).
Currency: \$1 = Maloti 2,76 (Sept 1989).
Major exports: Wool and mohair.

Notes: Worsening relations with South Africa as a result of ANC presence in Lesotho culminated in economic crisis caused by drastic traffic slowdown at RSA side of border in January 1986. Growing rivalry between National Party youth league and army came to a head when on 20 January 1986, military officers ousted Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan. Legislative and executive authority vested in king, with Military Council holding supreme power. Political party activity banned pending return to civilian rule, which does not seem imminent.

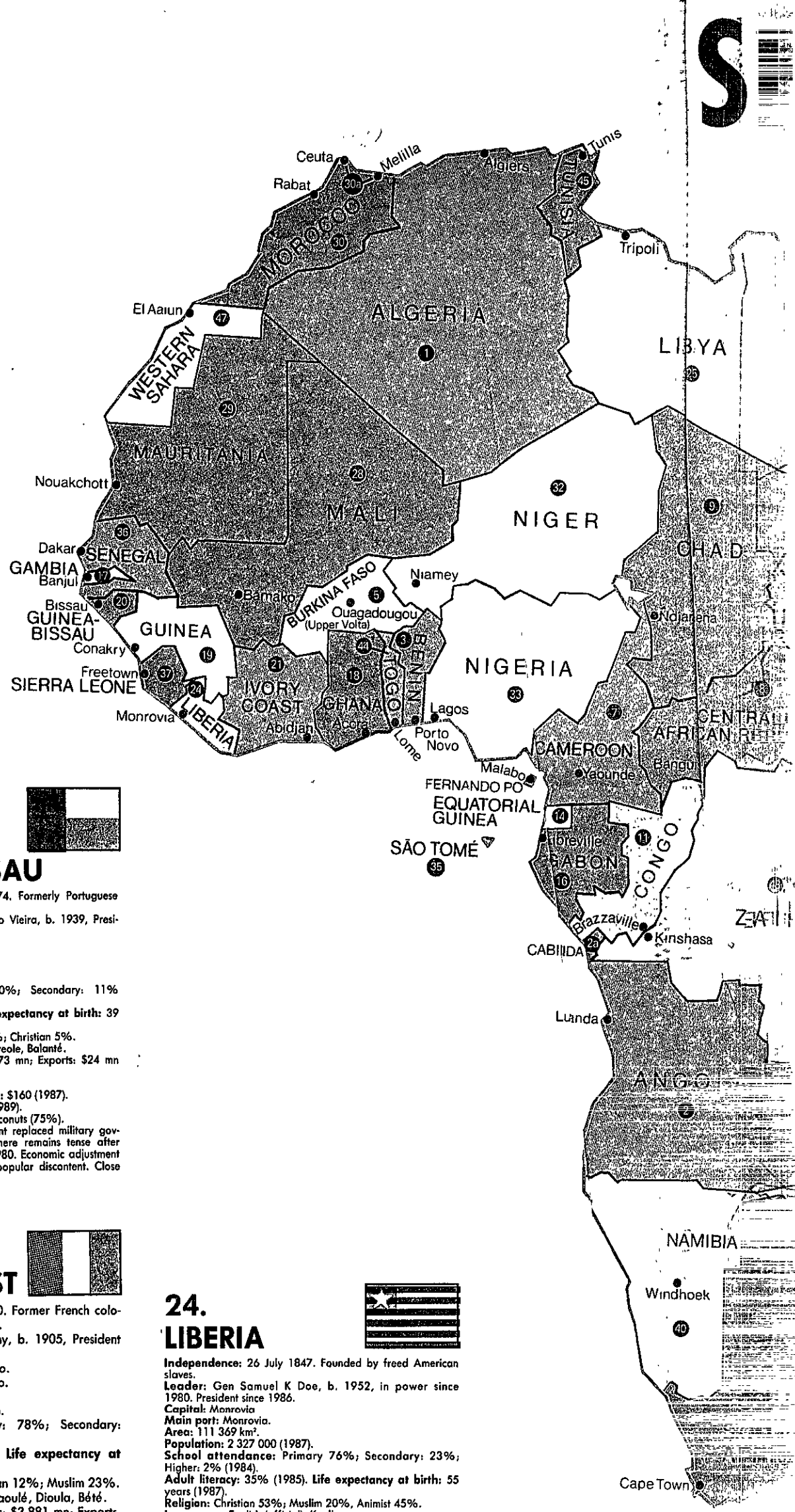
26. MADAGASCAR



Independence: 26 June 1960. Former French colony. Known as Malagasy Republic until 1975.
Leader: Lt-commander Didier Ratsiraka, b. 1936, President since 1975.
Capital: Antananarivo.
Main ports: Toamasina (Tamatave), Majunga.
Area: 587 041 km².
Population: 10 894 000 (1987).
School attendance: Primary 121%, Secondary 36%, Higher: 5% (1984).
Adult literacy: 50%. **Life expectancy at birth:** 54 years (1987).
Religion: Animist 57%; Christian 40%; Muslim 3%.
Languages: French and Malagasy (official).
Balance of payments: Imports: \$712 mn; Exports: \$417 mn (1987).
Budget: \$727 mn (1988).
GDP: \$2 066 mn (1987). **GNP/capita:** \$210 (1987).
Currency: \$1 = Malagasy francs 1 506,3 (Sept 1989).
Major exports: Coffee (44%), cloves, vanilla.

Notes: This vast island turns increasingly to the West for investment, trade and aid and as the prospects for economic recovery based on Ratsiraka's radical socialist policies diminished he abandoned his attempts to form a one-party state. Presidential elections were held in March 1989 and multi-party elections for the legislature in May 1989.

The Star AFRICA

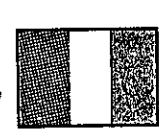


20. GUINEA-BISSAU



Independence: 10 September 1974. Formerly Portuguese colony.
Leader: Commander Joao Bernardo Vieira, b. 1939, President since 1980.
Capital: Bissau.
Main port: Bissau.
Area: 36 125 km².
Population: 924 000 (1987).
School attendance: Primary: 60%; Secondary: 11% (1984).
Adult literacy: 31% (1985). **Life expectancy at birth:** 39 years (1987).
Religion: Animist 60%; Muslim 35%; Christian 5%.
Languages: Portuguese (official), Creole, Balanté.
Balance of payments: Imports: \$73 mn; Exports: \$24 mn (1987).
Budget: \$60 mn (1982).
GDP: \$135 mn (1987). **GNP/capita:** \$160 (1987).
Currency: \$1 = Pesos 1 591 (July 1989).
Major exports: Fish, groundnuts, coconuts (75%).
Notes: One-party elected parliament replaced military government in 1984. Political atmosphere remains tense after a series of unsuccessful coups since 1980. Economic adjustment program by IMF has added to popular discontent. Close relations with Cape Verde and Portugal.

21. IVORY COAST



Independence: 7 August 1960. Former French colony. Also known as Côte d'Ivoire.
Leader: Felix Houphouët-Boigny, b. 1905, President since 1960.
Capital: Abidjan/Yamoussoukro.
Main ports: Abidjan, San Pedro.
Area: 322 462 km².
Population: 11 069 000 (1987).
School attendance: Primary: 78%; Secondary: 19%; Higher: 3% (1985).
Adult literacy: 43% (1985). **Life expectancy at birth:** 53 years (1987).
Religion: Animist 65%; Christian 12%; Muslim 23%.
Languages: French (official), Baoulé, Dioula, Bété.
Balance of payments: Imports: \$3 881 mn; Exports: \$624 mn (1987).
Budget: \$2 062 mn (1989).
GDP: \$10 163 mn (1987). **GNP/capita:** \$750 (1987).
Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329,28 (Sept 1989).
Major exports: Cocoa (30%), coffee, timber, petroleum.
Notes: Benevolent and stable one-party rule. Wise economic policies and large foreign work force have contributed to a prosperous economy. Although low cocoa and coffee prices have caused recession in recent years, expansion of oil resources offers hope for revival. Speculation about successor for ageing President Houphouët-Boigny who has been in power for 29 years.

24. LIBERIA



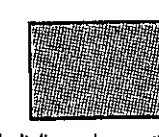
Independence: 26 July 1847. Founded by freed American slaves.
Leader: Gen Samuel K Doe, b. 1952, in power since 1980. President since 1986.
Capital: Monrovia.
Main port: Monrovia.
Area: 111 369 km².
Population: 2 327 000 (1987).
School attendance: Primary 76%; Secondary: 23%; Higher: 2% (1984).
Adult literacy: 35% (1985). **Life expectancy at birth:** 55 years (1987).
Religion: Christian 53%; Muslim 20%; Animist 45%.
Languages: English (official), Kpelle.
Balance of payments: Imports \$412 mn; Exports: \$433 mn (1987).
Budget: \$240 mn (1988).
GDP: \$1 139 mn (1987). **GNP/capita:** \$450 (1987).
Currency: \$1 = Liberian \$1 (fixed).
Major exports: Iron ore (64%), rubber, coffee, timber.
Notes: Doe, who seized power in 1980, was elected President in 1985 after election campaign marked by obstruction of opposition parties. Result has been a de facto single party system dominated by Doe's National Democratic Party. In 1985 an attempted coup bloodily suppressed and in 1986 Liberia returned to civilian rule with Gen Doe as President. Allegations of coup attempts have continued to be made, but rampant corruption and misappropriation appear to constitute greatest threat to the regime.

2. KENYA



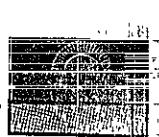
Independence: 12 December 1963. Formerly British colony.
Leader: Daniel Arap Moi, b. 1924, President since 1978.
Capital: Nairobi.
Main port: Mombasa.
Area: 582 646 km².
Population: 22 097 000 (1987).
School attendance: Primary 94%; Secondary: 20%; Higher: 1% (1985).
Adult literacy: 59% (1985). **Life expectancy at birth:** 56 years (1987).
Religion: Christian 53%; Animist 37%; Muslim 6%.
Languages: English (official), Swahili, Kikuyu.
Balance of payments: Imports \$2 451 mn; Exports: \$1 740 mn (1987).
Budget: \$3 279 mn (1989/90).
GDP: \$8 042 mn (1987). **GNP/capita:** \$330 (1987).
Currency: \$1 = Kenya shillings 21,31 (Sept 1989).
Major exports: Coffee and tea (46%), petroleum products.
Notes: Relatively strong market economy hit by effects of world economic recession and high population growth rate. Pro-West, one-party state with relatively large population. Growing international criticism of human rights violations and Pres Moi's increasingly authoritarian posture, particularly in wake of controversy about presidential and legislative elections.

25. LIBYA



Independence: 25 December 1951. Italian colony until 1942. British and French control until 1951.
Leader: Col Muammar el-Gaddafi, b. 1942, Head of State since 1969.
Capital: Tripoli.
Main ports: Tripoli, Benghazi, Tobruk.
Area: 1 759 540 km².
Population: 4 057 000 (1987).
School attendance: Primary: 127%; Secondary: 87%; Higher: 11% (1985).
Adult literacy: 20% (1974). **Life expectancy at birth:** 62 years (1987).
Religion: Muslim.
Languages: Arabic (official).
Balance of payments: Imports \$5 724 mn; Exports: \$6 517 mn (1987).
Budget: \$13 404 mn (1987).
GDP: \$26 244 mn (1987). **GNP/capita:** \$5 500 (1987).
Currency: \$1 = Libyan dinars 0,31 (Sept 1989).
Major exports: Petroleum (99%).
Notes: Africa's oil-rich Libya has highest per capita income in Africa but low oil prices in recent years have retarded economic development. Gaddafi has introduced a measure of economic liberalisation to stimulate growth and defuse political discontent and has embarked on policy of rapprochement with some of the other states in the region.

27. MALAWI



Independence: 6 July 1964. Former British protectorate of Nyasaland.
Leader: Dr Kamuzu Banda, b. 1906, Life President in power since 1964.
Capital: Lilongwe.
Main ports: Beira and Nacala (Zimbabwe).
Area: 118 484 km².
Population: 7 629 000 (1987).
School attendance: Primary: 62%; Secondary: 4%; Higher: 1% (1985).
Adult literacy: 41% (1985). **Life expectancy at birth:** 46 years (1987).
Religion: Christian 65%; Animist 1%; Muslim 15%.
Languages: English (official), Chiswa, Chitumbuka, Yao.
Balance of payments: Imports: \$93 mn; Exports: \$304 mn (1987).
Budget: \$502 mn (1989).
GDP: \$1 230 mn (1987). **GNP/capita:** \$170 (1987).
Currency: \$1 = Malawian kwacha 80 (Sept 1989).
Major exports: Tobacco (62%), tea, sugar, coffee.
Notes: Conservative country dominated by popular but ruthless Banda who refuses to give indication of possible successor. Highly successful agricultural policies have made Malawi self-sufficient in food, though the presence of 600 000 Mozambican refugees has placed dangerous strain on economy. Sole African country to maintain diplomatic links with RSA. Member of SADC group but not of Frontline States.

28. MALI



Independence: 20 June 1960 as part of Mali Federation comprising Senegal and Mali until 20 August 1960. Formerly French Sudan. Leader: Brig-Gen Moussa Traoré, b. 1936, President since 1968. Capital: Bamako. Main parts: Dakar (Senegal), Conakry (Guinea), Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire). Area: 1 240 142 km². Population: 7 768 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 24%; Secondary: 6%; Higher: 1% (1986). Adult literacy: 17% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 47 years (1987). Religion: Muslim 65%; Christian 5%; Animist 30%. Languages: French (official), Arabic, Bambara, Fulani, Senoufo, Dogon. Balance of payments: Imports: \$679 mn; Exports: \$318 mn (1988). Budget: \$882 mn (1989). GDP: \$1 959 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$210 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329,28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Cotton (41%), livestock, groundnuts. Notes: Mali has had a stable, fairly moderate government since Traoré seized power in 1968. Extremely dependent on foreign aid.

30. MOROCCO



Independence: 2 March 1956. Former French and Spanish protectorate. Leader: King Hassan II, b. 1929, reigning since 1961. Capital: Rabat. Main ports: Casablanca, Tangier, Safi, Mohammedia. Area: 458 730 km². Population: 22 968 000 (1987, including Western Sahara). School attendance: Primary: 79%; Secondary: 34%; Higher: 9% (1986). Adult literacy: 21% (1971). Life expectancy at birth: 60 years (1987). Religion: Muslim. Languages: Arabic (official), Berber. Balance of payments: Imports: \$5 845 mn; Exports: \$4 250 mn (1987). Budget: \$9 254 mn (1989). GDP: \$16 746 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$620 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Dirhams 8,55 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Phosphates, fruit and vegetables, manufactured products. Notes: Massively burdened by 13-year war to hold Western Sahara against Polisario, Morocco left the OAU in November 1984 in protest against OAU recognition of Polisario as legitimate government of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara). There now appears to be some chance of a negotiated settlement, which would help normalise relations in the Maghreb. King Hassan wields real power in multiparty dispensation and maintains pro-Western orientation.

33. NIGERIA



Independence: 1 October 1960 Former British colony. Leader: Maj-Gen Ibrahim Babangida, b. 1941, President since 1985. Capital: Lagos (moving to Abuja). Main ports: Lagos, Port Harcourt. Area: 923 768 km². Population: 106 736 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 92%; Secondary: 29%; Higher: 3% (1985). Adult literacy: 35% (1984). Life expectancy at birth: 51 years (1987). Religion: Muslim 47%; Christian 34%. Languages: English (official), Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo, Edo, Efik. Balance of payments: Imports: \$7 884 mn; Exports: \$7 782 mn (1987). Budget: \$6 021 mn (1989). GDP: \$24 815 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$370 (1987). Currency: \$1 = 7,28 Naira (Sept 1989). Major exports: Petroleum (97%), cocoa. Notes: Africa's most populous country. Maj-Gen Babangida came to power in 1985 in Nigeria's fifth military coup. Since then has struggled to restore the country's economy, which has been gravely damaged by years of mismanagement and corruption and by fall in oil price. Babangida has promised a return to civilian rule in 1992 and a Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution was elected in 1988.

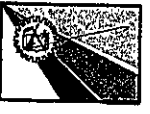
NEWS SERVICE

30a. CEUTA & MELILLA



Status: Spanish port enclaves claimed by Morocco. Area: Ceuta: 19 km²; Melilla: 12,3 km². Population: Ceuta 70 864; Melilla 58 449 (1981). Religion: Catholic, Muslim minorities. Languages: Spanish. Balance of payments: Imports: Duty-free ports. Currency: \$1 = 124 Pesetas. Major exports: Fish, cork, wood, beverages. Notes: These two fishing ports are Spain's last possessions in Africa, also known as Spanish North Africa. Although Morocco lays claim to these enclaves, it is unlikely to force Spain's hand until the Western Sahara dispute is resolved.

31. MOZAMBIQUE



Independence: 25 June 1975. Former Portuguese colony. Leader: Joaquim Alberto Chissano, b. 1939, President since 1986. Capital: Maputo. Main ports: Maputo-Matola, Beira, Nacala. Area: 801 590 km². Population: 14 951 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 82%; Secondary: 7% (1986). Adult literacy: 38% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 48 years (1987). Religion: Animist 65%; Christian 20%; Muslim 15%. Languages: Portuguese (official), Chitsonga, Chishona, Swahili. Balance of payments: Imports: \$885 mn; Exports: \$176 mn (1987). Budget: \$301 mn (1988). GDP: \$1 588 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$170 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Meticals 761,47 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Prawns (43%), cashew nuts, sugar. Notes: Nkomati Accord of 1984 opened new opportunities for economic co-operation with South Africa but relations deteriorated as Mozambique National Resistance insurgency continued despite the accord. In 1988 both countries pledged to revive the spirit of Nkomati. Mozambique is a member of the SADC and Frontline States groupings. Frelimo government has departed significantly from original Marxist policies, allowing a measure of free enterprise, and has growing relations with the West.

34. RWANDA



Independence: 1 July 1962. Formerly part of Belgian trusteeship Ruanda-Urundi. Leader: Maj-Gen Juvenal Habyarimana, b. 1937, President since 1973. Capital: Kigali. Main ports: Mombasa (Kenya), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania). Area: 26 338 km². Population: 6 454 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 67%; Secondary: 2% (1985). Adult literacy: 47% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 49 years (1987). Religion: Christian 40%; Muslim 10%; Animist 50%. Languages: French and Kinyarwanda (official). Balance of payments: Imports \$433 mn; Exports: \$176 mn (1987). Budget: \$599 mn (1988). GDP: \$2 099 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$300 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Rwanda francs 80,92 (July 1989). Major exports: Coffee (82%), tea. Notes: One of the smallest and most densely populated countries in Africa. All available arable land is extensively used. The Hutu-dominated government led by Habyarimana, who seized power in 1973, has been largely successful in dampening tribal tensions between Hutu and Tutsi which erupted in massacres during the 1960s and early 1970s. Large numbers of Hutu refugees entered Rwanda in 1988 following another outbreak of ethnic conflict in neighbouring Burundi.

35. SAO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE



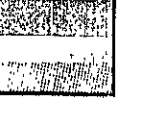
Independence: 12 July 1975. Formerly Portuguese colony. Leader: Manuel Pinto da Costa, b. 1937, President since 1975. Capital: Sao Tomé on Sao Tomé Island. Main part: Sao Tomé. Area: 964 km². Population: 112 000 (1987). 95% on Sao Tomé Island. School attendance: N/a. Adult literacy: 57% (1981). Life expectancy at birth: 65 years (1987). Religion: Mainly Catholic. Languages: Portuguese (official), Creole. Balance of payments: Imports: \$32 mn; Exports: \$15 mn (1987). Budget: \$31 mn (1987). GDP: \$44 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$280 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Dobra 106,97 (July 1989). Major exports: Cocoa (95%). Notes: Situated about 1 000 km north-west of Angola on the equator, Sao Tomé and Príncipe is one of Africa's smallest island states. It is a one-party state.

36. SENEGAL



Independence: 20 June 1960, as part of Mali Federation. Seceded 20 August 1960. Former French colony. Leader: Abdou Diouf, b. 1935, President since 1981. Capital: Dakar. Main ports: Dakar, St Louis. Area: 196 722 km². Population: 6 969 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 55%; Secondary: 13%; Higher: 2% (1985). Adult literacy: 28% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 47 years (1987). Religion: Muslim 90%; Christian 6%. Languages: French (official), Wolof, Serer, Bambara. Balance of payments: Imports: \$1 968 mn; Exports: \$1 288 mn (1987). Budget: \$1 470 mn (1989/90). GDP: \$4 721 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$510 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 62,53 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Groundnuts, fish, phosphates. Notes: Multi-party democracy introduced in 1978. Political crisis and rioting which followed controversy over election results in 1988, could have adverse effect on Diouf's attempts to reform ailing economy hit by recurring droughts. Confederation of Senegambia with adjoining Gambia lasted from 1982 to 1989.

37. SIERRA LEONE

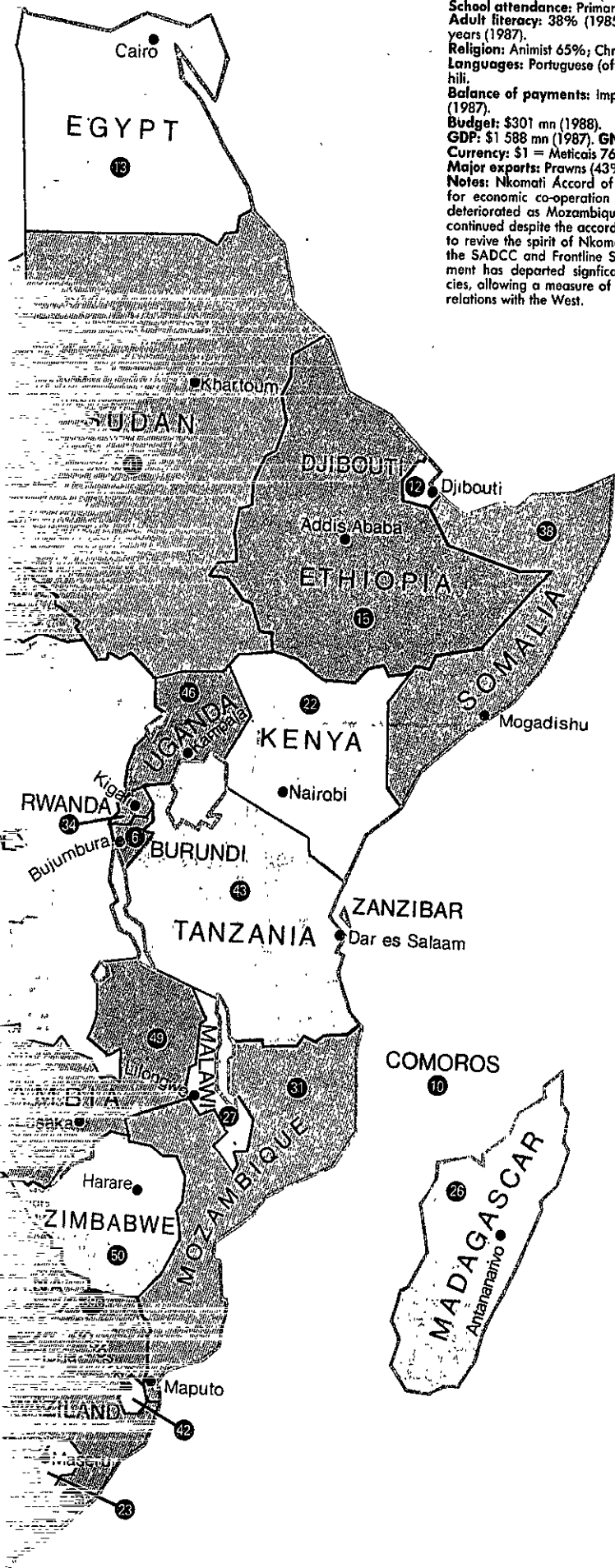


Independence: 27 April 1960. Former British colony. Leader: Maj-Gen Joseph Momoh, b. 1937, President since 1986. Capital: Freetown. Main part: Freetown. Area: 71 740 km². Population: 3 845 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 58%; Secondary: 17% (1982). Adult literacy: 29% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 41 years (1987). Religion: Animist 50%; Muslim 40%; Christian 10%. Languages: English (official), Temne, Mende, Krio. Balance of payments: Imports: \$164 mn; Exports: \$153 mn (1987). Budget: \$134 mn (1989/90). GDP: \$932 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$300 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Leone 62,53 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Metal ores (37%), cocoa, coffee, diamonds. Notes: Prior to ageing Pres Siaka Stevens' retirement in 1985 Maj-Gen Joseph Momoh was elected as his successor by the sole political party, The All People's Congress. Momoh assumed office on 1 January 1986. Government afflicted by widespread corruption and fraud. IMF has ruled out further loans as Sierra Leone is in default on interest payments.

38. SOMALIA

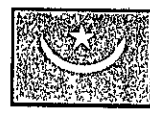


Independence: 1 July 1960. Formerly British and Italian Somaliland. Leader: Maj-Gen Mohammed Siad Barre, b. 1919, President since 1969. Capital: Mogadishu. Main ports: Mogadishu, Kismayu, Berbera, Merca. Area: 637 657 km². Population: 5 712 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 25%; Secondary: 17% (1983). Adult literacy: 12% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 47 years (1987). Religion: Muslim. Languages: Somali (official), Arabic. Balance of payments: Imports: \$507 mn; Exports: \$107 mn (1987). Budget: \$133 mn (1989). GDP: \$1 018 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$290 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Somali shillings 408,88 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Livestock (73%), bananas. Notes: Barre, who seized power in 1969, transformed military dictatorship into one-party system since 1976. Relations now resumed with Ethiopia after more than ten years of hostility. Serious fighting in north of country since 1988, involving Somali National Movement.



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29. MAURITANIA



Independence: 28 November 1960. Former French colony. Leader: Lt-Col Ahmed Ould Taya, b. 1936, Head of State since 1984. Capital: Nouakchott. Main parts: Nouakchott, Nouadhibou-Point. Area: 1 030 700 km². Population: 1 859 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 46%; Secondary: 15% (1986). Adult literacy: 17% (1986). Life expectancy at birth: 48 years (1987). Religion: Muslim. Languages: French and Arabic (official), Pulaar, Soninké, Hassaniya. Balance of payments: Imports: \$619 mn; Exports: \$473 mn (1987). Budget: \$293 mn (1989). GDP: \$936 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$440 (1987). Currency: \$1 = Ouguiyas 86,37 (July 1989). Major exports: Fish (68%), iron ore. Notes: Since Moktar Ould Daddah's government was overthrown by army in 1978, military power struggles resulted in a succession of military leaders. Lt-col Ahmed Ould Taya deposed Lt-Col Haidallah in 1984. Ethnic tensions between black and Arab dominated government aggravated by harsh sentences imposed on blacks accused of attempting a coup. A dispute with Senegal about occupation of each other's nationals has brought them to war. Poor desert country, dependent on close relations with France and other Western countries.

32. NIGER



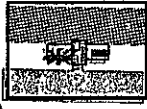
Independence: 3 August 1960. Former French colony. Leader: Col Ali Saibou, b. 1940, President since 1987. Capital: Niamey. Main ports: Lagos (Nigeria), Cotonou (Benin). Area: 1 186 408 km². Population: 6 798 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 29%; Secondary: 6%; Higher: 1% (1986). Adult literacy: 14% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 45 years (1987). Religion: Muslim 85%; Animist 14%; Christian 1%. Languages: French (official), Hausa, Djerna, Kanouri, Tamasheq. Balance of payments: Imports: \$479 mn; Exports: \$321 mn (1987). Budget: \$366 mn (1988/89). GDP: \$2 162 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$260 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329,28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Uranium (78%). Notes: Uranium production is mainstay of economy, which is therefore vulnerable to changes in world prices. Brig Siy Kountché, head of state since 1974, died in 1987 and succeeded by his Chief of Staff, Col Ali Saibou, who introduced a one-party system.

39. MALI



Independence: 20 June 1960 as part of Mali Federation comprising Senegal and Mali until 20 August 1960. Formerly French Sudan. Leader: Brig-Gen Moussa Traoré, b. 1936, President since 1968. Capital: Bamako. Main parts: Dakar (Senegal), Conakry (Guinea), Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire). Area: 1 240 142 km². Population: 7 768 000 (1987). School attendance: Primary: 24%; Secondary: 6%; Higher: 1% (1986). Adult literacy: 17% (1985). Life expectancy at birth: 47 years (1987). Religion: Muslim 65%; Christian 5%; Animist 30%. Languages: French (official), Arabic, Bambara, Fulani, Senoufo, Dogon. Balance of payments: Imports: \$679 mn; Exports: \$318 mn (1988). Budget: \$882 mn (1989). GDP: \$1 959 mn (1987). GNP/capita: \$210 (1987). Currency: \$1 = CFA francs 329,28 (Sept 1989). Major exports: Cotton (41%), livestock, groundnuts. Notes: Mali has had a stable, fairly moderate government since Traoré seized power in 1968. Extremely dependent on foreign aid.

39. SOUTH AFRICA



Independence: 31 May 1910. Union of four British colonies...
Leader: Mr Frederik Willem de Klerk, b. 1935, President since September 1989.
Capital: Pretoria (Administrative), Cape Town (Legislature), Bloemfontein (Judicial).

41. SUDAN



Independence: 1 January 1956. Former Anglo-Egyptian condominium.
Leader: Lt-Gen Omar Hassan Ahmed el-Beshir, b. 1944. Head of state since 1989.
Capital: Khartoum.

47. WESTERN SAHARA



Status: Former Spanish Sahara annexed by Morocco and Mauritania in 1976.
Capital: El Aaiun.
Main ports: el Aaiun, Dakhla.

39a. TRANSKEI



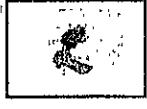
Independence: 26 October 1976. Formerly Xhosa homeland in South Africa.
Leader: Chief Tuto Ndamase, b. 1921, President since 1986.

42. SWAZILAND



Independence: 6 September 1968. Former British protectorate.
Leader: King Mswati III, b. 1968. Obed Dlamini Prime Minister since July 1989.

48. ZAIRE



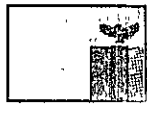
Independence: 30 June 1960. Formerly Belgian Congo.
Leader: Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, b. 1930, President since 1965.

43. TANZANIA



Independence: 9 December 1961 (Tanganyika), 9 December 1963 (Zanzibar). United Republic of Tanzania formed 26 April 1964.

49. ZAMBIA



Independence: 24 October 1964. Former British colony.
Leader: Dr Kenneth Kaunda, b. 1924, President since 1964.

39b. BOPHUTHATSWANA



Independence: 6 December 1977. Former Tswana homeland in South Africa.
Leader: Lucas M Mangope, b. 1927, President since 1977.

44. TOGO



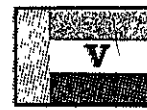
Independence: 27 April 1960. Former French trusteeship (British Togoland joined Ghana in 1957).
Leader: Gan Gnassingbe Eyadéma, b. 1937, President since 1967.

50. ZIMBABWE



Independence: 18 April 1980. Former British colony.
Leader: Robert G Mugabe, b. 1924, in power since 1980.

39c. VENDA



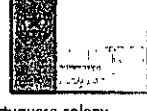
Independence: 13 September 1979. Former Venda homeland in South Africa.
Leader: Frank Ravele, b. 1926, President since 1988.

45. TUNISIA



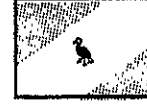
Independence: 26 March 1956. Former French protectorate.
Leader: General Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, b. 1937, President since 1987.

CAPE VERDE



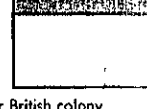
Independence: 5 July 1975. Former Portuguese colony.
Leader: Aristides Pereira, b. 1924, President since 1975.

39d. CISKEI



Independence: 4 December 1981. Formerly Xhosa homeland in South Africa.
Leader: Lennox L W Sebe, b. 1926, President since 1981.

MAURITIUS



Independence: 12 March 1968. Former British colony.
Leader: Queen Elizabeth II, represented by a governor-general.

40. NAMIBIA



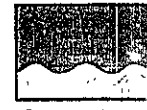
Independence: Territory with international status, administered by South Africa, in conjunction with the United Nations, until independence, which is expected in 1990.

46. UGANDA



Independence: 2 October 1962. Former British colony.
Leader: Yoweri Museveni, b. 1944, President since 1986.

SEYCHELLES



Independence: 29 June 1976. Former British colony.
Leader: Albert René, b. 1935, President since 1977.



Material provided by THE AFRICA INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA, P.O. Box 630, Pretoria

NOTE: Every effort has been made to provide accurate information for this calendar. However, the figures cannot be guaranteed because of the wide variance between different sources and statistical methods in Africa.

Flags by Liz Warder.

Teachers, ^{CMT Tinf} Sun workers ^{13/11/90} strike in 1 Comoros

MORONI. — A wave of strikes has broken out in the Comoros Islands in the run-up to free elections.

Secondary school teachers walked out on Monday to demand payment of salary arrears and were joined on Wednesday by students at the National School of Higher Studies protesting against a reduction in student grants.

On Thursday workers at the Galawa Hotel, a large South African-run beach resort, went on strike alleging poor treatment by the Mauritians who comprise most of the resort's senior staff.

A spokesman for Sun International said in Johannesburg that about 50 waiters working at the chain's two hotels in the Comoros had walked out in protest at disciplinary action against two of their colleagues for "insubordination".

Mr. George Lazley, Sun International's regional director for the Comoros, denied a report by Radio Comoros that the strikers had been sacked.

This former French colony in the Indian Ocean has been in political turmoil since the assassination of President Ahmed Abdallah on November 27.

Thirty South African-backed mercenaries who led the late president's large personal bodyguard took over the country for three weeks after his death before France and South Africa persuaded them to leave.

Interim president Mr. Said Mohamed Djohar assumed power after the mercenaries left and announced that multi-candidate presidential elections would be held on February 18 to set the country on a new course. — Sapa-Reuter

Aid to Africa 'could benefit SA'

ZILLA EFRAT

THE increasing funds being allocated by international aid organisations for infrastructural development in Third World countries offered SA's building and construction sectors many new opportunities.

This was the view of Safto research manager Paresh Pandya who said aid programmes amounted to many billions of dollars.

The World Bank alone had budgeted \$21.4bn for it in the current fiscal year.

Aid recipients include southern African countries where SA has a distinct geographical advantage as a foreign supplier and business partner.

Pandya said the most serious obstacle to Third World development was lack of foreign exchange.

It was this, rather than politics, that stood in the way of a major improvement

in SA's business with southern Africa, he said. 810 am 16/11/9

On average, imports account for about 40% of the costs of infrastructural development projects and aid programmes aim to circumvent foreign exchange shortages. Aid from the World Bank may only be used to finance imports.

Pandya said SA businessmen lacked information on these aid programmes and were thus unaware of the possibilities they offered.

He said he was researching what these projects could offer SA.

His research would also examine the procedures to follow in order to be included as a potential supplier of services and goods in the programmes.

Denard's SA *CR1-15*
stay extended *17/1/90*

JOHANNESBURG. — *17/1/90*
The Department of Home Affairs has extended the temporary residence permit of French mercenary Colonel Bob Denard by two weeks to January 29. *(1)*

A temporary residence permit was issued to Colonel Denard in December when he arrived in South Africa, after negotiations between France and SA.

Negotiations between France and SA about Mr Denard's future are still under way. — Sapa

New container ships ply Europe-SA route (1)

THE Italian line Lloyd Triestino has invested \$115m in an expansion programme to improve shipping links between Europe and southern Africa, a spokesman said yesterday. *Along with*

The first of two new container ships, the Nuova Africa, is due to arrive in Cape Town today. *(S)*

"The Nuova Africa and her sister, the Nuova Europa, which undertakes her maiden voyage in April, are the first replacement ships on the southern Africa/Europe container service since

BENJAMIN COCKRAM

it was introduced in 1976," he said.

The new ships have five shipboard cranes which will allow them to work cargo in ports like East London that are not equipped with container cranes.

Asked whether this marked investment increase in SA trade meant that Lloyd Triestino expected a more favourable political climate for trade in the near future, Rovatti said his company was not concerned with the politics of the countries it dealt with.

THE WORLD

Once-loved Ceausescu's African connections

W/Mail 19/1/90 - 25/1/90



The body of Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu lies beneath a bullet-ridden wall after his execution

IN 1987, human rights activists geared up for a drive in the United States Congress to cancel a brutal dictatorship's "most favoured nation" trade preference. President Ronald Reagan weighed in on the dictator's side, explaining "it is better to direct our efforts to improving conditions that arouse our concern than to abandon the principal means of influence and walk away".

Was this Chile? Guatemala? South Africa? No. The dictator Reagan defended on this occasion was Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania. While Reagan spoke up for Ceausescu, Romanian government lobbyist Edward van Klobberg warned that trade sanctions could force the Romanian government to withdraw from its \$60-million joint mining venture with Occidental Petroleum's Island Creek Coal subsidiary in economically depressed Buchanan County, Virginia, eliminating 350 American jobs.

Reagan's softness toward Eastern

The bankers' favourite communist

Europe's most brutal dictator, bizarre though it may seem for a man of his anti-communist principles, had firm roots in international economics and geo-politics.

On the economic front, Romania was the first Warsaw Pact member to join the two organisations which function as the central committee for international capitalism, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Unlike fellow World Bank member Poland — where working class militancy placed limits on the government's room for economic manoeuvre — Romania has been viewed

as a "responsible debtor". Ceausescu earned Western bankers' respect by starting workers and consumers to promptly pay \$21-billion in foreign debts.

On the politico-military front, as New York's *Business Week* magazine noted after his fall, "Romania has long pursued its own foreign policy and barred any Soviet military presence, with encouragement from the US and other Nato members".

It even seems to have developed some intriguing covert Western links: Iran-Contra operative Richard Secord used Saudi funds to buy ammunition for the Nicaraguan Contras in Romania. Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus report in their book *Landslide: The Unmaking of President Reagan*. And George Bush, as vice-president, made a point of visiting Romania in 1983 during an Eastern European tour which also took him to non-aligned Yugoslavia and independent-minded Hungary.

ZIMBABWE leader Robert Mugabe made him a "Freeman of the City" of Harare. Liberian President Samuel Doe granted him an honorary doctorate of law, Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko hailed his contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle, Queen Elizabeth II knighted him, America's Ronald Reagan treated his government to "most favoured" trading status and sent George Bush to visit him. Yet these leaders would today like to forget the man they once honoured, the late and seemingly unlamented dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania.

"Communist" though Ceausescu may have claimed to be, his status as the one Warsaw Pact leader who consistently resisted Soviet hegemony for a quarter of a century made him an important partner for the West. For the same reason, he was a friend to those African leaders — from Mobutu to Mugabe — who forged close links to Beijing while maintaining a wary distance from Moscow.

The solidarity of the super-greedy may have further cemented his ties to fellow dictators Mobutu and Doe, both widely reviled for their alleged corruption.

On at least one occasion, the South African government found itself in a *de facto* military alliance with Ceausescu. Conversely, though the African National Congress occasionally sent students to Romanian universities, Ceausescu's regime was long viewed by the ANC as the least helpful Warsaw Pact government.

Ceausescu's African adventures seem to have started in Zaire, where the fabulously wealthy, CIA-installed Sese Seko was his oldest and closest African ally. The Ceausescu-Mobutu connection began in the early 1970s and continued, through an odd American link, to Ceausescu's last gasp on Christmas Day. They shared the same Washington lobbyist, Edward van Klobberg, a specialist in representing unpopular dictatorships whose client-list included the ousted Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia and Iraq's brutal Saddam Hussein.

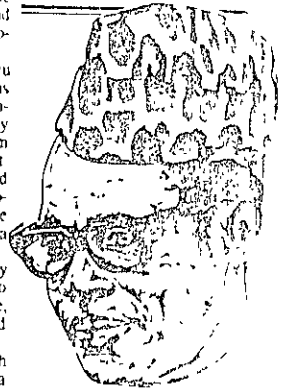
For Mobutu, the Ceausescu connection was part of a broader link with Romania's main ally in the communist world, China. Thus Ceausescu's first trip to Zaire in 1972, was a harbinger of Mobutu's visit the following year with Mao Tse Tung in China.

These flirtations matured into full-scale military collaboration two years later when Bucharest — weighing in alongside Washington, Beijing and Pretoria in the 1974-75 Angolan wars — started delivering weapons to the Zaire-based FNLA, headed by Mobutu's close friend and relative-by-marriage Holden Roberto.

In its role as China's European partner, Romania also joined the Chi-

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Romania's depose Libe...
Nicolae Ceausescu...
himself an influential rol...
friend of Africa's freedom...
even ended up on the sa...
as the CIA and Pretoria...
the Angolan wa...

STEVE ASKIN and HUNTER



Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko

nese in arming and training Mobutu's army, while the Soviet Union's Yuriy Shua Nkomo's Zairean presence was therefore fueled as a great success. In 1983 The Ceausescu became the second and third persons to be named Mugabe himself — to have the ancient honorific of "Freeman of the City" conveyed upon them for their independence Harare. In explaining this honour, *The Herald* newspaper deemed it "important for our people never to forget the crucial role played by Cde Ceausescu and the people of Romania in assisting our struggle for freedom".

In the 1980s, Bucharest diversified its African ties, with Romanian state companies competing with Western capitalists to establish joint mining and agriculture ventures in African nations across the political spectrum — conservative, capitalist Liberia and Gabon to non-aligned socialist Mozambique.

In Mozambique, Romania has developed a prominent presence in the early 1980s in the northern province of Niassa, where they were active in agriculture, and especially in cotton production. But Maputo's relations with Bucharest seem to have had relatively little to do with global power politics — except insofar as they reflect the determination of Mozambique to actively develop its relations with socialist camps, reconstituting itself as the epicenter of Marxism.

Doe, a dictator who, though rebuffing, has fallen out of favour with the United States, probably because his government's corrupt practices hurt US economic interests — signed a wide-ranging co-operation agreement with Romania in 1986 trading mining rights for technology and military training and weapons.

According to *West Africa*, a magazine, when visiting Secretary of State George Shultz reproached him in 1987, Doe told Shultz that Liberia needed a protector that would provide military aid — as Washington had failed to do in 1985 when Doe was almost overthrown by a military coup d'état.

Yet Zaire remained Romania's most important black African connection. Ceausescu signed a major bilateral economic agreement with Zaire when he visited Mobutu in Kinshasa in 1987. After Ceausescu welcomed Mobutu and his wife to Bucharest in April 1988, there was talk of yet another Zaire trip by the Romanian head of state. The two leaders may have a broad agenda for Romanian involvement in Zairean railway modernisation, minerals processing, and development of oil pipelines, steel-milling plants and a paper mill.

A few early rumbles of an African perestroika

W/Mail 19/1/90 - 25/1/90
Perestroika has trickled down to Africa. Several African states have abandoned Marxist Leninism. But Africa's one-party state is far from dead, reports VICTORIA BRITAIN

AN African version of *perestroika* is under way across the continent, with the tiny West African state of Benin recently following Mozambique's lead in striking Marxism-Leninism from its official ideology. Algeria, among the most influential African states, ended one-party rule last year, and was followed by San Tomé opting for a multi-party system.

But in Zimbabwe at the recent congress called to cement the merger between President Robert Mugabe's Zanu-PF party and Joshua Nkomo's Zapu and to revise the 10-year-old constitution imposed at Lancaster House, there were indications that Africa is not going wholesale down the East European road.

The two separate questions of a Marxist-Leninist party in Africa, and of enshrining a one-party state in the constitution, were bitterly debated.

Discussing his congress, Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Nathan Shamuyarira, said "capitalism cannot develop Africa — there is not capital here, or coming in".

And Professor Armando Entralgo, head of Cuba's research institute on Africa put it similarly "The failures of building socialism in Africa have been very clear for some time but, equally clearly, the capitalist route is not a viable alternative".

One of the by-products of the political upheavals which are opening Eastern Europe to Western aid and private investment is that — despite the official declarations to the contrary from Washington — there is going to be even less capital for Africa.

The Marxist-Leninist ruling parties left in Africa, besides Zimbabwe, are those of Angola, Ethiopia and Congo

(widely expected to be the next to change). They are not, of course, the only one-party states. Across the political spectrum from these on the left, to rampant capitalist states like Kenya, the one-party state is the norm in Africa. The rationale is that in countries still new enough to have uncertain national identities, and with large illiterate populations, a multi-party state invites divisions on ethnic grounds, and spawns corruption (Less publicly those in power would agree that they are easier to keep order in.)

Multi-party systems as, for instance, in the former British colonies of Uganda, Ghana and Nigeria in the years after independence, were a failure. They created a mockery of democracy, encouraged a corrupt elite, perpetuated gross inequalities between regions and between urban and rural areas.

Mugabe's own experience of South Africa's involvement in Zimbabwe's recently launched Zimbabwe Unity

Movement, and the launch during the congress of a previously unheard of Zimbabwe Active People's Unity Party, may explain his passionate defence of the one-party state. Mugabe's view runs against the judgement of many of Zimbabwe's most distinguished intellectuals, a judgement which has been freely aired in the local press.

The current ideological change in Africa has been sparked by Eastern Europe's upheaval, and there are plenty of parallels in the African parties' loss of touch with the grass-roots, their lack of internal democracy and their incapacity to confront chronic social and economic crises — and not only among the parties of the left.

The dissenting voices of intellectuals in Harare against Mugabe's link between a socialist option and a one-party state for Zimbabwe are the best pointer yet to a fresh wind of democracy blowing in Africa. — The Guardian, London

A few early tumbles of an African perestroika

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VICTORIA BRITAIN

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Multi-party systems as, for instance, in the former British colonies of Uganda, Ghana and Nigeria in the years after independence, were a failure. They created a mockery of democracy, encouraged a corrupt elite, perpetuated gross inequalities between regions and between urban and rural areas.

Mugabe's own experience of South Africa's involvement in Zimbabwe's recently launched Zimbabwe Unity Party, and the chronic social and economic crises — and not only among the parties of the left — have also been a factor in the current ideological change in Africa. The current ideological change in Africa has been sparked by Eastern Europe's upheaval, and there are plenty of parallels in the African parties' loss of touch with the grassroots, their lack of internal democracy and their incapacity to confront chronic social and economic crises — and not only among the parties of the left.

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W/Wed 19/11/90 - 25/11/90

Africa threatened by Red wind of change

9/11/90 (1)

WORKERS of the world, we apologise.

So said a banner carried by protesters on the 72nd anniversary of the Soviet Revolution last year. That this apology was allowed through the sacred grounds of the Red Square should tell Africa to get ready – next time it could be us!

In September, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi told the British Press: "If we look at what is happening in Poland, USSR and Hungary, I think it is not we in Black Africa that are going to prevent that wind from sweeping through Africa."

Since Savimbi left London, Mikhail Gorbachev has been to East Berlin with his favourite gospel: "Governments that fail to adapt themselves to the impulses of society, put themselves in peril," he told Erich Honecker during East Germany's 40th birthday anniversary.

Honecker, unhappy with the message, told Gorbachev in so many words to mind his own business.

Three weeks later, Honecker had a new title – ex-president.

Freedom is said to be a human right that cannot be compromised. Food, shelter and clothing are basic necessities of life, they say.

Whoever coined these phrases better have their heads examined, in the light of recent events in Eastern Europe.

The East Germans had sufficient shelter, ample

While Eastern Europe seethes with political upsets BAFOUR ANKOMAH in the *New Africa* magazine questions the ability of African leaders to maintain or sustain their one-party states in the faces of these anticipated changes.

clothing, and some were living in relative luxury. Yet they left to begin a new life in the West, because their lives lacked freedom – the freedom of free expression, travel and freedom from totalitarianism.

Mrs Thatcher says: "When people are free to choose, they choose freedom."

Africa is sitting through the turmoil and looking on as one totalitarian regime after another crumbles in Eastern Europe.

The battle-cry all is democracy and freedom – but will Africa take note? Are we learning anything?

Do African leaders have to wait to be swept away by the avalanche?

Africa doesn't have to wait for thousands of heads to be cracked by police truncheons in protest demonstrations as witnessed in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on November 17, nor do we have to shoot hundreds in the streets of Lagos or fill the jails of Ghana and Zambia with dissidents to initiate political reforms in our countries.

We can eliminate the pain by acting promptly and in time.

For many years Africa has lived with repressive one-party systems and military dictatorships.

For many years we've been made to understand that some leaders have the divine right to rule for life.

Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast says as long as a chief lives, his successor must not be known.

He, being the chief, has millions to build a *basilica* while his country cannot pay its debts.

In Zambia the people have lived under a state of emergency for 27 years, yet President Kaunda has the courage to travel the world telling influential governments to ask South Africa to lift the state of emergency imposed three years ago.

In October 1988, Kaunda's Defence Minister Alex Shapi told his countrymen they would be regarded as enemies if they voted against the president in elections in which Kaunda was the sole candidate.

Africa has endured all these indignities with equanimity. But there is a time for everything and something, surely, will have to give.

Like the East Germans, Africans wouldn't complain if the general good was sought by the life-presidents.

The reverse is the truth, human rights and living conditions have become worse in real terms

compared to than 30 years ago.

There is massive unemployment everywhere on the continent, poverty is increasing and hope seems to be dwindling.

But things should be better than this.

Nations, like individuals, live by their bitter experiences.

Africa should learn from the Eastern European crisis and introduce reforms at all fronts of national life.

For example, we should be able to examine the ills of our one-party systems. This is by no means advocating a slavish copying of any particular system, but we must be able to encourage opposition parties or alternative leaders to prepare themselves for office.

In Britain the Conservative Party is in power, yet Neil Kinnock's Labour Party has shadow cabinet and shadow ministers for every ministry.

The shadows, in other words, are preparing themselves for government.

As new nations we should be learning from the mistakes of older countries and taking strength from their successes.

There is no shame in borrowing good ideas.

The year 1990 marks the 30th independence anniversary of most African countries.

What will our banners be 42 years from now? Obviously not "Workers of the world, we apologise."

The big AIDS deception

SCIENTISTS examining satellite photographs taken over Central Africa noticed a curious phenomenon. Several formerly prosperous villages in Zaire had been deserted and bush was already encroaching on the roads leading to ghostly circles of abandoned dwellings.

Further investigations revealed that AIDS was the monster that had caused the villagers to flee in panic into the bush — leaving their dying behind them.

The researchers, from the World Health Organisation, then turned their attention to Uganda. There the picture was similarly "clear and awful" with more deserted "AIDS villages".

Entire towns were heading for a similar fate — in Kasensero, for instance, one in every four inhabitants had already died and nearly all those still alive were infected with the disease known as "Slim".

Kenyan prostitutes on the streets of Nairobi were tested — and not one was found to be free of the virus.

It has only recently dawned on Western AIDS agencies that African nations are guilty of grossly and shamelessly under-reporting their AIDS casualties, often to avoid loss of face and keep the tourist dollars flowing.

Piecing together the evidence, independent researchers have painted a grotesque picture of a continent dying of AIDS.

The most frightening projection of all has come from WHO itself which believes the virus could claim half Africa's population within the next 10 years.

The SA AIDS Economic Research Institute predicts the disease will cause a huge population vacuum in central Africa by the mid-1990s, causing all mineral production to cease.

"AIDS is everyone's problem," say the posters lining the avenues of Harare. But the next line is the

Tony Nicholson

says Africa is cynically deceiving the world on the true extent of AIDS

telling one: "Jesus Christ — the only hope".

The implication is one increasingly heard in Africa — that short of divine intervention the continent is lost to AIDS.

Five years ago Zimbabwe's blood transfusion service was proud to become the third in the world to screen blood for the HIV virus. Now the nation leads the continent in the great African AIDS deception.

Collapse

Two years ago Zimbabwe decreed that the official death toll be reduced from 380 to 119. Nearly all research was halted. There are reports, officially denied, that sufferers are confined to AIDS concentration camps near Lake Kariba.

All reference to AIDS on death certificates is banned and blood transfusion services are under orders not to release HIV statistics because these are "state secrets".

Western agencies believe up to a million Zimbabweans are seropositive — a quarter of the nation's adults — and have warned that the country faces economic collapse by the end of the next decade.

"It's an internationally-held opinion that statistics from many African countries are huge underestimations," says South African AIDS expert, Professor Ruben Sher. "Only 10 percent of cases in Africa are being reported." Who

has no choice but to accept statistics provided by reporting nations — many of which are up to a year late and subject to each nation's prejudices. Thus late last year WHO announced there were 33 000 sufferers in Africa.

This is an amazing distortion of the true picture. Malawi, one of Africa's smallest countries, is estimated to have a seropositive population at least TWICE the size of the official total for the entire continent.

In Africa there is a surprisingly widespread belief that AIDS is an invention of the church aimed at curbing sexual freedom. This led to a popular quip that SIDA, the French acronym for the virus, stood for Syndrome Imaginaire pour Discourager les Amoureux.

In the Zairean cabinet, jokes about AIDS were once rife. But they suddenly stopped when a senior Cabinet minister died of AIDS — along with his wife and mistress.

Further south, three Zambian Cabinet Ministers died within a year from causes never publicly revealed, but widely rumoured to be AIDS. Then President Kenneth Kaunda publicly admitted that his fifth son had died of the disease.

There is strong evidence that AIDS originated in Africa, whether or not one believes the green monkey theory. Nevertheless, African nations — with the possible exception of Uganda, Zaire and Zambia — still often hold the belief that AIDS is a white man's disease.

"In the US they said AIDS was from Haiti," says Renee Sabatier of London's Panos Institute. "In Haiti, they said it was from Africa. In Africa they said it was a disease of the degenerate West."

The truth is no one knows where AIDS came from. But it is here and there is no cure. It's time all African nations admitted an epidemic is sweeping the continent.

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Stepping into shoes of foreign states

SA's growing links with Africa revealed

The Star's Africa News Service

South Africa is involved in about 120 aid projects in central, west and southern Africa, the director of the Pretoria based Africa Institute, Dr Erich Leistner, has disclosed.

In a paper presented at a symposium being held in Taiwan yesterday, Dr Leistner said South Africa was involved in agricultural, wildlife and nature conservation, education, training and health projects in those countries.

Although co-operation between South Africa and its neighbours is well documented, this is the first time that details of links between South Africa and more distant African countries have been disclosed.

Significant

Although Dr Leistner did not name the west and central African countries involved, it is significant that in almost all the areas of co-operation mentioned, countries in west and central Africa were receiving aid from South Africa.

Dr Leistner said South Africa was involved in 15 agricultural projects in African countries, the majority in central and west Africa. Four of the projects were in Swaziland, one each in Malawi and the Comoros and the rest in central and west Africa.

Besides a well known cattle project in Equatorial Guinea, Dr Leistner mentioned another successful project in west Africa which is being run by a private company. He did not name the company.

"West African countries have been severely hit by falling cocoa prices. South African experts therefore

have begun to introduce South African citrus — (navels and clementines) — and are confident that positive results will be forthcoming under tropical conditions," he said.

In an unnamed west African country a chicken and pig farm was experiencing difficulties due to the high cost of animal feed. South Africa experts had then started a scheme to produce soy-beans which can be readily grown in that country and is an important ingredient of animal food.

Dr Leistner said South Africa was also involved in 11 schemes concerning wildlife and national parks, most of them in central and west Africa.

As far as health is concerned the director of the Africa Institute said South Africa had 20 projects in Africa. In 1985/86 1 716 patients from 13 African countries received treatment in South Africa.

South Africa had also equipped clinics in unnamed west African countries and African doctors regularly came to South Africa from as far afield as west and east Africa to gain the international recognised diploma in tropical medicines.

In west Africa, South Africa was also involved in two housing projects, a desalination plant as well as a power plant.

Quite a few students from central Africa were studying geology in South Africa, Dr Leistner said.

He said the growing rapprochement between South Africa and black Africa was due to several important developments, including the disillusionment of foreign investors over Africa's economy and policies, the end of superpower competition for influence in Africa and the growing awareness that Africa's former allies, be it the United States or the Soviet bloc countries, were losing interest in Africa.



Dr Leistner ... South Africa is filling vacuum left by end of superpower competition and disillusioned foreign investors.

Argus 22/11/90 (1) ~~22/11/90~~

SA helping in 120 projects in Africa

Argus Africa News Service
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Dr Erich Leistner

Besides a cattle project in Equatorial Guinea, Dr Leistner mentioned another successful project which was being run by a private company in West Africa.

The company, he said, was setting up training facilities in Natal for workers from the West African project. He did not name the country or the company involved.

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Pope visits Africa to focus attention on desert people's plight

CIDADE DA PRAIA — Pope John Paul travels to Africa this week to focus attention on the Sahel, one of the world's poorest regions, which is blighted by drought and threatened by the encroaching desert.

When the Pope begins his trip here on the island republic of Cape Verde tomorrow, at the start of an eight-day, five-nation trip, he will be welcomed by a country of Roman Catholics living in apparent prosperity and peace.

But continuing to Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Burkina Faso and Chad, he will come up against the more familiar African problems of poverty, hunger, disease, war and political instability.

The trip comes 10 years after the Pope, during a stop in Burkina Faso, made an im-

passioned appeal for saving the Sahel from hunger, drought and desertification.

His plea, expected to be repeated again, led to the creation of the John Paul II Foundation for the Sahel, which sponsors health and agricultural projects in the region.

It is the 45th foreign tour of John Paul's 11-year-old papacy. He is planning another African trip later this year.

Cape Verde, a former Portuguese colony lying in the Atlantic Ocean about 480km west of Senegal, has the highest percentage of Roman Catholics of any African country — about 90% of the population.

The Pope will make stops on three of the 10 islands and boats will transport the

faithful from outlying islands.

The country is very poor but it has been helped by massive foreign aid, remittances from emigrants, a fledgling tourist industry and isolation from regional conflicts.

But when the Pope arrives on Saturday in Guinea-Bissau, another former Portuguese colony, he enters one of Africa's 15 poorest countries.

Only 7% of Guineans profess Catholicism, while Muslims make up about a third of the population.

According to Joao Quintino, director of the state newspaper No Pintcha, a recent border dispute with Senegal will not stop thousands of Senegalese Catholics from crossing into Bissau for the papal mass.

Political observers in Guinea-Bissau said an amnesty was decreed so the nation would have no political prisoners when it received the Pope.

The church in Mali claims about 75,000 Catholics in the predominantly Muslim nation of eight-million people.

Mali ranks as one of the five poorest nations in the world, with an average life expectancy of 45. But while small in number, Catholics exercise significant influence in society, running schools and health facilities.

The Pope is expected to call for reconciliation in Chad, plagued by civil war and disputes with Libya. — Sapa-AP.

Africa must reform ⁽¹⁾ or face economic ruin

star 25/1/90

HARARE — The World Bank has urged Africa to apply hard reforms over the next decade to avoid economic ruin.

"Africa will have to continue making tough decisions to improve its economic performance," said Edward Jaycox, World Bank vice president responsible for African affairs.

"It's not going to be an easy decade," Jaycox said during a visit to Zimbabwe this week.

He suggested African states improve agriculture, control population growth, ease controls on small businesses, set realistic exchange rates, integrate their economies and democratise their political systems.

"The cure need not be as bad as the disease provided you get to it early and you get to the root of

it," he told the local branch of the Society for International Development, an independent think-tank on development issues.

Agriculture — which provided employment to some 80 percent of Africans and accounted for up to 50 percent of Gross National Product — had been neglected, Jaycox said.

As a result the continent, once a net food producer, now imported up to 25 percent of its food requirements every year.

"If this sector doesn't work, then nothing will work," Jaycox told the meeting.

He said that grain output lagged behind population growth, noting that at current rates of expansion, Africa would have 2,5 billion people in the next century, up from 600 million now.— Sapa-
Reuter.

Bissau 2nd 11/90

Pope leaves on his sixth African trip

ROME — Pope John Paul began his sixth pilgrimage to Africa yesterday, an eight-day tour of the Sahel region that African leaders hope will remind the world of the continent's persistent need for foreign aid.

The pope flew to Cape Verde, a 10-island archipelago off Africa's northwest coast. After two days, he heads for Guinea Bissau, Mali, Burkina Faso and Chad.

It is the 45th foreign trip of John Paul's 11-year-old pontificate. He will deliver 35 speeches and travel a total of 14 300km.

The pope is expected to renew an appeal he made 10 years ago for international aid to help save sub-Saharan Africa from its chronic problems of poverty, hunger, disease and encroaching deserts.

"This is the poorest part of Africa and the pope will discuss the realities of these countries," a spokesman said.

A centerpiece of the pope's trip will be a ceremony on Monday in Ouagadougou, capital of Burkina Faso, marking the 10th anniversary of John Paul's appeal for the Sahel in which he declared: "I cannot remain silent while my brothers and sisters are in danger." — Sapa-Reuter.

Africa must get itself together - World Bank

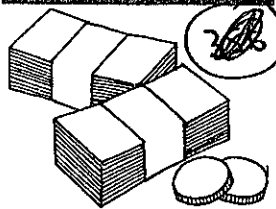
REFORM is the most fashionable word in international politics.

Europe is in the throes of the greatest reform since the Second World War. The waves of reform are even pounding at the gates of the mighty Kremlin.

And this week Africa received a dire warning from the World Bank: reform or face economic ruin within 10 years.

It is ironic that the reforms which are taking place in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are, in many ways bad for economic reform in Africa.

West Germany, for instance, is the largest exporter of capital in Europe. Now, with the prospect of reunification with East Germany, there is little doubt most of this capital will go there. What is left will probably go to Poland, Hungary or other Eastern bloc nations, as



MONEY TALK

Eastern Europe offers very exciting investment opportunities.

Against this background Edward Jaycox, World Bank vice-president for African affairs, issued his stern warning to the Harare branch of the Society for International Development. His views carry weight as the bank will be the main lifeline for Africa while Europe turns inwards during the nineties.

The gross neglect of agriculture in Africa is obviously a great source of concern. "If this sec-

tor doesn't work, nothing will work," said Jaycox, pointing out that agriculture provided 80 percent of the jobs on the continent. However, due to the neglect Africa today has to import 25 percent of the food needed to feed its 600 million people while its population grows at an explosive rate.

What is the World Bank's advice to Africa for survival in the Nineties?

Jaycox suggests the following:

- Integrate many of the continent's economies and democratise political systems;
- Control population growth;
- Improve agriculture to feed the masses;
- Ease controls on small businesses; and
- Set realistic exchange rates.

clip on 28/1/90

SA can gain from development aid

610am 29/11/90
DEVELOPING countries spend about \$200bn a year on imports, of which much comes from development aid funds.

ZILLA EFRAT

According to Intervisual Advertising project director William Hornby, SA exporters can tap into this business through Intervisual's World Aid Project.

① advantage in Africa, the area currently getting the major slice of development aid.

However, aid to South America has recently escalated, particularly from Japan.

He says SA producers could be particularly successful as sub-contractors for companies that have won the aid tenders in Africa and South America.

The World Aid Project consists of an intelligence service and the World Aid Yearbook — a service which is supplied by Western suppliers to development contracts and to key authorities on the projects in Third World countries.

South Africans have a geographic

January 31 1990 7-

Comoran⁽¹⁾ hotel closes as tourists⁽²⁾ cancel trips

The Star's Africa News Service
Sun International's newest re-
sort hotel in the Comoros Is-
lands, the 182-room Galawa Sun,
has been closed for an indefinite
period after hundreds of South
African tourists cancelled holi-
days to the troubled islands in
recent weeks. *Star 31/1/90*

The uncertain security situa-
tion on the islands for South
Africans following the ousting of
the South African-backed mer-
cenaries who tried to take con-
trol of the country following the
assassination of President
Ahmed Abdallah late last year,
combined with a strike at the
hotel by disgruntled Comorian
staffers, led to the hotel closure
on January 13.

According to Sun Internation-
al spokesman Mr George Laz-
ley, Sun International's other
hotel on the island, the much
smaller Itsandra Hotel, is still
open and accommodating busi-
nessmen and the few holiday-
makers still arriving.

"Bookings for the Galawa
have been very low since mid-
January, mainly because of ner-
vousness about the political situ-
ation on the islands, which is
still tense," said Mr Lazley.

"As a result we have decided
to close the hotel until at least
after the elections, due at the
end of February. The Comorian
staff have been 'let off' for a
month but contract staff, mainly
Mauritian, remain at the hotel."

The cause of a strike at the
Galawa Sun by Comorian
staffers, which resulted in dem-
onstrations at the hotel last
year, arose from dissatisfaction
among Comorian staff and the
fact that they have largely been
given menial positions in the
hotel, with supervisory positions
going to either South African or
Mauritian expatriates.

Mr Lazley said that at present
Comorian staff were in the main
"just not ready" for supervisory
positions, but added he was sure
that position would change.

SI hurt by stormy politics in Comores

B. J. Woods 31/1/90

POLITICAL uncertainty in the Comores had forced Sun International (SI) to temporarily wind down its new Le Galawa Sun Hotel, SI regional operations director in charge of the Comores George Lazley said yesterday.

Poor bookings — an average of about 24 people a week between mid-January and March — and uncertainty over the pending elections were the reasons for the shut-down, he said.

One guest told Business Day there were only six people booked into the hotel last week. The hotel could accommodate about 350 people.

Lazley said SI stood to incur monthly losses of about R500 000. SI had investments in the Comores totalling R15m.

He said while the restaurant was still open, SI was advising tourists to stay at its other hotel, Itsandra, which accommodated 40 people, because of the "lack of atmosphere" at the hotel.

"Obviously this is an expensive exercise for us, so we have taken the opportunity of sending people on leave," he said.

Speculation that the hotel would be closed until at least April 6 was premature, he said.

"We think we will open before then but it depends on how things settle down after the elections on February 18.

"Normally in a case like this we would do a heavy sell, but we decided to wait and see what the outcome of the elections was. If things go smoothly I think we will open

MANDY JEAN WOODS

in about mid-March," Lazley said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said an investigation into the situation in the Comores two weeks ago showed the political position was "more stable now than ever before.

"There is no question that political uncertainty will prejudice SA interests. There has been a major downturn in tourism in the islands but we are not concerned about this in the long term."

The economy of the Comores relied on a stable environment so that tourism, the single biggest foreign exchange earner and employer, could flourish.

Lazley and the spokesman said indications from the various political parties were that they expected to maintain close ties with SA and to foster tourism.

Trouble flared in the former French archipelago in late November after Comores President Ahmed Abdullah was allegedly assassinated by former French mercenary and Presidential Guard commander Col Bob Denard.

□ Sapa reports a decision on whether to extend Denard's temporary residence permit for another two weeks was expected later this week, a Home Affairs spokesman said yesterday.

Denard's previous permit expired on Monday. He has been in SA for six weeks after fleeing the islands with 30 mercenary members of the Presidential Guard.

Boy, 5, savaged after losing hand

MINNEAPOLIS. — A five-year-old boy lost his left hand when a firecracker exploded while he was holding it — and was then attacked by his pet pit bull, which was trained to attack at the sound of gunfire.

Tony Bricker was saved from bleeding to death by postman Mr Ken Soine, who raced to the rescue when he heard a woman screaming for help.

Tony was listed in stable condition following surgery yesterday. Bomb squad member Sergeant Da-

vid Estenson said Mr Soine "undoubtedly saved the young boy's life by stopping the flow of blood with direct pressure on the wound".

He said the boy was apparently playing with matches in an upstairs bedroom with his younger siblings and ignited an illegal firecracker in his hand.

Sergeant Estenson said the firecracker was believed to be about 8cm long and 2,5cm in diameter. — UPI

Mandela, FW 'will meet again shortly'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Another meeting between jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk is in the offing, said a report in The Times here yesterday.

The Times correspondent wrote that no decision had been reached yet on a release date for Mr Mandela.

He quoted government sources as saying "the cabinet had agreed to leave the timing to Mr De Klerk and Mandela. The President, who met Mandela last month, is expected to arrange another meeting soon".

The Times said the apparent refusal by the government to unban the ANC was holding up the release. This was because Mr Mandela was committed to resuming the armed struggle if the ANC remained banned.

Syfrets Cape Times

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DAILY LISTING — Page 12
STOCK PRICES — Page 14

Sun International to close Comoros hotel

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Political uncertainty in the Comoros has forced Sun International temporarily to wind down its new Le Galawa Sun hotel, the company's regional operations director in charge of the Comoros, Mr George Lazley, said yesterday.

Poor bookings — an average of about 24 people a week between mid-January and March — and uncertainty over the pending elections were the reasons for the shutdown, he said.

Mr Lazley said Sun International stood to incur losses of about R500 000 a month. The company had investments totalling R15 million in the Comoros. Speculation that the hotel would be closed till at least April 6 was premature, he said.

A decision on whether to extend Colonel Bob Denard's temporary residence permit for another two weeks is expected later this week, a Home Affairs spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday, according to Sapa.

Denard's previous permit expired on Monday.

State of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, con

Britain and France pledge to continue development aid to continent

HARARE — Britain and France yesterday assured Zimbabwe and the rest of Africa their development aid to African countries would not be cut as a result of new demands in Eastern Europe, said Zimbabwe's Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira.

He was briefing journalists yesterday after separate talks with French Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Edwige

Avice and British Minister for Overseas Development Lynda Chalker. Ziana news agency reports.

Shamuyarira said Britain had recently allocated Z\$15m for Zimbabwe's resettlement programme.

But he had told Chalker: "We still need a lot more for resettlement and utilisation of land."

The minister said the talks covered

problems in southern Africa, bilateral relations, Namibia's pending independence, peace initiatives in Angola and Mozambique and the SA situation.

Chalker said later Britain would like to see negotiations, involving all parties to the SA problem, for peaceful change in that country.

She said this process should involve the release of political prisoners, in-

cluding ANC leader Nelson Mandela; the lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC.

Chalker and Avice were due to meet President Robert Mugabe late yesterday.

Before meeting Mugabe, Chalker was scheduled to meet Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement Deputy Minister Jock Kay. — Sapa.

Sub-Saharan Africa heading for 'Malthusian nightmare' ①

By RAMSAY MILNE of
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The countries of sub-Saharan Africa are heading for a "Malthusian nightmare" unless their political leaders face up to the self-inflicted causes of Africa's depressing decline, says Mr Herman Nickel, who was US ambassador to South Africa from 1982 to 1986.

In a lengthy — and outspoken — article in *The Wall Street Journal*, Mr Nickel argues that African leaders, in keeping with their past practice of blaming external calamities for their own failures, are in danger of using the likely diversion of Western funds to the emerging non-socialist states in Eastern Europe as a screen for their own deficiencies.

The African response to the events in Europe so far is not encouraging, he says, and cites as a typical reaction Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasango of Nigeria's complaint about the diversion of aid funds to "just a few countries of Eastern Europe, while we continue to wait for the West to honour its far more modest commitments to Africa".

But before casting themselves as victims of racist-tinged Western indifference, African leaders should ask what they themselves have to do with this depressing state of affairs.

Why is it that a region of 450 million people has not been able to achieve a gross national product



Mr Herman Nickel . . . an urgent plea to Africa's leaders.

greater than that of Belgium, with its 10 million population?

Why is it that its share of world trade is down to a mere 1.5 percent, half of what it was in 1960?

He agrees that among other problems, civil conflicts have inflicted staggering human and economic damage in Africa.

But he goes on to extol the role South Africa has played and can play in Africa's development, pointing out that Botswana, which he describes as "Africa's one shining economic and political success story," owes its success to its diamond mines, developed with South African investment and expertise.

"In neighbouring Zimbabwe, the railroad system would have collapsed, with disastrous conse-

quences for the country's greatest foreign exchange earner, the tobacco crop, if it had not been for 20 South African locomotives.

"African countries well beyond Pretoria's reach have done no better, and often worse, than some of the so-called Frontline states."

He cites Zaire, Mozambique, Congo, Ivory Coast, Gabon and Guinea-Bissau as vying to get South Africa involved in their economies, and adds: "As they see the attentions of the First World shifting away from Africa, they are demonstrating a heightened awareness that Africa needs greater economic co-operation and that Africa's most advanced and powerful economy must play a key part in it."

He points out, however, that there are at least two preconditions that must be met before South Africa can play its full part in Africa's recovery.

The first is the dismantling of apartheid. The second is that the South African economy must be allowed to survive the transition to non-racial democracy intact, so that it can generate the growth South Africa itself and the rest of Africa desperately needs.

Mr Nickel, a much-respected journalist before becoming US ambassador to Pretoria, concludes that Africa's economic recovery and growth, like Eastern Europe's, hinges on creating a framework of regional co-operation — one that includes South Africa.

Ivorian ① Minister met FW

PETER FABRICIUS
Political
Correspondent

THE Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast, Mr Simeon Ake, has paid a surprise and secret visit to South Africa, sources have disclosed.

Mr Ake met President F W de Klerk for an hour on Thursday and flew home yesterday morning — deeply impressed with the dramatic announcements Mr de Klerk made at the opening of Parliament, the sources said.

Government sources believe that Mr Ake's visit will play an important role in improving the Republic's standing in Africa. Star 3/2/90

It is understood that a representative of the Zaire government is in Cape Town and attended Parliament's opening.

France's 'R13m pay-off' to Bob Denard

CAF Times 5/12/79
From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The French government has paid ousted Comoros Islands mercenary leader Colonel Bob Denard about R13 million to secure his silence, according to reports here and in Paris yesterday.

Colonel Denard has been allowed to return quietly to France, though there is an arrest warrant out for his role in a bloody coup bid in the African territory of Benin in 1977. The authorities have conveniently ignored the warrant.

He is reported to have negotiated the huge payoff for himself and six months' pay for each of his 30 mercenaries — with safe residence in France, through the Defence Ministry — after warning that he would disclose French "dirty tricks" operations throughout Africa.

With the complicity of the French government and finance from South Africa, Colonel Denard had controlled puppet regimes in the Comoros since 1978.

He deeply embarrassed the French government when President Ahmed

Abdallah was assassinated last year, although Colonel Denard denied he or his mercenaries were the killers.

Colonel Denard, who led a private army of 650 local thugs known as the "presidential guard", was evacuated with his mercenaries to South Africa under threat of being slaughtered by French Marines and Foreign Legion units.

The French government yesterday denied it had paid for Colonel Denard's silence, but the media say they are lying.



PAID OFF ... Colonel Bob Denard

ANCE

8/12/90

Bank of Lisbon sees a broader role in Africa

LINDA ENSOR

THE Bank of Lisbon International is well-placed to share in the developments of an expanded economic scenario in southern Africa, says MD Durval Marques in the bank's latest annual report.

SA, as the "economic power-house" of Africa south of the Sahara, "must and can play a dominant role", Marques says.

He adds the bank's worldwide connections and special knowledge of African conditions makes it "ideally placed to share in these developments".

In the year to end-September the bank's foreign department was restructured into a fully fledged international division and was therefore well-positioned, according to Marques, to play an important role in international operations affecting southern Africa.

Total assets of the bank increased by 10% to R533,9m (R484,4m), while total deposits increased by 16,5% to R469,5m (R403m); and total loans, discounts and advances, including instalment finance, rose by 26,5% to R436,6m.

Cash assets fell from R30,5m to R13,1m while investments dropped to R10m from R16m. Share capital and reserves increased from R18,5m to R20,2m.

Marques says management intends supplementing profit growth, whenever possible, by expanding activities with the potential of earning fee-based income in addition to traditional interest-based income.

W/Mat 9/2 - 1572/90.

Africa shows its strength ⁽¹⁾ in the world sports arena

KENYA'S athletes may have been disappointed that they returned home from the Commonwealth Games with more silver than gold.

But athletes like John Ngugi, second in the 5 000m, still carried their country's flag high with some scintillating performances on the track.

African fighters did well in the boxing and the continent as a whole is looking forward to the 1990s as a decade in which they can make a lasting mark on the sportsfields.

It is not just the successes that Africans were achieving towards the end of the last decade — Kenya's medal haul in the Olympics and the world cross-country championships; Zambia's soccer triumph over Italy at the Seoul Games; the continued excellence of individuals like Moroccan Said Aouita and Paul Ereng, who set a new world 800m mark last year.

More significant is the growing realisation among African administrators that their push into international sport had to be undertaken on a more organised, professional basis.

For a start, African countries have realised that their boycott of world sports events like the 1976 and 1984 Olympics and the 1986 Commonwealth Games — principally in protest against apartheid — has done their sports unnecessary harm.

Previously the strategy has been to boycott major events which included countries who had sporting links with South Africa.

Now African nations will sever ties with those countries who continue to

Despite problems ranging from poor facilities to a drain of top stars to the US, African sports are coming into their own, reports CHERYL ROBERTS

play with apartheid sport. The first country singled out for such action is England.

The boycott years demonstrated Africa's solidarity with South Africa but it removed its athletes from the international arenas and deprived them of vital world-class experience.

During the 1960s and early 1970s the newly independent African nations had used sport to win international recognition.

Ethiopian Abebe Bikila's triumph in the marathon at the 1960 Rome Olympics was the first breakthrough. Athletes like the great Kenyan, Kipchoge Keino, followed this up with success at subsequent Olympic and Commonwealth Games.

These and other successes evoked national pride and unity and Africa's athletes provided role models for the youth to emulate.

However, events — both domestic and international — contrived to interfere with this promising start. Successes became more sporadic, and culminated in disastrous performances by African athletes at the 1980 Olympic Games and 1983 World Championships in Helsinki.

The Supreme Council for Sport in Africa — brought into being by the Organisation of African Unity — was

forced to stare this decline in the face. While post-colonial Africa has striven to catch up with the First World and match its sporting skills, the colonial legacy and scarce resources have presented major obstacles.

This perhaps explains Africa's dominance of certain athletics events like cross country where facilities are not the main priority. Now facilities are being constructed on a large scale and countries like China are ploughing large amounts into developing sporting resources.

But some African administrators have added to the problems. The poor organisation and co-ordination of some events has been no more evident than in the All Africa Games — intended to celebrate African unity.

The 1988 games in Nairobi were the first in 10 years and convened only after much internal debate and strife among member states.

Compounding these difficulties has been the exodus of many top athletes on sports scholarships to the United States. Many African athletes have been unable to represent their countries at international meetings because of intercollegiate events and the attraction of the lucrative US running circuit.

That problem will need solving, as will the factors — like domestic work — which prevent most African women from taking part in sport.

But while Africa's anti-apartheid stance will not ease up, it will not be used to keep her athletes off international stages, as in the past.

African states laud SA struggle

TUNIS — Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat yesterday hailed the release of black nationalist Nelson Mandela and said Palestinians and most South Africans were fighting the same battle. ①
“The struggle of the people of Palestine and South Africa is a common struggle against racism, colonialism and oppression for one just cause — to win the right to self-determination,” Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, said in a message to Mandela. (S) (S) (S)
Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the Tunis-based Arab League, said in a statement: “The Arab peoples, who never ceased supporting and admiring him (Mandela), hail his fight for freedom and equality between the races and wish him com-

plete victory over racial discrimination.”

The Tunisian newspaper La Presse said that with the release of Mandela, SA's future depended on his and F W De Klerk's ability to persuade whites and blacks to abandon the politics of “all-or-nothing”.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on Saturday also congratulated Mandela. “The decision to release you is a victory for human rights everywhere,” Mubarak, current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), told Mandela in a telegram. 810m 12/2/90
Mandela's release marked the start of “the total liberation of our brothers in South Africa”, Mubarak said. — Sapa-Reuter.

CMT Times 13/2/90 (1/2) Ca



FRONT PAGES . . . How London newspapers covered the release

'Blessed day' — Boigny

JOHANNESBURG. — President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast has sent congratulatory messages to Mr Nelson Mandela and to President F W de Klerk on the release of the ANC leader.

Mr Houphouet-Boigny said the Ivory Coast rejoiced with Mr Mandela on what he called "this blessed day of 11 February". He said the efforts of all men of good faith and peace-loving people the world over had been fruitful.

The Ivorian leader said the whole world counted on Mr Mandela to work for the triumph of the noble cause of peace through dialogue, equality and brotherhood in South Africa.

In his message to Mr De Klerk, Mr Houphouet-Boigny said the decision showed a high level of political and humanitarian consideration. — Sapa

British invitation stands

CMT Times 13/2/90 Own Correspondent (1/2) Ca

LONDON. — Despite Mr Nelson Mandela's support for the armed struggle and sanctions, an invitation extended 10 days ago for him to meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher still stands.

This was confirmed by a Downing Street spokesman yesterday, amid speculation in the British press that Mrs Thatcher was fuming at the contents of Mr Mandela's speech in Cape Town on Sunday.

The spokesman said the formal invitation would be sent to Mr Mandela "soon".

Although President F W De Klerk had publicly accepted an invitation, no formal response had yet been received.

He said it was hoped that both Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk would be able to meet Mrs Thatcher before her visit to South Africa later in the year.

Kohl wants Bonn meeting

BONN. — West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has invited Mr Nelson Mandela to Bonn for "political talks", a government spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman, Mr Norbert Schaeffer, said the invitation was aimed at encouraging "the black and coloured opposition in South Africa to engage in dialogue and to use peaceful means".

"The federal chancellor considers it urgent that the opportunity presented by the release of Mr Mandela should be used to start negotiations aimed at working out a new, just and democratic constitution for South Africa," Mr Schaeffer said

cit concluded its consideration of the report on 17 November 1989 and its comments have recently been received and I have requested the National Energy Council to evaluate all comments during its meeting of 13 February 1990 and to make recommendations to me as soon as possible for consideration and submission to the Cabinet.

(2) No. The report contains classified information in terms of the Petroleum Products Act, 1977 (Act 120 of 1977) which makes general distribution impossible. After the report has been considered by Cabinet, the decisions will be implemented and naturally announced. A full summary of the report which will not contain classified information will also be released.

Presidential Guard in the Comoros: financing
*10. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Handwritten 13/2/90
Whether any funds of the South African Government were used to finance the so-called Presidential Guard in the Comoros; if so, in respect of such funds, (a) over what period of time were they used, (b) what did they amount to in total, (c) to whom were they paid, (d) what conditions were attached to the payment thereof and (e) what control did the South African Government have over their disbursement?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

All funds that were placed at the disposal of the Comoros by the Department of Foreign Affairs, were at the request of the late President Abdullah and as far as the Department of Foreign Affairs is concerned, account was given of such funds. If the Honourable Member should require more information I am prepared to provide this to him. At this stage, however, I do not consider it in the interest of relations between South Africa and the Comoros to reply to this question more fully in public.

Black townships: public swimming pools
*11. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:
Handwritten 13/2/90

(1) Whether there are any public swimming pools in Black townships in the Cape Peninsula; if not, why not, if so, (a) how many and (b) in which townships;

(2) whether these swimming pools were open throughout the summer months of the past three years; if so, what total number of persons used these swimming pools; if not, (a) why not, (b) when were they closed and (c) what is being done to ensure that these swimming pools remain open?

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) Yes, 3.
(b) Langa 1, Guguletu 2.

(2) (a) and (b) Yes, the three swimming pools were open throughout the seven summer months, except the Langa swimming pool which was closed during February 1989, and one of the pools in Guguletu which was closed for two weeks during December 1989 for repairs.
The total number of persons who used these swimming pools in the past three years is 806 000.
(c) No problems are experienced in keeping the swimming pools open.

Black schoolchildren: expenditure

*12. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education:
What was the expenditure *per capita* on Black schoolchildren at State schools in the 1988-89 financial year (a) including and (b) excluding expenditure of a capital nature?

Handwritten 13/2/90
The MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

(a) R764.73.
(b) R655.96.

McNally Committee: recommendations

*13. Dr D J WORRALL asked the Minister of Justice:
Handwritten 13/2/90

Whether the McNally Committee recommended the appointment of a judicial commission to investigate allegations regarding the activities of so-called death squads in South Africa; if so, with what result?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

No. The Honourable Member is, however, aware that the State President has appointed a Commission of Inquiry on 2 February 1990 to investigate and report on, *inter alia*, the alleged incidence of murders and other unlawful acts of violence committed in the Republic of South Africa (including the self-governing territories) in order to achieve, effect or promote constitutional or political aims in the Republic of South Africa. The full terms of reference was published in the *Government Gazette* (No. 12286) of 2 February 1990. The Honourable Member is also referred to my speech during the Joint Meeting on Wednesday 7 February 1990.

McNally Committee: report

*14. Dr D J WORRALL asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether the report and recommendations of the McNally Committee will be made public; if so, (a) when and (b) by whom; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

No, not at this stage. The findings of the report may form part of evidence on which a court of law will have to make a judicial decision. The Attorneys-General concerned have informed me that it would therefore not be in the interest of justice to subject the report to public scrutiny. I share this view and any responsible person who wants the administration of justice to follow its course, will endorse this view.

McNally Committee: SAP contact with publication

*15. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether a lieutenant-general in the South African Police, in his capacity as a member of the McNally Committee, made any contact with editorial staff members of a certain publication.

publication, the name of which has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) with whom, (b) when, (c) for what purpose, (d) with what result and (e) what is the name of this publication; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

No.
(d) to (e) Fall away.
The committee was instructed to investigate the allegations of a condemned prisoner and not the allegations which later appeared in the publication concerned.

Military service: cuts

*16. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Defence:

How will the cuts in military service announced by him affect (a) conscientious objectors, (b) religious objectors and (c) persons placed in alternative service who are (i) currently serving and (ii) due to begin their service in February 1990?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) (i) and (ii)
The sentence for all persons refusing to render military service, remains unchanged. The Minister of Justice has, however, acceded to a request to amend the Prison Service's release policy for these persons in order that they can, as other prisoners, be considered for remission of their sentence on grounds of good conduct.
(b) (i) and (ii)
Religious objectors who, on 1 February 1990, have already completed half the total number of days community service which they were obliged to render, were exempted from the remaining period. Religious objectors who, after 1 February 1990, complete 50% of their service, will be exempted with effect from the date on which the half-way mark has been reached. The period of community service is continuously considered in relation to the period of national service.

Afex writes down African assets

AFEX Corporation, the Luxembourg-incorporated investment company listed on the JSE, is cautious about its prospects in southern Africa and is consequently revaluing the book value of its assets in SA and Zimbabwe.

Chairman David Marshall says in his annual review that until now, in line with normal accounting practice, Afex has carried the book value of its assets in Zimbabwe and SA at commercial exchange rates.

The board now believes it is more realistic to evaluate the book value of Zimbabwe assets only where remittance is unrestricted.

Similarly, the Luxembourg-incorporated company is now using the financial rand exchange rate to assess assets held in SA.

The change has the effect of reducing the book value of certain assets in the group balance sheet.

This change also gives rise to a write-down of the corporation's investment in Zimbabwe, reducing un-

distributed profits by \$1,87m and other reserves by \$2,1m.

An analysis of 1989 book value of tangible assets is: US \$7,9m, SA \$3,1m, Zimbabwe \$692 000, Botswana \$149 000 and UK \$29 000, amounting to a total of \$11,67m.

Financial fixed assets were book valued at \$6,8m.

Afex's taxed profit rose to \$2,4m (\$1,57m) in the year to September 1989 and the corporation realised extraordinarily profits of \$3,06m (\$1,71m).

Diversified

The dividend was kept at 9c, costing a total of \$332 200.

The corporation was left with undistributed profits of only \$47 000, having made a substantial provision against its investments in Zimbabwe.

The corporation's wholly-owned SA subsidiary Sussex Securities acts as an investment holding company and holds a diversified portfolio of JSE listed shares.

Certain subsidiaries own multi-ten-

LIZ ROUSE

anted rent producing properties. Others are involved in the importing and distribution of tools and machinery and engineering supplies.

Afex maintains a holding in African Exploration Company.

The general portfolio of SA listed investments, which excludes the investment in an associated company, had a market value of R27,3m compared with a cost of R14,1m.

Gross income from the general portfolio was R1,03m compared with R708 400 in 1988.

In addition, Afex received a further sum of R3,6m in compensation for the cancellation of the right to manage certain mining properties.

These receipts are included under extraordinary items.

Its multi-tenanted properties, valued at R10,61m, produced R958 930.

The distribution division produced a pre-tax profit of R1,6m compared with R1,95m in 1988.

The SA freehold farming operation was sold at a surplus of R955 050.

Sales of its crops amounted to R693 900 compared with R174 800 in 1988.

Afex's Zimbabwean interests include holdings through subsidiary Zimcor in Falcon Mines, Olympus Gold Mines and Willsgrove Brick & Potteries.

Dividend

The company's US interests include a portfolio of leading shares and property in San Diego.

Afex is offering shareholders shares in lieu of the cash dividend.

The pyramid company Consolidated Afex Corporation (Conafex) has declared a 3c dividend and shares are also being offered as an alternative to cash dividends.

Afex is presently still in the process of negotiating for a listing on the Luxembourg stock exchange.

By MICHELLE FAUL

ABIDJAN (Ivory Coast) — Conservative African leaders are calling for closer ties with South Africa and even suggesting diplomatic ties with Pretoria, which is wooing black Africa with cheap goods and promises of aid.

Gabon's President, Mr Omar Bongo, basking in the euphoria surrounding Mr Nelson Mandela's release, declared it "a triumph for dialogue over cannons and guns".

"We need to review our relations with South Africa, to re-establish diplomatic ties, even if we do not send ambassadors," Mr Bongo said.

His declaration indicates a growing chasm in black Afri-

Africa split over closer political, economic ties

ca's often-hypocritical stand on South Africa, though predictable statements endorsing sanctions and urging no leniency toward Pretoria came from Nigeria, Zimbabwe and other hardliners.

Ivory Coast, reported to be considering diplomatic relations with Pretoria, urged "a new strategy".

"The time has come for Africa to end its opposition (to the South African Government), and to encourage and support the efforts of President de Klerk," said Ivory Coast Foreign Minister, Mr Simeon Ake.

Ivorian President Mr Felix Houphouet-Boigny sent a telegram to Mr Mandela appealing to him to negotiate with Mr de Klerk, implicitly chiding the newly released South African leader for his endorsement of violence as a necessary "defensive act" against apartheid.

"The whole world and all Africa is counting on you to work through dialogue towards a triumph for the noble cause of peace, equality and brotherhood," Mr Houphouet-Boigny's message said.

He also praised Mr de Klerk, who visited Ivory Coast in December in line with Ivory Coast's declared policy of promoting dialogue, not confrontation, with the South African Government.

"History will pay you homage for the personal part you have played in the changes that give great hopes to all South African people for the building of a great and democratic nation," Mr Houphouet-Boigny said of Mr de Klerk.

Other African countries welcomed Mr Mandela's release, but joined the ANC in advising caution. Nigeria's military govern-

ment said Mr Mandela's release is "positive proof that concerted pressure on the apartheid regime, including mandatory sanctions, continue to have the desired effect".

Zimbabwe's President, Mr Robert Mugabe, urged the world not to be deceived into believing Mr de Klerk has yet "tackled the substantive issues of apartheid".

Like Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Liberia, Mr Mugabe said Mr Mandela's release must be followed by freedom for all political prisoners, the lifting of emergency regulations and the repeal of all racist laws.

Mr Mugabe said he was jubilant about Mr Mandela's release, but the South African had walked into the "greater prison" of South Africa.

A Liberian government statement said Pretoria's action accentuated the need for continuous international pressure on the South African Government.

But it welcomed Mr Mandela's release from a 27-year prison term it described as "a violation of his fundamental human rights".

Liberia itself is drawing increasing international criticism for human rights abuses that culminated in January with the alleged killings of at least 500 civilians by troops fighting to put down an ethnic rebellion. The killings have caused some 144 000 refugees to flee the country.

Such reaction to opposition is not unusual in Africa. As the world celebrated Mr Mandela's release, the west African state of Senegal, which boasts it is a democracy, quickly detained opposition leader Mr Abdoulaye Wade as he returned home from a six-month exile.

Mr Wade claims his Senegalese Democratic Party won the elections in February 1988 in which President Abdou Diouf claimed victory for his Socialist Party.

Some Western countries accuse African governments of similar hypocrisy in their calls for sanctions against South Africa.

Most African countries trade with Pretoria, but few openly acknowledge the economic links made more attractive recently by the weakened South African rand and some stay-over-valued currencies, particularly in Francophone Africa.

— Associated Press.

same 15/2/40

Challenge of feeding 138-m

By Norman Chandler,
Pretoria Bureau

South Africa's food supply, and Africa's in general, was a high priority, the Agricultural Outlook Conference (Agrocon) heard in Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Jan Cronje, director of the South African Co-ordinating Consumer Council, said shortages had to be avoided.

He said South Africa would have to support a population of 138 million by the year 2040 and methods would have to be developed to meet this growth.

There was a worldwide preference for convenience foods, which were taking the place of staple diets.

Mr Cronje said concerns about health were also playing a role in the development of food

habits and it was important for the industry to take cognisance of this.

Urban black communities were also changing their diets.

"The consumption of meat has remained the same, while the use of milk and vegetables, previously part of the traditional diet, has slackened off."

The expectations of consumers regarding prices were that they should be "as low as possible, free from fluctuation and with a clear correlation between price and quality".

An attempt should also be made to provide produce at special prices to meet the needs of the elderly and low income groups, particularly in rural areas "where the lack of competition does not reduce prices".

Prof warns of surge in population

By Norman Chandler,
Pretoria Bureau

A picture of a land bulging at the seams with more than 130 million people was painted at the Agricultural Outlook Conference (Agrocon) in Pretoria yesterday.

"It is a spectre staring us in the face. We have to be prepared for it," said Board for Population Development chairman Professor Pieter de Lange.

Widespread hunger

He said that in a global sense, Africa found itself in a position in which its population growth rate did not match economic growth.

"Governments in Africa are already finding it difficult to meet the needs for water, sanitation and sewerage, housing and education.

"Poor nutrition, slum conditions and illiteracy are widespread. At least 30 percent of the total population of Africa is already staring hunger in the eye.

"South Africa, more or less, is in the same situation as most of the rest of Africa," Professor de Lange said.

The country, with a population growth rate of 2,3 percent a year, would have to support 47 million people by the year 2000 and 80 million by 2010 — "by 2040, there will be 138 million people".

Research showed that South Africa, at the present time, had the capability to look after only 80 million people.

Quality of life

Professor de Lange said the birth rate in South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei was climbing. "Black women in metropolitan areas bear 2,8 statistical children and those in rural areas 5,7. In the TBVC states the figure is 6,3 children."

The figures showed that the quality of life in the rural areas in particular had to be improved, and that organised agriculture could play a major role in this regard.

There were 600 000 full-time farm workers (82 percent black) employed by the country's 65 000 farmers and about the same number of part-time workers. Nearly 7 million people were dependent on income earned from working on farms.

Professor de Lange said farmers, as well as their wives, had to play a far greater role in improving the conditions of workers. He suggested that farm schools be used as community centres after school hours so that various skills could be taught and a sense of belonging be instilled in workers and their families.

1

February 1992

Democracy: Will Africa learn?

HERMAN NICKEL
former US ambassador in SA

ARE African leaders about to add Eastern Europe's Great Democratic Revolution to the long list of external calamities inflicted upon their hapless continent?

Or will they heed the lessons the revolution holds for the economic and political governance of their countries, and face up to the self-inflicted causes of Africa's depressing decline?

The answer will be critical. Without a dramatic turnaround, sub-Saharan Africa is now headed for a Malthusian nightmare. The continent's population probably will double in the next 20 years to more than one billion, plunging per-capita incomes ever further below the subsistence level.

Before casting themselves as victims of racist-tinged Western indifference, African leaders should ask themselves what they themselves have to do with this depressing state of affairs.

Why is it that a region of 450-million people has not been able to achieve a gross national product greater than that of Belgium, with its 10-million population? Why is it that its share of world trade is down to a mere 1.5%, half of what it was in 1960?

It was not lack of aid that caused the failure of Julius Nyerere's grand experiments in African socialism. Volatile commodity prices and changes in the terms of trade provide no alibi either. Over time, commodity price gains have exceeded the losses. To be sure, civil

conflicts have inflicted staggering human and economic damage, especially those fuelled by outsiders such as Cuba and SA. But it is also true that Botswana owes its remarkable progress largely to its diamond mines, developed with SA investment and expertise.

African countries well beyond Pretoria's reach have done no better, and often worse, than some of the so-called Frontline states.

Competitive

The root of Africa's economic problems, according to a recent World Bank study, *From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*, is low return on investment. "Africa," it says, "is simply not competitive in an increasingly competitive world."

As in Poland, phasing out distorting controls is bitter medicine, and it deserves encouragement.

But the opening up of the economic system to market forces and of the political system go hand in hand. "Leaders," the World Bank warns, "must become more accountable to their people."

Sadly, it is this lack of accountability — and the resultant profusion of corruption, bloated bureaucracies, underperforming parastatals and abuse of power

— that has become Africa's common denominator. The self-serving rationalisations advanced by African leaders against multiparty democracy are becoming ever more threadbare.

Supposedly, multiparty systems foster tribal politics. But as one reform-minded member of Mozambique's government puts it dismissively, "what do you think we have now?" Equally hollow is the argument that for communal-orientated Africa, socialism is the natural way of life. That is a myth, contradicted on every African street corner and in the rural areas where small farmers are most productive working their own land.

Of course, there is nothing peculiarly African about the reluctance of rulers to initiate reforms that could put them out of business. The missing element in Africa is a groundswell for change from below. The patience of Africa's long-suffering masses does not seem to have run out just yet.

There is no realistic scenario for Africa's recovery that does not involve a prominent role for SA. Even now, such politically disparate leaders as those of Zaire, Mozambique, Congo, Ivory Coast, Gabon and Guinea-Bissau are vying to get SA involved in the reconstruction of their economies.

There are at least two preconditions that must be met before SA can play its full part in Africa's recovery.

The first is the dismantling of apartheid. Otherwise no true normalisation

of relations is possible.

The second is that the SA economy must be allowed to survive the transition to non-racial democracy intact, so that it can generate the growth the country and the rest of Africa so desperately need.

But which economic course a post-apartheid government will follow remains very much an open — and anxious — question. If it opts for failed socialist formulas in a self-defeating effort to redistribute wealth, the disastrous consequences in SA would be compounded throughout the continent.

Recovery

Three common and consistent imperatives thus emerge for Western policy throughout Africa.

First, there must be firm insistence on market-orientated economic policies and second open markets must be matched by the kind of political accountability that comes only with democratic pluralism.

The third element is that Africa's economic recovery hinges on creating a framework for regional co-operation that includes SA.

If the lessons of the Democratic Revolution of 1989 are heeded in Africa, the continent's tragic decline could still be reversed. The alternative is too ghastly to contemplate.

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● NICKEL

CADPA Information

Comoros voting ends in chaos

CAT TIME 19/2/90 1

MORONI. — The Comoro Islands' first free elections collapsed in chaos yesterday forcing interim president Mr Said Mohamed Djohar to call a new poll.

President Djohar rejected a demand by opposition candidates for his resignation, saying in a radio broadcast that a new date for elections would be decided shortly by the government.

Voting ground to a halt by midday due to a multitude of irregularities, especially the ease with which supposedly indelible ink could be washed off voters' fingers.

Ballot papers for some candidates never reached several polling stations and many people were issued with more than one voter's card. Youths obviously younger than the legal age of 18 were seen queueing up to vote.

Interior Minister Mr Omar Tamou told a press conference last night that only a quarter of the 285 000 electorate had voted, and the results could not be considered valid.

He blamed the government-appointed national election commission and the opposition for the shortcomings in the poll.

The opposition had turned democracy into anarchy by forcing the closure of most polling stations, he accused.

Three hours after the poll opened the opposition candidates issued a joint statement demanding President Djohar's resignation, the formation of a new electoral commission and a new election within eight days.

The opposition demands were read out once on state radio, but it went off the air for nearly an hour after that.

Despite the confusion and the failure of many polling stations to open at all, the situation on the volcanic islands remained calm yesterday.

A tropical rainstorm in the afternoon dispersed the angry crowds that had gathered around many polling stations and sent them scurrying for shelter. — Sapa-Reuter

① ~~2~~

African heads to meet FW in major talks

B. Day 20/2/90

EDYTH BULBRING

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will meet at least five African heads of state in Zaire on Saturday in what government sources have described as an important diplomatic breakthrough.

Heads of state who have already confirmed their attendance to Zairean host President Mobutu Sese Seko are Chad's President Hissen Habre; Rwanda's President Maj-Gen Juvenal Habyarimana; Burundi's President Pierre Buyoya; and the Central African Republic's President Gen Andre Kolingba.

It is understood Togo's President Gnassingbe Eyadema and Gabon's President Omar Bongo are still considering their attendance.

This is the first time African heads of state have initiated a multi-lateral meeting with a South African head of state.

While De Klerk met Mobutu in November last year, he has not met the other heads of state before.

The announcement of the meeting came as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) began meeting in Addis Ababa yesterday.

Sources said several African countries including Zaire, the Ivory Coast, Congo and Gabon were expected to suggest a review of the OAU policy on SA.

It was unlikely the Congo's President Denis Sassou-Nguesso would attend Saturday's meeting, but overtures to SA on a one-to-one basis were in the pipeline, government sources said.

Saturday's meeting is expected to deal with economic co-operation between SA and the other countries in the Southern African region.

Government sources said yesterday SA expected to establish diplomatic relations



● MOBUTU

● DE KLERK

with some African countries before the end of the year

SA has full diplomatic relations on an ambassadorial level with Malawi, and trade missions in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho.

However, the opening of channels of communication through increased economic links is seen as taking priority over diplomatic ties.

The reforms announced by De Klerk during his opening speech to Parliament on February 2, as well as the release of Nelson Mandela, are believed to be the reasons behind the defrosting in attitude towards SA.

Government sources yesterday said the meeting would give SA an opening into Africa which had previously been difficult and covert because of political sensitivities.

They said SA would have to carefully choose which countries it would build closer economic ties with, as the poverty of Africa was creating "a honeypot effect".

□ To Page 2

SA talks

B. Day 20/2/90

① ~~2~~

□ From Page 1

SA had established projects in a number of African countries over the past 20 years, and Saturday's meeting in Zaire could see a pay-off for its efforts, the sources said.

SA Foreign Trade Organisation African Business Development Group MD Paul Runge said the business implications inherent in the establishment of diplomatic links with sub-Saharan African countries were "phenomenal".

The need for off-shore companies representing SA's interests in Africa, and the laundering of documents, could be abolished to realise a major saving in costs, he said.

Diplomatic links would give a green light to business, as they represented security and confidence. One of the most important areas of business involvement in Africa would be participation in major development projects.

Runge said there was an insatiable need in Africa for infrastructure, expertise, pharmaceuticals and food.

"But the bottom line is how we are going to be paid."

He said acceptance of SA by Africa would allow business to more easily become involved in World Bank aid projects where payment was certain, and possibly in African Bank development projects at a later stage.

Premier International chairman Albert Nellissen said the multilateral meeting on Saturday and the opening of doors for SA was a positive development. He expected SA to establish diplomatic relations with a number of African countries within the next six months.

Premier International had exported primarily food worth hundreds of millions of rand to African countries for eight years, he said.

It had spent millions on setting up off-shore companies in order to facilitate its interests in countries sensitive to overt links with SA.

Diplomatic links would not only open up a huge market but would make it a lot easier for SA to conduct business in the open, Nellissen said.

Mr R M BURROWS. Why? [Interjections.]

The MINISTER: If hon members will give me a chance, I will try to explain. For instance, it is normally cheaper to have primary school children at school than it is to have secondary school children at school. Therefore if one just divides the whole sum into the number of children, one gets a distorted picture. [Interjections.]

I am not saying for one moment that we are spending the same amount on Black and White children [Interjections.] I am not saying for one moment that the situation as it is is desirable. What I am stating is we are doing what we can within the limitations of overall expenditure. We are doing what we can for Black education and we will continue to do so. Over the past five years something like 13 000 classrooms have been built. . . . [Interjections.] . . . but the expansion of the classroom population by 6% per annum for over 40 years is something that would tax the best education department in the world and something that would sorely test on any budget. We are doing what we can in this regard.

Hansard 20/2/90

*At this stage I also want to pay tribute to the employees of the department who do a tremendous job under extremely difficult circumstances and extreme provocation, and do so with the limited means at their disposal. If the other side would play their part, they would use the available schools for the purposes for which they were intended. If they did not leave the schools standing empty so that they could go protesting in the streets, our final examination results would also improve. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Presidential Guard in the Comoros: non-financial assistance

*1. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

Whether the Government of the Republic of South Africa rendered any non-financial assistance to the Presidential Guard in the Co-

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

more; if so, (a) in which years, (b) what type of assistance, and (c) from the vote of which State department, in each case?

Hansard 20/2/90 (1) B38E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

The Department of Foreign Affairs did not render any non-financial assistance to the Presidential Guard in the Comoros.

(a), (b) and (c) fall away.

Soweto Town Council: bridging finance

*2. Mr P H DE LA REY asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:†

(1) What amount has the Transvaal Provincial Administration provided to the Town Council of Soweto as bridging finance since July 1986;

(2) whether any arrangements have been made for the repayment of this amount; if so, (a) what arrangements and (b) what amount has been repaid?

B40E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

(1) Since July 1986 the following amounts were allocated to the City Council of Soweto as bridging loans:

1986/87 — financial year	R69 989 500
1987/88 — financial year	R106 712 513
1988/89 — financial year	R136 801 226
1 April 1989 — 31 January 1990	R151 116 005
Total	R454 619 244

(2) (a) All bridging loans are made available against a debt-obligation which makes provision for the loans to be repaid interest free, over a period of five years.

(b) As a result of the present financial situation of the City Council of Soweto it has not yet been possible to pay back any instalments.

Munsterville military base: personnel

*3. Mr H J COETZEE asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether any of the military personnel at the Munsterville military base, Transvaal, are Non-white, if so.

(2) whether provision is made at this base for separate (a) sleeping quarters, (b) bathroom facilities and (c) toilets for the various population groups?

Hansard 20/2/90 B96E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No, not at present.

(2) The base referred to by the hon member is an operational base and the SA Defence Force's personnel policy, as contained in paragraph 54 of the Briefing Document on the Organisation and Functions of the SA Defence Force and the Armaments Corporation of South Africa, Limited, 1990, which was recently distributed to all Members of Parliament, is also applicable in this instance.

4. Dr W J Snyman + Transport. †Question standing over.]

PE: name-board for airport

*5. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Transport:†

Whether a name-board with the official name of the airport at Port Elizabeth has been put up at a conspicuous place at the airport terminal; if not, why not; if so, (a) where has this name-board been put up and (b) what is written on it?

Hansard 20/2/90 B102E

†The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (for the Minister of Transport):

Yes.

(a) On the upper edge of the facade on the air-side of the terminal building; and

(b) H F Verwoerd.

SAP/Roodoepoort: renovation of single quarters

*6. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether it is the intention to renovate the single quarters of the South African Police at Roodoepoort; if so, on what date will this renovation be commenced;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B104E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

(1) and (2)

Negotiations for the restoration of the building have already been conducted with the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs. As alternative, the rental of substitute accommodation is being considered. The matter could unfortunately not be finalized up until now, due to a lack of funds. *Hansard 20/2/90*

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is it correct that he confirmed during October 1988 that his department had already confirmed in July of that year that repairs to the single quarters were necessary?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, of course I do not have the detailed information here with me now, but I shall go into the matter and give the hon member a reply.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is the hon the Minister himself aware of the physical condition of the single quarters; that they are actually falling apart, and if not, what does he intend doing in order to bring himself up to date with the physical condition of these single quarters?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am aware of the fact that the condition of the accommodation is poor; that is why I told the hon member that we are negotiating at present to try to obtain substitute accommodation in the mean time. As I have also indicated, we cannot conclude the matter yet due to lack of funds.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, with respect to the substitute accommodation to which he is referring, can he indicate what substitute accommodation is being considered and, in respect of that, when is it envisaged to be put to possible use?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, we are looking for better accommodation for the young men, and we are giving priority to this matter, but we cannot indicate a date.

Munsterville military base: maintenance cost

*7. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) What was the cost of maintaining a military base at Munsterville in the Transvaal

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

B/Dy 20/2/90

Comores fears unrest after poll

MAYOTTE — Troops commanded by French officers patrolled the streets of The Comores' capital yesterday after the collapse of the first election in the Indian Ocean state.

Government and opposition parties called off planned demonstrations amid fears of unrest.

Voting in the presidential election on Sunday was suspended after a few hours because of irregularities.

Seven opposition presidential candidates, accusing the government of massive fraud, were outraged.

They demanded the immediate resignation of interim presi-

dent Said Mohamed Djohar, who stood in the poll, and the holding of a fresh ballot.

Indelible ink, which was supposed to mark voters' fingers to prevent multiple voting, was found to wash off easily.

Most civil servants stayed away from work in Moroni, fearing clashes between government and opposition supporters.

Considering

A demonstration planned by the government was cancelled and an opposition rally was called off after a few hundred people turned out. There were no incidents.

Organisers said the government and the opposition were consider-

ing what to do following the collapse of the presidential poll.

The poll is the first since The Comores declared independence from France in 1975.

Djohar ignored the calls to step down but had acknowledged in a radio broadcast on Sunday night that the poll had been seriously disrupted.

He had said the cabinet would meet yesterday to consider the situation and set a new date for the election.

French troops intervened in The Comores in December after the assassination of President Mohamed Abdallah and the seizure of power for three weeks by white mercenaries who commanded the

presidential guard.

The much-feared guard has been renamed the Comoran Security Forces and the 30 European mercenaries who commanded it have been replaced by French army officers.

Interior Minister Omar Kamou denied allegations that the government had tried to rig the election.

Responsible

He told a news conference that the government appointed the National Electoral Commission and the opposition were responsible for irregularities, such as the failure of ballot papers to reach some polling stations. Sapa-
Reuter. CP

RWA FOR SUMMIT

20/2/90
CPL - 2/15
1

'Breakthrough-into-Africa' meetings

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA appears set for a breakthrough in its relations with Africa following the announced summit between President F W de Klerk and African heads of state.

The summit is due to take place at Goma in Zaire on Saturday.

A Tuynhuys spokesman said yesterday that Mr De Klerk had accepted an invitation from Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko to attend a one-day meeting for the purpose of meeting "a number of African heads of state".

No names were given but it is not unlikely that Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano will be present.

It was also learnt that Mr De Klerk will meet the leaders of at least five other African countries.

Chad, Rwanda, Burundi, and the Central African Republic have apparently confirmed their attendance to President Mobutu. It is understood that Togo and Gabon are still considering their attendance.

This is the first time African heads of state have initiated a multi-lateral meeting with a South African head of state.

The announcement of Mr De Klerk's meeting came as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) began sitting yesterday in Addis Ababa.

Sources said that several African heads of state, including Zaire, the Ivory Coast, Congo and Gabon are expected to suggest a policy review towards SA.

It was unlikely the Congo head of state would attend Saturday's meeting, but overtures to SA on a one-to-one basis were in the pipeline, it was learnt.

A senior government source told the

Cape Times that the summit would deal with more than attempts to resolve the Angolan civil war and could pave the way for new trade and diplomatic links with sub-Saharan Africa.

"It looks as if it could be a political demonstration of support for President De Klerk."

According to government sources SA expected to establish diplomatic relations with some African countries before the end of the year.

SA has established projects in a number of African countries over the past 20 years and Saturday's meeting in Zaire could see a pay-off for SA's efforts, the sources said.

But SA membership of the OAU and the relaxation of sanctions are unlikely to materialise until the ANC gives its blessing.

Feedback

The meeting comes at a time when there has been a great deal of positive feedback from African countries to Mr De Klerk's opening of Parliament speech — but more particularly to his decision to release Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela pointed out shortly after his release that "South Africa is a very important country and if there is an internal solution, South Africa can play a major role in promoting developments in various fields."

Mr Paul Runge, managing director of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation said the business implications of establishing diplomatic links with sub-Saharan African countries were "phenomenal".

The need for off-shore companies representing SA interests in Africa and the laundering of documents could be abolished, realising a major cost saving.

He said acceptance of SA in Africa would allow business to become involved more easily in World Bank aid projects where payment was certain, and possibly African Bank development projects at a later stage.

ANC bid to block FW's safari

Arba 21/2/90 (scribble) (1)

... but letter asks for talks with government

Staff Reporter DENNIS CRUYWAGEN,
TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency
and Sapa-Reuter

THE African National Congress is moving to block the meeting in Zaire on Saturday between President F W de Klerk and leaders of some African states.

The ANC's head of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said the meeting was contrary to the Organisation of African Unity's objectives of isolating the South African government.

"We have asked the OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa to get the meeting in Zaire cancelled ... (it) is contrary to the OAU ad hoc committee on South Africa," he said.

Confident of meeting

The secretary-general and acting president of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, said from Lusaka today: "The Zaire thing is counter-productive and pre-

emptive to what we are saying that apartheid is still in place and, therefore, the need for the continued isolation of the apartheid regime is still there.

"The question of doing away with boycotts and sanctions will come about only if there is an irreversible process towards democracy in South Africa."

South African government sources were confident today, however, that the meeting would go ahead.

The sources expect that the heads of state of Zaire, Rwanda and possibly Burundi and the Central African Republic will gather to receive President De Klerk. It is possible that Gabon also will be represented.

The Zaire meeting, hosted by President Mobuto Sese Seko, would be the first time African states had allowed South Africa to attend one of their summits.

In spite of the ANC's hostility to the planned talks, Mr Nzo also indicated that the organisation's "internal wing" would be drafting a letter to President De Klerk to ask for a meeting to talk about talks.

The South African Cabinet meets in Cape Town today, still without an official communication from the ANC following their communique in Lusaka on Friday which indicated they wanted to meet the government.

"Half measures"

Mr Walter Sisulu, leader of the ANC in South Africa, confirmed today the official letter was being drawn up and would be posted soon.

Mr Nzo said: "The meeting will be to clear up obstacles standing in the way of a climate conducive to negotiations."

Some of the obstacles were "half-measures" such as the partial lifting of the state of emergency, said Mr Nzo.

... .. Morning 12, Finance 13-1, Lett

(3) whether the said person applied for this post; if so, (a) when and (b) in what manner; if not, why not?

DIE THE MINISTER OF THE BUDGET AND AUXILIARY SERVICES:

With the name supplied and the person unknown, the question cannot be answered. The Administration in any case does not enquire into the political affiliations of its staff or applicants.

THE LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, does the hon the Minister deny the fact that the person whose name has been furnished to the hon the Minister's department, was not approached in connection with filling the vacancy of public relations officer? Does he deny it?

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition submitted the name of a political party. I am not aware of a political party making any representations.

THE LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, the question concerns a person — not a politician who belongs to a particular political party — I understand the hon the Minister might have difficulty with the grammar — the name of whom has been furnished to the hon the Minister.

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I think if the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition looks at the question posed he will see that all that was submitted was the name of a political party and

not the name of an applicant. For that reason I am not aware of the person he is talking about.

THE LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I want to place on record that I submitted the name, so that if there is an error we can pursue it at a later stage.

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, for the purposes of the record, I have checked this and it is official that only a name of a political party was submitted.

MR M Y BAIG: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the question posed by the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition, I would like to ask the hon the Minister of the Budget and Auxiliary Services in terms of the question posed — which question related to the name of a person whose name has been submitted to the hon the Minister — whether since this has been omitted it was not an obligation on the part of the hon the Minister to ask the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition for the said name which may inadvertently have been left out or omitted.

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I do not want to cross swords with my colleague on the other side of the House but I think he knows very well that the name of such a person was never submitted to us. It might have been an omission from the other side.

MR M Y BAIG: You should ask him!

THE MINISTER: No, that is not my function.

THE LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: We submitted the name

THE MINISTER: We do not have it.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs: 1

Comores: loans by South Africa

5. Mr CW EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether any funds of the South African Government are being or were used to render assistance in respect of projects in the Comores by way of (a) loans or (b) amounts to meet ongoing expenditure; if so, in respect of each such project, (i) what is the (aa) name, (bb) nature and (cc) purpose thereof, (ii) what amounts have been provided to date by way of (aa) loans and (bb) amounts to meet on-going expenditure, (iii) what further commitments does the South African Government have in respect of (aa) loans and (bb) amounts to meet on-going expenditure and (iv) what control does the South African Government have over the disbursement of these funds?

B27E

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(a) Yes.

(b) No.

(a) (t) (aa) Petroleum loan.

(bb) Financial assistance to the Comorian Government to purchase petroleum products.

(cc) To enable the Comorian Government to purchase petroleum products in the RSA for resale in the Comores.

(ii) (aa) R3.5 million.

(bb) Falls away.

(iii) (aa) None

(bb) Falls away.

(iv) Control takes place in terms of the conditions of the loan agreement

(b) (t) (aa) Housing.

(bb) Construction of houses.

(cc) Development and implementation of a building method to preserve natural resources

(ii) (aa) R1.944 million.

(bb) Falls away.

(iii) (aa) None.

(bb) Falls away.

(iv) Control takes place in terms of the conditions of the loan agreement.

(c) (i) (aa) Kandani/Bahani Road.

(bb) Reconstruction of road.

(cc) Reconstruction of an essential connecting road.

(ii) (aa) R1.812 million.

(bb) Falls away

(iii) (aa) None.

(bb) Falls away.

(iv) Control takes place in terms of the conditions of the loan agreement.

(d) (i) (aa) Hotels: Infrastructure.

(bb) Upgrading of Itsandra Hotel and provision of infrastructure for the building of the Galawa Hotel.

(cc) Promotion of tourism.

(ii) (aa) R3.2 million.

(bb) Falls away.

(iii) (aa) None.

(bb) Falls away.

(iv) Control takes place in terms of the conditions of the loan agreement.

(e) (i) (aa) Galawa Hotel.

(bb) Loan for the repayment of an export credit loan.

(cc) To enable the Comorian government to repay the capital and interest on an export credit loan for the development of the Galawa Hotel.

115
 Hansard
 (ii) (aa) R20.7 million. *Handwritten: 21/2/90*
 (bb) Falls away.
 (iii) (aa) R14.680 million (balance).
 (bb) Falls away.
 (iv) Control takes place in terms of the conditions of the loan agreement

Handwritten: 21/2/90
 Transkei: SA citizens detained
 6. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:
 (1) Whether any South African citizens are being held in detention by the Government of Transkei; if so, (a) what are their names and (b) for how long have they been held;
 (2) whether the South African Government has made any representations to Transkei for their release; if so, what was the (a) nature of and (b) response of the Government of Transkei to each of these representations; if not, why not?

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 B28E
 The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:
 (1) Yes
 (a) The following names of South African citizens being held in detention by the Government of Transkei have come to the attention of the Department of Foreign Affairs:

	(a) White	(b) Coloured/ (c) Indian	(d) Black	Total
1st Year	303	83	77	463
2nd Year	110	63	77	250
3rd Year	48	7	11	66
4th Year	5	8	5	18
Total	466	161	170	797

* Records are not kept according to these individual population groups.

Electrified fence: deaths
 28. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Defence:

What total number of persons (a) had died as at 31 December 1989 as a result of contact with the electrified fence on the (i) northern and (ii) eastern borders of the Republic since the construction of each of these fences and (b) died as a result of such contact in 1989?
Handwritten: 21/2/90

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Handwritten: 21/2/90
 Simon MAGAMBA
 David Mohapi MASILO
 Joshua HOLOPE
 George MOGOHANE
 Enoch TSOENE
 Cleopas 'Schoolboy' MAZI-
 BUKO
 Mhloti Phillip MABUNDLA

(b) The first five have been held in detention since 890721. The last two have been held in detention since 891229.
 (2) Yes
 (a) The South African Government has requested and received consular access and requested that the detainees be charged in accordance with normal legal procedures.
 (b) The detainees have not as yet been charged by Transkei and the South African Embassy is continually in contact with the Transkei Government regarding the matter.

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 Nurses resigning in course of training
 19. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:
 Whether any (a) White, (b) Coloured, (c) Indian and (d) Black nurses accepted for training courses at institutions for the training of nurses resigned in the course of their training in 1989; if so, how many in each case in each specified year of study? *Handwritten: 95*

	(a) White	(b) Coloured/ (c) Indian	(d) Black	Total
1st Year	303	83	77	463
2nd Year	110	63	77	250
3rd Year	48	7	11	66
4th Year	5	8	5	18
Total	466	161	170	797

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:
 Resignation of nursing students during 1989:

Records are not kept according to these individual population groups.

Electrified fence: deaths
 28. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Defence:

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Handwritten: 21/2/90

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 The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:
 (i) 10
 (ii) 77
 (a) 4
 (b) 13
 Chemical sprays used

42. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Agriculture:
 Whether chemical sprays were used in the control of (a) locusts and (b) queleas in 1989; if so, (i) what sprays in what areas and (ii) on how many occasions in each case? B56E

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE:
 (a) Yes
 (i) and (ii) Fenitrothion (liquid), Fenvalerate (liquid and powder) and Phoxim (powder) for the combating of 108-401 swarms of locusts in the Central Karoo, North-Western Cape, the summer rainfall area of Namaqualand, the Cape Midlands, the Western parts of the Orange Free State and East of Bloemfontein.

(b) Yes
 (i) and (ii) Fenthion 56% U.L.V. for the Combating of 158 swarms of locusts in the magisterial districts of: Amersfoort, Bethlehem, Bothaville, Ellisras, Groot-Merico, Groblersdal, Heilbron, Klerksdorp, Koppiet, Ladybrand, Leeuwardoringstad, Lichtenburg, Middelburg (T.L), Nigel, Ottoshoop, Reitz, Standerton, Swartkops, Schweizer-Reneke, Thabazimbi, Ventersdorp, Vereeniging, Vrede, Vrijheidskroon, Warmbaths and Wolmaranstad.

Agricultural products: consumer subsidies
 46. Mr M A TARR asked the Minister of Agriculture
 (a) What agricultural products received consumer subsidies in the 1988-89 financial year and (b) what was the total value of the subsidy paid in each case? B60E

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE:
 (a) and (b) R132 million in respect of standard bread and R80 million as a contribution towards payment of the Maize Board's distribution cost of maize for local consumption

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HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Cape Times 21/2/90 (1)

Kaunda and Mugabe not invited to talk

LUSAKA. — President Kenneth Kaunda is not expected to attend a meeting of African leaders in Zaire to which President F W de Klerk has been invited.

President Kaunda's political adviser, Mr Milimo Punabantu, said yesterday that Zambia had received no invitation for Saturday's mini-summit.

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe has not been invited either, according to the country's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Elleck Mashingaidze.

Only last week Mr Mugabe said he "saw no point" in relaxing his 10-year ban on government contacts with South Africa.

In Lusaka, Mr Punabantu said Zambian authorities felt that any early meeting on either stalled Angolan peace initiatives or political reforms in South Africa was inopportune.

President Kaunda had been asked to be host in Lusaka of the next gathering of African presidents charged with mediating between the warring sides in Angola, Mr Punabantu said.

If Saturday's meeting in Zaire was scheduled to discuss South Africa alone, President Kaunda would not go "because we don't see any purpose in it", he said.

Mr De Klerk had yet to meet African National Congress demands for pre-negotiations and while reforms announced so far were commendable, Zambia saw no value in talking with Mr De Klerk at present.

The countries reported to have indicated so far that they will attend the Zairean mini-summit are: Ivory Coast, Gabon, Central African Republic, Togo and Zaire. — Sapa-Reuter

1990s Africa's last chance, OAU told

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

CAPL Times 22/2/90

Zaire summit SA's 'biggest step into black Africa'

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22/2/90
10

EXPLOITING diplomatic opportunities opened by his domestic reform initiatives, President FW de Klerk goes to Zaire on Saturday for a historic summit meeting that could open even wider prospects in Africa.

By GERALD L'ANGE, Editor, Argus Africa News Service in Johannesburg.

IF the proposed mini-summit in Zaire comes off as planned on Saturday it will be the biggest step South Africa has yet made towards re-

demp-

tion in

black

Africa.

MEETING

It will still be a long way short of general acceptance in the continent, however.

The importance of the meeting with President De Klerk of South Africa is not so much in the status of the participants as in the symbolism attached to what will be the first summit meeting between heads of state from South Africa and a group of African countries.

Some of the leaders who are reported to have accepted invitations to attend the meeting can hardly be considered to be among the more influential states in Africa.

Rwanda and Burundi are among the continent's smallest and poorest countries. Like the Central African Republic, they border on Zaire, which is promoting the summit, and to some extent can be considered to come under Kinshasa's influence.

Impoverished

The CAR is also desperately impoverished. During the regime of former president Bokassa, whose brutality was legendary even in Africa, the CAR had some informal relations with South Africa but given Bokassa's reputation this is something Pretoria might rather forget.

Chad, whose president is also expected to attend, is another of Africa's basket cases, with a per capita gross national product of only 150 dollars compared to South Africa's 1 875.

It has, however, received much international attention because of President Hissene Habre's stubborn fight against being swallowed by Muammar Gaddafi's Libya.

For this reason alone President Habre's presence across a meeting table from Mr De Klerk would attract notice in Africa, especially among the

Saharan Arabic states that have long been firmly closed to South Africa.

None of these countries or the host, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, have so far confirmed their attendance.

There is even less certainty about the rumoured attendance of the Congo, which also borders on Zaire, and Gabon.

Gabon has been mentioned as a possible participant because it is known to be somewhat more amenable to dealing with South Africa than most African states.

Speculation about Congolese participation stems in part from the belief that President Denis Sassou-Nguesso was impressed with the way South Africa cooperated in the Angola-Namibia peace negotiations that were held in his capital, Brazzaville, in 1988.

Mercenaries

The Zaire summit demonstrates that South Africa is moving out of the era when it was forced to seek entry into the countries of Africa through the back door and when it had to grab any relationship it could get, no matter how distasteful.

This was the era when Pretoria found itself befriendling the monstrous Bokassa, secretly trying to overthrow the Seychelles government to get a friendlier government in its place and indirectly supporting the mercenaries running the Comoros.

It was a time when some African states' need for South African trade made them swallow their loathing of apartheid and deal with the Republic, but then only secretly.

The summit is still a long way from the acceptance that would be denoted by membership in the Organisation of African Unity and the obstacle to attaining that status remains apartheid.

But the fact that four African heads of state, no matter how insignificant some may be, are now prepared to meet openly with the South African president demonstrates the increasing acceptance that Pretoria is gaining, mainly

through four factors:

● The good faith it has shown in allowing Namibia to become independent.

● The reforms implemented by the government.

● The mounting evidence that it has stopped trying to destabilise neighbouring countries.

● The growing need of African countries for South African goods and services.

There are hopes in South African government circles that these factors will lead not only to open meetings of the Zaire kind but also to formal diplomatic relations that would allow all dealings, including trade, to be done in the open.

Improvement

The improvement of South Africa's relations with the rest of the continent began before Mr De Klerk became president and was evident in the visits by his predecessor, Mr P W Botha, to Mozambique, Ivory Coast and elsewhere.

But it was Mr De Klerk's relatively dramatic initiatives that have given the trend real impetus.

It has long been a dream in the Union Buildings in Pretoria that one or more of the African states would break through the united front demanded by the OAU against South Africa and start dealing openly with the Republic. It was hoped that this would start a snowball effect, encouraging more and more states to follow suit.

Snowball

Whether Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, the Central African Republic and Zaire are enough to form the nucleus of a snowball remains to be seen.

It may be that the snowball will start rolling only if it picks up one or more of the states that have been more openly hostile to Pretoria.

Snowball or not, the summit represents a major and perhaps historic advance towards what the politicians in Cape Town would describe as the normalisation of South Africa's relations with the rest of the continent.



President Mobutu

De Klerk's Zaire meeting postponed

CAP- TWP 23/2/90 (1)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's summit with African leaders has been postponed for several weeks.

The summit's host, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, said yesterday that the meeting would take place "very soon" in Kinshasa.

The seven-nation summit was originally scheduled to take place in Goma tomorrow, but was delayed following pressure from the frontline states and the ANC.

The timing of the Goma summit also sparked controversy because it had been arranged just ahead of the massive welcome home celebration for Mr Nelson Mandela in Lusaka on Tuesday.

The Lusaka event is to be attended by frontline heads of state and politicians from a number of Commonwealth countries —

many of whom remain committed to the isolation of Pretoria in line with ANC policy.

In his response to the postponement, Mr De Klerk hinted that the issue was a sensitive one by noting that "now is not the time to create further divisions".

He then added: "Africa cannot afford more controversy within its own ranks."

Mr De Klerk said he had no doubt that Mr Mobutu had arranged the meeting "in good faith and in line with public statements by several African leaders to the effect that the time has come to normalise relations with South Africa.

"I agree with these statements. Moreover, I agree with the reported warning recently sounded by the secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity concerning the necessity for African states to unite on a joint strategy to address the implications

for Africa of European economic unity in 1992, as well as the consequences of the events in Eastern Europe."

Mr Mobutu offered "technical reasons" as the explanation for the postponement of the talks which should have been attended by Zaire, South Africa, Rwanda, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Togo and Gabon.

SA government sources said last night that it appeared that "a couple" of the countries had at the last minute withdrawn from the summit, increasing pressure on the others to do likewise.

However, there was confidence that the next summit could be "bigger and better".

● Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has postponed visits to Kenya and Angola set for this week, but would travel to the two countries at another time, a spokesman said yesterday. — UPI

BUSINESS

Business looks north at the once-forbidden pastures of Africa

SOUTH AFRICAN business has increasingly been looking to Africa as a market for its products and a site for new investments. And recent political changes have raised hopes that there will be potential for closer economic ties, particularly with neighbouring countries.

Detailed trade figures are no longer released, but it is known that trade with African countries has grown substantially since the mid-1980s. Reserve Bank figures show some increase in direct South African investment in Africa to R2,2-billion in 1988 (12.6 percent of total direct investment overseas) from R2-billion (12 percent).

Sanctions acted as an impetus, closing off export markets in Europe and the United States, so that business was forced to look for new markets. Africa, particularly southern Africa, was an obvious market, where South African exporters would have the competitive advantage.

That southern Africa has increasingly become a preoccupation of business was evident at an investment conference in Johannesburg this week, where several of the papers referred to the need for closer trade and investment ties — and the improved prospects for just that.

Looking at attractive areas for investment in the "new and developing South Africa" post State President FW de Klerk's announcements, Sankorp chief Marinus Daling said the country would play a major role in the development of the southern African region.

"This will create opportunities in the development of infrastructure, agricultural development and the development of food production," he said. Daling added that services such as transport, distribution, wholesale and retail activities were also needed in the region.

Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden referred to two of the joint ventures in which South Africans were involved: the Lesotho Highland Water Project and the Sua Pan Soda Ash Project in Botswana. These, he said, "underline the willingness to co-operate in the interest of all the inhabitants of southern Africa".

Van Heerden was outlining for the delegates, who included business leaders, as well as both foreign and local investors and stockbrokers, South Africa's role in the sub-continent. He focused on political and economic relationships with Namibia, Angola and Mozambique.

Change has only just begun in South Africa, but already businessmen are looking ahead to the day when they can trade freely with the rest of Africa.
HILARY JOFFE reports

But it was Standard Bank chairman Henri de Villiers who set out in most detail what South Africa's relationships with its neighbours might be, arguing for a Southern African Economic Community.

De Villiers rejected the view which holds underdeveloped economies are so because they are sub-ordinated to more developed and powerful countries.

"The argument advanced is that industrial and investment resources tend to be attracted by the most developed country, leading to an ever growing imbalance in development and trading patterns," he said. He said although the fear was real, it was a poor argument against greater economic co-operation between South Africa and its neighbours. Natural polarisation was desirable for the sake of efficiency, and it would be quite possible to create structures within an economic community to "level the advantages and disadvantages of various regions", De Villiers said.

He pointed to the economies which had thrived because they had benefited from the spin-offs from successful neighbours. Canada's per capita gross domestic product had grown by 22 percent over the last decade, higher than the 12 percent in the US, to whose economy it was extensively linked. Portugal and Spain had benefited greatly by joining the European Community, as had Turkey, which remains outside it. Portugal's per capita gross domestic product increased by 29 percent over the last decade — compared to the German figure of 19 percent. And the spinoffs from Japan's growth led to staggering increases in per capita GDP in Asian Pacific rim countries — 70 percent in Korea and 51 percent in Ma-

laysia, compared to 43 percent in Japan over the decade.

Southern Africa, by contrast, has looked bleak. Except in Botswana and Swaziland, per capita incomes have declined — Lesotho by nine percent during the last decade, South Africa by five percent and in Angola and Mozambique by the 1980s "there was not much left to decline".

De Villiers said something had to be done about the southern African situation — South Africa and its neighbours had to come together to produce real success.

Conflict between the "Constellation of Southern African States" and the "Frontline States" had produced enormous waste of economic effort through destruction of infrastructure, on the one side, and the effects of the imposition of various sanctions, on the other. It also led to capital flight



Strong communication links — railways and pipelines — already exist, making trade with the frontline states easier

and retardation of the region's development.

For South Africa to become an economic success story, it "must deprive its neighbours of an enemy", De Villiers said. Only then could formal economic co-operation be openly discussed. But there was now meaningful change which could lead in this direction, he suggested.

He pointed to the strong infrastructural and trade links which had grown rapidly "on the basis of pragmatism"

There were also structures already in place in the region which could provide vehicles for co-operation and economic integration.

De Villiers pointed to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference as one vehicle for regional development co-operation. SADCC could be a potential vehicle towards ultimately creating a more comprehensive Southern African Economic Community.

He also noted the "elements of near full integration" existing in the Southern African Customs Union and Common Monetary Area, which involves South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and has effectively included Namibia. These countries are also SADCC members.

And De Villiers said the Development Bank of Southern Africa could be a regional development bank serving the whole region. "At this stage the Development Bank is involved in only a few projects outside greater South Africa, and its role as a development financing and co-ordinating agency for the whole region awaits a change in South Africa's acceptability to its neighbours. In the medium to long term I see its role as supporting a body like SADCC, or even a more developed community structure," De Villiers said.



The Urban Foundation seeks to improve the quality of life of urban communities through the development of socio-economic programmes and policy change

Appointments to the following contract positions need to be made

RESEARCHER/RESEARCH ASSISTANT NATIONAL OFFICE JOHANNESBURG

A new position for an honours graduate with suitable experience has been created to form part of a research and policy team that will focus on local government finance matters

The ideal candidate will have

- An honours degree in economics or an equivalent level qualification in accounting or finance
- Mathematics and statistics as other subjects
- A knowledge of quantitative computer packages
- 2 - 3 years' appropriate experience
- Good communication skills

The candidate must also be willing to travel in order to compile data and to establish relevant contacts with local government officials, community

S/Twe's 25/2/90
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Spinoff for SA

By Robyn Chalmers

THE World Bank's allocation of \$3,8-billion to Africa for infrastructural development in fiscal 1989-1990 will have major spinoffs for SA.

SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) research manager Paresh Pandya believes SA will benefit from this and other money allocated by international aid organisations to the Third World.

"New opportunities for SA civil engineers, building contractors and project engineers are emerging as a result of the increasing amount of finance from these organisations.

"The aid is mainly for projects covering rural development, energy, health services, industry, mining, transport, telecommunications, urban development and water supply."

Obstacle

The most serious obstacle to infrastructural development in the Third World is lack of foreign currency. Mr Pandya says about 40% of expenditure on infrastructural projects is for imports.

Without the foreign currency to pay for imports, such development is virtually impossible.

The shortage of foreign currency is the most serious obstacle to SA stepping up economic relations with the rest of Southern Africa.

Mr Pandya says contrary to popular belief, it is not politics which stand in the way of a major improvement in SA's business dealings with Southern Africa.

"Foreign aid is specifically

aimed at circumventing the problems posed by shortages of foreign exchange. In fact,

the foreign aid supplied by the World Bank may only be used to finance imports."

The rand's world value

	R1 equals		One foreign unit equals (R)	
	23/02/90	23/02/89	23/02/90	23/02/89
US \$	0,3927	0,4018	2,5483	2,4888
UK £	0,2301	0,2291	4,3486	4,3859
Deutschmark	0,6600	0,7358	1,8181	1,3591
Japanese yen	57,595	50,740	0,0174	0,0197
Swiss franc	0,5798	0,6285	1,7253	1,5911
French franc	2,2339	2,5109	0,4477	0,3983
Canadian \$	0,4708	0,4801	2,1240	2,0829
Italian lire	487,40	541,08	0,0021	0,0019
Zimbabwean \$	0,8933	0,7888	1,1194	1,2878
Australian \$	0,5151	0,4863	1,9414	2,0563
Trade weighted value of rand, % change against 1974 base	40/80			

Domestic interest rates

	MONEY MARKET		
	Friday 23/02/90	Friday 18/02/90	Friday 09/02/90
	%		
SARB accommodation: rediscount rate TBs	18,00	18,00	18,00
Treasury bill tender rate	18,01	18,01	18,00
Basic call of discount houses	18,25	18,75	19,25
Three-month banker acceptances	18,45	18,45	18,55
Three-month NCDs	19,90	19,90	20,00
Three-year RSA stock	15,85	15,80	15,49
Prime overdraft rate	21,00	21,00	21,00
All-in yield of finest acceptance credits	19,55	19,49	19,65

	CAPITAL MARKET	
	Average Previous Month	As on Friday
Long-term RSA stocks	15,53	15,73
Long-term Escom stocks	15,34	15,53

Best sections this week

	Av % Mv	Av D/Y	Av E/Y
Manganese	4,2+	8,1	14,5
Coal	3,9+	7,3	20,0
Fishing	1,8+	14,5	17,9
Transportation	1,2+	7,9	21,8
Property Trust	0,9+	8,5	9,5

Tragedy of black kids ditched in UK

HUNDREDS of African children are left in Britain with British foster parents. Sometimes their real parents, often students, return home leaving no contact address.

The children are virtually abandoned and left in the hands of unregistered foster-parents, growing up in a hostile world and facing an uncertain future.

Jerry Light is a 48-year-old money-lender from Leigh Park Estate, Portsmouth, on the south coast of England and he and his wife Dot say that over the past eight years they have privately fostered nearly 40 West African children.

Until recently they had five Nigerian children under the age of three staying at their four-bedroom house.

The children's natural parents are Nigerian students living in London but unable to look after their children due to pressure of work and study.

The British government says at least 3 000 children are being privately fostered - a serious under-estimation according to Save the Children Fund, which is concerned about what it says are abuses of the private fostering system.

It has now set up an African Family Advisory Service to help ease the problem. Senior project worker Laurie Joshua lists the areas of his concern.

"Firstly, the foster parents often have little or no knowledge about the child's background and pass the children around the 'localised market' of families taking children, often with little or no re-

gard for the child's welfare. (223)

This often results in the children developing behavioural problems which are compounded by chronic overcrowding.

"We conducted a survey in a random area, taking in 11 families. Of those families, in two cases the foster parents were over 70 years old, in one there was a conviction for violence, in another for indecent assault and in one case the natural children of the foster parents had been taken from them as they were considered by the local council to be incapable of looking after children properly.

"Frankly, in some cases we are talking about people who really should not be looking after children."

Nigerian Dr Femi Bada says many of the children become withdrawn due to lack of attention and some hardly talk at all. "It can be very traumatic for a child to be put with complete strangers, especially when they are moved about a lot."

Bada says some of the children are placed with foster parents at the age of only six weeks old. Save the Children Fund says between 1986 and 1988, 205 children were left behind by parents who returned to Africa.

Says Bada: "In effect they have been abandoned. It's because there are no bonds between the natural parents and their children. They become strangers. The parents go home promising to keep in touch, but more often than not, they don't."

If the parents return without their children the local authority or Save The Children Fund ask

the parents what plans they have for the children. (1) (223)

Under a technical agreement between the United Kingdom and Nigeria a training programme has been launched to improve the skills of Nigerian social workers in following up referrals from the UK.

If the parents cannot be contacted or are unable to look after their children in Nigeria, the children are put in the care of the social services or made wards of court.

Bada says he intends to study the long-term effects on the abandoned children. In 85 of the 205 children left behind, Save the Children says the foster parents could not even give the child's proper name or the name and address of the natural parents in Africa. This shows the inadequate monitoring by local authorities and the lack of care by both natural and foster parents.

Social services in Portsmouth say they are powerless to prevent such abuses. The director for the area, Jenny Owens, says: "The situation is largely out of control. We can't keep track of it. But as the natural parents have chosen to place the children there themselves it must take a low position on our list of priorities."

The British government is introducing legislation it hopes will cut down on the abuses of the private fostering system by putting the responsibility on the natural parents to register their children with the relevant local authority. How effective this will be remains to be seen. - *New African*.

Apr 25/2490

Trade with Africa is booming

Slay 26/2/90 (1)

South Africa's trade with the rest of the continent is booming more than ever before and is worth billions, writes **MICHAEL CHESTER**.

South African trade relations with the rest of Africa have become a key item on the business agenda with the improved political climate following Mr Nelson Mandela's release and the injection of new optimism it has given to the chances of an end to economic isolation.

The SA Chamber of Business believes recent events have created a far better scenario for the chances of economic co-operation in Africa.

The establishment of a Sub-Saharan Economic Community, extending from Table Mountain to the Sahara, has long been an ambition nursed both by the Federated Chamber of Industry and the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, now merged to form the new SACE.

Both the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Department of Trade and Industry have been eager in recent months to make public their own enthusiasm about the concept of a common market that could harness the economic potential of the whole continent south of the Sahara.

Mr Ron Haywood, Deputy Director-General of the SACE, is convinced that such economic unity is inevitable in the long run, and may now be within reach.

South Africa has already made good headway in laying the foundations. Using quiet diplomacy rather than brass-band promotions, the country has built up an export drive into black Africa that has increased the value of shipments to R5 billion or more a year.

Mr Kent Durr, Minister of Trade and Industry and of Tourism, has disclosed that trade with the rest of the continent now accounts for no less than 32 per cent of all exports of manufactured goods.

Mr Glenn Babb, who acted as deputy director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs until he became a nominated Member of Parliament six months ago, says: "There is not a single one of the 50 members of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) with which we do not trade nowadays."

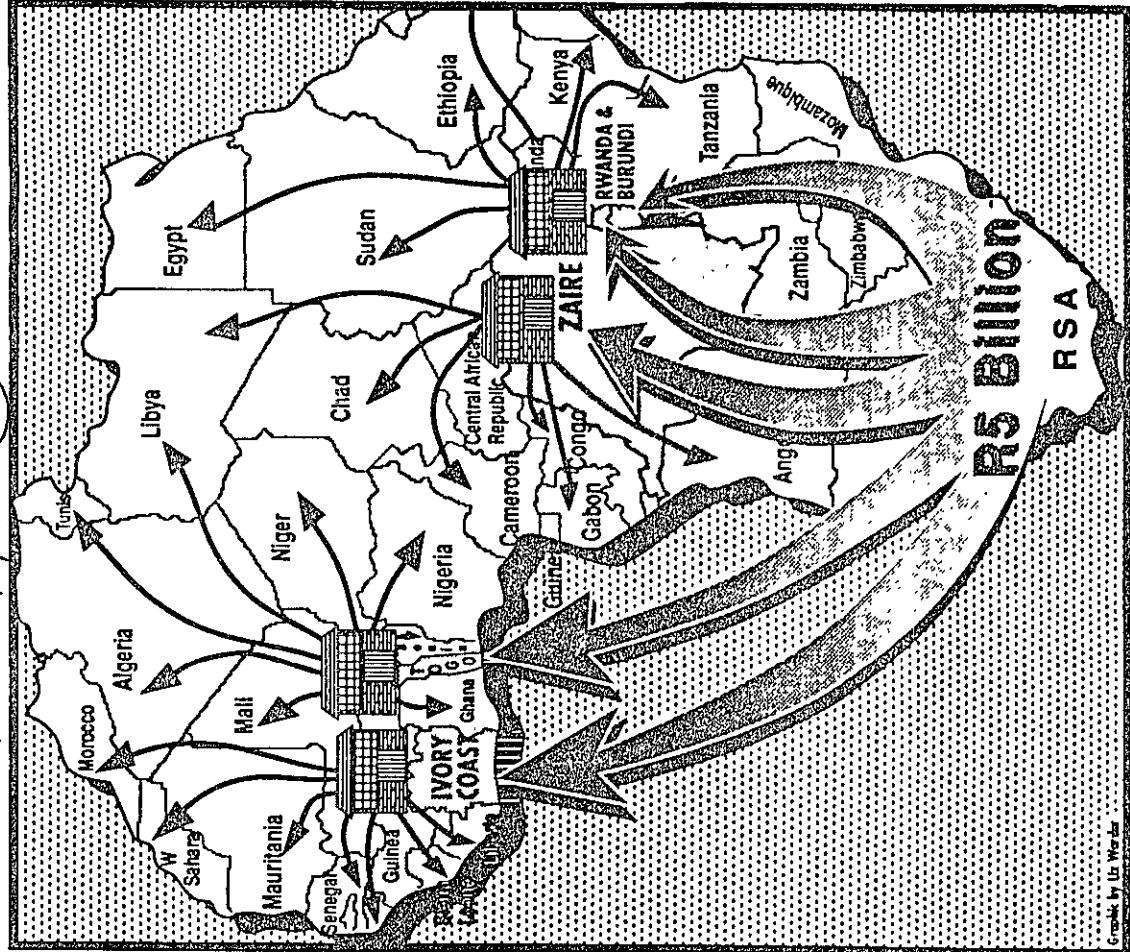
Turning a blind eye

In short, virtually every country in Africa, regardless of its hostile political stance in public, has been shown to be willing to oblige by turning a blind eye on the growing volume of shipments of essential goods flowing in from SA — and adding to its foreign exchange coffers with return shipments of exports of their own.

Mr Babb reckons that the full tally of two-way trade, with imports added to exports, now stands as high as R7 billion or more.

The Department of Customs and Excise plays ball with the strategy of staying mum about the precise details of the trade flows. Until the mid-1980s, when international pressures sank their teeth into apartheid in earnest, official statisticians trotted out full information about monthly trade flows with the outside world.

Now only one figure is given for exports and imports, which shelters dozens of African states



from the embarrassment of disclosures about the scale of their own trade with South Africa.

SA business leaders are now more optimistic that the cloak-and-dagger tactics can be tossed away if there are signals that South Africa can come in from the cold as a result of its reform overtures.

But even with the handicap of needing to keep trade flows almost invisible — and certainly well away from newspaper headlines — two-way trade between SA and 50 other African states and

bounds. The problem has been finding routes that can weave through the sanctions net and offer plenty of camouflage as a safeguard to shelter trade partners from political embarrassment. Such routes have been found — and they are bustling with traffic.

The Ivory Coast, Togo, Zaire and Rwanda Burundi have all been named as springboards where huge social debts have been established to handle the

flow of SA exports to surrounding countries in their region.

● The first big warehouse is based in the Ivory Coast, and according to sources, supplying various neighbours all around West Africa.

● A second springboard is the free port that operates along the coastline in Togo, used extensively by South African exporters using the Atlantic shipping routes.

● The third distribution depot is based inside Zaire, serving neighbours at the heart of the continent.

● The fourth trade hub, according to insiders, is in Rwanda, Burundi, from where South African goods filter into nearby East African countries such as Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania — this includes everything from motor components to footwear and canned foodstuffs.

London newspaper sources say jumbo cargo planes laden with agricultural produce and manufactured goods from South Africa are to be seen regularly at the airport at Kigali, capital of Rwanda.

'No picnic'

Says Mr Babb after long experience at the Department of Foreign Affairs: "Relations between much of black Africa and South Africa have been based on three levels — rhetoric, official attitudes, and economic realities."

However, Ms Sally Gallagher, head of Business Development Africa, who operates as a consultant on trade in Africa, cautions that the South African export drive across the Limpopo has been no picnic — nor looks likely to become one.

"True, the overall climate has improved," she says. "But there's still a long way to go on the political front."

"What needs to be kept in mind are the problems of chronic shortages of foreign exchange in the Third World to foot the bill for their imports. That is often the major snag — and smaller exporters will find it awfully difficult to find solutions to hard-headed financial deals, let alone the political pitfalls they may still encounter."

The enthusiasm of Mr Haywood at the Chamber of Business goes undaunted. "Twelve months ago," he reflects, "the concept of a Sub-Saharan Economic Community, from South Africa to the equator and beyond, may have sounded no more than a pipe-dream."

"Today, encouraged by South Africa's new political image and an injection of renewed regional stability, the whole continent is showing more readiness to face economic realities."

"But perhaps most crucial of all is attracting international finance to build a stronger economic base — and that depends on the level of return on capital investments, and the risk factor."

"Both of those requirements could be better met if the sub-continent were to demonstrate economic cooperation."

"Working in harmony, Africa as a whole need no longer have to beg for international hand-outs — it could harness a massive potential to pay its own way and become an exporter of high standing in world trade."

POLITICS

SA exports to 'most of Africa' now worth R5,5bn — expert

BIDay 1/31/90 (1)

PRETORIA — SA has moved deeper into Africa in terms of trade and aid in the past decade, surveys have shown.

Earlier this week in an address to the SA Institute of International Affairs, Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Rusty Evans said there was not a single OAU member with which SA did not trade.

The trade was worth several billion dollars a year.

In development assistance SA was administering 120 aid projects in central, west and southern Africa.

These included agricultural and nature conservation education, training and health programmes.

SA had initiated also 20 health projects on the continent, and

GERALD REILLY

nearly 2 000 patients from 13 countries were treated in SA last year.

SA had also equipped clinics in West Africa.

Safto's David Muirhead estimates the value of current exports to Africa at around R5,5bn, excluding trade with BLS countries.

Trade volumes were rising and the enormous potential was limited only by the ability of countries to pay and logistical problems, including transport.

The vast trade potential was highlighted last year by a 50% increase in exports to Africa.

Evans said SA could not separate itself from its neighbours' problems.

Neither was it in the country's

interests to stand aside and allow them to become economic wastelands.

SA's major foreign policy objectives in southern Africa had changed dramatically because of two ground shifts in the past 12 months.

One was the New York agreement in 1988, which ended SA involvement in a debilitating war in Angola.

The other was events in Eastern Europe.

Western nations were scrambling to take up positions in Eastern Europe, a united Germany had dramatic implications for a united Europe in 1992, and African countries realised there was a distinct danger their needs could be overlooked.

Denard to stay in SA until Comores elections

CAPE TOWN — French mercenary Col Bob Denard is to remain in SA until elections are held in the Comores.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in a statement last night this had been decided after consultation with the Comorean and French authorities. *1/3/90*

"His return to France or elsewhere at this time might be a disturbing factor in the prevailing political climate in the Comores," Botha said.

①
MIKE ROBERTSON

Denard has been living in SA on a temporary permit after French troops forced him and 21 mercenaries to quit the Comores when President Ahmed Abdallah was assassinated last November.

The Comores' first free elections collapsed on February 18 and were rescheduled for March 4 and March 11.

CPT 7/1/85 1/3/90

Denard not
to leave yet

(1)
~~(2)~~

Political Staff

FRENCH mercenary Colonel Bob Denard is to remain in South Africa until elections are held in the Comoros.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night that after consultations with the Comoros and French authorities, it had been decided that Colonel Denard should remain in South Africa for the time being.

His return to France now might be a disturbing factor in the prevailing Comoros political climate.

Rachel Rachel -
solution: drop out
individualistic

ALTER—several years of incarceration, the jailed political leader was moved to a comfortable house near the main prison.

Here he was able to be in telephonic contact with his family and his exiled comrades. As the calls for his release grew stronger, he began holding secret meetings with both friends and enemies.

But his continued imprisonment was one of the major stumbling blocks for the process of negotiations, and the state was finally forced to agree to his release.

Nelson Mandela?

No, Ben Bella of Algeria. He was one of the most senior members of the executive of the Fronte de Liberation Nationale (FLN), and his role is only one of many remarkable similarities between the process of political settlement there and the one that is beginning in South Africa.

They are similarities that are not lost on the African National Congress: Oliver Tambo reportedly refers extensively to *A Savage War of Peace*, Alistair Horne's book on the subject. Only time will tell if Algeria's experience can offer a guideline to what lies ahead for this country.

There are also major differences between the two situations. In Algeria's case, the colonial government was based in Europe and separated from its colony by the Mediterranean. Also, conflict there was far more bloody, although shorter, than in South Africa: the war lasted from 1954 to 1962, and claimed the lives of a million Algerian Muslims — about 10 percent of the population.

France first invaded Algeria in 1830, but it took 17 years to establish full control. The country was seen as an integral part of France, and land seized by the French was redistributed among French settlers, who were known as "colons" or *pieds noirs*. Settlers could vote in mainland

A tale of two struggles: South Africa wanders blindly down Algeria's path

There are a series of uncanny parallels between the reform strategy of the South African government and the last days of French rule in Algeria... even down to an Algerian 'Mandela clone'. MATTHEW SMITH, a lecturer in African history at Rhodes University, shows how history has repeated itself

French elections, and so could Algerian Muslims, but on a separate voters' roll and French citizens had to represent them.

Resistance was not nearly as coherent in Algeria as in South Africa. Partly because of religious differences, but also because of migrant labour. It was only during World War II that the foundations of the resistance movement were laid.

In 1943, Algerian groups announced the Manifesto of the Algerian People, which declared that Muslims wished full participation in government. The manifesto, perhaps comparable to South Africa's Freedom Charter, was ignored by the French, and it took riots in the rural areas in 1945 for the seriousness of disaffection to be realised.

There had been major food shortages during the war, and starvation was rife in the countryside. Muslims decided that instead of celebrating the victory celebrations and protest against food shortages. As a result, 120 settlers were killed in the rioting. In a response familiar to South Africans, the French army and vigilantes killed at least 1 200 Muslims.

Two years later, France tried to introduce piecemeal reforms, which in-

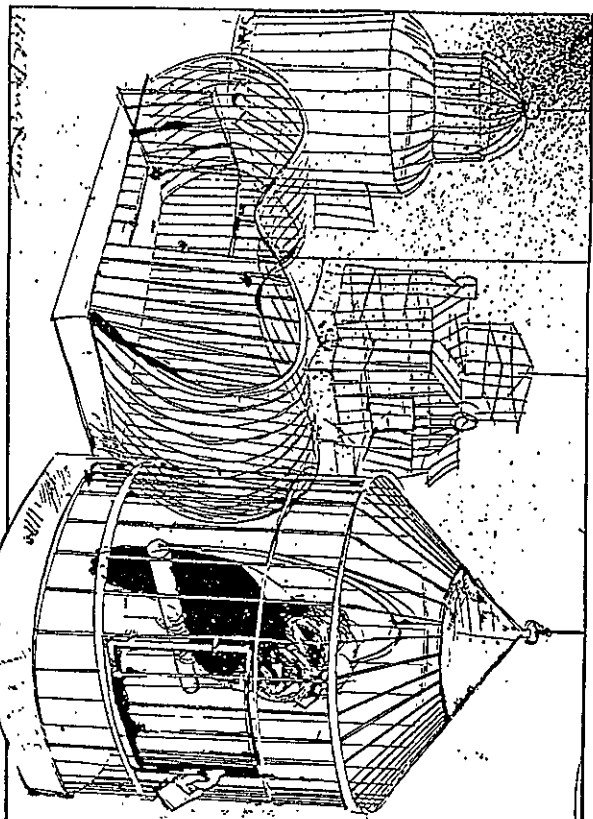
cluded the enfranchisement of Muslim women and the acceptance of Arabic as the other official language. But the separate voters' roll stayed.

At home, the French government was facing a serious crisis of legitimacy. There was a rapid succession of new cabinets, and the French army was being embarrassingly inept in its fight against the North Vietnamese.

On November 1 1954, the FLN first appeared in public with a number of attacks on strategic points in Algeria. Its declared goal was national independence through armed struggle.

The war was marked by savagery on both sides, and the process of negotiations was painfully slow. In 1956, the FLN had set out its position on talks in the Soummam declaration, which is comparable to a cross between the ANC's Harare Declaration and its Constitutional Guidelines.

Issued after a secret summit held at Soummam, inside Algeria, the declaration gave sovereignty to the FLN's executive on the question of ceasefire. It emphasised the primacy of the political over the military. It declared that there would be no ceasefire until independence and no political privileges for the French settlers after independence. It also outlined the role of women, youth, trade unions and



Events in several African countries revolved around jailed leaders

The first contacts between the FLN and the French took place secretly in 1956, at the invitation of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. They were "talks about talks", and a further five meetings took place in secret in venues all round Europe. The talks were fruitless.

On the one hand, the Suez crisis had not only thrown the Middle East into turmoil, but led to another change of government in France. On the other, the FLN had been outraged by the arrest of Ben Bella while he was on his way to one of the secret

meetings. The French military, unaware of his destination, had hijacked the plane, and public opinion in France was such that the government saw no alternative to keeping him and the other occupants of the plane in jail, although they were never tried.

In 1959, the newly elected president of France, Charles de Gaulle, crossed France's Rubicon by announcing his intention to allow the Algerian people the right to self-determination. This opened the way to talks, although two central issues were to delay the process: the imprisonment of Ben Bella, and the question of ceasefire.

The French wanted a ceasefire before talks about independence, while the FLN stuck to its call for independence before ceasefire and the demand for the release of all political prisoners. For the FLN, however, as for the ANC, it was an important victory that the French recognised it as their opponent, and dealt with the organisation.

Within a week of De Gaulle's speech, an FLN delegation was winging its way to Paris. It had realised the importance of taking advantage of the situation quickly, in order to maintain international support and pressure on the French. Hopes were high for a quick settlement, but the French refused to allow the FLN team to confer with Ben Bella. The FLN broke off talks and returned home, leaving the French looking unreasonable in the eyes of the world.

Assembly accepted the terms of Algerians to self-determination. At the same time, the French were faced with massive popular protest in the form of marches and vigils, similar to those which have been sweeping across South Africa over the last few months.

In April 1961, French army generals in Algeria attempted a *putsch* to prevent independence, but the revolt was rapidly put down and in fact hastened the independence process. In May, the final chapter began in

Evian, on the French bank of Lake Geneva. Although Ben Bella was absent, he was in constant telephonic contact with the FLN negotiations team from his house at the prison. But again the talks broke down. No agreement could be reached on the issues of minority rights for French citizens both during the transitory period and after independence, the French wish that its citizens be allowed to keep dual nationality, their wish to hold on to the naval base in the country, and oil and gas fields in the Sahara. The FLN rejected all these demands.

In autumn, De Gaulle went even further than he did in his earlier speech. He declared the French had no right to the Sahara, and that the time had come to leave Algeria. It became known as his "right-about-turn" speech. To speed up the process further, the FLN was allowed to meet Ben Bella freely in his prison house. In March, the negotiations resumed at Evian, and this time led to an agreement that provided for Algerian independence and an immediate ceasefire.

French citizens were also protected for three years, during which time they would be allowed dual citizenship. Another provision which would fall away after three years was protection of French property. France was able to secure a 15-year renewable lease on the naval base, but lost all its mineral rights in the Sahara.

The FLN was given the right to elect a provisional executive that would administer the country during the transitional period. But the guarantees that the FLN would not throw out the whole agreement once they got into power.

So what happened after the two sides signed? In 1962, Ben Bella became the first president, but because of his long imprisonment he was out of touch with the mainstream of the FLN, and tried to introduce a very hardline, unpragmatic type of socialism. Unable to maintain the popular support he had achieved during his long imprisonment, his power-base was slowly eroded. He was overthrown in June 1965 by the military strongman Bourrelidienne, who sentenced Ben Bella to life imprisonment. Bourrelidienne remained in power until his death in 1978. Recently, the FLN have begun to dismantle the socialist state that was created in 1962, in response to massive riots in October 1988.

CE says Lonrho proud to be Africa's largest food producer

LONRHO'S proudest achievement is that it is the largest food producer in Africa, CE Tiny Rowland says in the British-based international trading conglomerate's latest annual report.

Rowland says Lonrho's holdings in Africa and the US together exceed 1.6-million acres, including extensive beef cattle ranches carrying 120 000 head.

Its African food operations include sugar estates in SA, Swaziland and Malawi, farming in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, food processing and distribution in Kenya and bottlers in Zambia.

The group, whose shares are quoted on the JSE, will always value its origins as an African mining and ranching company, he says.

"Throughout years of sometimes tumultuous political change in Africa, our experience has overwhelmingly been one of co-operation.

"Mining and agriculture are long-term investments which need sustained

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

goodwill from governments over many years if they are to succeed."

Rowland says Lonrho's sugar estates — its largest single agricultural profit-earner — benefited during the year to September from the continued improvement in the world sugar price, with record profits being achieved.

Record

"In Mozambique we are one of the largest tomato growers in the southern hemisphere and the Lomaco estates are now the major supplier of vegetables to the capital city."

During the period under review Lonrho acquired Kenyan pork products supplier Farmers Choice and is now the largest pig farmer in the country, while Nigerian-based John Holt Farms commissioned a modern poultry plant outside Benin City with a capacity of 1 000 processed chickens per hour.

He adds that in Malawi tea production of 5-million kilograms was a "record" and prices were higher.

The group's other African-based operations include motor distributors, wattle estates, pharmaceutical distributors and construction companies. Mining interests are concentrated in SA.

Rowlands says gold and platinum group metal production reached nearly one-million ounces, and an improvement of more than 30% looks achievable due to the addition of a productive mine neighbouring Western Platinum.

The enlarged company is expected to market a third of the world's platinum group metals during the 1990s, he says.

Lonrho posted earnings a share of 29.8p (25.7p) in the year to September on turnover which rose to £5.1bn (£4.2bn). Dividends of 16p, 41% up on the previous 11.1p, were declared.

Rowlands says Lonrho, with 1 000 companies in 100 countries, is "well prepared" to expand into developing areas of Eastern Europe.

Africa told: Brush up your business act

PARIS — French investors gave Africa a blunt message this week: If you want to halt the exodus of European companies, create the right business climate.

The view was spelled out at a reception given by the Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry for visiting Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

"Foreign companies invest in a country when the economic environment appears favourable to them and the risks reason-

able," said chamber president Bernard Cambournac. (1) (2)

Jean-Pierre Proteau of the French employers' association CNPF said the biggest cause of the flight of French firms from Africa was an unpaid debt backlog.

Nigeria's foreign debt of about \$32bn is the biggest in Africa, with France and Britain its main creditors.

Proteau listed other investment obstacles such as currency instability, inflation and import controls. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Liberal guilt can be poisonous

FROM OUTSIDE the offices of the Daily Telegraph comes the insistent throb of African drums.

It starts at about midday and goes on for much of the afternoon: a relentless, syncopated cacophony.

Through the window you can see blacks in long robes distributing literature about African culture.

I am referring to the Telegraph office in Washington DC, of course. In Johannesburg the chief distractions are colleagues cadging cigarettes and the occasional thunderstorm.

Racial integration is as dominant an item on the political agenda in the United States as it is in South Africa, but it is unfashionable to say so in the vicinity of Capitol Hill.

*Steve
4/13/19
Jive*

As racial incidents in the US increase, so blacks find solace in returning, trance-like, to their imagined African roots. This is not what is supposed to happen in a liberal, multiracial democracy.

The very word "black" which replaced "negro" is now being superseded by the term "Afro-American". Last year this usage reached the US Supreme Court when Justice Thurgood Marshall declared that he intended to employ it henceforth.

Afro-Americanism is essentially an apartheid phenomenon which manifests itself in diverse ways.

Last year, for example, there was a terrific row in Washington when a black priest, the Rev George Stallings, broke away from

Peter Taylor

a Daily Telegraph correspondent formerly based in Africa, hears the sound of tom-toms in Washington

the Roman Catholic Church to found his own hugely popular "Imani Temple" ("Imani" is Swahili for "faith").

Mr Stallings, who accuses mainstream churches of racism, spends much of his services jiving round the altar in vestments of African design.

He begins every liturgy by pouring a brown liquid over soil collected from cemeteries where blacks are buried. This he calls "Invocations of the Saints and Ancestors" (ancestor worship is widespread in Africa).

On university campuses, too, there is a resurgence of black separatism. About a fifth of black college students are believed to be members of exclusively black fraternities or sororities — each with their own initiations and rituals.

But American blacks are not especially choosy about their African connections. During my time in Washington, Democrat Mayor Marion Barry — now facing drug and perjury charges — narrowly escaped the embarrassment of throwing a lavish reception for President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

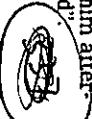
Mobutu is one of Africa's leading dictators and Zaire is often described as the continent's pre-eminent kleptocracy — a title for which there is stiff competition.

The Rev Jesse Jackson adopts a similar posture, regularly condemning the International Monetary Fund for creating African poverty, but keeping uncharacteristically silent about black corruption.

Even Colonel Mengistu of Ethiopia, whose military dictatorship is built on the corpses of his rivals, is treated sweetly by the new breed of Afro-American.

Last year Mr Mickey Leland, a black Democrat member of the House of Representatives, met Col Mengistu and described him afterwards as "munsunderstood".

1 Hailed



On a visit to Ethiopia later, Mr Leland died in a plane crash, an event that unleashed a racial furore in his home city of Houston.

When it was proposed that the city's airport be renamed in his honour, one white councillor observed that it might as well be called "Nigger International".

Such subterranean sentiments combined with liberal guilt and self-loathing have proved lethal for the calibre of black American politicians.

When a well-known scoundrel like legislator Gus Savage is accused of fondling a Peace Corps worker while on a trip to Zaire, he can grandly reply that the charge is "racist". Even "moderate" black politi-

cians who are hailed as the new generation — Mayor David Dinkins of New York and Governor Douglas Wilder of Virginia — have financial irregularities in their past which would have sunk white candidates.

The Afro-American experience seems to me to have at least a couple of lessons for South Africa.

When black and white leaders eventually sit down to negotiate, they will do so in an atmosphere free from liberal sentimentality and the hypocrisy it engenders. Hard men talking tough are more likely to produce results than dreamers offering *mea culpas*.

Anyway, democracy means never having to say you're sorry.

South Africa should also be wary of prescriptive remedies from overseas — especially the United States where the "melting pot" has evidently failed to dissolve ethnic loyalties.

The Canadian idea of a "cultural mosaic" looks more realistic, and constitutional arrangements which recognise South Africa's diversity are nothing to be ashamed of.

The road ahead is fraught with danger, but American maps — particularly those drawn by Afro-Americans are of no value.

It is worth recalling that one famous "Afro-American" did have something sensible to say about Africa. When Mohammed Ali fought George Foreman in Zaire for the heavyweight championship of the world (the "Rumble in the Jungle"), he was asked what he thought of the place.

"I sure am glad," he replied, "that my great-grand-daddy was captured by those slave traders."

ABIDJAN - "I am no Ceausescu," President Felix Houphouet-Boigny said as pro-democracy protests shook the Ivory Coast last week.

But the assurance that Africa's longest-serving leader would not try to cling to power like executed Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu did nothing to stop the demonstrators.

Fired by the collapse of Eastern Europe's autocrats, striking students dared for the first time to call for an end to Houphouet-Boigny's 30-year rule.

Ivorians and long-time European residents were amazed to hear slogans such as "No more Houphouet."

The 84-year-old president responded by sending police and paramilitary troops to crack down on street protests and close schools and universities in the main city, Abidjan.

The unrest, which began two weeks ago, spread last Friday to workers opposed to

Ivory Coast erupts in pro-democracy riots

nationwide pay cuts imposed as part of International Monetary Fund and World Bank economic reforms.

Ivory Coast, once the economic showcase of black Africa, is in a slump partly because of low prices for its main export cocoa.

Houphouet-Boigny, a tribal chief, has ruled this nation of 11 million people unchallenged since independence from France in 1960. His sayings appear on hoardings across the country - the front page of the sole newspaper prints his thought for the day.

A Machiavellian master of "divide and

rule" to his critics, a nation-builder to his many admirers, Houphouet-Boigny brought political and economic stability to a strip of West African coast with 60 ethnic groups while nearby countries floundered.

He encouraged the French to stay on after 1960 and build him a city with freeways and skyscrapers. The number of French actually rose after independence and champagne flowed freely in Abidjan's many restaurants during the cocoa boom of the 1970s.

Flush with money, most Ivorians did not challenge the sole political party and its leader. Opponents were bought off, jailed or exiled, opposition groups said.



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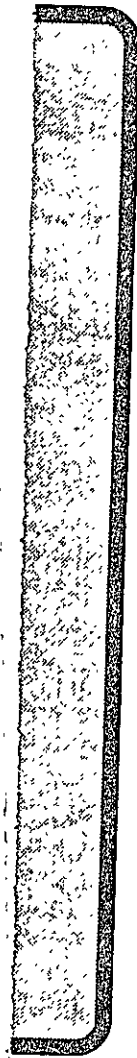
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Africa finds it hard to swallow a bitter economic pill

ABIDJAN — Luxury cars, once an untouchable symbol of power in Africa, have become targets for protest as unrest caused by economic austerity sweeps the continent.

"It's dangerous these days to drive around in a big car," said one shopkeeper in Ivory Coast who had seen several rocked by demonstrators.

African leaders are finding it difficult to sell IMF reforms now that their economies are in a slump.

More than 20 countries on the continent are following IMF-backed au-

terity programmes.

Sub-Saharan Africa's overall debt rose from \$6bn in 1970 to \$134bn in 1988, making it the world's most heavily indebted region, the World Bank says.

And African leaders are treading cautiously, mindful of riots provoked by austerity measures.

Ivory Coast's President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, faced with the worst civil strife in his 30 years in office, postponed — for the fourth time — a national meeting called to announce taxes on government and private sec-

tor wages of between 10% and 40%.

The government said it wanted time to explain there would also be cuts in prices for goods and services.

Calls are being heard for those who profited in boom years to bring their money back home.

Ivory Coast opposition leader Laurent Gbagbo has estimated that the amount of money flowing out of the country every year to foreign accounts is about equal to the \$440m the government says it needs to save through wage cuts. — Sapa-Reuter.

African leaders turn away from Marxism

Fewer clinging to old mould of government

HARARE - In the face of their own failures and the success of the democracy movement in Eastern Europe, many African leaders are turning away from the communist economic theories with which they greeted independence.

But if they have accepted the need to embrace capitalism, fewer seem willing to renounce the type of autocratic rule until recently practised by the Eastern European and Soviet heirs of Marx and Lenin.

"The great winds carrying democracy ... that have triumphed in the countries of Eastern Europe will not shake the coconut trees in Africa," the daily Gabonese newspaper recently commented.

Most African nations gained their independence during the height of the Cold War. Their struggles for freedom against Western powers were always cheered and sometimes openly abetted by the Soviet Union and its allies.

Scarred by their colonial experience under Britain, France, Portugal, Spain and, until the end of World War II, Italy and Germany, Africa's new nations generally opted for the social and economic models they found in Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin.

Today, most of the sub-Saharan African nations are under military, dictatorial or one-party rule marked by authoritarianism, a sharp intolerance of opposition and presidential terms of office limited only by death

or revolution. Many are avowedly socialist.

But while showing little inclination to relax their grip on power, even some of the most Marxist-orientated governments are moving toward economic liberalisation in a transformation encouraged by one simple fact: Most aid, advice and investment in recent years has come not from the crumbling Soviet empire, but from the West.

Disaster

And that aid - totaling more than 11 billion dollars in 1987 - is in many cases all that has kept disaster from striking a region of 450 million people whose combined gross domestic product of 135 billion dollars barely equals that of Belgium, with a population of only 10 million.

In the past decade, some 30 African countries have adopted - to a greater or lesser degree - economic reform programmes under the guidance of those twin pillars of capitalism, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

"We're seeing significant changes for the better throughout the continent," says John Sangueme, chief executive of the Zim-

babwe National Chamber of Commerce. Recent events in Eastern Europe have certainly helped bring them about, even though the process here in Africa is not nearly as dramatic."

Still, Africa's slowness to adopt democratic political reforms along with economic changes has been widely lamented both from within and without the continent.

The UN Economic Commission for Africa in a report last year said: "The political context for promoting healthy human development has been marred for more than two decades by instability, war, intolerance, restrictions on the freedom of individuals and groups as well as overconcentrations of power."

More recently, Jacques Pelletier, the French Development Minister, said Africa's nations would remain among the world's poorest unless they followed Eastern Europe's lead in embracing democracy along with free-market economies.

Added the *Southern*



Robert Mugabe... What's his stance?

African Economist, a semi-monthly magazine published by the seven-nation South Africa Development Coordination Conference, in a January editorial: "If the Cold War is really ending, that can only help to concentrate African minds by exposing the irrelevance of much current ideology."

Some leaders are getting the hint:

*In the tiny,

bankrupt West African nation of Benin, the ruling People's Revolutionary Party renounced communism in December and promised constitutional reforms this year.

*Sao Tome e Principe, a tiny island nation off the western coast of Africa, is permitting opposition parties to function for the first time this year.

*On February 18,

the ruling party in Cape Verde, another former Portuguese island off the western coast, decided to give up its monopoly on power and switch to multiparty democracy in elections slated for November.

*The next day, President Mathieu Kerekou of the tiny, bankrupt West African nation of Benin instructed a conference of government, ruling party and opposition leaders to draw up a plan for democratisation of the country.

Power

The group took Kerekou more seriously than he probably intended, forcing him 10 days later to agree to share power with a new prime minister.

*In January, the ruling Worker's Party of the Congo said it was creating a commission to consider democratic changes and would decide on its future course in June. It has ruled as a Marxist one-party government since 1979.

*Mozambique, caught in a civil war with right-wing rebels, dumped Marxism as its official policy last July and announced plans for multiparty elections this year.

Those, however, are but a fraction of

sub-Saharan Africa's 40 countries and the more dominant view is expressed by presidents such as Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Gabon's Omar Bongo.

Bongo said in January he didn't think most African countries would follow Eastern Europe's example and move toward multiparty democracies.

Just days later, as if to prove Bongo right, Mugabe's ruling party voted to move Zimbabwe toward a one-party Marxist state, further away from the democracy it inherited when it gained independence from Britain.

And in Kenya, when a Presbyterian minister suggested from the pulpit that African leaders should take a cue from Eastern Europe, the chairman of the country's single party termed his suggestion "sheer madness and folly" and called on the church to defrock him.

Frederick Chiluba, the chairman-general of Zambia's Congress of Trade Unions, mused about the changes in Africa in recent interview.

"It is unfortunate that Africa, which began its march to independence in the 1950s, found the Stalinist regime in power," Chiluba said. "Having been colonised by Western powers, Africans found sympathy with the Stalinist regime and criticism became taboo."

But Chiluba found some hope:

"Developments in Eastern Europe, particularly, are bound to influence man everywhere." - Sapa-AP

Days of Ethiopia's strongman are numbered

FOR Ethiopia's half-dozen ethnic liberation movements, there is not much doubt about it: their common enemy, the brutal despot Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, is nearing his end.

With last month's capture of the Red Sea port of Masawa, the Eritreans dealt him a strategic and psychological blow. Not only has he lost another vital stronghold, his army also appears to have suffered the usual carnage. Several divisions were routed, says the Eritrean People's Liberation Front; 24 tanks were destroyed and 75 were seized intact, along with a rich haul of artillery, multiple rocket launchers and anti-tank missiles.

It's a familiar pattern in Africa's longest war. The provincial rebellion which began 28 years ago as a small-scale guerrilla affair has steadily expanded after surviving a long, grim period of massive Soviet-backed offensives into what it is today: a series of sudden devastating onslaughts in which Mengistu's troops are driven out of their heavily fortified garrisons in and around the principal towns.

Now all that remains to them is the Red Sea port of Asab and an enclave, the provincial capital Asmara and the town of Keren in the highland interior.

Asmara and Keren are completely cut off. Even before they could only be supplied by sea through Masawa. Now some 60 000 men of the Second Army, not to mention the civilian population, are entirely dependent on airlifts. Eritreans are not alone in their conviction that Mengistu's fleet of Soviet-built Antonov transport planes

After twenty-eight years of war, the offensive by half-a-dozen guerrilla groups is beginning to take its toll on Ethiopia's strongman, Mengistu Mariam, reports

DAVID HIRST

are unequal to the task.

Beleaguered Asmara cannot but weaken by the day and the EPLF have every reason to believe that the garrison commanders will sue for peace.

It is remarkable that Mengistu has managed to retain his grip on power for so long. For it is not only in Eritrea, where most of the countryside and four-fifths of its 2.5 million inhabitants have been "liberated", that his writ has ceased to run. His demoralised, ill-trained, increasingly weapon-starved army has suffered defeats on other fronts.

The Trigrayan People's Liberation Front has driven Mengistu's troops from the whole adjoining province of Trigray with some four to five million inhabitants, and pushed into the very citadel of Mengistu's ethnic power base, into the Amharan regions of Wollo, Gondar and Shoa, setting up liberated zones there.

Little known, but ultimately, perhaps, the most important of all, are the activities of the Oromo Liberation Front. The Oromos account for perhaps half of Ethiopia's population of 47 million, furnish its collectivised economy with most of its cheap la-



Rebel EPLF soldiers move on to the key Red Sea port of Masawa — which they captured last month

bour and the army with some 80 per cent of its despised and wretched conscripts. For years now the OLF has held government troops at bay in the remote south-eastern highlands of Hararge, Arussi and Bass Arussi and Bale.

Early this year, in a spectacular breakthrough, it drove government forces out of the Asosa region in the western province of Wallagga. It says that at least 1.5 million Oromos have tasted freedom in this sensitive, fertile lowland along the Sudanese border.

In the late 19th century, as Europeans conquered the rest of Africa, King Menelik, issuing from his Abyssinian highlands, carved out a vast empire of his own. He consolidated this conquest with a primitive ruthlessness rooted in the feudal traditions, ethnic solidarity and chauvinism of the Amharas.

Like the Bolsheviks, the Derg at first held out the promise of equality.

● To PAGE 20

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Ethiopia's despot is on the way out

●From PAGE 18

ty and self-expression for all peoples of the multi-national empire it inherited. But in practice, Mengistu, like Lenin, quickly saw to it that, under such a progressive system, the class struggle should supersede national ones.

The vast resettlement schemes, involving the forcible transfer of millions of peasants, were more than merely grandiose experiments in state-farming, they were the modern socialist equivalent of Menelik's imperial design.

The liberation movements are almost certain that this ramshackle structure will fall apart.

The Eritreans seek independence pure and simple. Their basic case is that, unlike the Tigrayans, Oromos and others, they were never part of the original Ethiopian empire. A former Italian colony, they were forcibly absorbed into it just when everyone else was winning freedom in the European retreat from Africa.

For the TPLF self-determination should not lead to secession, but to fundamental reforms of a kind that encourages all the peoples of Ethiopia to combine in a multinational commonwealth.

For the EPLF, bent on independence, pan-Ethiopianism holds little appeal. As for the OLF, while not in principle ruling it out, it seems to regard it as utopian.

The Oromos are increasingly conscious of their latent strength. If Eritrea secedes, Ethiopia will be diminished. If the Oromos go for independence, it will be destroyed, relegating the Amharas to their barren hills.

If this really is an African empire's terminal crisis, it cannot leave the world indifferent. At stake is the whole concept of an order built on the sanctity of colonial frontiers. A successful Eritrean breakaway would be the first of its kind since Bangladesh, and the first in Africa. — The Guardian, London

Tragic Africa 'must end internal wars or sink further'

Africa has been the greatest disappointment of the latter half of the 20th century, but its tragedy has served to show the interdependence of the world, the Soviet Union's top official expert on Africa has said.

In an article written for the Africa News Organisation (Ano), Dr Boris Asoyan, head of the Soviet foreign ministry Africa department, said Africa today was "the sorry sight of the shattered illusion of the 1960s".

Africa was the world leader in infant mortality, population growth rates and hunger, he said.

In addition, "Africa's external debt will have reached 280 percent of its export earnings by the year 2010 whereas in Latin America, the abso-

The Star's Africa News Service reports on an official Soviet view of Africa's grim problems.

lute record holder in terms of debt, it will not top 83 percent".

After referring to international humanitarian and financial organisations' attempts to solve Africa's crisis, Dr Asoyan said that "neither the most positive financial aid programme nor fresh reforms will be able to redress the situation while Africa is gripped by conflicts...".

"At least two of the conflicts — in southern Africa and in the Horn of

Africa — have long been poisoning the political climates outside the relevant sub-regions and frustrating attempts at improving the whole system of international relations," he wrote.

These conflicts had historical, ethnic and religious reasons, but had also been partially fanned by the cold war, Dr Asoyan said.

"It would be naive, of course, to hope for the total elimination of all conflicts in Africa or elsewhere. But if we don't want humanity to work itself into a murderous frenzy, we should appreciate each step towards this noble goal.

"The road to defusing conflicts will be clear only when all belligerents

display genuine readiness for reciprocal concessions and reject force as a means of settling outstanding disputes," he added.

Dr Asoyan, who was once a diplomat in Lesotho, said Africa could only be delivered from its sorry plight if the great powers succeeded "in melting down the icebergs of the cold war".

There can be no short cuts to African prosperity.

"In the current critical situation all nations should put aside their disputes as to whose development pattern is better, and act without delay to stop the proliferation of poverty and hunger and check Africa's slide into economic and social catastrophe," he wrote.

The god of conservation roars in the forest

W/Mail 16/3-22/3/90

The Korup project in Cameroon is regarded as an environmental priority for Africa. But is it sensitive rural development or eco-colonialism on a grand scale, asks JOHN VIDAL

THE African bush village of Baro lies deep in the south west English-speaking province of Cameroon.

Twenty or so low, wooden, palm-thatched houses line both sides of a dusty reddish path. All around are oil palm, banana and pineapple plantations. Up at the top end is a small cassava farm and beyond there is what the West now calls "moist tropical rain forest" which makes it sound like something out of a textbook; official, sanctified, classified.

It ain't. It's jungle. It's one of the oldest in the world, it's complex and resonant, full of smells, sound and at times light. Bits of it are as friendly as an English forest, others impenetrable and oppressive. It's not all nine-metre mahogany and soaring Iroco: there are levels, layers, lakes. It sprawls over mountains and flat land. There are shy herds of forest elephants and primates, three thousand or more mammal, reptile, fish, bird and plant species grope for food and light and no-one has begun to count the insects and the ants. And all live on each other and on some of the poorest, most fragile and acidic soils on earth.

But it's no tropical paradise for the few people that live there. There is 13 metres of rain a year in Baro and the tracks of the village are impassable for much of the time so there's no access to the health clinic 16 kilometres away. In the dry season the water supply is dreadful and the economic crisis that Cameroon has endured for three years means that the villagers cannot sell their small quantities of fruit and palm wine in the towns.

Baro is right on the edge of the Korup National Park, which was created in 1986 to give it full legal protection from being cut down. The people have used what is now the park for years. They hunt there and in its environs with guns and snares, collect fruits and plants for medicines and food — they depend on it utterly for a livelihood.

Soon the Barovians will be restricted because the chief, with the backing of his people, will sign away the villagers' rights to hunt in the park. Western conservation, a modern idea with its roots in the backlash to the industrial revolution, has come to Baro and over the next five years will completely change the village's perception of its traditional lands.

On the face of it it is not terribly serious that the village will give up some of its ancient rights because there are thousands of other acres of the same sort of forest in every other direction. But it will be a unique, voluntary decision, because, as the chief said last week in a short address to the village: "We, the Baro people are almost overtaken by the rate at which certain events are now moving



Breaking new ground ... villagers prepare the forest for planting after loggers have cleared the trees

through evolution in this jungle village of ours ... the Korup Project has come to stay for the better."

Baro is being offered the twin gods of exploitation and conservation. The European logging companies and the scientists are moving in where the missionaries and colonists left off. French-owned Cameroon Timber Limited has, quite legally, driven a logging road right to the village which is on its 26 000 hectare concession and their managers shrug off criticism that they are extracting the very trees in the forest that are valuable to the Barovians.

If it was left like the forest would eventually regenerate but in the wake of the loggers come the peasants scraping a living off the temporarily enriched soil they have exposed after cutting and burning

down swathes of newly accessible forest.

Last year the Cameroonian government received R200-million cash from its forest taxes and was owed many millions more by the logging companies in back taxes, many not paid — or asked for — for 10 years or more. There are only 57 saw mills in Cameroon, mostly old and inefficient, so the trees that are cut are mainly sent in log form for export or if they are processed — which provides more of an income to Cameroon — they are largely wasted by inefficient sawing.

It's going to get worse before it gets better. The former German colony, turned into a French and British federal republic in 1961 and in 1972 into a united republic, is a land of 280 dialects with French and English as offi-

cial languages. Now applying to join the Commonwealth and expecting Prince Charles for an official visit in a few weeks time, it is the last country in western Africa to exploit its dense forests which still cover 350 million acres, more than 50 percent of the land. At present about two million cubic metres of wood are logged a year which everyone, from the World Bank to the timber industry agrees is very little.

This, the low price of the limited amounts of Cameroonian oil, the high price of timber on the world market, the dwindling stocks in other West and Central African countries and the perception by the forestry industry that the government — and perhaps the West — is going to toughen up on forest exploitation, are combining to make the country a potential timber-rush country in the next five years. And as the one god of exploitation rears its head, the other god, of conservation, roars.

When Baro's chief spoke last week of the "important events" in the evolution of Baro he was also referring to the Korup Project which is the most ambitious and innovative conservation programme of them all; a Worldwide Fund for Nature initiative which aims to create with the Cameroon government, the people of Britain, the European Community and everyone else prepared to give money (about R60-million needed), a national rainforest park to protect the 1 250 square kilometres of pristine jungle. The project includes the forest beyond the park and many other villages like Baro and is intended to be a model of how areas of the rainforest can be saved for posterity by stimulating and developing the economy of the surrounding area so that no-one needs to use the core area.

The whole area is a paradise for conservationists. It is, they say,

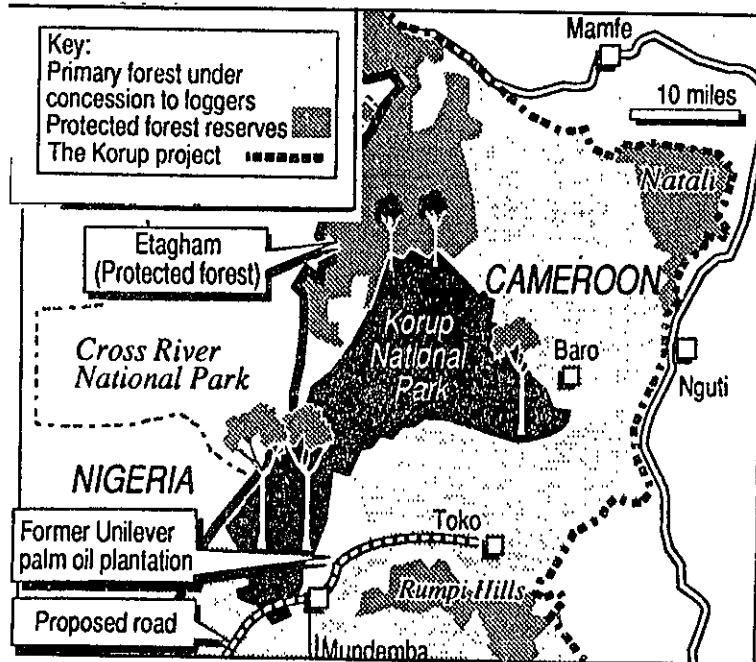
among the top ecological priorities in Africa, sheltering half of the continent's primate species, a core area to which the forest flora and fauna retreated in the ice ages and from which they radiated out to colonise the new forests which appeared as the climate warmed.

The trouble is, for the Korup Project to succeed in ecological terms — the central tenet of the whole project — six villages will have to be moved out of the park and into the forests around — the very forests that are in danger of being logged and eventually destroyed by the French, Germans and everyone else who can get a concession; 750 people will leave their tribal lands and be relocated in "buffer zones" of the park.

The six villages, deep in the park and accessible only by footpath are all on poor soil and their main source of income is from hunting and exporting the dried animals. With the 700 people — park insiders and outsiders — presently hunting everything from elephants to mice this source of income is not sustainable. It would, too, it is said be very hard to develop the villages as there is not economical or ecological reason to build roads into the villages.

The team of experienced Cameroonians and British and American agriculture, animal and rural development workers collected to administer, advise and facilitate believe the key to protecting the Korup National Park is education, showing the villages more efficient, sustainable farming methods, explaining to communities how they can help themselves. It's nothing less than hearts, minds and science.

The results, after only a short time, are impressive. Tree nurseries are springing up, there is talk of developing a limited tourist industry and providing facilities for researchers and scientists to stay.



Ecological innovation ... the new borders of Korup in south-western Cameroon, which has some of the world's rarest vegetation.

Yesterday's lawless are today's leaders

Argus 20/3/90

TONIGHT sees the re-run of a familiar African tale — yesterday's villain and fugitive from the law donning the mantle of national leadership and respectability.

Moments after midnight, Mr Sam Nujoma, formerly exiled leader of Swapo and commander-in-chief of its guerrilla forces, will be sworn in as Namibia's first head of state after the world's newest independent state hoists its flag.

The man who started the war with South Africa in 1966 "with only two sub-machine-guns and two pistols" he got from Algeria will be treading the worn path of some of Africa's best-known statesmen who started off as victims of their country's status quo, became exiles or prisoners, and return to lead their nations to independence.

Recent examples include the late Sir Seretse Khama, Botswana's first president, exiled from his country for many years — because he married Miss Ruth Williams, a young Englishwoman he met and courted during his student days in London.

He was heir to the chieftainship of the Bangwato, the largest and most powerful tribe in Botswana.

His uncle, Mr Tshekedi Khama, had been regent during Sir Seretse's youth and would have abdicated had it not been for the controversial marriage.

Sir Seretse returned after agreeing to give up his right to the chieftainship.

Instead, he concentrated on broader politics of a national nature and led Botswana to independence in 1966.

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was not only an exile, but spent 10 years in

prison for his opposition to Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesian government.

On his release, he went to Mozambique and from there directed the Zimbabwe African National Union,

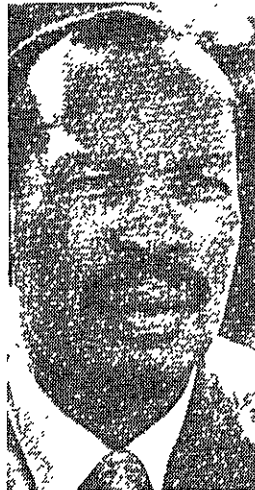
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Moments after midnight the man who started a war with South Africa 'with only two sub-machine guns and two pistols' he got from Algeria, will be sworn in as Namibia's first head of state after the world's newest independent state hoists its flag.

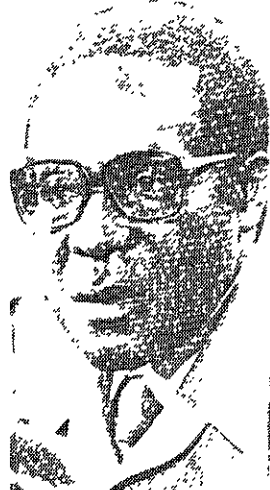
By JON QWELANE, Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek



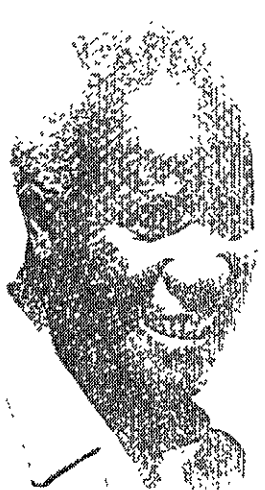
Sam Nujoma



Seretse Khama



Robert Mugabe



Kenneth Kaunda

whose military wing, Zanla (Zimbabwe National Liberation Army) began intensified offensives against the Rhodesian forces.

Mr Mugabe was perhaps the most hated man in Rhodesia — hated even more than his rival, Mr Joshua Nkomo, whose chuckle after the downing of an Air Rhodesia Viscount by his Zipra guerrillas earned him especially the scorn of the grieving whites.

Yet, Mr Mugabe returned from exile to a resounding welcome by tens of thousands of supporters in Salisbury (now Harare), even although his views were relatively unknown to the average Rhodesian.

While Mr Mugabe did not immediately become head of state after the elections of a decade ago — the post went to the Rev Canaan Banana — he effectively controlled the affairs of the country as prime minister.

The late President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya also came out of banishment to lead his country to independence.

His actual role with the notorious Mau-Mau organisation, a lawless outfit operating from the forests, was never really cleared up.

He denied he had anything to do with the Mau-Mau, but his name has always been linked to the organisation and it has been accepted in some quarters that he rode to power almost entirely on its back.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia today is regarded as one of Africa's elder statesmen, after leading Northern Rhodesia to independence in 1964.

Dr Kaunda, like Mr Mugabe a former school teacher, was imprisoned by the British at the height of Northern Rhodesian Africans' agitation for independence.

30-year journey

For Mr Samuel "Sam" Sha-fiishuna Nujoma, tonight's swearing-in ceremony will be the culmination of a journey which began 30 years ago almost to the day when he fled the country on March 1 1960.

He was a fugitive from justice, having been released on his own recognisances after a week in prison for his part in the demonstrations of December 10 1959 in which the police shot dead 13 people and injured many more. Mr Nujoma chose not to stand trial.

He has rubbed shoulders with Africa's mighty and famous, past and present, and they almost always invariably helped him out of tight spots.

One of these was in 1960 when Mr Julius Nyerere, then a member of the legislative assembly of Tanganyika, helped him get a passport.

The following year was another example, when Ghana's President Dr Kwame Nkrumah helped him on his way to the United Nations on Namib-

ia's case.

Mr Nujoma's much-publicised return to Namibia last year was actually not his first since he went into exile

After the UN declared South Africa's continued presence in Namibia illegal in 1966 following the ruling by the International Court of Justice at The Hague, Mr Nujoma and his Minister of Home Affairs and also Swapo treasurer, Mr Lukas Pohamba, flew into Windhoek on a chartered plane to test the legalities.

They were arrested and locked up at the airport, declared prohibited immigrant the following day and formally deported.

Scholarships

After that, Mr Nujoma committed Swapo to armed struggle and it is likely that those initial four firearms were used in Ongulumbashe in Owambo when security forces and Swapo clashed for the first time in 1966.

Mr Nujoma has been president of Swapo since 1960, after it changed its name from Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO)

He was also president of OPO and is said to have refused scholarships during his early years in exile in order to devote himself fully to his cause.

Namibia's independence also will be, in a way, Mr Nujoma's birthday present. In less than two months, on May 12, he will be 61.

Africa fears disintegration

South 243-2813/90

A SPECTRE has long haunted Africa — that states put together unnaturally by its one-time colonial masters could disintegrate.

Now, as Ethiopia stands on the brink of political disintegration, that spectre for the first time could become real.

The capture of Massawa, Ethiopia's strategic outlet to the Red Sea, by the secessionist Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) could be the prelude to final victory by the rebels.

Domino effect

That would provoke the downfall of the regime of Ethiopia's revolutionary leader, Haile Miryam Mengistu, and ultimately the breakup of Ethiopia as a unitary state.

What worries African leaders is that Ethiopia's disintegration could have a domino effect; in time, state after state could meet Ethiopia's fate.

Such political fragmentation would bring suffering to the peoples of Africa far greater than what they are now experiencing.

To avoid his and his country's downfall, Mengistu must do what

Ethiopia and secessionist Eritreans have been at war for decades. Far worse than independence for Eritrea is the spectre of Ethiopia's disintegration, which African leaders fear, is its fate if the conflict is not resolved soon. It could set off a domino effect for other states in Africa. ABDUL RAHMAN MUHAMMAD BABU, former economic development minister of Tanzania, reports:

some advisers urged on him after he overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974: immediately enter into serious negotiations with the EPLF and seek a political solution to the Eritrean rebellion.

Back then, Mengistu opted for all-out war, and even today he still hopes to reverse the tide. But the war is already lost.

Historically, Ethiopia's fragile unity was held together by a strong, centralised army.

The former emperor maintained a modicum of stability through a reign of terror, using his army to put ruthlessly down any form of dissent — peaceful or otherwise.

Any army personnel who showed signs of disloyalty were publicly hanged.

But the emperor was always careful never to over-extend his forces for any length of time. He had the knack of deploying the army to suppress dissidents in one part of the empire, while using diplomacy to

appease other areas of unrest.

He never allowed himself to be trapped into fighting on two or more fronts at the same time.

That is precisely the trap Mengistu has fallen into.

By not resolving the Eritrean question peacefully, he has subjected his army to fighting at once the Eritreans, the Tigreans, the Oromos, and other dissident groups.

Land reform

Consequently, he is losing on all fronts and further undermining the army's morale.

He is also losing the confidence of the peasants, who early on in his rule gave him support following his revolutionary land reform policy.

Now 60 percent of the national budget is spent on wars, diverting funds badly needed to modernise agriculture and improve peasant well-being through higher yields.

Moreover, thousands of able-bodied peasant youth have been conscripted into the army, where they either lose their lives or end up permanently incapacitated from the war's effects. The luckiest languish in prisoner-of-war camps in Eritrea.

No matter which side wins the current conflicts, peasant fear they will be the losers.

While Mengistu's "socialism" has given them land without the means to utilise it efficiently, they shudder to think what new horrors are in store if his regime collapses and Tigrean insurgents gain control.

Known to be far more doctrinaire Marxist-Leninists than Mengistu, the Tigreans take as their revolutionary model Albania, the only country in the world where Stalinist principles have not been discredited.

If Mengistu hopes to save Ethiopia from disintegrating, he must regain popular support and bring the country's wars to a peaceful end.

Even if his demoralised army does succeed in raking Massawa through massive air bombardment, it is too weak to bear the Eritreans.

His first step must therefore be to agree to the Eritreans' demand for a referendum, and implement its verdict — even if it means independence for Eritrea.

He can then negotiate with the Tigreans and Oromos who are pushing not to secede but to share in state power.

Rebuild country

Strengthened by his willingness to let Eritrea go, Mengistu could then hope to bring in Ethiopians of all political persuasions — from extreme right to extreme left — to work out a middle-of-the-road system of rule that would appeal to the majority of Ethiopians.

African leaders would welcome a solution in which Eritrea, even while gaining its independence, would still be linked to Ethiopia as a fraternal neighbour — perhaps with Massawa established by international treaty as a bi-national port.

Such a solution would clear the way for Mengistu to rebuild his country and avert the continent's most serious secessionist crisis since Africa emerged from colonial rule. — GEMINI NEWS

SA comes in from the cold

Mbus 22/3/90



TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency
and BRENDAN SEERY, Argus Africa News Service

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.

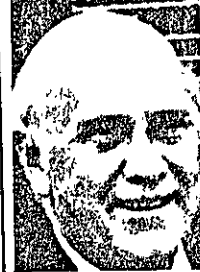
He said the Walvis Bay issue had not come up for serious discussion between himself and Mr Nujoma during the brief meeting they had in Windhoek. This was because both he and Mr Nujoma were "extremely busy" over the past few days.

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



President De Klerk

Meeting ^{AKG's}
De Klerk ^{22/3/90}
extremely
useful ⁽¹⁾
— Kaunda

TOS WENTZEL
on the Presidency

WINDHOEK. — After meeting President F W de Klerk last night Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda told me it had been "extremely useful".

While not foreseeing an immediate or dramatic improvement in relations between South Africa and the rest of Africa, he indicated that such meetings helped to reduce tensions and strained relations.

He again paid tribute to Mr De Klerk as a sincere man. A new stage was being set for South Africa.

He said the value of such meetings was that "we get to know each other better every time we meet.

"We are really trying to deal with a matter of life and death where we want to avoid bloodshed and create conditions for negotiations".

Referring to the peaceful lowering of the South African flag over Namibia he said that contacts made in Windhoek this week could be enlarged. There was, however, no point in "seeing each other just for the sake of meeting."

The coming talks between the South African government and the ANC was a step forward.

Dr Kaunda said he could not act as an intermediary but pointed out that the Organisation of African Unity had appointed an ad hoc monitoring group to watch what Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela were doing and to report to member states.

Meanwhile, he was sticking to his view that sanctions should not be lifted at this stage. To maintain them could help Mr De Klerk as well as Mr Mandela.

Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said the meeting with Dr Kaunda had been excellent.

He said a wide range of subjects, including the security situation, the vision for a new South Africa, economic development and regional development had been discussed.

Benin waits for a Marxist to go the way of Marxism

The ruler of West African Benin, once jokingly referred to as a 'Marxist-Beninist state', is discovering that his people want more than just their government's ideology changed, reports NIYI ALABI



Benin's President Mathieu Kerekou: losing grip on power

A BENIN immigration officer had a succinct message as I crossed into Togo: "Please tell the world that those of us here are in hell on earth ... we are the living dead. Remember us in your prayers".

The situation in Benin has been called by an academic "disastrous leftist adventurism", and President Mathieu Kerekou is facing probably the most serious crisis of his 18 years in power.

Since a teachers' strike last April set off nationwide anti-government demonstrations, Kerekou's grip on power has been loosening by the day.

Government inability to pay civil servants and other parastatal workers has worsened the plight of most Beninois. Police and customs officials confessed to me that they had to extort money from motorists and travellers to make ends meet.

A hitherto unknown movement, the People's Convention, has become a political force to reckon with. The group urges Beninois to protest against "the most corrupt, repressive and inept government in our history".

Another opposition group, the Committee for National Salvation, headed by Kerekou's fearless critic, Pascal Fantondji, joined the People's Convention in organising demonstrations in Porto Novo, Cotonou and Abomey.

Police and army units drafted to disperse the demonstrators could not help showing their sympathy with the protesters. Instead of the usual trigger-happiness, they used batons against the demonstrators.

Members of the privileged presidential guard later moved in to restore order by firing into a group of demonstrators in Porto Novo. Casualty figures have not been published.

Kerekou's advisers have urged him to make far-reaching political concessions to defuse tension. But not even an official statement abandoning Marxism as the official ideology has had any impact on the government's opponents.

After a two-day meeting of the ruling PRPB (Benin People's Revolutionary Party), a statement on radio

and television said "courageous steps will be taken ... to introduce a healthy political climate in our country". It gave no details of the measures to be adopted.

However, when deputies Robert Dassou and Rene Awanssou asked Kerekou in November to take steps towards political liberalism, they incurred the wrath of party hardliners and the president.

The present concessions seem to fall short of opposition demands. Workers are demanding full payment of their wages and salaries while the national coffers are still empty. A government ultimatum for workers to return to work was ignored. At a meeting of trade unionists, leaders and government representatives, the union leaders asked the government to release everyone detained in connection with the massive demonstrations.

Judging from the pronouncements of the opposition groups, even if the economic issues are resolved political dissent will not end. Liberal politicians like Dassou and Awanssou seem to be seeking a *rapprochement* with Kerekou's rival, Pascal Fantondji.

Rumours of a coup also persist. The 20 and 10-year jail sentences passed on two officers, Captains Adourhamane and Seidu Fuseini Gomina, respectively, for their involvement in the June 1988 failed coup have angered many in the military.

Corruption, favouritism and nepotism are high on the agenda of discussion at the Guezo and Ouidah military camps. — Gemini News.

Debt sours Ivory Coast's success story

ONCE the success story of West Africa, Ivory Coast is now awash in debt, burdened by a bankrupt economy and governed by an octogenarian leader accused of corruption.

"The old man," as President Felix Houphouët-Boigny, 84, is called, is outwardly unperturbed by angry street demonstrators who, for the first time in his half-century in politics, have accused him of corruption and demanded that he retire.

The president, who has ruled since independence from France in 1960, told French reporters last week that he will soon designate an heir apparent but did not say he would share power with him. Houphouët-Boigny has rejected protesters' calls to abolish his one-party presidential system and allow a multi-party democracy.

In the early years of independence, Ivory Coast economically outdistanced its richer neighbours, Ghana and Guinea, producing diversified cash crops ranging from coffee and cocoa to cotton, rubber, bananas and other tropical fruits. Modest amounts of oil were discovered. The country became the world's leading cocoa producer and the fourth largest coffee exporter.

Millions of skilled and unskilled foreign workers — accounting for perhaps half the country's 11 million population — poured in to do farm work, drive taxis and run machines, and, over the years, their remittances have kept other millions afloat back home in Burkina Faso, Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Liberia, Ghana and beyond.

The prospect of Ivorian economic collapse, according to diplomats,

Ivory Coast's Houphouët-Boigny appears to be on the road to oblivion as demonstrators demand his resignation and the country slides fast towards the Indian Ocean reports JONATHAN RANDAL

economists and politicians, could set off a ripple effect with severe negative economic, social and political repercussions beyond Ivory Coast's borders.

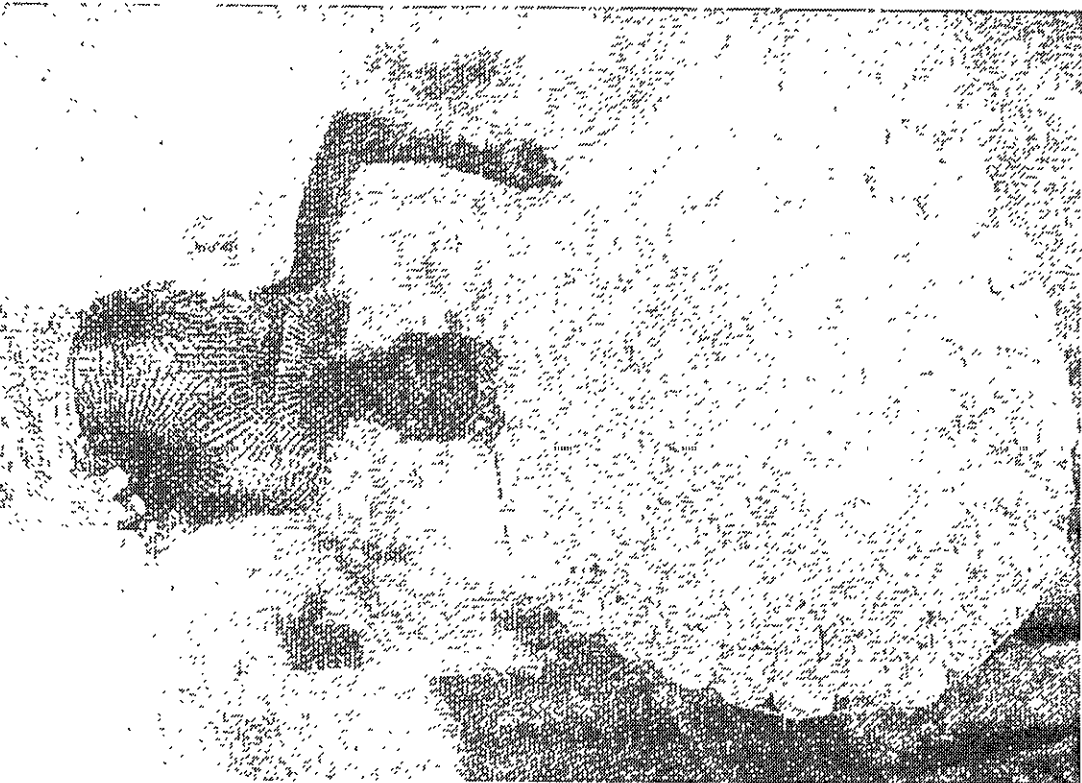
In retrospect, danger signals were flying by the late 1970s. Buoyed by high prices for coffee and cocoa, which accounted for more than half of Ivorian exports, giant state-dominated enterprises were founded, their rolls padded with extra workers — university graduates and unskilled labourers alike — to provide more jobs and prevent unemployment.

On an optimistic evaluation of the economy, French and other Western banks lent Ivory Coast \$10-billion. Foreign debt now totals \$14.5-billion with arrears, since payments were stopped in 1987 because of steep, enduring plunges of world coffee and cocoa prices.

Until last month, he refused demands by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to cut the state budget by \$450-million to obtain fresh loans.

Bankers suggested he has compounded the economic crisis by such delaying tactics.

— Washington Post



Ivorian women battle poverty by selling plastic bottles at market

Ivory Coast sliding back to being a tropical slum

28/3/90

1

The Economist looks at the failing economy of Ivory Coast under ageing President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

In three decades at the top, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny transformed a tropical slum into a model for Africa. Now it is being transformed back again.

In 1980, the Ivory Coast was the World Bank's star pupil; in December 1989 Mr Michel Camdessus, managing director of the IMF, said its economic crisis was "deep and serious".

In mid-March, there were riots in the capital after students demanded payment of their overdue grants and cuts in the cost of university meals and accommodation. The president deployed the weapon with which he has calmed past discontents — saying he would announce his heir-apparent.

For that purpose Mr Houphouet-Boigny, who is at least 85, brought forward to June the five-yearly congress of the ruling party that is his personal tool. The conference was originally scheduled for November.

'Solidarity tax'

The student riots were the tip of a tree of discontent. Some 97 000 families will be affected by cuts of up to 40 percent in civil servants' pay, part of a World Bank/IMF plan to reduce government spending. The decree was greeted by further demonstrations. The government responded by ordering cuts in the prices of essential goods, including

food and petrol, and a 5 percent to 10 percent "solidarity tax" on private sector workers, designed to equalise the misery.

The usual chorus of public sector workers — university lecturers, school teachers, representatives of official trade unions — has been formed to oppose the austerity programme. A senior academic was arrested "for carrying unsigned tracts" of a kind that had been circulating throughout the city for a month.

Mr Laurent Gbagbo, the country's most prominent opposition politician and the leader of a clandestine political party, the Ivorian Popular Front, was put under house arrest. He blames foreigners for the country's troubles.

So does the president, but most, and most justly, he blames world commodity markets. Between 1986 and 1989 the prices of the country's two main exports, coffee and cocoa, halved, and so did export earnings from them.

The state marketing board passed on the losses to producers. With the public sector pay cuts, the government has now hit the towns as hard as the country.

Businessmen and politicians (often the same people) are blamed for overspending on prestige projects — including the president's \$250 million (R625 million) basilica



President Houphouet-Boigny.

— and for luxurious living. In place of his old magical rhetoric, the president quietly joined the rough popular outcry against the Lebanese traders who run most of the businesses in the country and who help most politicians with their private affairs.

A brave few are calling, quietly, for the old president to go. As he fumbles, calls for multiparty democracy increase.

Pressure from the people, and from the French government, has in the past few weeks nudged some neighbouring West African dictatorships the same way.

In Benin in February a national constitutional conference of notables brought an end to the regime of General Mathieu Kérékou and laid plans for a general election next year. In Gabon too, President Omar Bongo has been forced to announce political reforms.

Mr Houphouet-Boigny has been a political giant. Should he be forced not only to retire but to leave behind a multi-party state, the example will be widely noted in Africa — Economist News Service

Africa turns her back on legacy of Marx and Lenin

IN the face of their own failures and the success of the democracy movement in Eastern Europe, many African leaders are turning away from the communist economic theories with which they greeted independence. But if they have accepted the need to embrace capitalism, fewer seem willing to renounce the type of autocratic rule until recently practiced by the Eastern European and Soviet heirs of Marx and Lenin.

"The great winds carrying democracy ... that have triumphed in the countries of Eastern Europe will not shake the cocoon trees in Africa," the daily *National Gabonese* newspaper recently commented.

Most African nations gained their independence during the height of the Cold War.

Their struggles for freedom against Western powers were always cheered and sometimes openly abetted by the Soviet Union and its allies.

Scared by their colonial experience under Britain, France, Portugal, Spain and, until the end of World War 2, Italy and Germany, Africa's new nations generally opted for the social and economic models they found

in Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin.

Today, most of the sub-Saharan African nations are under military, dictatorial or one-party rule marked by authoritarianism, a sharp intolerance of opposition and presidential terms of office limited only by death or revolution.

Many are avowedly socialist.

Power

But while showing little inclination to relax their grip on power, even some of the most Marxist-oriented governments are moving toward economic liberalisation in a transformation encouraged by one simple fact:

Most aid, advice and investment in recent years has come not from the crumbling Soviet empire, but from the West.

And that aid - totalling more than 11 billion dol-

lars (about R27.5 billion) in 1987 - is in many cases all that has kept dissatisfied 450 million people whose combined gross domestic product of 135 billion dollars (about R337.5 billion) barely equals that of Belgium, with a population of only 10 million.

In the past decade, some 30 African countries have adopted - to a greater or lesser degree - economic reform programmes under the guidance of those twin pillars of capitalism, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

"We're seeing significant changes for the better throughout the continent," says John Sangueme, chief executive of the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce.

"Recent events in Eastern Europe have certainly helped bring them about, even though

the process here in Africa is not nearly as dramatic."

Still, Africa's slowness to adopt democratic political reforms along with economic changes has been widely lamented both from within and without the continent.

Marred

The UN Economic Commission for Africa in a report last year said:

"The political context for promoting healthy human development has been marred for more than two decades by instability, war, intolerance, restrictions on the freedom of individuals and groups as well as over-concentrations of power."

More recently, Jacques Pelletier, the French development minister, said Africa's nations would remain among the world's poorest unless they followed Eastern Europe's

lead in embracing democracy along with free-market economies.

Added the *Southern African Economist*, a semi-monthly magazine published by the seven-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, in a January editorial: "If the Cold War is really ending, that can only help to concentrate African minds by exposing the irrelevance of much current ideology."

Some leaders are getting the hint: In the tiny, bankrupt West African nation of Benin, the ruling People's Revolutionary Party renounced communism in December and promised constitutional reforms this year.

- Sao Tome e Principe, a tiny island nation off the western coast of Africa, is permitting opposition parties to function for the first time this year.

- On February 18, the ruling party in Cape Verde, another former Portuguese island off the western coast, decided to give up its monopoly on power and switch to multiparty democracy in elections planned for November.

The next day, President Mathieu Kerekou of the tiny, bankrupt West African nation of Benin instructed a conference of government, ruling party and opposition leaders to draw up a plan for democratisation of the country.

Sharing

The group took Kerkou more seriously intended, forcing him 10 days later to agree to share power with a new prime minister.

- In January, the ruling Worker's Party of the Congo said it was creating a commission to con-

sider democratic changes and would decide on its future course in June. It has ruled as a Marxist, one-party government since 1979.

- Mozambique, caught in a civil war with right-wing rebels, dumped Marxism as its official policy last July and announced plans for multiparty elections this year.

Those, however, are but a fraction of sub-Saharan Africa's 45 countries and the more dominant view is expressed by presidents such as Zimbabwé's Robert Mugabe and Gabon's Omar Bongo.

Support

Bongo said in January he didn't think most African countries would follow Eastern Europe's example and move toward multiparty democracies.

Just days later, as if to prove Bongo right, Mugabe's ruling party voted to move Zimbabwe toward a one-party Marxist state, further away from the democracy it inherited when it gained independence from Britain.

And in Kenya, when a Presbyterian minister suggested from the pulpit that African leaders should take a cue from Eastern Europe, the chairman of the country's single party termed his suggestion "sheer madness and folly" and called on the church to defrock him. - Sapa-AP.

Inspired by Eastern Europe, ① dissent sweeps West Africa

W. Man 30/3 - 4/4/90
*Discontent is rumbling through
French-speaking Africa,
reports*

JONATHAN RANDAL

NOT since the early days of independence in the 1960s has French-speaking Africa experienced such a buffeting, with anti-government demonstrations erupting in half a dozen capitals, from Dakar on the continent's western-most bulge to Libreville nearly 3 000km south-east near the equator.

Single-party governments — civilian or military, socialist or capitalist — are paying the price of neglected agriculture, official corruption, failed economic development, runaway birth rates and rampant abuses of civil rights.

Throughout French-speaking West Africa, long-unchallenged administrations have fired ministers, be they scapegoats or scoundrels, and sought other ways to pacify aggrieved populations who feel they are being asked to pay the price of their governments' failures. As the squeeze of austerity measures tightens, resentment is letting loose restiveness.

Many young protesters, inspired by television coverage of Eastern European crowds demonstrating against Communism, are seeking to emulate the success of Poles, Hungarians, East Germans, Czechs and Romanians in overthrowing one-party governments and demanding multi-party democracy.

In Gabon, President Omar Bongo clamped a curfew on the country's main oil town of Port-Gentil last Saturday after rioting and looting erupted there.

In Ivory Coast, workers and students recently took to the streets of the capital Abidjan to demonstrate their anger at the government, which has demanded austerity but done nothing to punish an increasingly corrupt ruling elite.

In Niger, a poor landlocked state, security forces in the capital Niamey opened fire and killed at least 11 demonstrators who were protesting against austerity measures that reduced scholarships and subsidies for university students.

In Guinea, school teachers, once the vanguard of the radical revolution of late president Ahmed Sekou Touré, recently went on strike in the capital, Conakry, to demand more pay from the military government of General Lansana Conte, which is struggling to undo Touré's legacy of eco-

nomie waste and realise the country's mineral and agricultural potential.

In Benin, rioters stoned a statue of Lenin in Porto Novo, the capital, and burned photos of President Mathieu Kerekou, who has been in power since 1972.

In Senegal, whose capital Dakar once ruled over all French West Africa, cracked pavements and empty shops ring the imposing Palace de l'Indépendance as visible reminders of the strain of maintaining post-imperial splendour at a time of growing political street violence.

In these and other African countries, secondary and university students are leading the charge for change.

'Pretoria cheated me,' claims Bob Denard

AKC 4-3 3/4/90

The Argus Foreign Service
PARIS. — French mercenary Colonel Bob Denard is claiming that South Africa did not keep its promises to pay him over R10-million when he left the Comoros.

"Their promises were a set-up. I was cheated," he said in a telephone call from his residence in South Africa to another French mercenary here.

He is Patrick Ollivier, whose book "Soldats de Fortune" (Soldiers of Fortune) is to be published this week.

He told the Sunday newspaper "Journal du Dimanche" that: "Denard telephoned me from Pretoria 10 days ago and said that he has been cheated out of a huge sum of money."

Colonel Denard claimed he had made a deal with Pretoria and the French ambassador in Moroni under which the former

promised to pay 30-million francs and latter 5 000 000 francs to Colonel Denard and his men if they withdrew from the Indian Ocean republic.

The French paid 2 000 000 francs for his 30 mercenaries, equivalent to four months salary each, but Pretoria never paid its share to Colonel Denard.

Mr Ollivier explained that Pretoria considered that it had done enough for Colonel Denard in permitting him to leave Comoros "with dignity," and had no intention of giving him a cent.

Colonel Denard ended his telephone conversation with the words: "I've been had, but I shall make a comeback."

Colonel Denard, who is 62, is the main suspect in the assassination last year of President Abdallah of Comoros.

Africans cheered by US investors

B1009 4/14/92

NEW YORK — A high-level delegation of African businessmen said on Monday they were cheered by the reception American investors have given them in spite of the competition for Western funds they face from East Europe.

But African Development Bank (ADB) president Babacar Ndiaye, who led the African Business Roundtable delegation, acknowledged that Eastern Europe has the important political leverage of having created changes that the West would like to help consolidate.

The 31-member Roundtable's March 25-April 2 trip to meet American politicians and investors included Washington, where they met President George Bush, Dallas-Fort Worth, Atlanta and New York.

"There is political leverage Eastern Europe has that we don't have for the time being — a short-term consideration," Ndiaye told a Press breakfast.

"Eastern Europe was

completely opposite, like day and night, to the political structure and economic system of the West. At the first sign of change... the West has to try to consolidate the situation."

Africa might have greater economic leverage, he said, not only because of its raw materials but because Eastern Europe took 73 years to get to this change.

African leaders, on the other hand, having gone to the same universities as their Western European counterparts, are better acquainted with the philosophy of free enterprise, he

said.

"US business may consider investing in Africa so that they can sell in Europe. That is really a tremendous opportunity."

The African Business Roundtable was formed by Ndiaye as an advisory body to the ADB on private sector development in Africa. It groups some of the most prominent business people on the continent.

In response to a question whether debt repayment problems might affect investment prospects, he said direct investment was not debt-creating.

Catherine Mwanawambwa, the MD of Whitbi Enterprises of Zambia, said the American investors the delegates met were particularly interested in agribusiness, tourism and finance.

Lahcen el-Wafi, president of the Casablanca Chamber of Commerce and Industry, emphasised that the delegation was not seeking economic aid but "partnership with American business".

Ndiaye said afterwards that the Overseas Private Investment Corp (OPIC), which insures major US in-

vestment abroad, had helped co-ordinate the tour.

Asked if American business people had shown new interest in African investment opportunities, Esom Aintah, chairman of the Fortune Group in Nigeria, said, "There is a willingness at least to look. Formerly they thought they only went to Africa to lose money."

"Investment decisions depend not only on feasibility studies but feelings: how stable investors think the country might be and how safe the investment is." — Sapa-Reuter.

Business Day

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Africa's unfinished business

① (10)

FIM 6/4/90



In his first interview with an SA publication, OAU Secretary General Salim Salim spoke to the FM's Amarnath Singh in Windhoek 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 Declara-

tion 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.

who has collated figures on judgments, which clear the way for sales in execution. He says they increased by 152% to 888 between December 1988 and the end of last year. However, not all judgments end as sales in execution — "We have found at the Perm this happens only to around 50% of our judgments," says Hibbit.

Lamont also points out many homes are used as collateral for business loans from banks. So sales in execution figures are deceptive and need to be kept in perspective.

Many problems arise, says Information Trust CE Paul Edwards, through "borrowers who neglect to disclose all their commitments and inflate earning capabilities." Failures to meet payments also stem from developers who sell homes without asking for an initial deposit. The UBS's Piet Kruger says: "Terms are offered which make monthly repayments easier for a period but, when this falls away, instalments automatically become higher."

The only society to show a decline in properties in possession, as a percentage of total book, is Saambou, 0,56% to 0,52%. "We have made a concerted effort to get rid of them. We have priced these houses on the basis of loss of interest and have offered them to those renting them to get them off our books. This has paid off."

Institutions are determined to cut down on repossessions and sale of execution is a last resort, says Allied GM Geoff Bowker. "We are surprised at the difficulty in getting borrowers to come in and talk to us."

Information Trust has mooted a centralised database with full credit rating information on clients fed by banks, retailers and HP concerns along the lines of those in the UK and US. Edwards says this would enable them to assess a borrower's ability to service a debt more accurately.

Figures originally submitted by the Allied, on BSA11 forms, for properties in possession were not accurate because the division between sold and unsold properties was incorrect. The NBS's reported figures are not directly comparable with those of other organisations, says Olivier, because properties sold are not moved from the unsold category until transferred. The chart shows correct figures. ■

PRIVATISATION ^{FIM 6/4/90}

Art of the possible

Selling off the State is big business. From being the ideological preserve of the free market right, privatisation has become central to policy in developed and developing countries with governments of widely varying views.

This does not mean it has been depoliticised. Indeed, if politics is the art of the possible, then privatisation has become pure politics. Questions over what to sell, how, and ways to regulate the resulting enterprise are more controversial than ever, even if the

CONFIDENCE MERGER

Anyone worried by the non-appearance of the SA Chamber of Businesses' Business Confidence index (BCI) can take heart. It will appear this Thursday and, thereafter, on the first Thursday of each month, accompanied by the Industrial Confidence index (ICI).

Consolidation of the two indices follows the January 1 merger of Assocom and the Federated Chamber of Industries. The BCI is a quantitative statistical measure based on a number of market indicators, while the ICI is a qualitative measure based on responses of industrialists.

^{FIM 6/4/90} decision to privatise is less so.

This trend has much in common with the corporate reaction to conglomerates created in the Seventies. In the Eighties, corporate raiders "unbundled" these groups, hoping to realise their value and, in the process, create more efficient units.

Privatisation has become entangled with the peculiarities of dozens of different State-owned enterprises, many in Third World countries, with capital markets in various degrees of financial maturity and with vagaries of local politics.

Objectives are one factor determining the methods. Others are the condition of the enterprise — a rundown railway in Africa cannot be sold off like a larger European telecommunications company — and the availability of local and foreign capital.

External assistance — through multilateral institutions such as the World Bank or foreign merchant banks, many of them British or American — has been vital to the success of many privatisation programmes.

Four general sets of problems have been encountered in privatisation, in developed countries such as Britain as much as in Mexico or Mali:

- How to adjust market forces where they operate inadequately — a privatised company may be entangled in the same bureaucratic regulatory structures it faced when it was State-owned;
- Maintaining employment and services such as telecommunications to communities from which the market might shy away;
- Correct pricing; and
- Foreign ownership of domestic assets which have been State-owned. Often the reason for nationalisation was to reduce foreign influence, or because the industry was considered strategically sensitive. Reversing this is controversial.

In eastern Europe — where all or the vast majority of the economy has been State-owned and there is no guide to pricing, little local capital and a resistance to foreign ownership — finding appropriate methods of sale and creating new regulatory structures will be a huge task. ■

NAIROBI, Kenya - The tide of democracy sweeping Eastern Europe is being felt in black Africa, but one-party rule still predominates and three of the major states have publicly committed themselves to it.

Tanzania has had only one party for 26 years and said this month the policy would not change. Kenya did the same and Zimbabwe's leader, Robert Mugabe, declared his intention to install one-party rule.

"If we have many political parties, we will have chaos as different tribes rush to form theirs," President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya told trainee teachers at Laikipia in central Kenya. "Tribal inclinations and consciousness are still par-amount in the minds of many Kenyans."

Opposition

"For now, I say no to the multiparty system, at least until we are cohesive enough as a nation," he said.

However, in Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko, who has also long asserted that one-party rule is the only way to avoid tribal feuding, responded on Tuesday to public pressure by legalising opposition parties.

Kenya has 40 tribes in a population of 22 million. Ethnic feuding is common in parliament, at public rallies and in the Press.

Tribes

Moi, a 66-year-old former teacher from the minority Kalenjin tribe, inherited the one-party system in 1978 from the late President Jomo Kenyatta, the nation's founder. Kenyatta had banned opposition parties nine years earlier.

Kenyatta created a *de facto* one-party state by locking up his political opponents. Moi made it constitutional in 1982.

Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu released a statement this week saying that decision should be reversed.

"Power corrupts even a person with the best of wills in the world," he said in response to a recent invitation by Kenya's secretary-general, Joseph Kamotho, to church leaders to join the public debate on the state's political future. "Therefore, power must be limited by fairly acceptable checks and balances."

Should national unity merit one-party rule? Africa's leaders differ

FOCUS



Kenyan leader Daniel arap Moi and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, who both advocate one-party states, flank Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko, who this week legalised opposition parties.

Under the constitution, Moi can run for president as many times as he wishes. He has never been challenged for the post.

The president's statement was his first on one-party rule since other African states began considering more liberalised political systems this year.

He spoke after weeks of debate in Nairobi newspapers about whether Kenya should restore the style of democracy bequeathed to Kenyatta when he led the former British colony to independence in 1963.

Writers supporting the status quo argued that Kenya had prospered under the current system, without tribal strife. They said a return to the old order might cause ethnic violence and drive away tourists and investors.

Those who wanted change said Kenyans were politically mature enough for competition, that recent reforms in Eastern Europe should be used as an example and

that a parliamentary opposition would help check official corruption, mismanagement and nepotism.

Socialism

Neighbouring Tanzania, a nation of 100 tribes, was also a British colony until independence in 1961 under Julius Nyerere.

Unlike capitalist Kenya, Tanzania followed socialism based on Eastern European models. Both Nyerere and Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who succeeded him as president in 1985, have admitted the policies were flawed.

Mwinyi (65), has adopted radical economic reforms prescribed by Western lenders, but has rejected suggestions that they be accompanied by political change.

"While a multiparty system would be suitable for Europeans, it might not be the same with Tan-

zania," Mwinyi told reporters in Dar es Salaam.

"What Africans want is a fair return for their sweat through a new international economic order ... This cannot be solved by the creation of 100 parties, which can bring chaos instead of progress."

He said Tanzanians had voted consistently for a single party as a way to guarantee national unity. He did not mention a statement Nyerere made in February that multiparty democracy now may be possible.

Nyerere, still chairman of the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party, remains a powerful political figure five years after he resigned as president.

Zimbabwe

Only a few of the 50 member nations of the Organization of African Unity have Western-style democracies.

Zimbabwe is one, but Mugabe declared after an overwhelming victory in recent national election that he would transform the former British colony of Rhodesia into a one-party state.

Mugabe, who led Zimbabwe to independence 10 years ago, said the elections were a mandate from the 4.8 million registered voters get rid of the opposition.

His opponents accused Mugabe (66), of seeking a dictatorship. They noted that only 54 percent of the electorate voted and opposition parties got 20 percent of the votes, although they won only three of the 150 seats in parliament.

Other African countries are flirting with political liberalisation.

Upheavals

Benin, a former French colony, is pledged to eliminate one-party rule, Gabon is debating the question, and there is pressure in the Ivory Coast for a freer political order.

However, Cameroon and Niger, scenes of recent political upheavals, have rejected multiparty politics.

Significant signals of change are coming from unlikely quarters.

Ethiopia and Mozambique have abandoned their hard-line Marxist ideologies, and the Marxist leaders of Angola have committed themselves to peace talks with US-backed guerrillas that, if fruitful, could lead to open elections. -Sapa-AP.

NAME from the past cropped up unexpectedly last week: Arthur Maimane, whom I last saw across the tea trolley at Reuters in Fleet Street when we both worked there in 1961, is coming home at last. We need people like him.

He fled to Accra to escape apartheid, and to London to escape Accra. Thoroughly disillusioned with Africa, black and white, he talked of going to the West Indies but he has, I believe, lived most of the intervening 30 years in the gentle mists of Europe, amid rising prosperity and spreading freedom, while I have been stumbling through the blood and dust of African liberation.

The great African revolution has spanned my working life, and I have followed it southwards from the Sudan, where a white-robed priest took me to see the pitiful remains of a village razed by Arabic-speaking northerners in retaliation for raids from Uganda by Anyanya "freedom fighters".

Here I acquired a fresh grasp of the precariousness of life without social order: half-starved men crouched with bows and arrows on the banks of the nearby Nile, shooting at passing fish in the rapids, while a blind old man baited his hooks on the edge of the reeds, oblivious of the crocodiles.

Later, in Angola, I was to see similar villages, where people had been driven by war to wear bark clothing and use wooden implements, put to the torch by Portuguese commandos. One man, armed only with a bow and arrow, was killed and pronounced "a communist" because his sandals bore Chinese characters on the soles. Later, in Luanda, I found thousands of identical sandals, imported from Portuguese Macao.

The images run together in my mind. I have listened to British, and Portuguese, and Rhodesian and South African intelligence officers, standing before maps and charts, prattle stupidly about "winning

This country needs more blacks who know what succeeds

11 Dec 91/190

KEN OWEN

hearts and minds". I was to endure the same prattle from Americans about Vietnam.

The only sense I ever heard on the subject came from Laurens van der Post, who had perceived in the hatred of Indonesians for the Dutch at the end of the Second World War that the rehabilitation of people of colour, after centuries of European domination and scorn, was inescapable and necessary.

In retrospect, we can all see that the great African revolution was inevitable. In fact, Europe's intrusion into this continent did not last long. The French clung to Algeria, key to their empire, for little more than 130 years. From Mungo Park's exploration of West Africa to the birth of Ghana was little more than one-and-a-half centuries. British control of East and Central Africa lasted less than a century.

The seafaring Portuguese, who clung to the coasts and kept their backs turned to Africa, lasted a bit longer. The Afrikaners, their retreat to Holland cut off by British occupation, are still precariously here, 155 years after their Trek into the interior. Compared with the great wars of Asia and Europe, or the American

Civil War, Africa's liberation struggles have been a skirmish. The memories that remain are not of great battles but of the most terrible atrocities and cruelties committed on a village scale. I learned to carry a flask of brandy to wash the taste of death from my mouth.

Some memories, politically irrelevant, linger for their poignancy. In Cabinda, a young Portuguese man proudly lights a cigarette with his silver claws, and then falls to raging at himself for the moment of panic in which he tried to smother a grenade blast with his hands.

In Zambia's Luangwa Valley a British soldier, surrounded by corpses and burning huts, is charged by a child with a spear; the soldier smacks the child aside with the back of his hand, and begins to cry. In Salisbury, the pavements and kerbs have to be adapted for wheelchairs.

We are all left with the feeling that we have seen too many bodies, too many wounds, too much mutilation and cruelty. Yet, as wars go, it was all on a

modest African scale, and what followed was worse. An American has coined an apt phrase, "the Great Breaking", to describe what came after liberation.

When the much-travelled author, Stuart Cloete, predicted in the sixties that Zaire would "go back to the bush", I dismissed the remark as South African racism; but within a few years the waterways used by the Belgians were clogged, and some regions fell into bottomless isolation.

Since then, the West Indian writer, V S Naipaul, has confirmed in his semi-factual novel, *A Bend in the River*, the accuracy of Cloete's foresight.

Nairobi and Lusaka, once stiff little colonial towns, have become dangerous slums, where even modest homes are protected by walls and lights and straggling barbed wire, and where the streets at night belong to youngsters who never work, and expect never to work.

Luanda and Maputo are crumbling. Kinshasa is surrounded by miles and miles of slums. Railroads have stopped, lake steamers lie rusting, and the ancient lateen-sailed dhows have replaced the ships in

Maputo harbour. Through all these failures, African leaders were encouraged in their folly by whites whose inverse racism expressed itself as fawning. Highly trained educators trekked to Tanzania to study the methods of Julius Nyerere, an over-promoted schoolteacher whose socialist ideas brought great misery on his people, to the admiring "oo's" and "ah's" of guilt-ridden Westerners.

Kenneth Kaunda was treated as a Grand Philosopher when he began to preach a childish nonsense called "humanism". In Kenya, whites used to say all would be well "if the old man (Kenyatta) lasts", just as in South Africa whites are now saying all will be well "if the old man (Mandela) lasts".

In Rhodesia long ago I was accused of being hopelessly "left" because I believed in liberty under law, one-man one-vote, and a society where every individual could go about his business without fear of the *gaultiers* today, I am accused of being hopelessly "right" because I believe in liberty under law, one-man one-vote, and a society where every individual can go about his business without fear of the commissars.

Neither accusation has meaning: they are symptoms of a collapse of courage, of the unwillingness of the most highly educated classes to defend those values which, they know, enabled Western Europe to prosper while Eastern Europe fell into decay: democracy and capitalism. This is where a man like Arthur Mainane may help. He is not white, not too guilt-ridden to argue with black elites, and he has lived all these years amid prosperity and success.

He can, if he will, tell us that the formula for success is not revolution, but peaceful evolution; not assault on capital and seizure of property, but security of title; not centralised power, but the loose cloak of democracy. Not ferocious Eastern Europe, but the gentler West.

In the brothels, life goes on

W/May 12/4 - 19/4/90
DESPITE government efforts in West Africa to halt Aids, people's sexual habits remain greatly unchanged. In towns and cities educational campaigns aimed at slowing the spread of Aids have been intensified.

Campaign posters say "Help stop Aids, say No to sex," but slogans and lectures have little impact on people's attitudes to sex. Many still consider Aids a storm in a teacup, while others shrug their shoulders and say: "Aids or not, life goes on."

The prostitutes who work in city hotels underline the indifference in Ghana, Togo, Senegal, Gabon, Cameroon, Burkina Faso and the Ivory Coast.

Visits to hotels and nightclubs in Accra help explain the fast increase in Aids. At the Continental and Star hotels and Le Reve nightclub, prostitutes are doing brisk business with local men and white tourists or visiting businessmen.

The situation is similar in other West African countries. Most women say they are aware of the dangers but that they are compelled to take to prostitution because of economic necessity.

Prostitutes line the streets of expensive West African residential areas such as Cocody and Bingerville in Abidjan, La Corniche and Fann in Dakar, and Kent Street in Banjul. They have a preference for luxury hotels such as the Novotel, 2 Fevrier in Lomé, Silmande in Ouagadougou and fashionable nightclubs.

Senior police officers, government functionaries and social welfare officials

in all these countries accept with philosophical fatalism that little can be done to stamp out prostitution.

Says a senior social welfare officer in Accra: "If you drive them away from Le Reve, they may choose to solicit along the Ring Road. We just can't stop prostitution. We've tried several times and failed."

Cameroon health authorities are trying an innovative idea. They have recruited prostitutes to help distribute condoms, interpret anti-Aids campaign policies and sell other education materials on Aids.

The Health Ministry has launched a passionate appeal to bar and hotel owners to help identify prostitutes operating on their premises. A poll conducted by the ministry found prostitutes and their clients were not scared of Aids.

Even when they are asked to use free condoms, there is resistance. It is estimated that under one percent of African men use condoms. Said prostitute Sophie Pokam: "They threaten to pay less if we force them to use the condom. Since we can't afford to lose so much money, we go ahead without." ① ②

Intensified educational programmes seem the only option. In Senegal, the Committee for the Prevention of Aids has acquired mobile cinema vans. In Gabon, Aids prevention centres have been set up throughout the country to spread information about the disease. — Gemini.

A consulting geologist says SA's gold reserves have been under-estimated.

John Handley of brokers Kaplan and Stewart says although the industry has already produced 42 000 tons of gold, it is capable of producing another 40 000 tons.

This is more than double the amount believed to be in reserve, and will make SA the dominant

Gold for Africa

source of gold until 2040.

He says the large tonnage results from mining fringe areas, extensions and a new goldfield which appears to be emerging in the Potchefstroom area. — Sapa.

Toxic waste merry-go-round may stop in Africa

In 1988, the Organisation for African Unity passed a resolution to ban all chemical waste imports to African countries.

But so far not one African country has signed the UN Basle Convention on waste traffic, which environmentalists see as an important step towards dismantling the continent's image as a dumping ground for the West.

The 1988 Convention was attended by most African countries. South Africa did not attend. All countries present approved the final draft of the convention, but they have yet to become signatories.

South Africa has decided to become a signatory of the convention, which requires that the import and export of toxic waste must be handled at diplomatic level. The matter is being considered by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

According to experts, every country in Africa has been approached at one time or another to accept hazardous waste for dis-

posal or storage.

For countries experiencing financial difficulties, such a proposition could be most attractive, because there is a lot of money to be made in toxic waste trade.

Africa may be targeted again soon, as the reunification of East and West Germany will change the politics of waste management, says Dr Graham Noble, head of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research's (CSIR) solid waste management research programme.

In the past, West Germany has exported 200 000 tons of toxic waste to East Germany each year. With reunification, another site will have to be found for this waste. Could it be Africa?

Although waste incineration and disposal projects have been rejected by nearly every state down the African west coast, South Africa was almost lured by the prospect of cash last year.

A Cape Town businessman, on behalf of a consortium of investors, proposed the

In Coto Ridge, Natal, a mercury-reprocessing plant has had its operations partially suspended. JACQUELINE MYBURGH investigates where South Africa stands on the issue of toxic waste importation, and whether we should be the dumping ground for the rest of the world's poisons.

construction of a R400 million toxic waste incinerator near Alexander Bay on the west coast.

The first waste was due to arrive — mainly from Europe — in South Africa by mid-1991. A public controversy broke out, however, and the proposals appear to have been put on ice for the time being.

Environmental groups pointed out the dangers facing the precious marine ecosystem off the west coast if a toxic waste incinerator was constructed there. The proposed site is 20 km south of the Namibia/South African border on the Skeleton Coast — so-called because of the number of shipwrecks along that stretch of coast, notorious for its fogs.

As a result of the debate triggered off

by the Alexander Bay proposal the government commissioned the CSIR research programme. The brief was to study the feasibility and necessity of processing toxic waste imports, the future need for waste processing plants, their economic viability and international and local socio-economic implications.

It is an objective programme, says Dr Noble, and the construction of a toxic waste incinerator may be considered, but just as one of many options.

He said it was difficult to say how much toxic waste was produced in South Africa, but it might be enough to merit construction of an incinerator to dispose of it.

Professor Richard Puggie, head of the Department of Environment and Geo-

graphical Science at the University of Cape Town, says a popular view is that each country should dispose of its own waste and there should be no trade in it.

But the technology to dispose of waste does not exist in third world countries and it becomes the responsibility of first world countries to dispose of it. This implies the most worrying factor to environmentalists, he said.

South Africa has accepted that it had a responsibility to dispose of toxic waste, says Professor Puggie. A toxic waste incinerator had been considered as an option. But where should it be sited and who would pay for it?

The Government has adopted a "polluter pays" policy, which means the private sector will be footing the bill, he says.

The storage of toxic waste as practised now in land-fill sites is not satisfactory. What is poisonous now, will be poisonous in 100 years, say experts. And even if

the waste is stored in a sealed concrete container, there is always the chance of it being destroyed in an earthquake.

There are plenty of countries ready to export their toxic waste to a country prepared to accept it.

In Europe, which has the most advanced technology to deal with the material the public protest is so great that industry cannot get permission to dispose of its waste.

This has resulted in the situation in which toxic waste is incinerated on board a ship in the North Sea. The vessel is believed to be owned by the Mafia.

One of the biggest incinerator facilities in the world is in Germany. Seven high temperature incinerators with a capacity of 200 000 tons a year are run by experts, but the owners have battled for a year to obtain permission to construct an eighth.

According to Barthle, there is no safe way to dispose of toxic waste. The solution to pollution is to clean up, not to control it.

Chasing Africa's dreams

THE first generation African leaders dreamed of continental unity and political stability. Alas, their dream has still to come true.

More than 70 coups d'etat, aggravation of ethnic and religious contradictions and dozens of bloody conflicts have turned Africa into a zone of chronic tensions.

The recently popular slogan of economic self-sufficiency is nearly forgotten: most African nations are struggling to alleviate the tragic plight of millions of people dying of starvation and disease.

The Africa of the 1980s is the world's "leader" in terms of:

- the infant mortality rate which increases every year. According to United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimates, 50 million children will die on the continent before the start of the 21st century.
- the population growth rate (more than three percent a year).

Some estimates show that by the year 2000, if the AIDS epidemic is checked, the African population will have reached one billion, with the bulk of inhabitants living in over-populated urban centres.

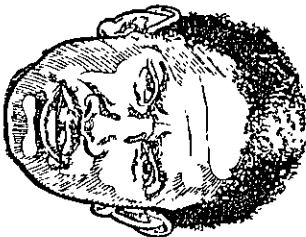
● food supply lagging behind the demand. Hunger is the daily lot of more than 150 million Africans, or every fourth person. The arable land is rapidly shrinking, among other things due to the Sahara desert moving southward at a speed of between 18 and 40km a year.

Heaviest burden

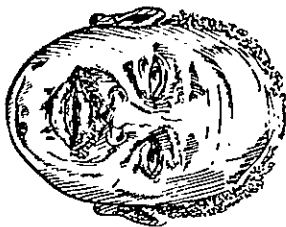
Prior to independence, African countries naturally had no debts. Today they have to shoulder the heaviest debt burden in the developing world.

The world community has realised the potential danger of the African crises for the whole planet, and look upon steps to help Africa out.

In 1986, the UN launched its programme of action for economic development which made economic rehabilitation of African countries a "common concern" of all nations.



AFRICAN LEADERS: From left, Senegal's President Abdou Diour,



Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni, Tanzania's President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda



Today Africa presents the sorry sight of the shattered illusions of the 1960s, when the euphoric formula of political stability, continental unity and economic self-sufficiency replaced from the public mind sober assessments of the young states' potentials. BORIS ASOYAN writes from Moscow:

The world financial institutions suggested various measures which included the devaluation of national currencies, privatisation of state sector enterprises, cuts in budget spending, more liberal terms for foreign investments and the suspension of several health-care and social security programmes.

The implementation of these measures aggravated mass poverty and triggered off public discontent almost everywhere. The resultant riots were brutally put down in some countries — which only served to promote overall instability.

Today the Africans are doubtful about the sincerity of Western donors, saying that the latter seek only to receive interest on debts in due time.

Western economists and politicians, for their part, maintain that African leaders got scared (though not without reason) of the political consequences of the reforms recommended to them.

Many specialists believe that if Africans do not receive another powerful shot in the arm in the form of foreign financial aid, they will

lose all incentive for carrying through socio-economic reforms, and this will aggravate an atmosphere of hopelessness.

Others object that greater aid will revive illusions among Africans that former well-being is coming back, which will make them less enthusiastic about the reform.

However, neither the most positive financial aid programme nor fresh reforms will be able to redress the situation while Africa is gripped by conflicts involving a good half of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) member nations.

Squandered

No exact figures are available so far on how much African countries has squandered on fratricidal wars and the frozen arms race. According to some estimates, the crisis notwithstanding, it spends much more money (per capita) for military purposes than any other Third World region.

No doubt, these sums by far exceed its financial potentialities. In other words, the inter-African conflicts swallow up billions of rands

that could have saved million of human lives.

In some countries, the ongoing war with the opposition and border clashes have been taken for granted so much that both domestic and foreign politicians are fully geared to them.

The madness of mutual annihilation, rampant for the second generation, rejects the very idea of a peaceful settlement.

Occasionally one gets the impression that participants believe that to make war, with all its hardships, is much easier than to rebuild the economy, implement social reforms for the benefit of the people and live in peace.

Besides, with the constant state of emergency, it is much easier to keep the dissidents under surveillance and explain one's inability to raise the population's living standards by the adversary's scheming.

Finally, with the world community closely following the course of war, it is easier to obtain additional funds, which do not serve the cause of progress under the circumstances.

What is important is that, in contrast to former Soviet attitudes, we are no longer content with merely recording the positive achievements, but are looking ahead, anticipating future developments, and learning to work in concert with our rival partners towards a common objective.

It would be naive, of course, to hope for a total elimination of all conflicts in Africa or elsewhere. But if we don't want humanity to work itself into a murderous frenzy, we

should appreciate each step towards this noble goal.

The road to defusing conflicts will be clear only when all belligerents display genuine readiness for reciprocal concessions and reject force as a means of settling outstanding disputes.

Only then will we have the right of say that these conflicts can be put down. Only then will foreign financial aid and the reforms play their part in getting Africa out of its current crisis.

Africa has been the greatest disappointment of the latter half of the 20th century. To a large extent, however, this disappointment has come as no surprise.

Moreover, it has reaffirmed the notion that complex underestimation of the laws of historical development and the interdependence of the world is fraught with danger. The African tragedy has made us see once again that the world is indivisible and interdependent. Unstable and poor Africa will be a constant source of tensions.

On the other hand, however, it can be delivered from its sorry plight only if great powers succeed in melting down the icebergs of the cold war.

Finally, we have realised that there is no short-cut to African prosperity. Nations should put aside their disputes about whose development pattern is better and act without delay to stop the problems of poverty and hunger and to check Africa's slide into economic, ecological and social catastrophe. — AWO

Midrand farm soon to be gazetted as 'open' area

20/4/90
Staff Reporter

About 850 ha of the farm Diepsloot in Midrand will soon be gazetted as a free settlement area in spite of strong opposition from the Greenbelt Action Group and the town council.

The area which is to be granted "open" status extends from north of Riversands Farm to the R28 highway, a fraction of the original Norweto area that was scrapped after a massive outcry.

Dismay

Countryview, between Verwoerdburg and Halfway House, was Midrand's first racially mixed area, officially declared open along with District Six, Windmill Park and the Warwick Avenue Triangle in November last year.

The latest announcement by Free Settlement Board chairman Mr Hein Kruger has been greeted with dismay by the Greenbelt Action Group, which was formed by residents after plans to open the greater area known as Norweto were made known in 1986.

Commenting on the imminent gazet-

ting of Diepsloot as an open area, Midrand's mayor, Mr Alan Dawson, said the views of his council were well known: that free settlement areas created not mixed, but uni-racial suburbs that created more problems than solutions.

"Although the council did not officially oppose Diepsloot, we are opposed in principle to free settlement areas and believe the answer is the scrapping of the entire Group Areas Act. We understand that adjustments to this law will be made in the current parliamentary sitting," he said.

Local estate agent Mr Leon de Waal Louw said the move would push up land prices and predicted that the entire Group Areas Act would be scrapped once free settlement areas started taking off.

Former Conservative Party MP for North Rand, Mr Piet de la Rey, condemned the announcement, saying development threatened the environment and the area lacked adequate roads to service a high density population development.

Paris magazine asks: 'Would Mandela have survived any other African jail?'

ARGUS 24/1/90 (1)

The Argus Foreign Service
PARIS. — The Paris-based weekly magazine 'Jeune Afrique' wondered: "Would Mandela have survived 25 years of jail in another African country?"

"Would he have been walking about with white hair today if he had been jailed for this long in another African country?"

It noted that Mr Mandela and other ageing ANC leaders started public speeches within days of their release.

"In what other African country would this have been possible, where a political opponent would have been in a fit state to do so after 25 years in prison?"

"In fact, one asks whether it is possible for anybody to survive a quarter of a century in an African prison, outside South Africa."

"In Africa, a political opponent has no value, and is only fit to be tortured, or rot in prison until his death, or his assassination. For a dissident is an enemy to destroy, to humili-

ate."

"In some African labour camps for dissidents there is no food at all, and inmates are forced to eat the bark of trees or eat rats caught in their cells."

DIED IN BOX

The magazine noted how Mr Telli Diallo, the first Secretary-General of the Organisation For African Unity (OAU), was murdered by President Sekou Toure of Guinea. He was put in a closed wooden box which was put into the sun, and he died a

lingering death without food, water or treatment. Many other Guineans suffered the same fate.

The magazine said it did not ignore the fact that many black prisoners — like Steve Biko — had died after arrest, but "the release of Mandela makes one reflect on the way that Africa treats its political prisoners."

"How do many African leaders, who sent telegrams of congratulations to Mandela on his release, themselves treat their own prisoners?" it asked.

Poorer countries wanting more than open markets

NEW YORK — Have-nots will try this week to convince wealthier countries that developing open markets will not turn debt-ridden economies around — they need international help.

The UN General Assembly's five-day special session on economic co-operation that opened yesterday will hear nearly every nation in the world attempt to steer future development programmes in their direction.

UN development research assistant secretary-general Enrique ter Horst says: "Developed countries are trying to convince the developing countries that if they put their houses in order everything will fall into place."

Symptoms

"But those developing nations who have seen commodities prices fall for 10 years and have a high debt feel no internal policies will do the trick.

"Actually both sides are right ... but it is no coincidence that for the past 10 years more than 70 countries have been suffering from the same symptoms," he says.

Arguments on a final declaration, which is non-binding, are nevertheless being taken seriously by the UN Assembly.

They are also being considered by the US, which reluctantly agreed to take part and whose assent is considered important.

As the largest single foreign aid contributor, the US is not entirely happy with any of the three draft declarations, from Bolivia for the non-aligned countries, from Canada and from Ireland for the EC.

US Ambassador Thomas Pickering believes: "There is always a tendency to believe that the developing world needs to have too much delivered too rapidly without enough concern about domestic policy."

Keeping to one side in discussions so far are Eastern European nations, which have recently announced radical economic changes and, according to UN studies, are expected to divert some resources from Latin America in the short term.

UN Assistant Secretary-General Goran Ohlin says: "They are not insisting that their policies be endorsed or that the financing be necessarily promoted by the UN."

And East Germany, whose ambassador Siegfried Zachmann in the past has been a vocal spokesman in UN debates, is staying close to West Germany this week.

East Berlin's new right-wing Economic Co-operation Minister Hans-

Wilhelm Ebeling is flying to New York with West German counterpart Juergen Warnke aboard a Bonn government aircraft in the first such joint international mission.

The two ministers will co-ordinate speeches and appear at a joint Press conference.

However, Ter Horst believes the "main challenge" of the special session is to integrate into the world economy nations in Africa and Latin America which have benefited the least from world-wide revival of economic growth and trade.

Resources

"Most of these countries today have moved from having unviable economies to being unviable societies," and are selling everything at any price to service the debt, he said.

"They are unable to think in long-term concepts and address their immediate survival — or their people, like their resources, will continue walking from south to north."

Among the proposals from non-aligned countries are measures to expand trade for commodities at higher prices, develop "new mechanisms" to lessen their huge foreign debts and review what they call unsuccessful "structural adjustment" plans. — Sapa-Reuter.

① ~~South~~

BANK CHIEF WANTS SA IN AFRICAN FOLD

Own Correspondent

LONDON — African Development Bank President Babacar Ndiaye said in Paris at the weekend that political change in SA "will be a highly important economic event" for the whole of Africa.

Ndiaye, interviewed by the International Herald Tribune, said that \$10bn a year was "wasted" in southern Africa on defence and the costs of war.

"Imagine, for a moment, that this \$10bn were employed in new investment.

"This by itself would be a highly important, dynamic element," he said. *BIDM 27/3/90*

The Senegalese head of the ADB, based in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, said the re-integration of SA into the rest of Africa would be a key factor in upsetting gloomy growth projections for the continent.

"A South Africa integrated into a free trade zone could be a motor for development in the whole of southern Africa, continuing into the other regions.

"The owners of capital in South Africa, who for the most part are white Africans, will see that they will earn much more, their investments will be much more profitable and safer, in this perspective of peace than if they continue to invest in arming themselves," said Ndiaye. — Daily Telegraph.

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26/4/90
Africa will welcome us — Eglin

There was no doubt that South Africa had the ability and capacity to make a major contribution to the development of Africa, the DP spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Foreign Affairs budget vote, he said that he had no doubt that once the Republic had rid itself of the stigma of apartheid it would be welcomed with open arms into Africa.

Recent events in Europe meant that Western Europe was more likely to busy itself in future with establishing economic relationships with Eastern Europe than with Africa.

This would provide South Africa with the opportunity to play a major role as a force for economic development in Africa.

The establishment of normal diplomatic and economic relationships between SA and the other countries of Africa should be a priority. — Sapa.

Madagascar, SA restore air links

CAP- TIAS 28/4/90 (1)

ANTANANARIVO, Madagascar. — Madagascar has announced that it will restore air links and economic ties with South Africa to encourage President F W de Klerk's move away from apartheid.

But President Didier Ratsiraka said on Thursday that Madagascar would only establish diplomatic relations with South Africa once racial discrimination had been fully dismantled.

The socialist president of this Indian Ocean island urged all countries in the region to help negotiations between the South African president and the African National Congress, which are due to begin shortly.

Receiving the credentials of ambassadors from Britain and Zambia, he said such a joint policy should be aimed at preventing the ANC from being overwhelmed by pressure from the left and President De Klerk by pressure from the right.

Madagascar's restoration of econo-

mic links with South Africa brings it into line with other island states in the Indian Ocean which have flourishing commercial ties with Pretoria.

There are already direct air services from South Africa to the Indian Ocean island states of Mauritius, the Comoro Islands and the French island of Reunion and easy connections to the Seychelles.

South African tourists are freely admitted to these islands and provide an important source of revenue. The islands also depend heavily on South Africa for food imports.

Madagascar enjoyed close ties with South Africa under the conservative government of President Philibert Tsiranana, who fell from power in 1973.

When Mr Ratsiraka became president two years later he cut all links and allowed the ANC to beam radio programmes at South Africa from transmitters in Antananarivo. — Sapa-Reuter

WORLD WATCH

THE IRON FISTS STILL RULES IN AFRICA

THE wind of change that swept through Eastern Europe, crumbling the citadels of communism in its wake, is also whipping up a storm in Africa with mounting popular pressures for political freedom.

But while some of the 50 Organisation of African Unity members have bowed to demands for political and economic reforms most heads of state prefer, conveniently, to cling to the kind of iron-fisted rule they borrowed from Eastern bloc countries fast transforming to Western-style democracies.

Two major events in different parts of Africa this week underscored the shifting mood of a continent that for decades has been plagued by coups, civil wars, corrupt regimes, famine, floods and drought.

In Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation and a long-time trendsetter for smaller countries, an ambitious multi-millionaire businessman bankrolled a coup attempt by junior army officers to divide the territory into a Muslim north and a Christian south.

The plotters, Christian southerners, shared a complaint common to several African nations where rival religious groups live uneasily — domination by Muslims. It's a condition that also keeps alive the Sudanese civil war.

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida was lucky this time. The putsch was crushed

NORMAN ELLIS in Nairobi reports on the continent's growing demands for democracy

and he continued governing with an iron fist in a land that doesn't even enjoy the status of a one-party state.

In 20 of its 30 independent years Nigeria has been ruled by soldiers. Political parties have been outlawed.

But although the military strongman has promised to return to barracks and allow free elections in two years, the aborted coup served as a chilling reminder that when there's no ballot, there's always the bullet.

Topped

In Zaire, President Mobutu Sese-Seko this week raised eyebrows at home and abroad by announcing the end of his 25-year dictatorship and the legalisation of opposition parties for the first time as a prelude to political pluralism.

Sese-Seko, a 58-year-old former journalist and army sergeant who has reputedly amassed a personal fortune in Europe, did not seem overjoyed at the prospect of losing power.

But had he continued to control Africa's worst kleptocracy, Sese-Seko would inevitably have been toppled in a coup by some of the world's most impoverished, abused and angry people.

Despite the lessons of the Baltic and the

Balkans, as well as Nigeria and Zaire, three distinguished African statesmen this month denounced Westminster-style democracy as unsuitable in countries where tribal feuding is deeply rooted and ripe for exploitation by ambitious politicians.

"If we have many political parties we will have chaos as different tribes rush to form theirs," declared President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, a country of 22-million people and 40 tribes.

"For now, I say no to the multi-party system — at least until we are cohesive enough as a nation."

Moi, a 66-year-old former schoolmaster, catapulted to power in 1978 after the death of the nation's founding father, Jomo Kenyatta. Although Kenyatta locked up his political foes to ensure unchallenged leadership, Moi rewrote the constitution in 1982 to outlaw rival political movements.

As Nairobi's three newspapers slavishly publish letters daily from readers condemning democracy and praising dictatorship, the reformists ranks continue to grow.

The loudest voice for change came this week from Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu, who called on Moi to restore democratic government and follow the United States in restricting heads of state to two terms.

"Power corrupts even a person with the best will in the world," he said. "It must be limited by acceptable checks and balances."

Under the constitution, Moi can be re-elected as many times as he chooses. He has never been challenged.

Critics like Okullu contend that single-



KENYA'S MOI



ZIMBABWE'S MUGABE



TANZANIA'S MWINYI

party rule entrenches dictators, spurs corruption, nepotism and mismanagement, opens the way for human rights abuses and deters foreign aid and trade.

Democrats also maintain that, after more than a quarter-century of independence, Kenyans are politically mature enough to decide what form of government suits them.

In neighboring Tanzania, weary on a diet of Eastern bloc socialism, former President Julius Nyerere banned all political opposition three years after independence from Britain in 1961.

But while his successor, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, has adopted Western-prescribed economic reforms to pull the East African nation out of bankruptcy, he won't heed growing calls for a return to democracy.

"While a multi-party system would be suitable for Europeans, it might not be the same for Tanzania," the 65-year-old leader said. "What Africans want is a fair return for

their sweat through a new international economic order. This cannot be solved by the creation of 100 parties which can bring chaos instead of progress."

He pointedly avoided any reference to a February statement by Nyerere that Tanzania, with 100 tribes, might now be ready for political freedom.

Lesson

But observers in Dar es Salaam believe Nyerere, the power behind the throne as head of the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party, could instigate political reforms simply by telling Mwinyi it should be done.

One of Nyerere's proteges, 66-year-old President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, has yet to learn that lesson.

He was forced by a British-drafted constitution to permit a multi-party system for the first 10 years of independence. But on the

anniversary, April 18 this year, that provision evaporated.

And Mugabe, claiming that presidential and parliamentary election victories handed him a mandate from the people, vowed he would realise his longstanding dream of transforming one of Africa's new democracies into a one-party Marxist state.

Opponents counter that the polls, in fact, proved their contention that Mugabe had lost popularity and the ruling Zimbabwe African National Unity (Patriotic Front) no longer commanded the respect it once enjoyed.

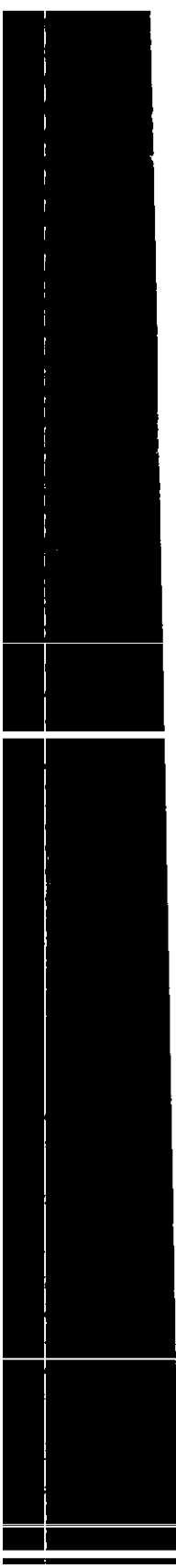
They point out only 54 percent of the electorate cast ballots — compared with more than 90 percent in previous elections — and note that opposition candidates captured one in five votes and increased their number of seats in the 150-member parliament from two to three.

If Moi, Mugabe and Mwinyi are out of step in Africa the wind of change has had an impact elsewhere.

In former French-speaking Africa, Benin is pledged to abandon the one-party idea; Gabon is talking about it; the Ivory Coast is under pressure to reform; and Senegal already is a multi-party democracy.

But democracy in Africa has been a volatile privilege. Civil wars erupted in Mobutu's Zaire and Babangida's Nigeria when those countries were democratic.

Yesterday, Zambian President Kenneth Kamanda promised in his birthday address to hold a referendum on whether his nation should adopt a multi-party system.



Dire warning against nationalising farming

Those who wanted to nationalise the agricultural industry were motivated more by a desire to seek redress for past wrongs than by a desire to make agriculture more efficient, Mr Errol Moorcroft (DP Albany) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in debate in the Extended Public Committee on Agriculture, he said an attempt to redress these wrongs by simply nationalising the agricultural and other industries would change the country overnight.

"We will be transformed from a proudly independent country which feeds and clothes itself into just another bankrupt African state holding out our begging bowl to the Western world, dependent on alms for our existence.

"Ethiopia, Tanzania, Mozambique and a host of other countries have learnt this lesson the hard way. Let us hope that whatever new government we might have in the future will heed these lessons of history lest we condemn ourselves to repeating them all over again." — Sapa.

Democracy on rise in Africa

ABIDJAN - The foreign minister of Benin, the first African country of the decade to adopt multiparty politics, made an unprecedented appearance on Ivory Coast television last week to bestow its best wishes on the latest country to do so.

"I am sure Ivory Coast, in its wisdom, will find answers to the problems it faces, for the good of Ivory Coast and the sub-region," said Foreign Minister Theophile Nata.

A day earlier Nata's remarks might not have been publicised at all.

Multiparty politics was, until then, an all but taboo subject in Ivory Coast's tightly controlled media.

But that changed overnight when Ivory Coast's ruling Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (PDCI-RDA) and its 84-year-old President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, in office since independence in 1960, endorsed multiparty politics.

Authoritarian

Houphouet-Boigny was the latest in a growing list of leaders who, caving in to demands for political pluralism, have made Africa's traditional strongmen and their one-party systems look as endangered as the continent's elephants.

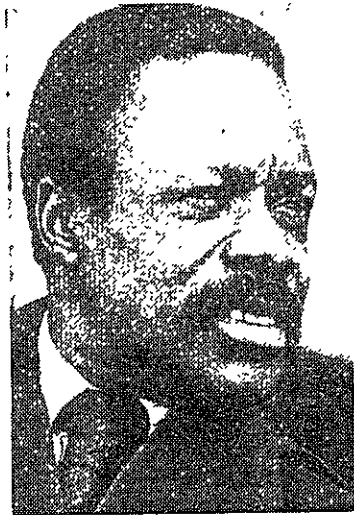
Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, faced with growing opposition to his 25-year single-party authoritarian rule, announced last month that he would authorise three parties to contest elections in 1991.

Gabon's President Omar Bongo, in power for 23 years as head of a single-party state, has agreed to institute multiparty democracy and faces a presidential election in three years.

Benin's military president Mathieu Kerekou, unable to pay government salaries for months, gave up most of his powers to a new civilian government earlier this year and will have to stand for election next year.

Houphouet-Boigny, who always maintained one party - his own - was sufficient, faces the prospect of as many as a dozen parties vying for legal status.

But analysts say it is one thing to end single-party rule, and quite another to create a system of multi-party governance along Western lines.



Gabon's president Omar Bongo and Ivory Coast president Felix Houphouet-Boigny have endorsed multiparty politics, while Nigerian military president Ibrahim Babangida has promised a return to civilian democratic rule.

"I don't think the democratic tradition of Mobutu is all that believable," said one Western diplomat. "...And I don't think the parties in Ivory Coast have any illusions either."

Africa is not a place where democratic roots run deep.

African leaders who have agreed to additional parties still wield enormous power. Parties springing up to challenge them are under-funded, poorly organised, lack access to state-controlled media and may not have a broad power base.

"We have to be careful that (Ivory Coast's ruling party) the PDCI does not become even more powerful in the next elections," said Bernard Zadi, an author and professor who heads one of the country's new opposition parties.

The continent is littered with examples of countries which have tried democracy and have failed or created a pale image of what would pass for democracy in the West.

Senegal has had multiparty politics since independence in 1960 but only one party, the Socialists, headed first by Leopold Senghor and now by Abdou Diouf, has ever ruled.

The official daily, *Le Soleil*, in a recent editorial said Senegalese

democracy "has gone past the infancy stage and even mid-life crisis ... and to assert Benin and Gabon have gone beyond Senegal ... is foolish."

But some Senegalese think their country is being left behind.

"Newcomers to democracy such as Benin and Gabon can boast more significant progress and are outshining Senegal," said a satirical newspaper, *Le Cafard Libere*.

"Democracy implies a possibility of political changeover through fair elections," said the independent *Sud-Hebdo*. "A multi-party system on its own cannot suffice."

Nigeria

Nigeria, the most populous black African state with 110 million people, has swung wildly back and forth between military and civilian rule for its three decades of independence.

Military president Ibrahim Babangida has promised a return to civilian democratic rule within the next two years, but he was nearly toppled by a rival military faction late last month.

Political analysts think the April 22 coup attempt puts even more pressure on Babangida to stick to his timetable or even

speed it up. But it also exacerbated age-old divisions between the Moslem-dominated North and Christians in the South, between civilians and military and among various powerful tribes, which make it all that much harder for democracy to work.

Many political analysts in the region think it is unfair to compare what is happening in Africa, much of which gained its independence only 30 years ago, with the collapse of totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe or even Asia.

Debt-burdened

"It is not a racist comment, but in the traditional African mentality there cannot be two chiefs," one diplomat said, explaining why Western traditions of opposition and protest may be frowned upon in Africa.

Still, the momentum for change has begun, fired partly by discontent bred by the continent's debt-burdened and stagnant economies, and by the rising educational level of Africans, particularly in wealthier countries such as Ivory Coast and Gabon.

"There are a lot of people, especially in the cities, who read overseas newspapers and listen to the radio," a diplomat said. "You cannot hide from them what is going on." - Sapa-Reuter.

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81 Day 2/5/90

Ivory Coast rulers call for opposition

ABIDJAN — The ruling Democratic Party has asked government to tolerate the establishment of opposition parties, a communique read on national television on Monday night said.

The constitution of the Ivory Coast, ruled since independence in 1960 by President Felix Houphouët-Boigny's party, permits opposition parties. But until now, requests to form opposition groups have been turned down on technical grounds, and their leaders harassed.

Government has been under growing pressure to accept opposition parties since violent demonstrations last month, triggered by austerity measures and the acceptance of the principle of multiparty democracy in several other West and Central African nations.

Several groups have applied already for registration as opposition parties.

Five people were killed and several injured when police fired on demonstrators in front of the home of an opposition leader, Etienne Tshisekedi of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, in Kinshasa on Monday, a Zairean opposition spokesman said yesterday.

Police denied there were any deaths.

Tshisekedi, who was beaten up in the incident, was freed from house arrest after President Mobutu Sese Seko announced last week he was lifting a 25-year-old ban on multiparty politics. The move legalised his party. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

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By Tom Hood

Engen poised to power into Africa

Only one question was asked by Rob Angel when he was offered the chief executive job at Gencor's new energy company, Engen.

"I asked if the headquarters would be in Cape Town," he joked. "I didn't ask about salary or conditions."

Assured he would stay in Mobil Court on the Foreshore and not move to the Golden City, he accepted.

For Cape Town is "one of the great cities of the world — and I have lived in a lot of big cities," says the much-travelled Australian.

After four years here as chief executive of Mobil, he equates the city to his native Adelaide, which to many Australians is the greatest place on earth.

Maybe he is also influenced by a wife who comes from the Northern Cape.

Living in the Cape forces him to spend a lot of time in the air. But with computers and modern communications, an office could be almost anywhere, he reckons. Some work he does from home with a laptop computer.

Though a qualified chemical engineer and embroiled in the oil industry all his working life, he has operated in the areas of planning and general management in several countries.

He sees his new role as in the area of project planning for the future rather than a hands-on engineer.

Strong base

"We have been given a wonderful core group plus the excitement of Mossgas and syntrels. It will be my role to build on that base. I won't be able to sit back and simply say "great" and expect things to happen.

"Our mission is one of real growth which is consistent with Gencor's. Our vision is to be the most successful integrated energy company in South Africa," he says.

"We want to take the group more into exports and finding new sources of oil and gas. We see our-

selves going beyond South Africa to other areas of Africa."

Chemicals form a small part of Engen and he sees possibilities of expansion. "We would like to be bigger in chemicals. We produce a far amount but we can expect to be more active in the chemical business down the track.

"We are not going to tangle with established chemical companies but perhaps find a niche."

International attitudes towards South Africa are changing, he believes — in fact those changes were part of his decision to stay in South Africa.

"We see Africa as our oyster. The infrastructure here will enable Engen to spring from South Africa into other parts of sub-Saharan Africa.

"The sophistication of South Africa's infrastructure is far more advanced than in some of our neighbours."

He sees the group's social responsibility programme as a major investment for the future.

Mobil alone spent more than R10 million a year, one of the highest budgets in the country, and is heavily geared towards the future.

"Mobil was one of the first companies to house black executives in white areas — we had 10 living in white areas at one time."

He sees the bringing together of Gencor's energy interests as well turned — just as the government is examining deregulation in the oil industry.

Very efficient

There has been speculation that the government will examine areas such as the processing of crude, exports, syntrel production, service station quotas, retail price maintenance and profit levels.

In spite of the existing regulations, the industry is tremendously competitive and very efficient, he said. For example, movements occurred in market share but they were not dramatic. A successful

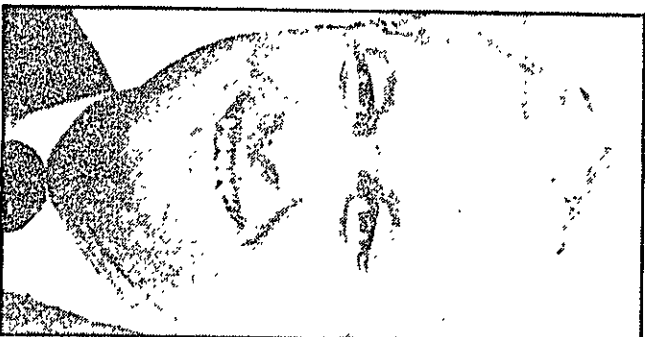
advertising campaign could move market share.

Engen had an advantage over all its foreign competitors in not having to remit dividends to overseas shareholders and instead could put money back in the business.

"We feel we can make really big strategic investments right now," he says. Two recent ones are the R1,2 billion upgrading of the Genref refinery in Durban and an immediate injection of R110 million in the tube oil blend plant in Durban.

Mossgas, in which Gencor has a 30 percent stake, would need a second platform early next century. Tests had also shown promising offshore gas near Bredasdorp.

Engen, which is due to make its debut on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange on May 21, indicated this week that it is clearly delivering on some of its promises by contributing R91 million to Gencor's profits.



Mr Rob Angel, Engen's new CE, sees his major role as project planning for the future.

Go and do likewise

FIM 4/5/90

Africa's renunciation of socialism is good news — for a non-socialist SA



A revolution is afoot which could remould the troubled economies of Africa — but it's not the one Marxists have been dreaming of. Instead it could lead to more freedom and higher standards of living, which is what independence promised but failed to deliver.

SA is the economic powerhouse of sub-Saharan Africa and can only gain from enhanced continental prosperity. But it lacks the educated work force necessary to sustain a sophisticated private sector — and this will constrain the pace of development. But if it maintains its commitment to free enterprise and the system's benefits become apparent throughout Africa — it will help create and share in a great expansion of wealth.

Countries which have begun the transition into market economies include:

- Nigeria, which abolished all its commodity marketing boards in 1986 and saw farm exports surge and which has embarked on a massive privatisation programme;
- Mozambique, where GDP has grown 4.5% annually since an International Monetary Fund (IMF) reform programme was introduced in 1981, after GDP plummeted 40% the previous six years;
- Senegal, which has liberalised trade, slashed subsidies, tightened monetary policy and frozen public-sector employment and wages since 1985;
- Guinea, where reforms resulted in the GDP growth rate going from zero in 1980-1984 to 5% in 1985 and 6% in 1988; and
- Tanzania, where reforms have cut real food prices by half since 1986.

Africa began its fragile turnaround in the mid-Eighties, according to the World Bank. Sub-Saharan food production from 1985 to 1988 grew faster — at 4% a year — than population for the first time since 1970. The period 1983-1987 saw non-petroleum exports rise by more than 10% — reversing a 15-year decline — and reach their highest level since 1970.

According to JCI's Robert Bethlehem, "Failure and pain are great teachers. Maszangal economic growth and an increasing population have created a degree of poverty and political and social unrest that

has compelled a re-examination of discredited dogmas."

A major factor is the passing of the first generation of leaders after the colonial era. The current reformers are being undertaken by a new generation of leaders, more educated and pragmatic than their predecessors.

Guinea's President Lansana Conte chose economic reform in response to demands for radical change, as did Mozambique's Joaquim Chissano after the death of handliner Samora Machel. "This is not a religious conversion, but a very practical matter of economic growth," says Edward Jaycox, the World Bank's vice-president for Africa.

Gradual economic liberalisation was long overdue in rigidly socialist Tanzania, but only began after the resignation of Julius Nyerere, and even then his shadow prevents current President Ali Hassan Mwinyi from introducing radical economic and political reform. Last month, in a sign of the times, even Nyerere admitted that debate on the introduction of a multiparty system should not be regarded as treason.

New leaders look to examples such as Botswana and, to a lesser degree, the Ivory Coast, Kenya and Malawi, which have some what open markets and have managed to sustain growth. Botswana was one of the poorest countries in Africa at independence, but a free-enterprise system allowed development of its diamond wealth and it's now among the wealthiest.

Though the shift was already under way, the upheavals in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have underlined the failure of socialist economies and one-party States. Mozambique renounced Marxism-Leninism as the country's official ideology in January, joined by Benin in February. Ethiopia, Afri-

Cost of price distortions



ca's poorest country and also its oldest, followed suit last month.

The East-West tensions African leaders have also been reduced. Western donors no longer fear African allies will look East for funds and are keeping closer track of aid or even diverting money to eastern Europe.

Total aid to sub-Saharan Africa decreased in real terms from US\$19.8bn in 1982 to \$17.9bn in 1987 — and this compelled some long-needed discipline.

The trend was reinforced by the increasingly tough line taken by the IMF and World Bank. The two organisations insist on measures aimed at shrinking government deficits, raising prices paid to agricultural producers, deregulating on a grand scale, creating programmes to fight corruption, reducing spending on large prestige projects and cutting the military. (In the Eighties, Africa spent more money on weapons and armed forces than it received in aid.)

As Africa slowly emerges from this morass, it is clear that colonialism, poor soil conditions, harsh climates, wildly fluctuating commodity prices, rapid urbanisation and unprecedented population growth had less to do with the continent's sorry state than abysmal government and the bankrupt economic policies it implemented.

Post-independence Africa has enjoyed little economic freedom. Instead, leaders nationalised much of their economies, regulated prices, controlled foreign exchange, subsidised favoured industries, and pumped up the bureaucracy. Last year, per capita income was 15% lower than in 1979.

And of course, political opposition was outlawed and free elections were ruled out.

Former US ambassador to SA, Herman Nickel, says: "It is this lack of accountability — and the resultant proliferation of corruption, bloated bureaucracies, underperforming public corporations and abuse of power — that has become Africa's common denominator."

Kenya and Tanzania provide a case study. They were both former British colonies that received their independence in the early Sixties and are very similar in terms of location and population (20m and 22m). Though socialist Tanzania has almost 250% more arable land per per-

FINANCIAL MAIL MAY 4 1990

son, it has had to import food while market-oriented Kenya is self-sufficient. Despite the lack of diamonds, gold, iron and hydro-electric power found in its southern neighbour, Kenya's annual GDP growth was 3.1% from 1980 to 1985 while Tanzania's languished at 0.8%. Kenya has lower infant mortality, greater life expectancy, more phy-

sicians and nurses per capita and higher school enrolment.

The World Bank stresses reform measures can be effective only if African leaders become accountable to their people through judicial reform and multiparty elections. Without political reform, not much foreign aid, which buoys reform, will be forthcoming, it warns.

And political reform should aim to encourage the private sector, responsible in 1987 for roughly 70% of sub-Saharan Africa's GDP and 85% of employment, but receiving only 30% of the credit advanced by domestic financial institutions. It did almost all the saving, but two-thirds of investment

was spent by the public sector, with governments and State-owned enterprises receiving 80% of the region's foreign aid grants and 87% of subsidised loans.

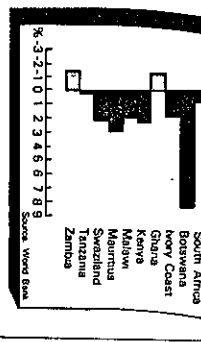
With this in mind, a branch of the World Bank, the International Finance Corp, has provided loans to nearly 500 private enterprises in developing countries (about \$3.5bn worth). In 1987, it received a 14% return on its investments, suggesting profits and development are not incompatible.

How fast should reform proceed? Some economists favour the example of Poland, which transformed a centrally controlled economy into a market system virtually overnight. They hope to avoid the problems encountered in Ghana, which introduced a gradual programme eight years ago and has struggled to maintain stability as people lose patience with continued austerity.

But critics, while acknowledging the need to foster private initiative, say IMF terms are too harsh. Unlike eastern Europe, the margin between life and death is too small to cushion the sudden, though transitional, shift to higher unemployment and prices that economic reforms would bring.

SA has been warned, Mozambique PM Mario Machungo says: "If the ANC were to ask me, I would tell them nationalisation is not the way to go." (Leaders March 16), Mozambique under Machel tried nationalisation, central planning and collective agriculture. They are now decentralising, privatising and welcoming private investors, including South Africans.

Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dumen said recently: "The biggest mistake we made was to make the State sector larger and larger when we did not have the capacity to manage it. There will be a very big reduction of the State's participation in the economy."



But empirical evidence and wise words may not be enough. Socialism still attracts SA blacks who associate capitalism with apartheid here and poverty throughout Africa. Diehard (but warring) communist Joe Slovo recently said: "Over 90% of the people on the African continent live out their wretched and repressed lives in stagnating and declining capitalist-orientated economies."

Never mind that labelling a handful of African countries capitalist is absurd. To further discredit centralist ideas and successfully redistribute wealth without destroying the means of creating it. It has to prove that social upliftment and free markets are compatible. With so many African governments having apparently learnt this lesson, why should we be left out?

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FIM 4/5/90

FIM 4/5/90

SA ports may be hit by import/export switch

Sowetan 7/5/90

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

TEN years after independence land-locked Zimbabwe is looking at prospects of snubbing South Africa by using Mozambican ports for exports and imports to empower the country economically.

Businessmen are being encouraged to use the now bustling Beira port, having realised that to route via South African ports of Durban and Cape Town is expensive and cumbersome.

The move is expected to be followed by the East and Southern African Preferential Trade Area (PTA) and the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) because of South Africa's abhorrent apartheid policies.

The PTA's director of agriculture, Mr Joel Ong'iro, told *Sowetan*

Business that unless South Africa got rid of apartheid, members of PTA and SADCC would continue to consider trading with other countries. For South Africa to become a member it would need to have majority rule.

Potential

The PTA has 15 members: Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Together they have an estimated potential market in 1990 of 156 million people.

The nine member nations of the SADCC are Angola, Botswana,

Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe with a total potential market in 1990 estimated at 84 million people.

Ong'iro said PTA's aim was to promote cooperation and development in all areas of economic activity, particularly in the fields of trade, customs, industry, transport, agriculture, natural resources and monetary affairs.

It had established a multi-lateral trade clearing facility to settle intra-regional debts by way of the PTA Clearing House located in the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.

To avoid chronic dependence on the US dol-

lar or other hard currencies to carry out trade among African member countries, the PTA facilitated for intra-regional trade to be paid for in regional currencies and intra-regional country debts are settled in the Unit of Account of PTA (UAPTA) which is equal to the Special Drawing Right of the IMF.

Exploit

The SADCC seeks to coordinate the regional developments of member states allowing each to exploit its own comparative advantage within a regional framework.

Another objective is the reduction of economic dependence, especially, but not only, on South Africa.

Ivory Coast plans reform ①

ABIDJAN — The Ivory Coast, for 30 years a *de facto* dictatorship under President Felix Houphouet Boigny, has become the latest west African state to give into the pressures of the changing world and open its doors to multi-party reform.

31 Dec 1987
The official *Fraternelle Matin* newspaper in the capital, Abidjan, has announced Boigny's acceptance of "multi-partyism", proposed earlier in the week by the politburo of his ruling Democratic Party, although the directive to suggest the reforms must have come originally from the president himself.

The most established of four or five opposition parties which can now come into the open, the Ivorian Popular Front, seems to be changing its name to Patriotic Front to get rid of socialist innuendos.

Its leader, Prof Laurent Gbagbo, is tipped to be opposition candidate for the presidential election in October.

When Boigny rejected multi-par-

Own Correspondent

tyism as being too tribally divisive several months ago, Gbagbo said the president had reacted "like a village medicine man".

News of multi-party reform has been welcomed by most Ivorians, whose café conversations have turned from the normal topic of football to politics for a while.

However, real political criticism is absent in the Press. But the change follows similar developments in Benin, Gabon and Zaire, while the issue of ending one-party rule has been raised by trade unions in Mali, Congo, Niger and Camerouns.

Internal pressure forced Boigny to think again. Last month, wildcat strikes by electricity workers, bankers and doctors paralysed Abidjan.

People took to the streets shouting "Houphouet! Thief!" and schoolchildren insulted government ministers. — Daily Telegraph.

AFRICA

Nigerians hope to lead inter-Africa co-operation

6/10 am 8/5/90 (22) (1)

LAGOS — Nigerian businessmen see their country spearheading a drive for inter-African economic co-operation.

The price of failure will be destitution in a world dominated by Western-led trade blocs, they say.

UAC — black Africa's biggest trading conglomerate — chairman Ernest Shonekan says: "Short of forming ourselves into our own trade bloc, I just do not see any reprieve on the horizon for the rest of the 1990s."

Nigeria should play an important role in forging African economic unity, he told a business gathering on May 1.

With the right policies, particularly full economic liberalisation, Nigeria can become "the hub of economic activities in Africa", he says.

Other African countries, particularly West African, expect Nigeria to take the lead.

Said Bundu Abbas, Sierra Leonean executive secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas): "There is every reason for the community to look to Nigeria for a leadership role."

African nations, crippled by foreign debt and a net outflow of resources, fear they will lose out in the fast changing patterns of world economic relations.

Analysts say the creation of a single European market after 1992 and the emergence of other trade blocs in the industrialised world threaten to worsen Africa's already unfavourable trade terms.

Assurances from Western donors, including the IMF, have not stilled fears of losing foreign aid as resources are diverted to assist Eastern Europe.

"Eastern Europe's gain will become Africa's loss," Shonekan said.

To avoid total marginalisation in an increasingly competitive world, African countries must look more inward and work together on individual development, analysts say.

Co-operation

Economist Isaac Aluko-Olokun says Nigeria is well placed to raise awareness on this need.

The country has four years of experience in implementing a free market oriented structural adjustment programme.

Similar policies have since been adopted elsewhere on the continent, Aluko-Olokun says.

Shonekan says Nigerians can also promote co-operation by investing in other African countries.

Nigerian Association of Chambers of

Commerce president Nlogha Okeke urges the formation of a parliament to accelerate West African economic integration.

"Nigeria should concentrate on playing a leading role in West Africa," he says.

Ecowas, created in 1975 to expand West African economies by removing trade barriers and developing integrated industries, says less than 5% of recorded trade is intra-community.

Bureaucratic controls and trade barriers still act as blocks to inter-African trade, says Lagos-based International Capital Markets group MD Michael Osine.

"It's easier for someone in Ivory Coast to buy from Europe than from Nigeria," he said.

Many African leaders support economic integration in principle while in practice guarding their national power base, he says.

But according to Abbas, the political will is there. What is lacking is the mechanism for achieving it.

He hopes Europe's moves towards integration will spur African countries — more than half of them former European colonies — into action.

"If they (Europe) now see the imperative to come together, then there is an even stronger case for Africa," he said. — Reuter.

Threat to execute Algerian leader ①

TURIN - Ahmed Ben Bella, the architect of Algerian independence in the 1960s, was quoted yesterday as saying Algerian President Chadli Benjedid could end up like deposed Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

"If Chadli Benjedid doesn't retire within the next four years, he is in danger of meeting the same end as Ceausescu: a summary trial could make him pay for the mistakes of his aides, too," Ben Bella told the Turin newspaper *La Stampa*.

Ceausescu was overthrown by a popular uprising last December and executed after a secret trial.

Southern 8/5/90 **Executed**

Ben Bella said in the interview the Algerian economy was on the verge of collapse, education and health services were in chaos and there was a widespread lack of decent housing and basic foodstuffs.

He became the first president of Algeria in 1962 after its war of independence from France but was toppled three years later by Colonel Houari Boumediene. Jailed for 14 years, he was released by Chadli in 1979 and later went into exile in Switzerland.

The former leader of the ruling National Liberation Front said last month he was ready to return from exile to head a transitional administration if Chadli agreed to resign. - Sapa-Reuter

Sowetan
10/15/90

African tour for Nelson

A DELEGATION of the African National Congress left Johannesburg yesterday afternoon at the start of an African tour by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The delegation comprises Mandela, his wife Winnie, ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise, and two security guards.

The flight - originally due to depart at 4pm - was delayed by the late arrival of the Mandelas, as well as the fact that they had forgotten their passports at home, officials at Lanseria airport, outside Johannesburg, said.

The Mandelas were issued with emergency travel documents and the plane eventually took off at 5.20pm.

Members of the delegation said at the airport the first stop would be Lusaka, while the delegation would leave for Angola on Friday. - Sapa.

Invaders awaited in city of rumours

Ever since the US pulled 5 000 of its citizens out of Liberia, the capital, Monrovia, has become a city of rumours — rumours of a rebel invasion, reports

CAMERON DUODU

THE Liberian capital of Monrovia has become a city of rumours. "We've seen them near the airport," says one person. "They're coming from the sea," says another.

"They" are the guerrillas of the National Patriotic Forces of Liberia who advanced into the north-east corner of the country in December after crossing the border with the Ivory Coast.

Many Westerners have already been evacuated from the capital and since the United States government advised its 5 000 citizens in Liberia to leave, fears of a rebel invasion have run wild.

Liberia has had strong links with the US since it was founded by freed American slaves in 1847. The US has satellite tracking facilities in the coun-



Doe ... no stranger to coups

try and also monitors shipping routes in the Atlantic from here.

Many Liberians believe the US government has inside information about the way events are unfolding.

The rebels, led by Charles Taylor, a former civil servant who fled the country in 1984 to avoid being tried

on corruption charges, have advanced into Nimba county and are believed to be approaching the capital.

Hundreds of people have died in fighting in Nimba recently. The rebels, estimated to be at least several hundred strong, and two battalions of troops backed by artillery deployed by the government, have terrorised and looted villages.

The rebels' target is President Samuel Doe who is no stranger to coups. Doe was an illiterate 28-year-old master-sergeant when he seized power from President William Tolbert in 1980.

The rebels have enjoyed some successes so far, including the capture of a train carrying iron ore — Liberia's most valuable export — to the south-eastern port of Buchanan from Nimba county. A British journalist on board was given a tour of rebel-controlled territory before being released.

Timber production, the region's second biggest export, has been halted while coffee and cocoa production have been disrupted.

Though mismanagement and corruption have wrecked the economy, it is unclear whether the other tribes of Liberia will support Taylor's forces.

Until recently large amounts of US aid have patched up the economy to some extent — Liberia traditionally receive the largest amount of US aid per person in Africa — and Taylor himself is not a well-known figure.

US military advisers were recently reported to be working with Doe's troops in Nimba despite rumours that Taylor receives aid from the US.

Some reports say Taylor has received backing from Libya.

The plot is further complicated by US President George Bush's recent announcement that he is suspending trade benefits to Liberia due to Doe's poor human rights record. — Gemini

GETTING SUNBURNT IN THE COMORES

FIM 11/5/90
Sun International is playing hardball with the new Comorian government. It wants lower import duties on food and beverages — and a drastic reduction in the price of electricity — as a condition for keeping open the 20-room Isandra Sun and reopening its 82-room Le Gawala Sun.

Marketing director Ernie Joubert says D-day is the end of June. If the archipelago's government does not make the concessions, or fails to respond, "we'll cut our losses and pull out," promises Joubert.

Sun International owns only furnishings and equipment in the hotels. It rents the buildings from Novell Socotel, a Comorian company partly owned by the Moroni government.

The hotel group wants to attract tourists to Le Gawala by charging 10% less than it does at La Pirogue in Mauritius, one of its other Indian Ocean operations, but high duties set by the new Comorian government makes this impossible, Joubert says.

Very little is produced on the island so hotels have to ship in all their food and

liquor. "That's expensive. For example, we have to charge R7 for a beer. Moreover, air-conditioning is essential but, because electricity is so terribly expensive, it adds tremendously to the cost of operating the hotel."

Despite the economic problems — and the turmoil caused by the assassination of President Ahmed Abdallah late last year — MD Ken Rosevear sees a bright future for the Comores operation. Six months after start-up, occupancy reached 63%. Last July and December it reached 85% and extra flights had to be scheduled.

Joubert estimates it will take only two months to get Le Gawala, which closed in January, functioning again. The staff was put on paid leave.

"It was agonising having to close the hotel; we were just breaking into the European market. But there's still a lot of interest and we will be comfortable selling the destination again because of the improved political climate in the islands. They have the potential to become one of the classic destinations in the Indian Ocean."

Madagascar coup attempt quashed ^{CM 4/12/78} ^{14/5/1978} ①

ANTANANARIVO. — Three people were killed and 20 injured in a failed coup attempt on the Indian Ocean island of Madagascar early yesterday, hospital sources said.

A small group of rebels seized Radio Madagascar saying they wanted to end 15 years of dictatorship by President Didier Ratsiraka and his family who, they said, had impoverished the country.

A commando team armed with tear-gas stormed the radio station and subdued the group, diplomatic sources said.

Agriculture Minister Mr Jose Andriandoelson told French radio that

13 people had taken over the station and held journalists and technicians hostage before being dislodged. He gave no further details.

The first sign of trouble was a broadcast at 6.30am (0330 GMT) announcing the setting-up of a "republican government of public safety".

Four hours later the radio broadcast a communique from Prime Minister Mr Victor Ramahatra saying: "All institutions of the state are in place."

Madagascar has started a programme of political liberalisation. Political parties not linked to the ruling coalition were legalised in March. — Sapa-Reuter

SADF admits aiding Comoros mercenaries

CAPE TOWN 16/5/70 (1) (2) (3) (4)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Defence Force did supply assistance "of a restricted nature" to the late President Abdullah for his controversial presidential guard in the Comoros, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said yesterday.

Members of the guard — led by Colonel Bob Denard — were alleged to have assassinated President Abdullah at the end of November last year.

The Democratic Party's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Colin Eglin, said he trusted "South Africa

will never again become involved in questionable foreign escapades, such as this one in the Comoros".

Mr Eglin asked Mr Breytenbach whether the SADF gave any assistance to the government of the Comoros in respect of its presidential guard prior to November 30 last year and if this was the case, what form this assistance took and how much it cost.

Mr Breytenbach replied: "All assistance rendered to the Comoros was at the request of the late President Abdullah, was of a restricted nature and has been

properly accounted for.

"I do not consider it in the interest of the sensitive relations between South Africa and the Comoros, and the internal situation on the island itself, to divulge more information at present in this regard."

Mr Eglin commented that Mr Breytenbach's reply regarding the use of South African taxpayers' money was "vague and unsatisfactory."

"However, what does emerge from the reply, is that an undisclosed sum of taxpayers' money was used to assist the former presidential guard."

Denard to stay in SA pending probe

Cap. Times 17/5/90
PRETORIA. — French mercenary Colonel Bob Denard will be allowed to stay in South Africa pending the outcome of an inquiry into the assassination of President Abdallah of the Comoros — allegedly at the hands of the colonel.

The extension of Colonel Denard's temporary residence permit was confirmed yesterday by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Requests that Colonel Denard be allowed to reside in South Africa were received from both the Comoran and French governments.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was informed of the recognition granted by the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros for South African assistance in removing foreign mercenaries from the Indian Ocean island.

And in the same letter, dated May 4, Mr Botha's Comoran counterpart requested that Colonel Denard be allowed to continue living here. This request was made in anticipation of the outcome of the inquiry into the assassination of Mr Abdallah, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said. — Sapa

THE WORLD

Amid civil war and with famine looming, the Islamic state of Sudan has abandoned the 'mild revolution' and executed 28 accused coup leaders — possibly before the coup was attempted. By DAVID HIRST

WITH the recent summary execution of 28 officers accused of plotting to overthrow General Omar Bashir's military junta, the junta has reached a point of no return on the dark path of repression. There can be no turning back from the violence on which, with this judicial bloodbath, it has now chosen so unreservedly to rely.

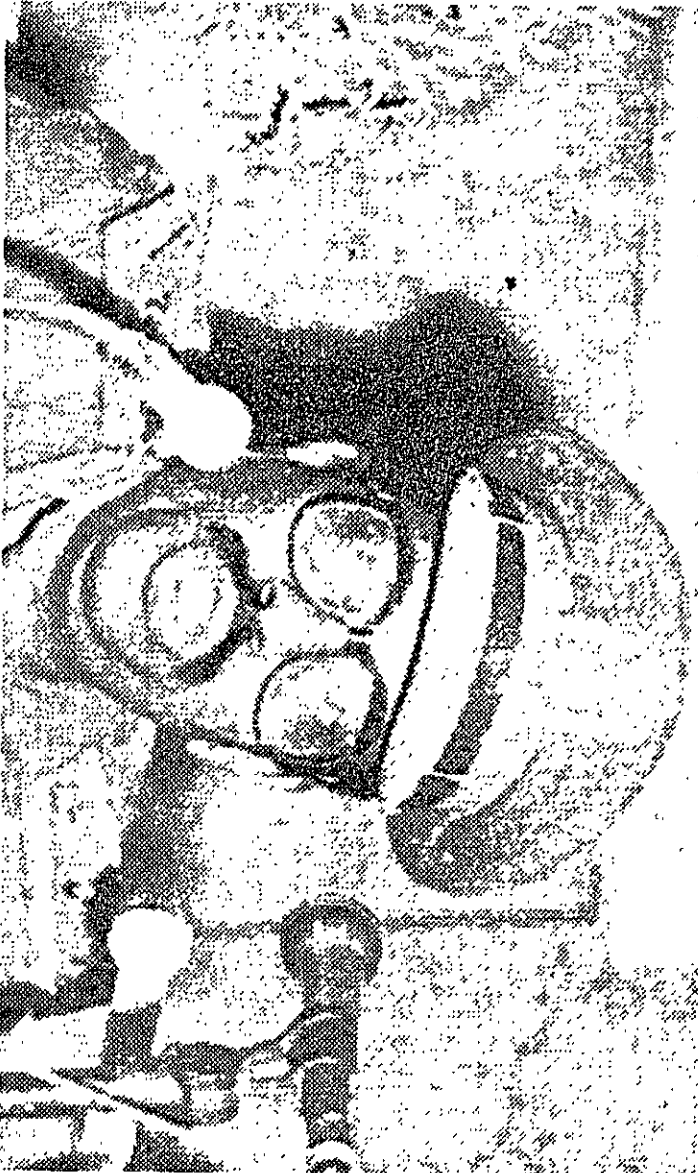
So, when liberalisation, or at least lip service to it, is the order of the day in the rest of the Arab world, Sudan, which until not long ago enjoyed the nearest thing to a parliamentary democracy in the whole region, has joined the ranks of its most brutal dictators.

However obvious the defects of the previous "democratic era" may have been, the fundamentalists of the National Islamic Front (NIF), the real if still shadowy power behind the junta, have fallen into swifter and sharper discredit than any regime in Sudan's modern history.

Blaming the multi-party system for the continuation of the civil war in the south, they have plunged deeper into it themselves. Denouncing its economic chaos and corruption, they have turned a very bad economic situation into a much worse one.

A largely man-made famine looms. With a Khomeini-style Islamic state as their goal, they have gone much further than the two earlier periods of military rule in depriving the Sudanese of civil liberties which used to compensate in part for their socio-economic woes. An attempt to overthrow the regime

Wheat 115 - 17/5/83
Sudan reaches point of no return on path of repression



Over the Rubicon ... Sudan's military ruler, General Omar Bashir, has crossed into an era of rule by open repression

had been expected. It was expected that the army, exasperated at having to fight an unwinnable war with fewer and fewer means for doing so, would act on its own, or that civil unrest would finally trigger some sort of military intervention.

Among Khartoum's intelligentsia, there were two schools of thought. One argued that a regime so unloved would collapse, with minimal bloodshed, at the first serious challenge, in

keeping with the relatively benign tradition of Sudanese politics even under military dictatorships.

Others, however, said the fundamentalists had already introduced an altogether more vicious and fanatical strain into Sudanese politics, and that with the first serious attempt to bring them down they would really bare their fangs.

They cited as evidence all their radical innovations of a totalitarian kind:

the huge purges of army, police and civil administration, the setting up of Iranian or Libyan-style "popular committees" with the authority to

houshold and arrest in the neighbourhoods under their control, of "parallel" bodies, run entirely by the NIF, in competition with the regular state institutions, such as the Revolutionary Security, which tortures people in its own detention centres, or the Popular Defence Forces, which

include an independent militia for Khartoum. The second school of thought has been proved all too right. Now, with the alleged coup attempt, Bashir has explicitly acknowledged the crossing of a new threshold of repression. The 28 executed officers had misinterpreted "the mild attitude of the revolution" — towards previous agitation — "as a sign of weakness", he told a rally. The time for forgiveness was past.

Sudanese opposition sources express doubt whether there was a serious coup attempt at all. They suspect, rather, some sort of pre-emptive strike by a nervous regime. They say that at least six of the officers supposedly involved were arrested as much as three days before the coup supposedly took place, and perhaps executed before it.

Several of them were "retired" — retired, that is, by the regime itself — as likely sources of opposition within the army. The other 22 were arrested, tried and executed in a few hours. It is the biggest such bloodletting since General Numeiri executed 14 communists who tried to overthrow him in 1971 — but it is very much more sinister and provocative.

Bashir has vaguely attributed the coup attempt to a partnership between "the alliance" and "the rebels". By the alliance he means that loose coalition of Khartoum-based political parties and professional and trade unions which, being by and large secular, modernising and liberal, have opposed the new Islamic order from the outset. In accordance with a charter promulgated in October, 11 parties and 51 unions agreed to work for the overthrow of the dictatorship and the establishment of a five-year transitional government that will lay the foundations of a democratic order. — The Guardian, London.

Star
18/5/90

FW hasn't done enough — Mandela

ALGIERS — Nelson Mandela told a youth rally here yesterday that it was too soon to lift economic and political sanctions on South Africa.

The African National Congress deputy president said that President de Klerk had not done enough.

"There are various countries in Europe, unfortunately even in Africa, which feel De Klerk has done enough to compel us to lift sanctions. We do not agree," Mr Mandela told thousands of cheering youths after a concert of modern Algerian music.

"However honest De Klerk may be, however much he has changed certain laws, apartheid still is the foundation of policy in South Africa. As long as that is the position, the struggle must continue."

Mr Mandela defended the socialist policies of the ANC.

"Today we are told that capitalism, under which Africa, Asia and Latin America suffered from imperialist domination, is a good economic system. We totally reject this.

"We are not going to accept any system that has caused so much misery to the people of the world."

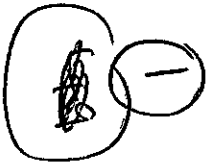
Mr Mandela arrived on Wednesday night from Nigeria on a tour of African states.

He was decorated yesterday by President Chadli Benjedid with Algeria's highest medal.

He last visited Algeria in 1961 for military training from Algerian guerillas fighting France for independence, an experience he said had made him a man.

"President Chadli promised me that Algeria will continue to apply sanctions against South Africa. He also said Algeria was going to continue to give support to the ANC," Mr Mandela said. — Sapa-Reuter.

East Europe beware..the West is moving in...



THE big story in America, and by extension in the Western world, is not South Africa. The biggest story of the century is Eastern Europe.

There is a historical sense of déjà vu about the way the Western world is looking at investment opportunities in Eastern Europe.

When Africa was the gateway to development and investment, there was a scramble for the continent.

Potential

From the days of the Dutch East India Company when Africa was considered prime territory for imperialistic adventures, the continent became the playground of the West.

The First World is now turning its formidable resource potential - this normally includes financial investment and a combination of ideological and religious expansionism - to

Europe and Asia.

The major Western powers are run by their racial kin and kith. Perhaps they will stop short of raping the Europeans the way they did with people not of their colour. And then again we cannot forget that such imperialism was behind the horror of white people decimating whities in the First and Second World Wars.

Belief

It is my belief that if South Africans finally get their very difficult act together, we will become the economic, political and even cultural engine of the continent. That being the case we should start the process that has been part of my more idealistic thinking, without yielding.

Not only we can rejuvenate the elements, cultural, social and political that make the African different from the European - and I am not posting a racial separation of South Africans, as we all should consider ourselves African - we must start the new historical epoch. A Japanese Amer-

ican scholar, Francis Fukuyama, has recently become controversial by postulating that history as known to the East and Western worlds has ended.

His thrust smacks of American arrogance that says liberal democracy has "defeated" communism and Marxist Leninism. As America is believed to be the crucible of that ideological stance, the conclusion is that that continent has defeated Russia and the Eastern world.

Arrogant

What we should say is this is true to the extent that both liberal Africans should not feel unhappy at being dumped by the West, especially as the West has created and left white elephants, both physical and mental of some moment, on the continent.

There is extensive underdevelopment with

a distinct smell of decay in Africa.

The Western world and its "civilisation" has bequeathed us with things, like the fight against disease, the preaching of the Gospel and literacy, that are valuable.

We are, however, urged not to blame the West for the obvious mistakes and inefficiency of the African.

We are told to disregard what 500 years of colonisation - five generations of pillage, rape and death - from which most African countries are recovering.

Disregard

We are told to disregard what happened post colonisation when one country after the other was left to struggle with Western impositions, Western systems, Western values that were plainly alien to the

continent.

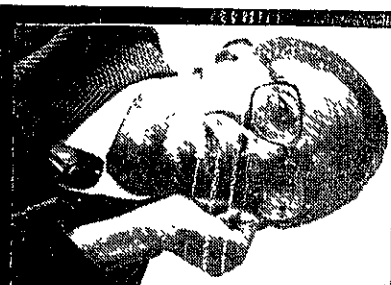
We are urged to forget neo-colonial adventurism, which, linked to "developmental aid" packages, devastated Africa and large parts of the so-called Third World.

We can forgive most of that. I do not think we need, nor can, forget.

And while our memories are still smarting we could be warning Eastern Europeans about the dangers of imperialist adventurers, who have self-interest as their major motive.

The objective reality though is that the Eastern Europeans are white, democracy and the ideologies of the East have failed. We are not arrogant to speak about losers and winners.

It is crazy to wish to make believe that liberal democracy, or more correctly capitalism has "won" over the communist world and its fel-



ON THE LINE
Aggrey Klaaste

low travellers, while the rich in America are getting richer and the poor, poorer.

I was forcefully struck by the number of able-bodied young men and women who beg on the streets and trains of America.

It is not only begging, it is demanding, cadging for alms. If democracy and capitalism have been so successful, why are the class contradictions so graphic?

History as we know it has really ended. This "endism" as Fukuyama's thesis is called should start the birth of the new world. The new world led by "non-whites" or non-Caucasian peoples of the world.

ANC talks of a possible 'truce'

CAIRO — African Nationalist Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela says he is prepared to consider a truce if Pretoria takes solid steps to dismantle apartheid.

On arrival in Egypt on Saturday evening, Mr Mandela threw down his challenge to President de Klerk.

"We are prepared to consider a cessation of hostilities, not the end of the armed struggle. We are prepared to consider a truce," Mr Mandela said.

"I am not aware of any significant step taken by Mr de Klerk which has the possibility of dismantling apartheid," Mr Mandela told reporters in Cairo.

"What we demand is the right of every South African to determine his own future. As I have put it down before, 27 years ago I could not vote.

"Twenty-seven years later I still cannot vote."

Mr Mandela has said he will follow Mr de Klerk to Europe in an effort to keep economic sanctions against Pretoria in place. The Commonwealth has urged EC states not to lift them.

In London, however, an official said Britain was confident Mr de Klerk would be able to push through more major reforms.

"There will be further substantial progress on all fronts in the near future," an aide to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said after 90 minutes of talks with Mr de Klerk on Saturday.

On his arrival in Cairo, Mr Mandela met Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, and yesterday he was expected to address 13 African foreign Ministers.

● Mr Mandela yesterday met Palestine Liberation Organisation chairman Yasser Arafat, who has turned away from 42 years of armed struggle against Israel to seek negotiations with the Jewish state over the future of Israeli-held territories.

Mr Arafat, who renounced terrorism and implicitly recognised Israel in 1988, is in Cairo for talks with Mr Mubarak ahead of an emergency Arab summit in Baghdad later this month.
— Sapa-Reuters.

Donald Woods home soon

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JOHANNESBURG. — Former newspaper editor Mr Donald Woods, whose life was portrayed in the film "Cry Freedom", plans to return from exile in London after a personal assurance from President F W de Klerk.

The managing director of Mr Woods's old newspaper the Daily Dispatch, Mr David Brice-land, said yesterday that he had had a letter from Mr De Klerk saying Mr Woods had been exonerated, but that he hoped he would adopt a "more positive attitude".

Mr Woods responded by saying he would come back from exile as soon as possible, Mr Brice-land said. — Sapa

● Indemnity for some exiles — Page 5

ANC leader has hectic agenda

Political Reporter

Star 24/5/92

(1)

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will maintain his hectic pace this week with a series of meetings and rallies following his two-week African tour.

He was a main speaker yesterday at a landmark conference with South African business heavyweights in Johannesburg at which the country's economic future was discussed by about 400 invited delegates.

Since Mr Mandela's return from a two-week tour of seven African states, he has addressed two press conferences.

He will address two rallies at the weekend — in Atteridgeville near Pretoria on Saturday and in Kimberley on Sunday.

Today he is due to have a series of meetings, among others to arrange his pending trip to the United States and Britain.

Close aides said Mr Mandela would take a short rest next week before leaving for a tour of Belgium, West Germany, France and the Soviet Union.

Mr Mandela told The Star he was fit and getting enough rest.

SA back on Africa's path

Star 24/5/90 (1)

South Africa is believed to be throwing all its diplomatic weight behind promising new efforts to resolve the civil wars in Angola and Mozambique and stands to benefit handsomely if they succeed.

Helping to find solutions in Angola and Mozambique appears to have moved to the top of the list of Pretoria's diplomatic priorities in Africa, replacing what until recently was an overweening desire for open acceptance in black Africa.

The shift in emphasis, though slight, could have important consequences. It stems partly from the favourable reaction that has come from black Africa, as well as from the Western countries, to President de Klerk's reform initiatives and to South Africa's co-operation in Namibia's independence.

By improving Pretoria's standing in both Western and African capitals, these moves have given a new perspective to Pretoria's efforts to win acceptance in Africa.

While not devaluing this acceptance, South African diplomats appear to give less emphasis than before to the maxim that for South Africa the road back to international acceptance is through black Africa.

Namibian independence and President de Klerk's bold initiatives have, in a sense, found a short cut — not to open acceptance, but to greater respectability, which would be much enhanced if settlements were reached in Angola and Mozambique and word got around that South Africa had played a major role in this.

African *realpolitik* has always dictated that the road to South African acceptance in black Africa began with the recognised black movements in the Republic itself and then went on through the Front-line states and to the Organisation of African Unity.

For a long time there was a feeling in the Union Buildings in Pretoria that African countries would bypass this route and deal directly

The kudos won by South Africa from Namibian independence and from domestic reform have changed the perspective of Pretoria's diplomatic efforts in the rest of Africa, reports **GERALD L'ANGE**, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service.

with South Africa if their need for South African goods and services was urgent enough.

This turned out to be true in that just about every African country started doing business with South Africa under the counter and some accepted surreptitious aid. But the open acceptance that Pretoria desired never came.

Now that Mr de Klerk and his government have embarked on an apparently irreversible course of reform, there is a growing conviction that acceptance will follow (always depending, of course, on the outcome of internal negotiations) and that South Africa must look to its interests in its own neighbourhood.

Priorities

"As we become relatively more acceptable in African countries, the question arises of assessing our priorities because of our limited resources," says Rusty Evans, the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, who has direct responsibility for South African interests in Africa. "That has become a major factor in our approach to Africa."

While Mr Evans has not said so, it seems logical to assume that those interests — both economic and political — are seen to lie primarily in a regional grouping (but probably not the subservient "constellation" of states that the previous Government envisaged).

It appears to be against this background that South Africa is playing an active though discreet role behind the scenes in both the Angolan and Mozambican settlement efforts.

Both conflicts are still far from reaching solutions, but their pros-

pects have improved recently.

Success in these efforts would bring political stability and economic regeneration in the two former Portuguese colonies, both of which are potentially prosperous, with a resultant boost to stability and development in the region as a whole.

For South Africa, there would be prospects of substantial trade with Angola which, unlike Mozambique and most other African countries, has the money (from oil revenues) to pay for South African goods and services.

If Mr de Klerk's initiatives lead to a non-racial South Africa with its economic potential undisturbed, then South Africa might become the nucleus of a regional bloc that would have a major influence in Africa and an enhanced capacity to compete for foreign investment against an Eastern Europe liberated from Soviet Union communism.

Senior South African diplomats are believed to have been working assiduously to bring the warring parties to a negotiating table in both Angola and Mozambique. The intention, apparently, is not to become the major mediator, but rather to function as a discreet but effective facilitator.

Pretoria seems not to be opposed to both conflicts being resolved through African mediation and seems to have made no effort to replace President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire as mediator in the Angolan dispute, despite the view in some African circles that he botched the most recent attempt to resolve it.

Prospects for negotiation in Angola have clearly been boosted by the failure of the recent attempt by the MPLA government to capture Mavinga, the gateway to the Unita rebels' stronghold in the south-east.

This failure must dampen, if not quench, the faith of the hardliners in Luanda in the MPLA's ability to defeat Unita militarily.

It is this obsession with crushing Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita that has kept the Luanda government away from the negotiating table in the past. South African and Western diplomats hope that the moderates in Luanda who favour a negotiated solution will now get their way.

In Mozambique, South African efforts to get the Frelimo government and Renamo rebels to a negotiating table are thought to have been set back by the military offensive recently launched by Mozambican government and Zimbabwean forces on Renamo hide-outs in Gorongosa.

Once this offensive is completed — whether victoriously or in failure — the efforts at negotiation will be resumed. These efforts are at present still concentrated on getting the parties to agree to a mediator and a venue for talks.

President Mugebe of Zimbabwe, who had been mediating jointly with President Arap Moi of Kenya, is understood to have withdrawn, acknowledging that his impartiality will be suspect as long as Zimbabwean troops continue to back Frelimo forces against Renamo.

President Moi remains the only mediator at the (still empty) table but the possibility of Frelimo and Renamo getting together without a mediator cannot be ruled out.

The Frelimo government is believed to have accepted Malawi as a venue for negotiations, despite that country's previous support for Renamo, but Renamo's leader, Afonso Dhlakama, is not confident that his security can be guaranteed there.

Both President Joaquim Chissano and Mr Dhlakama are willing to enter negotiations and broad agreement is understood to have been reached already on certain basic principles which have greatly narrowed the gap between the conditions they have respectively set for the start of talks.

THE WORLD

A candle flickers in the 'Land of the Night'

W/Mail 25/5 - 31/5 '90

THE truck's headlights sliced through the dusty night, illuminating a world of startling vitality. Camel and goat herders ambled through the streets, leading their beasts to a mid-night market. Sweating relief workers stacked bags of Canadian wheat by the flickering orange flames of oil lanterns.

As the truck rambled on, its lights shone on a young man in tattered green togs. His head was bandaged and he limped with a wooden cane. Soon, hundreds upon hundreds of other ragged men were captured by the light, all trudging barefoot out of town.

"Mengistu's people," said a rebel soldier, automatic rifle in hand, as the truck slowly threaded its way through the silent multitudes. "Prisoners of war."

This is the northern Ethiopian province of Tigray, home of 2.6 million people, a cradle of Ethiopian cultural and religious history and the heart of a powerful rebellion that is threatening to sweep away the 13-year-old Marxist-led government of President Mengistu Haile Mariam.

In a civil war that has claimed about 400 000 lives here and in the neighbouring region of Eritrea in the past 30 years, few in northern Ethiopia are untouched by terror. Terror under scores nearly every aspect of human existence. Most routine activities of daily life must take place after dark because of frequent raids and daytime bombings by the government's Soviet-made MiG fighters.

Village marketplaces open only after dark. Many fields are ploughed and sown after dark. Distribution of grain to needy peasants is often carried out by moonlight or the glow of lanterns.

It is a world whose mysteries are revealed to a visitor only with the aid of a flashlight or a candle or the headlights of a passing truck.

It is a land of the night. Fourteen months ago, rebels of the Tigray People's Liberation Front crushed Mengistu's soldiers in a ser-

Ethiopia's Tigray People's Liberation Front, initially only a separatist movement, now threatens to topple the central government of autocratic Marxist Mengistu. NEIL HENRY reports from Enda Selassie, Ethiopia

ies of furious battles here. More than 75 000 government forces — indeed, all vestiges of the Addis Ababa-based government itself — were ousted from this province

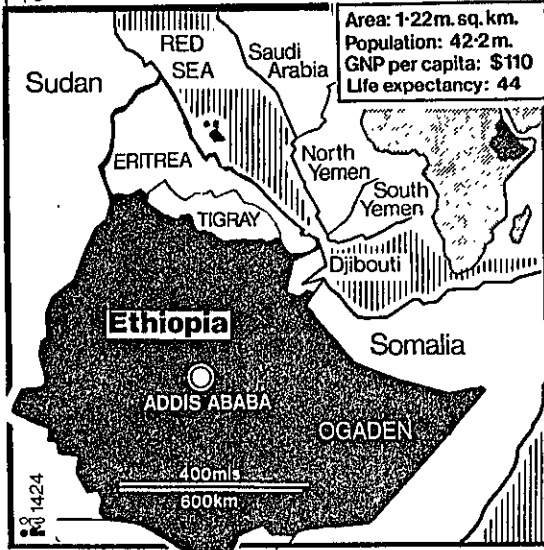
Since that time, the 70 000-strong rebel army has not only consolidated its military and political control of Tigray, but marched scores of kilometres even farther south to threaten the nation's capital. Far from home, Tigray's peasant rebels — vowing to depose Mengistu and to form a broad-based government — occupy a front about 190km north of their objective.

In many ways, Tigray is a land cut off in time and place, not only from Ethiopia, but from the rest of the world. The only way for a visitor to enter the rebel-held province is to hitch a ride with a convoy of relief trucks that leave nightly from the Sudanese border.

The grain-bearing convoy — a frequent target of attack by nomadic bandits and government fighter jets — is a lifeline without which many in Tigray would starve.

This is one of Ethiopia's poorest and most backward regions, frequently prone to drought and famine. The once-rich farmland of Tigray has been so severely eroded during centuries of overuse that hundreds of thousands of acres appear little more than barren expanses of stones, dead trees and ankle-deep dust.

It is a nation without a state whose character has been shaped by years of warfare. Scores of rusted Soviet-made tanks and armoured carriers lie dormant on roadsides and pastures,



Tigray, unlike its northern neighbour Eritrea, is an impoverished area but the Tigray People's Liberation Front has managed to win several major battles against Ethiopian government troops

ubiquitous ornaments on the landscape.

The central squares of even the most remote villages here feature handpainted caricatures of the hated Mengistu, with assorted swords and knives stuck in his head or throat.

Tigray is host to more than 35 000 Ethiopian prisoners of war, some as young as 13. Many were forcibly conscripted into Mengistu's army to fight the advancing rebels.

Life in this hard land is perhaps best symbolised by a maze of more than 800 hand-dug bomb shelters that run beneath the rubble-strewn streets of Mekelle, the provincial capital. This is one of dozens of Tigrayan towns scarred and cratered by bombs

dropped by government aircraft. Many of the shelters, occupied by orphans, are lined with burlap sacks stenciled with greetings such as "Gift of the USSR".

The bags once contained grain to feed the hungry, but now are filled with dirt and sand to protect human flesh from shrapnel.

A recent 13-day journey by a group of famine relief experts from Norway and Denmark and a *Washington Post* correspondent behind the lines in rebel-held Ethiopia, a 1 300km odyssey, provided a rare look at a region that has been largely hidden from the outside world for more than a year, since the rebels took over in March 1989.

As the fighting goes on, Mengistu — the Marxist ruler who came to power in a military coup three years after the 1974 revolution that toppled the 44-year rule of Emperor Haile Selassie — finds his army in trouble on every front.

Just to the north of here, in Eritrea, another group of rebels is steadily tightening a military noose around the government's finest force, the 100 000-member 2nd Army. After a truce that lasted for more than a year, rebels of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front captured the Red Sea port of Massawa in February during an offensive that has cost tens of thousands of lives on both sides so far.

Last week, the Eritrean Front announced the rebels had repulsed two major counter-offensives by the 2nd Army at the town of Ghinda, a strategic point. At the same time, rebel troops were reported to be advancing on Asmara from the southeast.

Largely abandoned by his chief benefactor, the Soviet Union, which provided about \$1-billion in economic and military aid during the last decade before sharply cutting back support in the last 18 months, Mengistu recently has attempted a number of economic and political reforms. These range from the cosmetic (the great colour portraits of Karl Marx, Lenin and Friedrich Engels that once adorned Addis Ababa's Red Square, for instance, have been pulled down) to the fundamental (freeing state controls on private enterprise).

But many analysts see the moves as insignificant.

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front and Tigray People's Liberation Front — by far the most powerful of no less than 21 rebel fronts and movements active in Ethiopia — share a goal of destroying Mengistu's army and have fought in tandem several times in recent years.

But while the Marxist Eritrean rebels are fighting for secession and independence of the coastal region — and boast offices around the Western world — little is known about the Tigray Front other than its commitment to capture Addis Ababa and grab the reins of power.

Indeed, at a time of stunning transformations toward democracy in the communist world, the Tigray Front's elusive leaders are commonly recognised as staunch Marxists, strict revolutionaries who believe in class struggle and the orthodox Stalinist models of socialism.

However, during a recent interview in Mekelle, Sibahat Nega, a top official of the Tigray Front, insisted that the rebel leaders are undergoing changes in their political thinking and that the 15-year-old group was no longer strictly Marxist nor anachronistic but "democratic" and "nationalist" in its beliefs. — Deutsche Presse Agentur

The spiritual mecca where painful memories linger

THE saga of the war-torn region of Tigray has been marked by misery after generations of oppression and neglect by Ethiopian rulers.

While neighbouring Eritrea is renowned in the region for the intellectuals, professionals and traders it has produced, impoverished Tigray is recognised, in the words of Roman Catholic Archbishop Kidane Mariam of the Tigrayan city of Adigrat, as a "spiritual heartland" and "mecca of history".

The ancient city of Axum is here, capital of the great Axumite kingdom that ruled the Red Sea before the birth

of Christ. The town centre is graced by sacred granite obelisks and some of the oldest Christian churches in the world.

But Tigray also has known its share of oppression by foreign dictators. Amid a collection of corroded machine guns fronting the ruins of an old castle in Mekelle — which served as a home to generations of Tigrayan kings and more recently as headquarters of the Mengistu government — sits an upended copper bust of Benito Mussolini, fascist leader of Italy dur-

ing its occupation of Ethiopia in World War II.

Haile Selassie was treated internationally as an elder statesman in the post-World War II period and became one of America's closest African allies, as well as the largest recipient in Africa of United States military and economic aid during the 1960s. But US military advisers were expelled after the 1974 revolution and, in 1978, Mengistu signed a treaty of friendship and co-operation with Moscow.

Tigrayan leaders are quick to point out that between 1945 and 1974 not

one public project — not a school, hospital or road — was funded or built in Tigray by the imperial government.

But it was the strict repression and autocratic rule of the Mengistu years that gave rise to rebellion.

There was the regime's forced collectivisation of the peasants that upset traditional social ties and customs. And there was a constant undercurrent of fear and tension fuelled by the military government's clampdown on free speech and association and frequent detentions of civilians suspected of disloyalty.

By NEIL HENRY

gar 28/5/90

Africa 'desperate for help'

①

NAIROBI — A United Nations agency has said that over half of Africa's people live in absolute poverty and urged rich nations to provide generous help.

"Of all the developing regions, Africa has the lowest life expectancy figures, the highest infant mortality rates and the lowest literacy rates," the UN Development Programme (UNDP) said in its report for 1990.

"This trend towards the concentration of poverty in Africa is growing: More than half the people in Africa live in absolute poverty," the report said.

It said the number of Africans below the poverty line rose by two thirds in

the first half of the 1980s, while the number of poor people in the developing world as a whole rose by a fifth.

"In any concerted international effort to improve human development in the Third World, priority must go to Africa," the report said.

The report said life expectancy in sub-Saharan Africa was 51 years, compared with an average of 62 in all developing countries and 74 in industrialised countries.

Only 45 percent of Africa's population of around 500 million had access to health services. — Sapa-Reuter.

Paradox of Africa's traditional medicine

①
Sowefan
29/5/90

BRAZZAVILLE - In an office crammed with jars and bottles, Congolese herbalist Charles M'Bemba sells a brown liquid reeking of distilled alcohol which he says cures almost every known intestinal ailment.

"Tetra," according to M'Bemba's literature, can be used to treat gastritis, ulcers and diarrhoea as well as migraine, menstrual disorders, coughs, bronchitis, pleurisy and earache.

Hundreds of kilometres away, in Ivory Coast, botanist Laurent Ake Assi is trying to identify a brown powder which police suspect may have killed someone, treated by a practitioner of traditional African medicine.

A white envelope filled with bits of bark and powder and marked "to identify" has been in his office since January, but he remains baffled as to its contents.

Paradox

"I grew up in a village where we only had traditional medicine and there were very few deaths," Ake said in an interview.

"The real healers are very good - but there are a lot who don't know what they are doing."

That is the paradox of Africa's traditional medicine, which flourishes on a continent where many if not most people cannot afford the luxury of modern medicine but which is abundant in plants - many of them weeds - of proven medicinal value.

Africa is awash with people offering homegrown cures for virtually any ailment, from rashes to Aids, often with a little magic thrown in.

Some treatments work, some don't and some can cause serious harm.

On a recent tour of the botanical gardens in Ivory Coast's principal city Abidjan, Ake picked leaves and uprooted plants which he said could be used to stop coughing, treat cancer, prevent miscarriages and cure hypertension and insomnia.

In his herborium, he has specimens of 18 000 plants collected from Ivory Coast and neighbouring countries. Some



have been studied for their medicinal properties and a handful are used to make Western medicines, but the properties of most remain unknown - except to traditional African healers.

"The belief in these plants runs deep," Ake said. "At the hospital the patients get Western medicines during the day, but at night when the patient's parents come in they bring the traditional medicines and hide them under the bed."

Secrecy, lack of research and the sheer variety of African plants are among the factors that make doctors trained in Western practices sceptical of traditional cures.

"Traditional healers have a way of thinking that is not really rational," said Prosper Djessou, an Abidjan doctor familiar with traditional medicine. "They may prescribe the same potion for several illnesses and if it works, fine, if it doesn't, it's not their problem."

Potential

But increasingly, the Western medical community is opening up to the potential of traditional medicine, especially in Africa which has a great variety of plants, a tradition of using them and needs a low-cost alternative to imported drugs.

The Geneva-based World Health Organisation (WHO) included traditional treatments as part of its global health programme for the first time in 1984.

It is now supporting work to study them and how they can best be used, said Dr Mamadou Koumare, chief of traditional medicine for WHO's Africa regional headquarters in the Congolese capital Brazzaville.

"Despite its insufficiencies, this is a system of treatment already in place," Koumare said in an interview.

"The two types of medicine (modern and traditional) can work hand in hand."

Some traditional practitioners

are being accorded a new respectability, particularly in Congo where they have been licensed since 1974.

M'Bemba is head of the National Association of Congolese Tradi-Practitioners and has a weekly radio show on the subject.

His own cure, Tetra, he said, is a mixture of plants the properties of which "have been recognised by the Ministry of Health" and has been used successfully for years in a neighbourhood clinic.

Regular

"We can work together with regular doctors," he said. "I send people to them and they send patients to me."

M'Bemba is reluctant to say what Tetra contains, except that it is a blend of 10 local plants, invented by his father.

Many healers are secretive

about their remedies which have been passed on orally from generation to generation, Ake said.

Ake opposes licensing traditional healers because it might lead to them infiltrating bastions of modern medicine such as hospitals and clinics where he thinks they do not belong.

The two medical systems are best kept separate, he says, but there is urgent work to be done to discover the cures contained in Africa's flora.

Some specimens of plants he collected 20 years ago in Ivory Coast came from places which are now built up, and the plants survive only in the botanical gardens.

"What is true is that a lot of plants are going to disappear," he said. "But those which we can study and cultivate could be used for industry." - Sapa-Reuter



Monday 30/5/90

Bank urges Africa to ⁽¹⁾ export more raw material

ABIDJAN — Africa, deep in economic crisis, must export more raw materials even at the risk of forcing already depressed world commodity prices lower, the African Development Bank (ADB) said yesterday.

The Abidjan-based institution said in a report for 1990 there seemed to be little prospect of an upturn in commodity prices in the foreseeable future.

"If prices are not going to improve over the next few years, increased export earnings in most of the African countries will have to come from volume expansion of traditional exports," it said. However, in the longer term, African countries must diversify out of their dependency on commodity exports, it said.

Africa relies on raw materials, including oil, for some 90% of its total export earnings.

The risk of depressing prices was limited by the fact that African countries had too small a market share in many commodities, such as cotton, timber and vegetable oils, to have a major impact.

Africa lost much of its world market share in commodities in the late 1970s and early 1980s when producers outside the continent raised output in reaction to relatively high prices.

Now supplies of many commodities are plentiful, but demand has not kept pace and prices in some have tumbled.

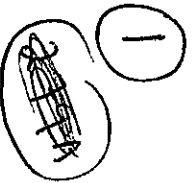
Prices for most commodities were likely to stay low, the ADB report said. The ADB said international co-operation was urgently needed to breathe new life into pricing agreements.

It forecast Africa's real gross domestic product — a measure of goods and services produced after inflation is taken into account — would rise by about 3% this year, compared with an estimated 3.2% in 1989.

But rapid population growth meant the continent's per capita income rose only marginally last year and actually fell by 15% over the decade, it added. — Reuter.

Spirit of protest hits Africa

Souths - 6/6/90



AFRICA is in upheaval.

First, the Soviet Union was shaken by democratic reform, then Eastern Europe.

Now it is Africa's turn. Communism has been abandoned in Ethiopia and Benin, Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk are talking about dismantling apartheid.

Elections

Multi-party elections look likely in Mozambique, Chad, Nigeria, Zaïre, Algeria, Gabon and Congo, and may be coming in Zambia too.

Where there was resignation, there is now a spirit of protest in much of Africa, and people are demanding justice and political accountability.

The clamour for freedom which erupted in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is now being felt in Africa. In the meantime, however, dictators still try to bully their populations, and children still bear the brunt of adults' mistakes. The following is taken from a GEMINI NEWS special report :

For instance, one of the South African government's favourite African leaders, President Felix Houphouët-Boigny, 85, is losing his grip on the Ivory Coast.

The continent's oldest and longest-serving leader, is facing widespread dissatisfaction.

Massive student demonstrations demanding political reforms swept through Abidjan.

The students are calling for a multi-party political

system and an end to the one-party state which has ruled the country since independence from France in 1960.

Dignity

Then, earlier this month, two military uprisings took place within three days. Although Houphouët-Boigny said recently he was allowed to retire with dignity,

the army may end his rule in the next few months. In Sudan, General Omar

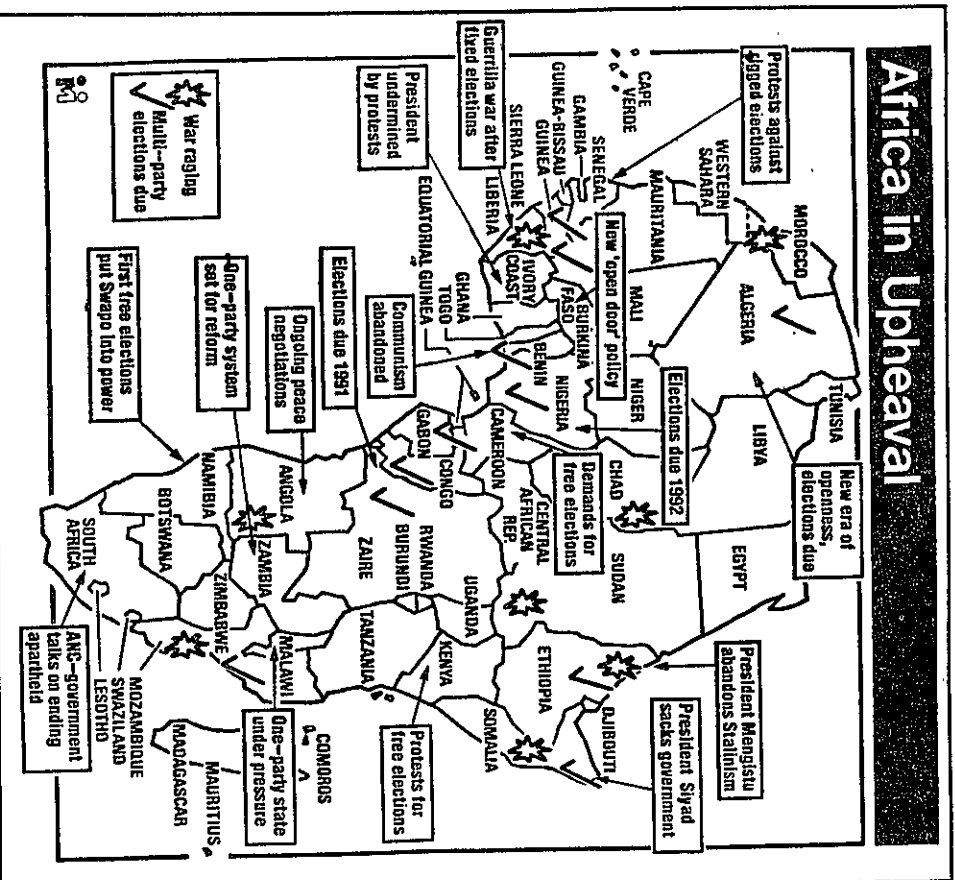
Bashir's first year in power is probably the worst year in the country's recent political history.

While much of Africa is heading towards multi-party democracy, he is presiding over widespread human rights abuses.

Political prisoners are dying in police custody and 28 military officers were recently executed after an alleged coup attempt.

A dusk-to-dawn curfew and severe press censorship

Africa in Upheaval



have been imposed, and internal travel is restricted.

Women are being systematically forced out of public life — a policy thought to be rooted in the Islamic fundamentalism of the National Islamic Front (NIF), the power behind the military

regime. The social segregation of men and women has been extended to public transport.

But Bashir's rule may be increasingly unstable and the war in the south, where the government is going badly for the government. — GEMINI NEWS

Africa looks set to go it

alone

LONDON — In the uncertain years that lie ahead for the whole international community, southern Africa will have to stand on its own feet. If it gets into economic trouble, it will have to bail itself out. It's on its own.

This message came through loud and clear from a conference held by the South Africa Foundation in London last week on "Southern Africa and Europe: The Way Ahead".

One speaker after another warned that with the European Community moving towards its consolidation as a trading bloc in 1992, and new investment opportunities opening up in eastern Europe, black Africa will suddenly find itself living in a harsher, more competitive world.

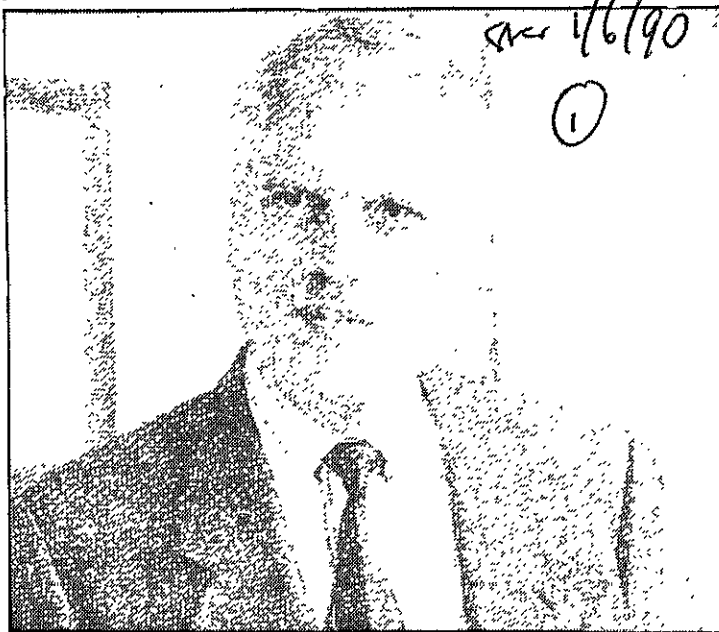
The SA Foundation's Bonn director, Rudolph Gruber, put it bluntly: "Given the prospects for growth and the incentives to invest in eastern Europe, no entrepreneur who is not also a philanthropist will give Africa a second thought."

Luc Smets, formerly with Anglo American and now an independent consultant in Brussels, agreed: "Africa is likely to be as neglected, if not more so, by the rest of the world in the 1990s as it was in the 1980s.

"Moreover, there is a threat that the world economy might become divided into trading blocs. Japan might seek to recreate a 'co-prosperity sphere' in East Asia, American attention could focus more on Latin America, especially Mexico, while the European Community, traditionally the part of the industrialised world with the closest African ties, is likely to be mesmerised by the changes in eastern Europe."

Another factor noted by Dr Gruber was that "with the ending of military confrontation and ideological rivalry between East and West, the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America will also lose their bargaining position. It will no longer be possible to play one side off against the other."

With the unfolding of events in Europe, black Africa will suddenly find itself in a harsher, more competitive world.
STANLEY UYS reports.



"Given the prospects for growth and the incentives to invest in Eastern Europe, no entrepreneur who is not also a philanthropist will give Africa a second thought," says Dr Rudolph Gruber.

Sub-Saharan states are losing their leverage, too, as suppliers of raw materials. According to Dr Gruber, in 1970 no less than 43 percent of EC imports took the form of raw materials, but by 1985 this figure had dwindled to 20 percent, and almost certainly it has declined further since then.

In 1970, Africa's share of world trade was 2,3 percent, but by 1985 it had fallen to 1,3 percent, and now is probably below 1 percent.

Foreign aid from Western governments for South Africa, clearly, is not likely to rise significantly above present levels, and private investment will make its own judgment on the region's attractiveness, basing its decisions on the economic and political policies of the various governments, particularly of a new government in SA.

One speaker at the conference

pointed out that there has been no significant private foreign investment in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980.

How prepared then is South Africa for the EC in 1992? Consultant Daniel Venter detects only "massive inertia" in both the public and private sectors, although between 1980 and 1988, 85 percent of EC imports from SA consisted of minerals, metals, ores and agricultural products, a trading situation that requires SA to be "extremely well informed of progress towards 1992".

Dr Venter foresees little likelihood of a co-ordinated public and private sector programme to prepare SA for 1992, and he distributes the blame for this among the media (for failing to raise the level of public awareness), the redirection of attention both by businessmen and government departments to possible

opportunities in eastern Europe, the country's traditional sense of isolation, and its wait-and-see attitude.

This was one remedy suggested at the conference: SA must prepare more energetically for 1992. Another proposed remedy was that SA should prepare for regional integration; southern Africa must pool its markets to secure economies of scale so that it can pull itself up by its bootstraps.

The message here is that once there is a change of regime in SA, the country will begin to lose the fascination it excites internationally and judgments will become economically rather than politically based.

Mr Smets foresees a weakening of Europe's historical links with Africa, thereby forcing southern Africa to rely increasingly on the industrial know-how and resources of SA.

Some speakers had reservations on this point, warning that small neighbours do not like living in the shadow of an economic giant. An ANC speaker said an ANC government would not like to see SA dominating the region. What was not clear was how this could be avoided.

Inevitably, the conference turned its attention to sanctions. In the public discussion, and also privately, participants conceded that the ANC had a problem: It wants fallback positions in case the negotiations with President de Klerk founder, and also it knows that its image of militancy is slowly draining away, and that abandonment of sanctions will hasten this attrition. Hence its almost desperate insistence on retaining sanctions.

But, as an articulate young economist, Nico Cypionka, warned, time is not on SA's side. Rebuilding the economy cannot be left to Day One of the changeover to a new regime in, say, five years. By then the economy may have wound down further and black expectations will have risen even higher. The decision on sanctions, Mr Cypionka urged, must be taken now.

PAC leader off Star 6/6/90 on African tour

Pan Africanist Congress President Zeph Mothopeng leaves on an international tour of his own tomorrow, it was announced yesterday.

PAC spokesman Benny Alexander said Mr Mothopeng, his wife Urbania and two members of the organisation's national executive would visit at least eight African countries.

Mr Mothopeng's intention is to raise funds and to brief the governments concerned on the PAC's analysis of current political events in South Africa, Mr Alexander said.

The overriding message Mr Mothopeng would take with him was the PAC's rejection of the Government's stance on the racial groups concept as a solution to South Africa's conflicts.

Another issue on his agenda was the Government's "rejection" of majority rule in South Africa, a PAC condition, according to Mr Alexander. — Sapa.

done since his return from his Washington summit is sweeter music to Thatcher's ears than any number of renderings of

tryman on the Leningrad front — and perhaps he might have been spared for just this reason. — Sunday Telegraph.

West's aid to Africa 'a failure'

LONDON — The West's record of aid for Africa in the past decade "can only be characterised as one of failure," International Finance Corporation executive vice president Sir William Ryrie said yesterday.

Despite total aid flows of about \$83bn between 1980 and 1988, the standard of living in sub-Saharan Africa fell by 1.2% a year and the fall was even greater in Nigeria because of the decline in the oil price, he said in remarks prepared for delivery to a conference on development in Africa at the House of Commons.

The flows had left Africa with a debt equivalent of about 100% of its GDP and more than 350% of its export earnings, he said.

Africa would continue to need large amounts of official aid on grant or near-grant terms for some time if it was to avoid collapse, he said, but "all experience shows that aid provided to governments, especially in Africa, is not well used".

Ryrie said donors should ensure that aid did not create more debt. "More governments should be prepared to consider outright forgiveness of debt."

But, as part of efforts to ensure that aid was well spent, there should also be more

donor co-ordination. Aid should be linked to policy reform and the development of the private sector.

In the long run, the key to African development was private investment, he said.

UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd told the conference good government in recipient countries was an important qualification for aid.

Africa should also make itself more attractive to private investment. There was no question of the UK diverting official aid funds to eastern Europe, but there was bound to be some diversion of private sector flows "unless Africa becomes a more attractive place in which to invest".

However, UN Conference of Trade and Development secretary general Kenneth Dadzie warned that African countries would have difficulty expanding their exports of primary commodities during the 1990s because the markets for these in industrial countries were likely to remain depressed.

Diversification would require increased financing from multilateral and regional institutions and the developed world would also have to provide access to African products. — Financial Times.

Q: HOW, in your opinion, does perestroika and the new political thinking affect the situation in Africa? What is the USSR's present attitude to Africa?

A: The perestroika drive has led to such striking changes in the world situation, to a change from confrontation and ideological rivalry to mutual understanding and co-operation.

The approaches to settling problems of long standing are changing as is evidenced by the resolution of the conflict in South West Africa. It is believed now that a political solution can and must be found for the domestic conflicts in Angola and Mozambique as well as for the problem of eliminating the apartheid system in South Africa. The less ideological prejudice that is displayed in the approaches to these problems, the easier it will be to settle them.

Democratisation

There are different attitudes to perestroika. Some people (in Africa) are cautious and doubtful as to whether we are doing everything right in our country, but the main thing is the wish that the main aim of this policy - renewal of socialism - should come true. I do not think we have lost any of our friends in Africa because of the de-ideologisation of our inter-state relations. On the contrary, there are considerably more of them now.

I can confirm that this (democratisation of political life in African countries) was the subject of a vivid and interesting exchange of opinions during (foreign minister) Eduard Shevardnadze's talks with the leaders of African countries. The general conclusion is that democratisation of state structures and socio-political life is the dominating idea of our time.

Q: Has the concept of what is known as socialist-orientation justified itself in Africa? What have the peoples of the countries that have taken that course gained from it?

A: I could ask the opposite questions: has the concept of capitalist development and free market economy justified itself in practice? I don't think there is one answer to that question either.

The Soviet Union's push to industrialisation has always been a good example for the Africans. What's bad is that along with our experience, our deformed ideas of socialism were automatically transferred to Africa together with

Soviet views

Sowetan 13/6/90

The senior African specialist in the Soviet foreign ministry has conceded that the Soviet Union suffers "considerable" economic hardship from its refusal to do business with South Africa. But he has intimated that Moscow attaches greater importance to the moral aspect of opposing apartheid. Moscow believes it is still too early to say reform in South Africa has become irreversible but once it is possible to lift sanctions, the Soviet Union is ready for "all kinds of mutually beneficial cooperation" with a non-racist South Africa. These and other points were made by Yuri Yukalov, head of the African department of the Soviet foreign ministry, in an interview with Vladimir Astafyev of the *Novosti* news agency. This is a shortened account of the interview, prepared by the Sowetan Africa News Service.

our experience, in defiance of common sense and without consideration for the different conditions.

Until now neither the 'socialist' nor the 'capitalist' road of development has helped the African countries in their economic and social development.

Q: Has the Soviet Union stopped supporting the policy of force and pressure which its allies use in Africa, particularly in South Africa, Ethiopia and Angola? Has the Soviet Union given up ill-advised sales of weapons?

Weapons

A: Defence sufficiency is becoming our basic principle. We cannot ignore the fact that armed resistance from the outside is increasing, though the conflicts in Angola and Ethiopia are internal by nature. It would not be wise in view of this situation to stop all our assistance to the legitimate governments because this could lead the opposition to believe in the possibility of a military victory.

The question of arms supplies to the hotbeds of tension should be decided on a comprehensive basis, so that none of the sides has unilateral advantages.

Q: While welcoming in principle the Government's pro-

gramme of changes in South Africa, why does the USSR silently agree to the ANC tactics of a continued armed struggle to oust the Government? Does it not contradict the proclaimed policy of solving conflicts by political means only?

Armed struggle

A: The ANC is a powerful anti-apartheid organisation and it is not in Moscow where its tactics and strategies are worked out. Of course thousands of miles away from South Africa, one can sit in one's office and speculate on the allegedly outdated ANC tactics of armed struggle.

But the ANC leadership has a different opinion - that the system of apartheid in South Africa is the main source of violence and that the opponents of apartheid have every right to respond with violence to violence as long as this system exists.

As for the Soviet position, we believe that favourable conditions have been created to dismantle apartheid by political means.

Which does not mean that negotiations are going to be easy and quick. Nevertheless the very fact of their start is important, the first step has been made and the psychological deadlock is broken.

Q: Is it not against the Soviet

interests, particularly economic, to refuse to establish economic and diplomatic relations with South Africa? Why is the Soviet Union against business contact with South Africa? Do you expect any changes in this respect?

Consensus

A: Of course we suffer considerable economic losses in refusing to do business with South Africa. But one should ask oneself: can one seek advantage by all means and overlook universal values in foreign policy?

The situation in South Africa remains complicated. It is too early to say that progress has gone so far that there can be no return to the past. This is why there is a fairly strong consensus in the world community that it is still too early to lift sanctions. And the UN General Assembly arrived at the same conclusion during its special session on apartheid in December.

As for possible changes in the Soviet position we have indicated that we are prepared to develop all kinds of mutually beneficial cooperation with a democratic and non-racist South Africa. We are hopeful that this will become a real possibility in the near future and we are willing to promote this process.

Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various media affecting media reporting comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to satisfaction by approaching newspaper or other media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons are advanced.

The address is: The Media Council/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 522, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: 461-7317. Inquiries are

IT is a fact, albeit unpalatable, that the vast sums of money poured into the continent of Africa by the First World have completely failed to improve the lot of ordinary rural Africans.

Generally speaking he remains today what he was fifty years ago - malnourished, uneducated and dirt poor.

The standard of living for the First World citizen has improved beyond expectation since World War 2 while his brother in Africa appears to be going backwards. Certainly it is no secret that the per capita food production in Africa has declined in the past decades - a sure indication of a lower standard of living.

So, what happened to all those billions of dollars? The bones of white elephants litter the African veld in the form of grandiose high-tech projects completely inappropriate to the African condition or her people.

Nepotism

Magnificent prestige schemes designed to impress the Western visitor with the power, wisdom and "civilised" outlook of Africa's leaders are there for all to see - "independence" stadiums that are never filled, power stations that will never produce power, international airports catering for internal flights only, armies used to quell opposition, television networks required to extol the virtues of unpopular leaders and, of course, fun cities.

Beside these symbols of might and divine right sit the mud hovels of the people destitute, forlorn and hungry.

It is unnecessary to mention Swiss bank accounts, corruption or nepotism - we will know they exist - it is just the scale that differs from state to state.

It is not surprising, therefore that the western world has become cynical toward African pleas for more "aid". Nor is it surprising that western "donors" are refusing to assist governments, preferring to channel their funds to non-government organisations (NGOs) in the more certain knowledge that it must bring some relief to the people for whom it is intended.

Unfortunately ... aid offered through the NGOs remains pitifully small whereas the task of "black upliftment" remains awesome.

NGOs have their own problems. While objectives may be clear, implementation strategies may be unclear. If implementation strategies are laid down they frequently become inflexible with

Africa needs development

So what
14/6/90

This is the speech delivered by Mr Colin Campion, an executive of the Thusano Foundation, at the Rotary International Conference in Sun City on Tuesday.

FOCUS

the result that recipients view the aid as an imposition and wax resentful.

The normal donor approach is often flawed from the start. With the very best intentions the donor identifies a community need and offers assistance in the form of materials and technical advice. The community's contribution is labour or, as the development consultant calls it, "sweat equity".

Let us look at the pitfalls in such an approach. Let us assume that the donor has identified a clinic as the community's greatest need.

Resentment

The community on the other hand has a totally different priority. They may see their most pressing requirement as additional classrooms to the village school. Immediately there is conflict - the NGOs believing they know best and the community looking upon the unwanted clinic as an imposition.

The materials arrive on site free of charge. The NGOs anticipate gratitude and are dismayed instead to find resentment. Who will be grateful for the charity they do not want?

And the people are now expected to drop their daily work and contribute their time and energy to the task of erecting a building for which they have no enthusiasm. It is simply unrealistic to expect co-operation.

We must look at the facts of life in the rural areas of Africa.

To begin with, the reality is harsh. The burden of labour falls almost exclusively upon the woman - the workhorse of Africa is female. She does all the day-to-day work for the family.

Can she really be expected to

drop all these chores to construct a building which is not her choice?

The government and community developers appear to have an ambivalent attitude toward "labour". In the urban areas it is a marketable commodity capable of commanding a daily "wage" - a right which is protected by law.

In the rural areas different rules apply. Labour as such is not marketable unless it is attached to a particular skill.

The Urban School will be constructed by a contractor obliged to pay the daily wage rate. The rural school will be built by the community for nothing. It is not surprising therefore that standards are generally far better in the urban areas than the rural areas.

It is not surprising therefore that the drift from village to town continues unabated, resulting in the appalling socio-economic problems we see everywhere in Africa today.

There is a simple remedy.

A recent socio-economic survey among the rural destitute in Bophuthatswana revealed their very modest basic needs. In order of priority they are as follows:

- i. job opportunities, ii. improved water supplies, iii. more arable land, iv. better access to education, v. improved vocational training, vi. more bureaucratic interest, vii. better health facilities, viii. better access to resources, ix. better utilisation of skills and x. improved expectations.

There is no call here for shorter working hours or better pay. Just give us the chance to work - never mind the conditions. The message is clear - help us to create better standards for our children.

If it were possible to canvass the views of every destitute family in Africa the needs would probably be the same.

But at the very heart of their dilemma the single most important factor is poverty - economic

and educational poverty - and more important of all, job poverty.

When we look at rural Africa and see the teeming masses of the "poorest of the poor", the task of "upliftment" appears beyond reach - if not impossible.

Yet it is possible. There is a way, and it is a simple way.

For the past six years I have been deeply involved in the work of the Thusano Foundation in the rural areas of Bophuthatswana

Thusano - which means "helping each other" - has forged a unique and highly successful approach to rural development unique in that it benefits the individual, the community and the nation. It works as it has tangible results.

In the first place the traditional authority and the community are asked to nominate a project. The project could be anything from water reticulation to a library. It is not Thusano's project. It is the community's.

The chief and his people may debate for weeks before settling upon a project. They exercise a democratic freedom of choice much to be envied.

Machine

Those who work on the project are picked by the tribal authority. The chief and his councillors know their people. The only stipulation made is that the destitute and very poor are often given preference.

Whenever possible local building skills are used, rarely people from outside. Early it is found that there are many under-utilised skills in rural districts. Training programmes have assisted in upgrading these skills where necessary.

Whatever the chosen project, the relevant department is asked for approval, to ensure there is no conflict between the departmental programme and the community's preference.

The first requirement for any construction programme is building bricks. At first we used the

* To Page 7

Soccer hooligans . . . Five West German soccer fans were arrested Tuesday for fighting and vandalism in Milan during the worst outbreak of World Cup hooliganism. They were also banned from any of the 12 World Cup cities during the month-long

under a piecemeal bargaining arrangement. Picture by Associated Press.

An engine for all African economies

Nelson Mandela is currently travelling through Europe and North America asking for sanctions to be maintained against South Africa until the African National Congress feels change has become irreversible. Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, is fond of pointing out that the last thing South Africa needs is to have its economy wrecked by sanctions.

South Africa is not exactly bleeding to death from the effects of sanctions but, if its economy is to expand at a rate sufficient to fulfil the economic expectations that will come with more political freedom, it will need an injection of confidence. That will not happen until sanctions, a symbol of world disapproval of apartheid, are lifted.

The minds of Western leaders are so concentrated on finding the politically correct motif to lift sanctions that no one is looking at a more important long-term question for Africa: Can a South Africa, freed from sanctions and at peace with itself and its neighbours, bring development and prosperity to the whole of southern Africa?

The quiet pro quo of a successful political settlement in South Africa is not just the end of apartheid, it could also include the end of a number of particularly destructive regional wars.

More than 100 million people live in southern Africa, many of them in abject poverty. In Mozambique and Angola there is famine again this year. Could the region be transformed into a prosperous community driven by South Africa's economic might?

Although every country south of the Congo river has maintained trading links with South Africa in some form these have been constrained and clandestine. Subsidiaries of South African companies have operated more openly but their links with South Africa are still sensitive.

Quid pro quo

From 1976, South Africa invited its neighbours to join a "Constellation of States", a concept of political and economic co-operation between Pretoria and southern African countries that offered trade and co-operation in return for an acceptance of apartheid.

They refused and instead set up the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) whose aim was to improve co-operation between its members and thereby reduce their dependency on South Africa. Pretoria responded by backing rebel movements in the two regional

A South Africa freed from sanctions and at peace could bring prosperity to southern Africa, writes Richard Dowden.

states, Angola and Mozambique, thus helping to destroy rail and road links to the coast, the vital economic arteries of the SADCC members.

Some people believe that southern Africa's economic weakness is entirely caused by South African aggression, a theory contradicted by the fact that African countries, such as Ghana, suffer from the same problems as some of its neighbours.

Botswana, South Africa's nearest neighbour, meanwhile, is one of the few prosperous nations in Africa with a growth rate of over 6 percent.

Nevertheless, Pretoria's regional policy of destabilisation helped to keep Angola, Mozambique and, indirectly, Zimbabwe and Zambia, weak and underdeveloped.

Isolated and paranoid, the military men of Pretoria sought to create a wasteland around South Africa to keep the ANC at bay. From the early 1980s, they poured arms and supplies into the Unita rebel movement in Angola and the Renamo rebels in Mozambique and raided Maputo, Gaborone and even Lusaka at will.

However, Anglo American

has already invested in Zimbabwe and Zambia and sees prospects opening up in tourism and mining in Mozambique. Its partner company De Beers owns Namibia's diamond mines and jointly owns Botswana's.

In a recent speech Gavin Relly, Anglo's chairman, said: "It is not only a question of the size of South Africa's economy . . . but the commonality of problems which South Africa shares with the region and indeed sub-Saharan Africa, high birth rates, rapid urbanisation, job creation and other basic needs."

Shared problems

"The resources and the specific expertise that South Africa can deploy in the region are tailor-made to the sort of problem solving which will promote further development," he added.

Many companies in South Africa regard the end of South Africa's isolation as a challenge to trek into the rest of Africa. South African Breweries, for example, already doing good business in Africa, can look forward to even better trade once the taboos are gone.

South African businessmen, some of whom are already to

be found as far north as Kinshasa or Abidjan, are gearing up for a more open, aggressive pitch at Africa's markets.

Several transnationals, such as Shell and BP, who have to base their Africa operations in London and their South African operation in South Africa, will now be able to combine the two. Although some have pulled out of South Africa because of disinvestment pressure, the situation is not irreversible. But it is not only the private corporations that are preparing to move.

Ian McRae, the chief executive of Eskom, the parastatal South African electricity company, for example, has a vision of South Africa transforming the rest of Africa.

Africa has a way of swallowing up grandiose plans devised for its betterment, especially by people removed from its realities, but Mr McRae counts himself an African. When the people of Soweto refused to pay their electricity bills he went to talk to them, alone and at night, to find out what the problem was and if he could solve it.

He believes electrical power could be the catalyst in the region and is already working on a scheme to unite Africa as far north as the Equator in one power grid. Although 60 years old and heading a company of some 55 000 employees Mr McRae sounds like an enthusiastic young man with a big idea.

He has a sheaf of letters from senior officials in neighbouring states, which he proudly, but coyly, produces, to support the idea of southern Africa economic community.

"We have, as a region, to join hands to face a united Europe," one wrote.

Expressing accord, another senior official from a Frontline state has written: "On a southern African economic community I would like to assure you that I am anxious to achieve these goals."

There are no official signs that SADCC is even contemplating the economic impact of a free South Africa on the region but six months ago Zimbabwe approached Eskom for the first time.

Map drawn

To demonstrate his dream Mr McRae has drawn up a map of southern Africa with proposed power lines linking the Congo River in Zaïre to Uganda and Kenya, Zambia to Malawi and Mozambique and southern Angola to the Transvaal through Botswana.

Mr McRae's vision may or may not be realisable, but it invokes a fundamental truth about the new South Africa. It is African, with a future in Africa. — The Independent News Service.

The next three articles on Africa in the twentieth century will focus on

- colonialism and the underdevelopment of Africa
- African nationalism and independence movements
- the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

Colonialism and the underdevelopment of Africa

Kwame Nkrumah, in his book, *I Speak of Freedom* noted that the African colonies were exploited of all their raw materials, especially minerals, in order to improve the financial, capitalist development of the colonial "mother" countries of Europe. This theme will be developed so that you, as students can explain why Third World Countries, including most African countries, are experiencing economic hardships. Despite political independence, most African countries are tied economically to the dominant world powers, namely, the USA, USSR, Britain, West Germany and France.

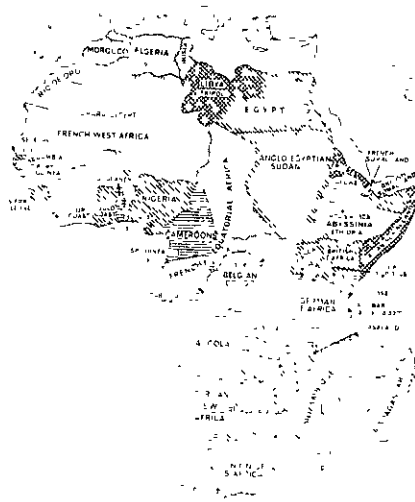
In studying colonialism we are very aware how European countries raped the African continent of its natural resources, labour and wealth in order to benefit their own economies. It is important that scholars of African History clearly understand the terminology used by historians in their writings on this period of history. Most European historians, schooled in the colonial tradition, will refer to the **development** of European countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and to the **underdevelopment** of the Third World countries i.e. those areas which gained independence after World War Two (1939 - 1945). Socialist writers refer to the **underdevelopment** of Third World countries and believe that the exploitation of these lands had stopped, limited and prevented economic growth. Underdevelopment is a situation in which a country becomes incorporated into a permanent relationship with an expanding, capitalist, developed economy.

An example:

An example is necessary. Britain, a colonial country, colonized i.e. occupied and controlled the resources of other lands, for example, Ghana in Africa. Ghana produced cocoa and Britain had its eye on the profit it would gain from the world cocoa market. It promoted the production of cocoa in Ghana for the world market and the price of cocoa was therefore set by the world demand and supply of cocoa. Other goods required by Ghana had to be imported. To any student it becomes obvious that the export price of cocoa will be far less than the import price of other essential goods needed by the Ghanaian people. In the long run, Ghana achieved political independence from Britain in 1958, but could not escape its dependency on the export of only one commodity. When the world price of cocoa fell, Ghana suffered. Remember Ghana still had to pay for the importation of other essential commodities. Her dependence and debt owed to Britain increased after independence. This is the essence of underdevelopment.

Africa in the twentieth century: 1

① New Nation Learning Station June 15, 1981



The colonial system brought about underdevelopment in the lands of Asia, Africa and South America. The colonial countries dispossessed the third world countries of their land, mineral wealth and labour.

As the map in the quiz shows, Britain, France, Portugal, Germany and Belgium were the major colonizers of Africa. Only three areas, Liberia, Egypt and Abyssinia (Ethiopia) were regarded as independent states. In reality, they too were under the financial control of other countries. The United States of America, for example, had invested millions of dollars in Liberia and owned one million acres of land there. In 1936 the fascist Italian army invaded Ethiopia and its Emperor, Haile Selassie, appealed to the League of Nations for foreign armies to assist him in driving out the Italian invaders. Likewise, British soldiers were still stationed in Egypt, watching the British investments in the Suez Canal Zone.

Britain colonized the southern and northern areas of Africa. The French colonized the north-western areas of Africa. Belgium controlled Zaire, formerly, the Belgian Congo. Portugal colonized Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

Exploitation of African workers

In the colonial period it is necessary to highlight the exploitation of African workers. The mineral and natural resources of Africa provided the colonial "mother" country with greater wealth and in order to increase this wealth, low wages were paid to the workers who produced this wealth. The African subsistence farmer i.e. those who provided for their own needs, were gradually forced off the land as large companies bought tracts of land to provide food for the world markets. The colonial governments managed to dispossess millions of people of their land and force them into wage-labour in the towns. The traditional ways of life were gone and to avoid death, caused by starvation or malnutrition, the indigenous populations accepted the only possible alternative - work in the towns at a low wage rate. Most of the work offered was paid by overseas companies which had invested large sums of money in Africa.

Racism was also responsible for low wages. Colonists believed in the unscientific ideology that they were in some way

"superior" to the indigenous people of Africa and this justified wage differentiation. During the World Depression (1929 - 1933), wages were extremely low and the poverty in the northern continents was seen within Africa.

The mineral wealth of Africa enabled companies to make large profits. Minerals exploited in Africa included phosphates, oil, lead, zinc, manganese and iron ore in North Africa, copper was mined in Zambia, tin in Nigeria, gold and manganese in Ghana, chromium in Zimbabwe. These are only the tip of the ice-berg of minerals found in Africa. Yet the profits from the world sale of such minerals only benefited the colonial countries.

The indigenous population of Africa who escaped the low-paid job market of the urban areas remained as peasant farmers on the land. Most produced crops for one or two companies and were forced to concentrate on export commodities. Companies or colonial governments often imposed taxes on indigenous farmers and forced them to grow cash crops for the export market.

The urban workers or proletariat were receiving low wages and yet the price of food and basic necessities increased. Workers began to group together into associations or trade unions so that collective action could be taken. These were the early days when strikes and consumer boycotts were virtually unknown. However, resistance was evident.

Social services

Social services in colonial Africa were used for the colonists and a small, educated African elite. Widespread medical, health and educational services were not provided for the majority of people.

Communication networks via road or rail were geared to the trade between the

colonial country and its "mother". Towns were connected to ports so that exports and imports could be transported easily. However, communication networks among rural villages was and still is very poor.

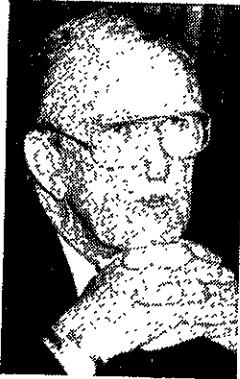
Now let's try to focus on the administration of colonies by their colonial exploiters. Each country had a different method of administration. Britain practised the system of decentralization of control and chose indigenous African leaders from the educated elite to rule on behalf of the "mother" countries. It is obvious that such leaders were schooled in the missionary, colonial tradition and imposed different values on the people in comparison to what they were used to. France, Belgium and Portugal centralised authority and appointed colonial governors to administer the colonies. Most of the indigenous people who worked for the colonial rulers were regarded as "puppets" or "traitors" and lost any form of political power in the movements which strove towards independence.

Education was developed in the western, Christian, missionary mould. A UNESCO publication on Africa stated,

"The overall estimated illiteracy rate of 80 to 85% is nearly twice that of the world figure". (1980)

In 1939 the colonial countries asked African people to join the colonial armies. Many were indoctrinated and told that they were "fighting for freedom" against Nazi Germany and the racist ideologies of Nazism. It was in 1945, on their return to Africa, that soldiers translated the war message to their own situation and organised more effective resistance and "freedom" movements and organisations. The independence movements gained support in the post-World War Two period and we shall examine these movements in the next article.

Africa urged to use commodities



●FRASER

LONDON — African governments should change attitudes and use commodities to promote economic growth, a UN-commissioned report by independent experts said.

"Instead of neglecting what is the main source of food, income and investment surplus, African policymakers must use commodity production and trade as a motor for expansion," the report said.

"Africa must have access to EC and other OECD markets, otherwise commod-

ity strategies will collapse," former Australian prime minister Malcolm Fraser, who chaired the report committee, said.

The report urged governments to allocate at least 25% of public expenditure to agriculture, and said halving the share of military spending to 5% would save \$3.7bn a year.

"Africa's Commodity Problems — Towards a Solution" urges increased aid and investment in transport, storage and agricultural research.

The report said African countries had still to fully exploit new product varieties and explore fresh resources, especially in minerals, energy and forestry.

African governments should more actively encourage the setting up of joint ventures to strengthen marketing and distribution, the report said.

The commodity sector provided 90% to 100% of export earnings of most African countries, it noted. — Reuter.

Four African states get relief for debts

LA BAULE - France hopes a symbolic debt relief offer it announced for four African countries will prompt a common policy at a summit of the world's top creditors next month.

"The problem of debt will be discussed at the (G-7) summit in Houston and there will be countries who will ask for similar treatment," French Finance Minister Pierre Beregovoy said on Tuesday night.

He was briefing

reporters after President Francois Mitterrand announced that France was cutting the interest rate on the public debt of the four countries from 10 to five percent.

This will save Cameroon, Congo, Ivory Coast and Gabon a total of almost R100 million in 1990, a small contribution to their deep economic problems.

"Without similar ac-

tion by at least some of the other big Western creditors like West Germany and Japan, this will not mean much," said a Western diplomat observing the summit.

The last summit of the Group of Seven most industrialised countries adopted a debt relief package announced by France for 35 poor African countries. -Sapa-Rtr.

Sowetan 22/6/90

France aiming for African debt deal

By Day 22/6/90

LA BAULLE — France hopes a debt relief offer it announced for four African countries will prompt a common policy at a summit of the world's top creditors next month.

The problem of debt will be discussed at the (G-7) summit in Houston and there will be countries who will ask for similar treatment," French Finance Minister Pierre Berégovoy said this week. He was briefing reporters after President Francois Mitterrand announced that France was cutting the interest rate on the public debt of the four countries from 10% to 5%.

Action

This will save Cameroon, Congo, Ivory Coast and Gabon a total of \$40m in 1990, a small contribution to their deep economic problems.

Without similar action by at least some of the other big Western creditors like West Germany and Japan, this will not mean much," said a Western diplomat observing the summit.

The last summit of the group of seven most industrialised countries adopted a debt relief package announced by France for 35 poor African countries.

Officials said Mitterrand was hoping they would adopt the new package for the four medium-income countries. Berégovoy said France could not afford

to include other medium-income debtors in the deal but hoped their case would be taken up by its G-7 partners.

Mitterrand also used the debt relief to back his call for the West to help Africa overcome its economic crisis instead of insisting that the continent first embrace democracy.

Taking a cue from Morocco's King Hassan, who gave the first formal summit address, Mitterrand pleaded with the West to give Africa time to develop democratic institutions.

One African leader noted yesterday that 50 years ago in Europe we had fascism, nazism and stalinism," Mitterrand said.

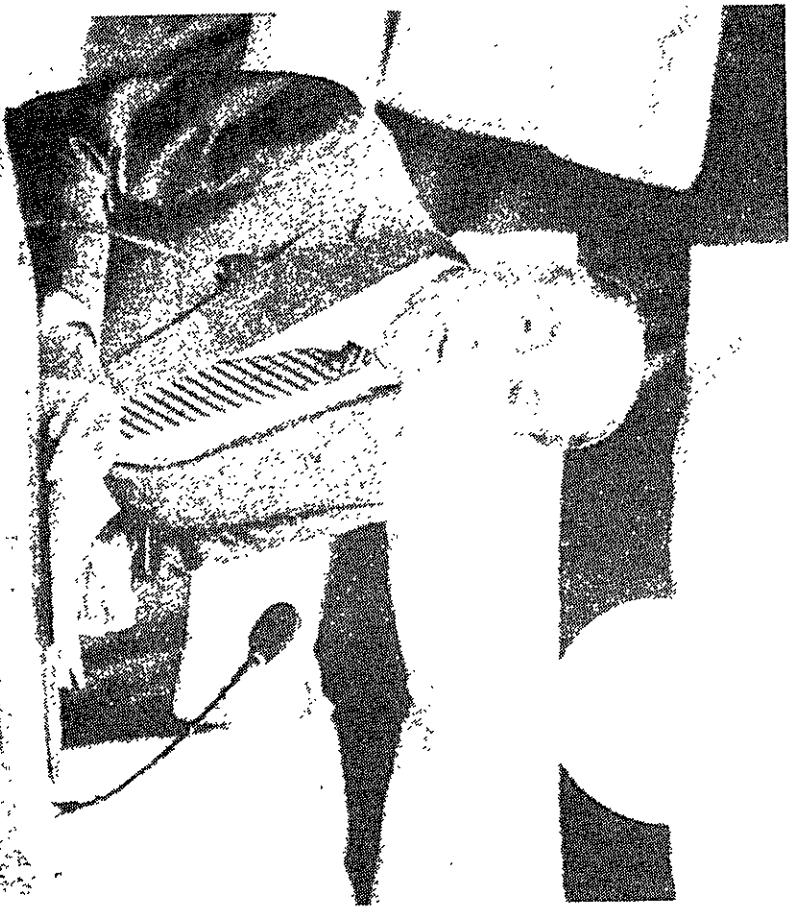
Mitterrand deflected domestic pressure to use French aid to help demands for multiparty democracy in Africa, saying this was a matter for the Africans.

In the first public reaction to his speech, one of the 22 heads of state at the summit welcomed some form of linkage.

Senegalese President Abdul Diouf told the French daily, Liberation: "All countries should continue to receive aid whatever their regimes, because it is the people that are being assisted.

But there should also be a certain bonus for the countries which opt for political pluralism."

Of the 35 African countries at the summit, Senegal is one of less than a dozen that practise multiparty democracy. — Reuter.



French President Francois Mitterrand addressing the 16th Franco-African summit in La Baule, France.

Country	20'S	1.31	1.50	1.47	50	50	50	REPORT	TOTAL
ROTHMANS	20'S	1.31	1.50	1.47					
ROTHMANS SPECIAL MILD	20'S	1.31	1.50	1.47					
LEXINGTON	20'S	1.30	1.50	1.47					
ROTHMANS	20'S	1.31	1.50	1.47					
Picture REUTERS									

AS Nelson Mandela continues on his regal 12-day trip across the US, it is becoming clear that political and economic winds of change are blowing more strongly across the African continent than for three decades.

The African National Congress leader is expected to be shielded from the rough-and-tumble of serious debate during what will amount to a non-stop nationwide celebration of black (and to a smaller extent white liberal) solidarity.

But the real question, which the Mandela visit may help to highlight, is how a bigger measure of political freedom can be brought to countries with often fragile claims to nation-statehood, scant traditions of pluralism, endemic poverty and endless potential for ethnic strife.

As Eastern Europe's dictatorships are replaced, Africans and American special-ists on Africa are suddenly eagerly wondering whether Africa's turn, continent-wide and not just on the southern tip, has come.

While South Africa has generally been viewed by the American public essentially as an Alabama-style civil rights problem, with Mr Mandela the incarnation of Martin Luther King, the visit may begin to illuminate the hideous complexities of shifting power constitutionally in a country where social and ethnic divisions are far more than just a battle between blacks and whites.

Just as the real constitutional wrangling over South African power is about to begin, people throughout Africa are beginning, far more openly than a few years ago, to debate such awkward concepts as the multiparty system, which had been abandoned by the overwhelming majority of countries shortly after independence three decades ago.

The Washington-based World Bank's message that market economies work better is also being far more widely accepted by African leaders, whereas nine years ago a famous report commissioned by the bank and written by the Michigan economist, Dr Elliot Berg, was generally denounced as arrogant, ideologically insensitive, Western-imperialist propaganda.

In April, the World Bank's American president, Barber Conable, was able to declare that Africa's economic rot stemmed essentially from in-



■ Namibia's Sam Nujoma allows party plurality

competent and corrupt governments.

"The development of many sub-Saharan countries has been unnecessarily constrained by their political systems," declared Mr Conable, hinting heavily that the multiparty concept should be tried again.

"People need the freedom to realise individual and col-

XAN SMILEY in Washington examines the new shift towards democracy

active potential." This time, the bank's 13-strong Council of African Advisers, which disliked the sharpness of the Berg report conveying much the same message ("You Africans have just got to get your own act together," as one top banker put it), encouraged him to call for new leadership.

Tempted

The eclipse of the Soviet Union as an evangelical power has meant that Africans are no longer tempted to play off one ideology against another as a way of retaining power.

Despite the considerable role of the South African Communist Party within the ANC, Mr Mandela's economic planners have been quietly putting out feelers to the World Bank and are intimating a growing readiness to contemplate various models for the new South Africa.

The most spectacular change of mood, however, is in the rest of Africa, where France has taken the lead in letting its francophone friends know that the metropolitan power will no longer, militarily or economically, bail out despotic rulers.

A controlled multiparty system, with presidents still paramount but with debate bubbling below, has already been set up in Benin, Ivory Coast and Gabon, has expanded in Madagascar and Algeria, and already exists in Senegal, Morocco and Tunisia.

Even Zaire's strongman, Mobutu Sese Seko, America's most controversial friend on the continent, has felt obliged to allow parties to reappear under his watchful eye.

The resilient Jonas Savimbi's repeated call for an election in Angola, where his Unita guerrillas seem to have recovered their breath, is no longer viewed in Washington, or perhaps even in Moscow, as mere froth.

On the anglophone side, only Botswana is a truly multiparty state, though Uganda technically still allows competing parties — without a constitutional framework in which they can operate.

Tanzania's ex-president, Julius Nyerere, has recently conceded that the multiparty concept is worth discussing, while the Namibian experiment — too new to judge — is being watched in the hope that Sam Nujoma will continue to allow a plurality of parties.

Unpopular

The three most notable anglophone odd men out are Kenya's Daniel Arap Moi, who is dead against abandoning the one-party monopoly, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, who still allows an opposition party (just) but says he wants to do away with it, and Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, who promises a referendum on the matter but is doing his best to deter a potential opposition from canvassing for a yes vote.

Almost all Africans, it seems, now admit that peaceful ways must be found to eject unpopular rulers. With the exception of the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius in 1982, not a single black African country has ever allowed its people to vote a leader out of office.

"We know that can't go on. We can't blame the colonialists any more," says a Washington-based Sierra Leonean businessman.

Yet the most enduring problem — rarely recognised by Americans in their enthusiasm for open political debate across the world — is how to prevent African parties from deteriorating into tribal blocs.



■ Unita's Jonas Savimbi is fighting for democracy

The Nigerian constitution of the late 70s, which determined that a president could only be elected if he won at least a quarter of the vote in two-thirds of the state, thereby guaranteeing a measure of trans-tribal support, is the sort of model that is once again being examined by many democratic-minded African lawyers.

Maina Kiai, an articulate Harvard-educated Kenyan lawyer who works for TransAfrica, the left-leaning and liveliest of Washington's think-tanks on Africa, says:

Time to ditch one-party state idea in Africa

REUTERS/GETTY IMAGES

■ World Bank's Barber Conable damns Africa's economic rot

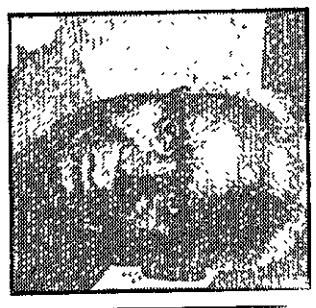
■ Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe wants a one-party state

■ Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda promises a referendum

"First, we've got to get rid of these dictators. Then we must establish in the minds of people that there can be opposition, that it isn't bad in itself. Nobody has really set down any blueprints as to what could happen"

But there have been suggestions that long-time leaders could be elevated above the political fray, to retain charge of the army and foreign policy, while allowing open competition of opinion.

At this stage, most of Africa's leaders are unlikely to smile on such theories. But the fact that they are suddenly being so much more widely debated is making big waves.



Commodity sector is crucial to Africa



UN

Bloom 25/6/90

NEW YORK — African policy-makers must use commodity production and trade as "a motor for expansion", argues a UN report published last week.

The report, Africa's Commodity Problems: Towards a Solution, commissioned by UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, says: "The failure in the commodity sector has been central to the economic crisis facing Africa."

Former Australian prime minister Malcolm Fraser chaired the group of experts who compiled the report.

The future performance of the sector will be critical to the success of Africa's economic recovery efforts, the report says.

It points out that commodities account for between 85% and 95% of the continent's total export earnings.

"Real growth opportunities exist in primary commodity production," the group believes. But the report stresses that if this is to be achieved, African governments must introduce further reforms, while industrialised countries should provide additional financial resources, technical assistance, allow more open markets for African exports of primary products and manufactured primary products, and increase efforts to negotiate fair commodity agreements.

The report notes that excluding fuel exports, commodities earned \$18bn for Africa in international markets in 1988 — 26% lower in real terms than in 1980, and 35% lower than in 1970.

By 1988 Africa's market shares for

cocoa, coffee, cotton and copper had fallen by between 20% and 40% of the 1970 market share, the report calculates.

The report acknowledges that adverse external factors are part of the reason for this poor performance, but adds: "Other developing countries in other regions have had to face similar market problems and they have progressed while Africa has fallen behind."

Other reasons for the poor performance, says the report, include "ill-advised government policies, a serious lack of agricultural scientists, a poor acknowledgement of international markets, a lack of investment in transport and other infrastructure ... and an economic policy framework which offers overseas investors few incentives."

Needs

Describing food prospects for Africa as "appalling", the report calculates that, assuming existing food production and population growth rates are maintained, "consumption could exceed production in the 10 years to the year 2000 by about 50-million tons."

Africa can neither pay for, nor properly distribute, food needs on this scale, warns the report.

It also warns of "major environmental deterioration", noting that the desert is encroaching on agricultural land at a rate of 6-million to 7-million ha (about twice the size of Belgium) each year.

Of the almost 700-million ha of forest, between 3-million and 4-million are being cleared annually because of cultivation practices or fuel demand.

The report accepts that "significant reforms" have been introduced by African governments in recent years.

But it goes on: "We believe that in many African countries the balance remains too far towards centralised decision processes ... especially in the face of increasing competition in the world market place, inefficiencies that make undertaking business in Africa difficult can no longer be afforded."

The report recommends a commodity strategy with the objectives of increasing food security, diversification, increased processing, and greater intra-African trade.

At the international level, the report says that efforts to establish or re-establish international commodity agreements should be increased.

Industrialised countries should move towards eliminating all quantitative limits on commodity imports.

It urges action in the current Uruguay Round of trade talks to enlarge the EC quotas on Common Agricultural Policy terms, and the elimination of tariff escalation clauses affecting African commodity exports.

The Multifibre Arrangement, which restricts textile imports, should be discontinued or phased out after the present arrangement expires next year, says the report. — Financial Times.

... ..

Soviets move

Rescheduled African debt

MASTRICHT — Former World Bank president Robert McNamara has called for rescheduling of African debt to industrialised nations.

"There's very little reason to believe that current development programmes will reverse the trends of exploding population, poverty, and damage to the continent's environment," McNamara told reporters on Sunday on the eve of a 70-nation conference on the African economic crisis.

McNamara and Botswana's President Quett Masire are chairing the three-day meeting, which ends tomorrow.

The total debt of sub-Saharan countries grew to \$134bn in 1988 from \$6bn in 1970, according to the World Bank.

McNamara said Africa would be hurt by interest rates rising in Europe as a side effect of investment in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. — AP-DJ.

Kaunda plays golf as unrest fades

LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda played golf yesterday as Zambia returned uneasily to normal after five days of anti-government riots and an aborted coup by mutinous troops.

Long lines formed before dawn outside state stores, private supermarkets and petrol stations that were closed after student-led rioting over food price hikes erupted last Monday.

Paramilitary police and troops patrolled the streets of Lusaka and other cities and towns but there were no signs of unrest yesterday.

While officials insisted no-one was killed during the coup attempt on Saturday, witnesses and diplomats said three civilians celebrating Kaunda's reported demise were shot dead near State House.

The government has retained a dusk-to-dawn curfew.

Kaunda, 67, was in the central Zambian city of Ndola in the early hours of Saturday morning when a signal corps lieutenant announced on state radio the army had seized power.

But the soldier and at least four other officers involved in an alleged plot to oust Kaunda were detained by loyalist troops. The government has officially acknowledged the arrests of only two people, Lt Mwamba Luchembe and an ex-detainee who staged an anti-government demonstration in Ndola.

The broadcasts prompted thousands of joyful Zambians to take to the streets. In last week's protests angry Zambians demanded that the price hikes be rescinded, Kaunda resign immediately and Western-style multiparty democracy be re-

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White businessmen back Mugabe's one-party socialist state plans

HARARE — President Robert Mugabe yesterday received unexpected backing for his plans for a socialist one-party state from an organisation representing the white-dominated industrial sector.

Confederation of Zimbabwean industries (CZI) president John Deary told a Press conference: "We accept the (ruling) party's views on the desirability of a one-party state, but we certainly do not believe it is necessary to introduce it when government has in effect achieved that."

Deary was reacting to statements at the weekend by Mugabe comparing pro-Western elements in the ruling ZANU (PF) leadership to Judas Iscariot for warning of loss of foreign investment and economic support should he ignore Western objections to political developments here.

Deary said the CZI supported "some" aspects of a one-party state.

"There will obviously be both a measure of loss of investment potential, and probably it will affect grant aid and loans."

MICHAEL HARTNACK

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Deary, who said Zimbabwe's estimated 1.2-million to 1.5-million unemployed would be the major concern of this week's annual CZI congress, believed Mugabe would continue to heed the private sector. Mugabe had stressed his desire for "a Zimbabwean type of socialism," which included a place for the private sector.

"We still have to find out exactly what that means in the terms of a structural adjustment," said Deary, referring to government promises of extensive economic liberalisation over the next five years.

Deary noted the challenge a post-apartheid SA would pose Zimbabwe, but said it would offer Zimbabwean businessmen huge potential in its expanded market.

Worrisome numbers of skilled Zimbabweans were being attracted by job offers in SA because Zimbabwe possessed better educational facilities, he said.

"The South Africans have already been doing a great deal to recapture their markets in the region and we will face tough competition," said Deary.

Geingob optimistic

WINDHOEK — Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob says he is optimistic that the dispute between SA and Namibia over Walvis Bay will be resolved amicably soon.

Geingob said in an interview that Namibia regarded Walvis Bay as part and parcel of Namibia, although it was still officially SA territory.

Geingob said that he envisaged joint economic projects with SA once it had resolved certain political difficulties. Before then, Namibia would try to loosen its economic dependency on SA.

He also indicated that SA might be one of the countries targeted for the first Namibian diplomatic missions.

Lack of finance prevented Namibia from opening offices elsewhere. As yet, Namibia had no diplomatic representation in other countries. — Sapa.

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Madagascan, SA officials hold talks

Agus 9/7/70
ANTANANARIVO
(Madagascar). — South African and Madagascan officials and businessmen have held talks on restoring air links and building new hotels on the Indian Ocean island.

State-run Radio Madagascar said yesterday that South African Airways proposes to build a resort hotel on Nosy Be island while the hotel chain Sun Resorts International plans to construct a luxury hotel in the capital.

It did not say if any agreements were signed during the talks, but quoted Transport and Tourism Minister Mr Lucien Zasy as saying that South African aircraft were now free to fly through Madagascan airspace.

De Beers is also interested in mineral exploration on the island.
Sapa-Reuter.

Human rights abuses remain in Africa

Sowetan 11/7/90 (1)

LONDON - Hundreds of prisoners of conscience were freed in Africa last year but major human rights abuses remained, Amnesty International said yesterday.

Mass arrests took place, dozens of extrajudicial executions were carried out and long-term political prisoners had still not been brought to trial on the continent, the London-based human rights organisation said in its annual report.

"Significant numbers of unarmed civilians were killed by soldiers fighting insurgents and people were targeted for arrest largely because of their ethnic or regional origins," Amnesty said.

The report said prisoners of conscience and political prisoners were released last year in Benin, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Africa, Namibia and Angola.

Nigeria said public executions had stopped. It reported 12 executions last year compared with 85 in the previous year. Amnesty said more might have taken place that were not reported.

In South Africa, 60 hangings took place, significantly fewer than 117 in the previous year, followed by a wave of arrests in the middle of the

year when many protesters were killed and 40 people were executed extrajudicially.

"In Somalia and other countries where government soldiers were fighting insurgents, such as Ethiopia, Liberia and Sudan, significant numbers of unarmed civilians arrested were summarily executed in areas affected by armed conflict," the report said.

Amnesty said a military coup in Sudan in June was followed by mass arrests, possibly the largest number of political arrests anywhere in sub-Saharan Africa last year.

"The other country in which a startling new pattern of human rights violations was noted in 1989 was Mauritania," said Amnesty. It said the government took action against black southern Mauritians after inter-communal killings.

Thwarted

In Chad, government claims to have thwarted a coup in April last year were followed by the arrests of several hundred members of the Zaghawa community, the report said.

It added that the government refused to say what happened to those arrested and there were fears that some had been summarily executed.

In both Chad and Malawi, considerable numbers of political detainees arrested in previous years remained in detention without charge or trial throughout last year.

Other African countries holding large numbers of political prisoners without trial or after unfair trials included Cameroon, Congo, Ghana and Uganda, Amnesty said.

It also said it was concerned about disappearances of people held in custody in Morocco. - Sapa-Reuter



Mr Denis Thatcher, husband of British Prime Mi (second from left), kisses the hand of US First I rival at Houston yesterday. President Geo

Saudis buy 315 US tanks for R7 500-m

WASHINGTON - Saudi Arabia has signed an agreement to purchase 315 of the United States' most advanced tanks in a deal worth more than R7,5 billion, the US Defence Department has announced.

The tanks are scheduled for delivery from 1993 through 1995.

The M-1A2 tank, the most up-to-date version of the Abrams, the Army's main battle tank, is manufactured by the Lands Systems Division of General Dynamics Corp.

Defence Secretary Dick Cheney had proposed terminating the M-1 tank programme in fiscal 1991, which begins October 1, because of diminishing chances for US involvement in a major European land war. - Sapa-AP

Cuban refugees seek protection in embassy

HAVANA - Five Cuban dissidents demanding to be allowed to work and engage in politics in Cuba entered the Czechoslovak embassy in Havana this week asked for protection, an embassy spokesman said.

"They are asking for guarantees to be able to work and engage in politics," Press attache Lubomir Hladik told reporters at the embassy in Havana's Nuevo Vedado district.

He said the five, whom he described as "opposition activists",

had not asked to leave the country but wanted protection from reprisals from the Czechoslovak government. Reporters were not allowed to see the five at the embassy.

The incident was the first time that any Cubans had managed to obtain refuge in an East European embassy in Havana and reflected the political differences which have surfaced between Cuba and Czechoslovakia since the fall of the communist government there. - Sapa-Reuter

Clash over enviroor looms at US summ

HOUSTON - The United States has rejected German proposals to counter the threat of global warming and appeared to put the summit of seven leading industrial nations on course for a clash over the environment.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has called on the other six leaders attending the Houston summit to agree to negotiate limits on carbon dioxide emissions, which many scientists believe contribute to the greenhouse effect and global warming.

Kohl's government is already committed to reducing his country's emissions by a quarter from 1987 levels by the year 2005 and he is anxious that other countries follow suit.

The gases are thought to trap heat in the earth's atmosphere

which could cause the planet's temperature to rise with potentially catastrophic effects for health and agriculture. But the scientific data is still not clear.

White House chief of staff John Sununu told reporters in a briefing on Monday the United States was not prepared to go along with the German plan.

Issues

"We are seeking a commitment that...would allow both the industrialised countries and developing countries to address the broad issue of greenhouse gases without picking them one by one and setting caps on them individually," he said.



Africa's moment of truth

AFRICA has been affected in a variety of ways by events in Central Europe and the Soviet Union.

The reviving debate on revitalising the economy is but one illustration of this. Implanting and securing the future of pluralist democracy is another.

Two major regions — west and southern Africa — are undergoing silent revolutions potentially as profound and unsettling as that recently witnessed in Central Europe.

There is a great emphasis on increasing intra-regional trade, which constitutes less than 5 percent of world trade, with new moves to strengthen and expand intra-regional trade policies and activities.

Africa, in the words of former World Bank president Robert McNamara, constitutes the greatest development challenge facing the world today.

Chronic

The World Bank recently estimated that a quarter of sub-Saharan Africans live in a state of "chronic food insecurity" — in other words, they are living in absolute poverty.

Consequently, infant mortality is soaring and school enrolment and other basic social indicators continue to stagnate or decline with per

capita incomes falling by about 20 percent in the 80s. Food imports have more than doubled over the last 15 years and the region's share of world export markets has fallen to less than two percent, placing it "at the very margin of the global economy".

Deforestation is another serious problem. The estimated amount of tropical forest lost every year used to be 11-million hectares. But in 1987-88 that figure doubled.

In conjunction with the greenhouse effect, deforestation has resulted in lower annual rainfall in coastal forest areas and, more disturbingly, in the Sahel.

Politically, much of the continent is in the throes of transformation. One-party systems and other authoritarian regimes have lost their ideological virginity. Demands from below for participation and for public accountability are gathering force.

Increasingly, African intellectuals, students and trade unionists are questioning the three key assumptions that underpin one-party rule.

These are that one-party rule transcends ethnic and sub-regional cleavages and that a multi-party system is unsuitable (if not undesirable) for Africa.

The defrocked army — the polity militant — of the proponents of one-party rule and of military rule is likely to grow.

Pro-democracy riots in the Ivory Coast, Gabon, Zambia, and most recently in Kenya, have highlighted the tenuous hold on power of some of Africa's better known leaders — that pantheon of post-colonial and self-appointed saints who have dominated African politics and development and, more detrimentally, the outside world's vision of the continent — for nearly 30 years.

The Organisation of African Unity is painfully aware of the fundamental changes taking place in the world and the challenge to Africa to adapt accordingly.

There are, of course, African leaders who continue to swim against the tide, but they too are likely to suffer if change is resisted.

The winds of change blowing throughout the continent pose special challenges to its people — all its people. There rests a moral imperative upon Africans to come to terms with themselves. It is no longer good enough to blame the crippling legacies of colonialism for the ills that beset this unique and underdeveloped continent.

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The economic malaise of much of the continent is compounded by three additional factors — the low rate of agricultural growth, the high rate of population growth and the alarming pace of environmental degradation.

Agriculture, by far the largest sector in African economies, has registered an average growth over the last 30 years below that of the population growth rate.

If the present population growth rate of 3.1 percent a year continues, the population in sub-Saharan Africa will double within the next 22 years to reach 1.6-billion by the year 2020, effectively negating much of the continent's development efforts.

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① S/Times 15/11/90

WORLD LEADERS TITANIC COLLAPSE as moderate, pragmatic leader

19/1/90

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE,
Political Reporter at The Star, who was the only South African journalist to accompany Nelson Mandela on his tour of Africa and Europe, assesses the value of the ANC deputy leader's six-week trip.



Nelson Mandela has returned to South Africa after an international tour which has elevated him to the status of one of the world's most remarkable statesman.

During the most extensive tour ever by a South African politician — visits to 14 countries on three continents in six weeks — the ANC's deputy president convinced the world of the real prospects for a political settlement in South Africa.

He emerged as a pragmatic, moderate leader who, despite a life of immeasurable suffering under apartheid, is willing to put the past behind him and work with the Government — to fulfil a dream for which he has spent 27 years in jail.

The creation of a non-racial united society in which all people can live in equality, dignity, prosperity and peace is that dream.

And he, for the first time, indicated that he intends to expand this ideal to the entire southern Africa region by getting directly involved in efforts to facilitate peace and stability in the region, a process inextricably linked to the abolition of white minority rule in the last country on the African continent.

Mr Mandela left South Africa on June 4 on a three-pronged mission — to thank those who unflinchingly campaigned for his release, to call for the maintenance of sanctions, and to attract funds

for the ANC.

He succeeded, as he repeatedly said, "beyond my wildest dreams". Firstly, the tour has been a victorious lap of honour for the man who until February has been the world's most famous political prisoner.

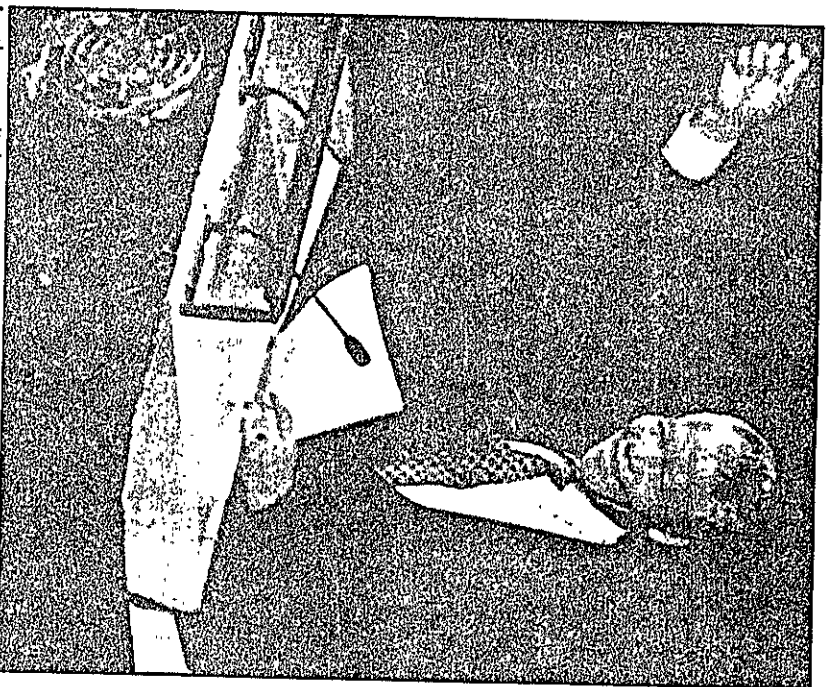
He lived up to his legendary status. The crowds which have gathered in Europe, the United States of America, and Africa went home with more than the satisfaction of having seen in the flesh, the legend, Nelson Mandela.

He inspired them with a message of hope, peace and goodwill. He warmed the hearts and minds of millions of people with his dignity, charisma and lack of bitterness.

Adulation

He also lived up to the more sober expectations of presidents and premiers. Behind closed doors, far removed from the adulation and hype characteristic of the mass rallies, ticker-tape parade and pop concerts, he got down to the job of convincing politicians of the genuineness of the current political process in South Africa.

In this regard, his tour of seven European countries — France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, Ireland and Britain — was of particular significance in view of President de



In the spotlight . . . Nelson Mandela signs delegates of the United Nations General Assembly after his speech on June 22.

Klerk's recent European tour. European leaders, although impressed with Mr de Klerk's initiatives, had reserved their opinion of the new phase of South African politics until having had discussions with Mr Mandela.

The ANC leader impressed them with his cutting analysis of South African politics and won understanding and support for the ANC's goals and strategies.

But more than that, he convinced Europe about Mr de

sanctions had been introduced to eradicate apartheid, a goal which has not been achieved.

While the sanctions controversy dominated the headlines and led to much criticism in the mainstream South African media, the ANC delegation quietly got on with the job of securing investments in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Millions of rands are believed to have been lined up for investment in a post-apartheid economy.

And in a significant softening of ANC policy, Mr Mandela told Western bankers and businessmen the ANC is not married to the concept of nationalisation, but will consider all economic options provided they fulfil the requirements of ensuring a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Sanctions

He assured the economic powers the ANC does not want to wreck the already embattled South African economy, but wants to create a stable political climate which will instill confidence in investors.

The ANC's view on sanctions seems to have met with some understanding from a rather unexpected corner — the South African Government.

Sources indicated that the Government, in discussions shortly before the ANC's tour, indicated it understood the reasoning behind the call for continued sanctions.

The organisation's new international status could ensure better international understanding of the country's complex problems and could strengthen the mutual drive of the Government and the ANC to reach a speedy solution.

Klerk's sincerity and the commitment of both the Government and the ANC to find peaceful solutions through negotiations.

Secondly, his appeal for the maintenance of sanctions until profound and irreversible change has been achieved was hugely successful. This was a daunting task since many European countries believed the time is ripe to reward Mr de Klerk for his brave reforms.

Mr Mandela reasoned that

TWENTY-FIVE years ago my aunt went to vote in a general election in the tiny Kenyan town of Rongai. Each of the four candidates had a ballot box with queues of voters lining up by their choice, in full view of their neighbours. My aunt asked which box was for which candidate and was half-jokingly told: "It doesn't matter. Stand in the line with the most people waiting — he's obviously the best!"

Kenya's rough and ready, parish pump democracy, albeit within a one-party state, was better than most. Nearly half the MPs were regularly tossed out at elections. Voting became more private until, a few years ago, President arap Moi brought back the unsecret method.

I doubt I had more than a half-dozen conversations about the merits of multi-party democracy during visits to about 40 African countries throughout the 1970s. It seemed irrelevant. Earlier, as a teacher in Kenya, I cannot remember hearing a single argument for multipartyism. African culture, based on loyalty to extended family and tribe and on respect for authority, just did not gel with the idea of a political free-for-all which would — we almost all, white and black, assumed — surely

A new generation of educated, middle-class Africans is yearning to try democracy anew. Special constitutional safeguards will be needed to avoid the pitfalls of the tribal past. It may not work ... but Britain, America and the European Community should offer every encouragement. The time for handwringing private diplomacy with out-of-date autocrats is over, writes XAN SMILEY, publisher of the newsletter Africa Confidential, from Washington.

sink rapidly into an ethnic punch-up. The British parliamentary legacy was a short-lived joke because it assumed a national consensus that exists practically nowhere in Africa.

For the first 20 years after independence we Africa hands just accepted that one strong man (in Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta) would rule and hoped he would do it adequately. We knew most of the new men would enrich themselves: it was a perk of the job. Nobody was shocked, very few indignant. Corruption (patronage is the kinder word) was mitigated by a natural African generosity which sometimes slid into profligacy and, by a rudimentary pork-barrelling which brought new services, dams, schools and so on to the outlying villages.

When Tom Mboya, an early Kenyan star, was assassinated he was personally paying school fees for 300 children.

Kenyatta encouraged peasant farmers and small entrepreneurs, welcomed foreign and white settler experience and allowed private publications to print a fair bit of political gossip, so long as they never scratched the cock of the roost. Parliamentary debate, often unsophisticated and rarely directed at policy on high, was sometimes lively. The civil service was entwined, often corruptly, with the one party but retained just enough professionalism to keep administrative wheels turning.

The judiciary was fairly independent — provided

A whisper of new democracy in Africa's middle class

it did not finger the toffs Academia, even the churches, echoed the government themes of the day but were freer than elsewhere. The economy grew fast, though not fast enough to keep pace with the population. Ordinary people were obsessed with education and land and most managed to get a bit of both. The occasional populist opponent was locked up or rubbed out but, as autocracies went, it was bent but mostly benevolent — hard at the top, softer below.

Across the border in Tanzania the visionary prig Julius Nyerere chose collectivism and a more thoroughgoing state control. Europe's Africanists gave him a soft ride for far too long. He was as authoritarian as Kenyatta or Moi and at one time more of his citizens were detained without trial than in South Africa. His country became a caricature of socialism, its lack of economic choice infecting civic life with a sense of unfreedom and uncreativity.

But the failure of Tanzania and similar experiments at least produced one bonus: the overwhelming majority of the new African middle-class, especially in Kenya, look to markets, not socialist planning, as the way ahead.

Stepped down

But the greatest snag throughout Africa, irrespective of ideology, remains the inability of John Citizen to remove, except by violence, the man who moulds his government's overall policy. In 30 years since independence, a handful of multiparty states have survived under the control of unassailable figures such as Senegal's Leopold Senghor (who gracefully bowed out) or Botswana's late Seretse Khama, a wise man lucky enough to preside over a tribally homogeneous country well stocked with South Africa-marketed diamonds.

A few other leaders have more or less voluntarily stepped down but not a single ruler on the African continent has been ousted through the ballot box.

The sudden surge of African interest in multiparty democracy is a delightful whiff of fresh air. Yet it is still extraordinarily hard to see a viable alternative to the stabilising cement of one-party rule. Many of those calling for multiparty democracy today have simply found a fashionable slogan for ousting unloved rulers without pondering new constitutional models for ensuring popular control over the men they want instead.

The real task of the emerging, but frustrated, African middle class should be not just to topple the Moises and the Kaundas but to build new constitutions that really give people a choice.

Break mould

Africa's malaise stems from a few key factors: reliance on exports of raw materials, excessive state control, the greed and immaturity of the ill-educated first-generation ruling class; fundamentally and through no fault of Africans — the legacy of the colonial mapmakers which means that practically none of the 51 countries in the OAU is a real nation-state. Most Africans still owe a stronger allegiance to tribe than to state, hence the near impossibility of the sensible political competition that pre-supposes a shared basic approach.

Opposition to Moi may, for the moment, transcend tribe but if he were to fall (by no means a certainty), Matiba and Rubia should break the mould of traditional politics by calling a conference to write a new constitution that could set a trend in Africa by facing up to the tribal bogey.

Most African countries, with their diverse ethnic make-ups, need strong executive presidencies but the new constitution should require the president, as under the last Nigerian constitution, to win a minimum proportion of the vote (say, 25%) from, say, 66% of the country's provinces to guarantee a measure of cross-tribal support. Election to other top offices should be hedged about with similar devices. The president should be limited to, say, eight years in power.



JOMO KENYATTA: Encouraged peasant farmers and welcomed white experience.



JULIUS NYERERE: He maintained tougher state control and had a soft ride for too long.



DANIEL ARAP MOI. If he fell, a new constitution could start a political trend in Africa.



LEOPOLD SENHOR: Unassailable figure in Africa who eventually bowed out gracefully.



SERETSE KHAMA: Wise man blessed with a tribally homogeneous country and diamonds.



a group of squatters permission to squat on pkyard."

Doe's future in balance

By NOEL BRUYNS ①

THE administration of yet another African leader is about to be toppled.

But unlike in other African states where government opponents are fighting to introduce multiparty democracy, it seems Liberian President Samuel Doe will not be replaced by a more democratic head of state — if rebel leader Charles Taylor, indeed, forces him out of the capital, Monrovia. *Soul L 1917-2577190*

Particularly the eastern suburbs of Monrovia have witnessed fierce fighting in the past fortnight. Civilians have been terrorised as government troops and rebels fired rockets and heavy guns.

About 50 000 of the city's population of 500 000 have sought shelter in the refugee camps at embassies, churches and other places of safety.

Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Forces of Liberia (NPFL), started his revolt against Doe, who has led Liberia for 10 years, last Christmas Eve.

In November, a tribal leader Thomas Quiwonkpa, launched an unsuccessful coup attempt. He was captured and killed, and his dismembered body was paraded through the capital.

The military pursued not only the rest of Quiwonkpa's band of rebels, but launched a bitter attack on civilians, turning the affair into a tribal war.

Taylor capitalised on this, and raised a new rebel army against Doe, whom he described as making "Idi Amin look like a saint".

Yet Taylor himself is not promising Liberians a democratic future.

According to the London-based New African monthly magazine, Taylor says he wants to control the country personally for at least five years — which precludes democratic elections.

He also wants no cooperation from "orthodox opposition politicians" inside the country or in exile — indicating he wants to go it alone.

The activities of Taylor's rebels also do not bode well for the ordinary citizens if he comes to power. There have been numerous reports that they have looted the homes of civilians as discipline breaks down.

Rocky road ahead for

Africa

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.

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

Dateline London

Stanley Uys



Star 9/8/90
①



Angered by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank ... OAU leader Salim Ahmed Salim (left) and former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere.

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

ECONOMICS: WE'VE EXTENSION OF WESTERN EUROPE.

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, Cameroon, 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.

Forbidden paradise opens to S Africa?

Star 11/8/90
28 12
CHRIS MOERDYK

SOUTH African jet-setters could soon have another exotic island paradise opened up to them if President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha succeed in normalising relations with the Malagasy Republic during their visit to Madagascar this week.

It is also believed that the visit might put the seal on landing rights on the island for SAA which earlier this year was granted overflight rights by the island government.

While President de Klerk's reform initiatives are seen to be the major motivating factor in Malagasy's about face on South African ties, the small republic — the 11th poorest nation in the world — recently set in motion an ambitious tourist development plan in order to boost the local economy. And it clearly sees South Africa as a nearby and lucrative source of revenue.

Watershed decision

Four weeks ago Saturday Star reported on the Malagasy government's watershed decision to renew ties with the West and plans by the third-largest hotel group in Europe, Pullman International, to build no fewer than 10 new hotels on the island.

This week, Beachcomber Hotels, which hosts about a quarter of the 40 000 South Africans who visit Mauritius every year, confirmed that it is to build three new hotels on Madagascar.

The five-star 412-bed Royal Tana Hotel will be built in the Malagasy capital Tananarive and is scheduled to open in October 1992. Two Beachcomber group seaside resort hotels will open in the Diego Suarez area in 1994 and 1995.

According to Beachcomber commercial director Robert de Speville, the major markets for Madagascar are expected to be France, West Germany, Switzerland, Italy and South Africa.

"Madagascar has immense tourist potential, thanks to its rich cultural background, diversity of scenery, magnificent forests and unspoilt beaches and lagoons," he said.

FW's ^{CONF. TALKS}
^{11/18/90}
official
visit
to island
confirmed

Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will officially visit Madagascar soon at the invitation of the country's President Didier Ratsiraka, the State President's Office confirmed yesterday.

No date for the visit has been given officially but an inaugural South African Airways flight to Madagascar's capital of Antananarivo has been scheduled for Tuesday.

Mr De Klerk is to be accompanied by his wife, Marike, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Madagascar has been one of the strongest opponents of links and trade with South Africa for a number of years.

However, President Ratsiraka has lauded Mr De Klerk's initiatives and his government has shifted from state-controlled socialist to more free market policies.

Diplomatic sources have described Mr De Klerk's visit as "the tip of the iceberg" in the improvement of relations between Pretoria and the rest of Africa.

81 Day 14/1/90

Oil crisis ① could spell disaster for poor states

NAIROBI — Higher oil prices because of the Gulf crisis could tear Africa's weaker economies apart: only oil-producing states would benefit, and even they would suffer if the world shunned expensive crude.

States south of the Sahara face a double risk: first from higher prices for vital fuel imports, and then from lower commodity earnings if demand fell as the world economy slowed under the impact of dearer oil.

One banking official said: "Petroleum products are vital to the whole of a developing economy. It's not just transport.

"The World Bank has been trying to be optimistic, but I can see the whole outlook being pushed off track by a prolonged Gulf confrontation."

Economists said the rise in oil prices since Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2 threatened fuel shortages among African oil importers unless they diverted scarce foreign exchange from other imports to pay the bill.

Expensive

The World Bank said fuel supplies in Sub-Saharan Africa were already the most costly in the developing world due to inefficient refining and lack of foreign exchange.

This forced poor countries to buy oil in small batches, allowing little scope for bargaining on world markets. Bad roads and railways then made deliveries expensive and unreliable.

Economists said oil producers such as Nigeria and Angola, which together accounted for 80% of Sub-Saharan oil output of about 130-million tonnes in 1989, would be cushioned by higher profits from crude exports.

But Nigeria, like the rest of Africa, was vulnerable to slackening world demand for primary commodities which, including oil, made up 90% of Africa's exports earnings.

Nigerian Industrial Development Bank chairman Rasheed Gbadamosi said: "Those unfortunate countries without oil are going to be hit to the point of starvation." —
Reuter.

New Africa link for SA

CAF Times 15/8/90 (1) (2) (3)

Political Staff

ANTANANARIVO. — South Africa yesterday achieved a new breakthrough into Africa when agreements were reached with Madagascar to establish trade missions in each other's countries and to allow SA Airways landing rights.

SAA immediately announced that it would introduce a new weekly flight between Johannesburg and Antananarivo from September 1.

The breakthrough was achieved at a meeting here between President F W de Klerk and Madagascar's President Didier Ratsiraka.

Although Madagascar is one of the poorest nations in the world, the agreements are significant as, until earlier this year, South Africa had had no official contact with the country since 1972.

Mr Ratsiraka, who has ruled since 1975, was formerly one of South Africa's staunchest opponents and wielded considerable influence in forums like the OAU.

Mr De Klerk said that in tour-

ism and economic relations he foresaw a totally new relationship developing between the two countries.

The South African delegation, which included Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, was met at Antananarivo airport early yesterday morning by the Prime Minister, Colonel Victor Ramahatra, and was then flown by helicopter to Mr Ratsiraka's North Korean-built Iavoloha Palace.

Just after 3pm local time Mr Botha and Madagascar's Foreign Minister, Mr Jean Bamanjara, emerged from a meeting to sign the air agreement which makes provision for establishing and developing air services between and beyond the two countries.

A joint statement issued at a press conference held after the signing ceremony said it was hoped the air agreement would facilitate relations between the two countries, particularly in tourism.

Madagascar at the moment receives only 34 000 tourists a year.

Malagassian Give and Take

AKUS 15/8/96 (1)

GERALD L'ANGE of the Argus Africa News Service reports from Antananarivo on the significance of President De Klerk's visit to Madagascar.

MADAGASCAR has put its own seal of approval on President De Klerk's reforms by becoming the ninth African country to establish formal relations with South Africa and allowing South African Airways to operate scheduled flights to the island from September 1.

AFRICA

Agreements on both these steps were concluded in Antananarivo yesterday during eight hours of talks between Mr de Klerk and President Didier Ratsiraka. In return the Malagassian leader hopes to get South African technical and economic aid as well as tourism and commercial trade.

The opening of a trade office in Antananarivo will

give South Africa such representation there and in Maputo, Harare, Abidjan, Comoros, Maseru and Mbabane and Windhoek as well as full ambassadorial representation in Malawi.

President de Klerk made it plain at a news conference after the talks that he regards Madagascar as an important advance in South Africa's efforts to create a regional economic grouping in southern Africa — something he clearly regards as being not only in the interests of the Republic but of the region as a whole.

"We must have no illusions that we need each other in this region," he said in response to a question at a news conference after the talks. "We must pull together if we are to survive the challenges which we face."

The agreements complete a radical change of course by

Mr Ratsiraka, formerly a hard-line socialist and one of South Africa's bitterest enemies.

The president, whose previous animosity towards South Africa is widely believed to have started when he was barred because of his colour from going ashore in Cape Town from the French naval vessel on which he was serving, was asked at the news conference why he had changed. He replied that it was necessary to face reality and to be pragmatic.

The reality to which he was obliquely referring was the economic failure that has made Madagascar officially the eleventh poorest country in the world.

However, the largely agricultural economy has not exploited either its mineral resources or its tourist potential. With the aim of exploring these possibilities, a group of South African busi-

ness representatives accompanied President De Klerk to Madagascar and held talks with Malagassian government officials while the presidents were meeting. They included the executive heads of Sasol, Saffo, the Southern African Development Bank and South African Airways. Under an agreement signed by Foreign Minister Pk Botha and his Malagassian counterpart, SAA will start scheduled services to Madagascar on a weekly basis from September 1, flying by way of Reunion and Mauritius, according to diplomatic sources.

Madagascar at present does not have enough hotels to cater for a tourist influx but several are planned by foreign interests, including Sun International.

The visit was described as a working one but was nevertheless accompanied by a measure of pomp and ceremony.

Commercial banks lend less to Third World

BASEL — Lending by commercial banks in Western industrial countries to Third World nations declined in the first quarter at an unprecedented pace.

In a survey released yesterday, the Basel-based Bank for International Settlements (BIS) said the claims on these countries contracted by \$23bn to \$700bn, the largest quarterly decrease ever.

At the same time, the BIS said, Third World deposits with Western commercial banks continued to rise by \$11bn to \$585,2bn. New deposits by China, \$5,1bn, accounted for almost half of the increase.

The decline in outstanding claims oc-

curred mainly in Latin America. The survey said the decrease totalled \$18,6bn, more than in all of 1989. The sharpest contraction, by \$14bn, was recorded for Mexico.

The external assets and liabilities of banks in the US fell by \$47bn and \$36bn respectively.

It said the reduction in US banks' international involvement was partly due to the implementation of the Mexican debt agreement. But it also pointed to "the growing caution of banks at a time of greater perceived vulnerability of the US financial system". — Sapa-AP.

May 16 1990

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SA's hopes for new role within Africa

Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

South Africa's latest diplomatic breakthroughs in Africa resulted from the high expectations of successful negotiations on a new constitution, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Leon Wessels said yesterday.

Mr Wessels was addressing the Johannesburg Press Club on "The role of a new, just South Africa on the continent".

Pretoria was optimistic about future relations with Africa, he said.

South Africa would concentrate on the southern sphere.

Mr Wessels cited four reasons for Government optimism about the successful conclusion of the democratic process:

- Internal differences were solved among South Africans without foreign mediation.
- The post-uhuru, post-colonial and post-military phase not only created a favourable atmosphere in which to establish a new dispensation but invaluable lessons could be learnt from the mistakes of others.
- Useful advice from Africa was offered, namely that national reconciliation was the cornerstone of political stability and a healthy economy.
- It was realised that regional co-operation was the only way in which to keep up with international competition.

NEWS

Spurned and rejected, but Ratsiraka's offering links

By KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service

EARLY in 1962, Didier Ratsiraka, a young Madagascan naval officer freshly graduated from the French Naval Academy, took a voyage that was destined to have dramatic consequences for himself, Madagascar, France and South Africa.

Until that voyage, Ratsiraka — a product of the Betsimiraka aristocracy that, with their Merina cousins, ruled Madagascar before being conquered by the French colonialists — probably considered himself more French than Madagascan.

However, aboard the Le Jeanne D'Arc warship, the-then 26-year-old was to come face-to-face with the racism of South Africa and the duplicity of the French.



Didier Ratsiraka

When the Le Jeanne D'Arc docked in Cape Town, South African authorities objected to the young, dark-skinned officer being allowed ashore.

This was bad enough, but instead of the French officers supporting their colleague as he might have expected, Ratsiraka was confined to ship and his white colleagues headed off to test the delights Cape Town holds for visiting young naval officers.

Ratsiraka never forgot — and, he never forgave.

Thirteen years later, he became president of Madagascar and immediately instituted a diametric change of course in Madagascan foreign policy, cutting all ties with South Africa and becoming one of the Republic's most vocal and bitter critics.

He also moved to dramatically loosen ties with France, expelling their naval forces from the strategically important anchorage at Diego Suarez — now called Antsiranana — and turned instead to the eastern bloc for aid and advice.

As deeply superstitious as the rest of the islanders, he came to believe that South Africa was constantly plotting to have him removed. At one point, he publicly alleged that his enemies (read South Africa) had paid sorcerers to have him hit by lightning — and for a time refused to go outdoors during storms.

All things change it would seem, and this week he created his own storm by inviting the South African president to lunch.

In so doing, he joined the growing list of African countries doing backflips over involvement with South Africa now that Big Brother Russia is no longer willing to pick up the tab for their anti-apartheid stance.

Mandela to visit Algeria, Libya

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is to pay a brief follow-up visit next week to Libya and Algeria, two countries he visited in May as part of a two-week African tour.

The ANC yesterday announced details of Mr Mandela's programme for the next few weeks.

Mr Mandela, who has resumed his duties after a brief holi-

day at an undisclosed venue, will leave SA on Saturday for Norway. He will speak in Oslo on Monday at a conference on "The Anatomy of Hate".

Thereafter he will travel to Libya and Algeria for follow-up meetings with Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi and Algerian President Chadli Benjedid.

He will return to South Africa on August 31.

The ANC leader this week met several Western ambassa-

dors as a follow-up to his six-week international tour of Western Europe and North America in June and July.

The ANC said Mr Mandela will travel to the western Cape during the first week of next month to meet a cross-section of rural communities.

After this regional tour he will take a brief week-long holiday before resuming his duties at the ANC's Johannesburg national office on September 15.



Businessmen optimistic after Harare meetings

AP/W
25/8/90

From ROBIN DREW, Argus Africa News Service
HARARE. — South African businessmen who for the first time attended a meeting under the auspices of the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern African states have gone home optimistic about the prospects of South Africa becoming a member.

The Preferential Trade Area, of which more than 20 countries are members or potential members, is seen as the forerunner of an African common market.

It aims at stimulating and easing trade by lowering tariffs and easing inter-territorial traffic regulations.

This week's meeting in Harare was of delegates from chambers of commerce and industry and the South Africans, white and black businessmen, were there as observers and were officially welcomed.

Matter of time

Mr R F Hayward, deputy director-general of the South African Chamber of Business, said: "It is only a matter of time before South Africa joins.

"The reform process is irreversible and in the near future there should be no excuse for South Africa not being accepted."

Mr Hayward said it should not be necessary to wait for total reform. There was a sense of urgency about the need for African countries to form a stable regional grouping and a trading bloc in which economies of scale could play a part.

With the international changes taking place, African countries would have to create growth themselves and there were areas, especially in technology, where South Africa could contribute.

He was pleased to have been able to attend the PTA meeting and an earlier gathering at the annual congress of Zimbabwean industrialists — and he was optimistic.



Fighting for a free bike or freedom

1/24/8-26/8/90
Liberation can never guarantee anything beyond everybody's freedom to achieve their maximum potential.

ARTHUR MAIMANE focuses on the extravagances and suppression of democracy in some African states

A FEW months before the Gold Coast was renamed Ghana there was a newspaper survey on the expectations voiced by the people of what was to be the first African country to gain independence from its colonial masters.

The modest among the population said they expected free bicycles or ploughs when their "showboy", Kwame Nkrumah, took over the reins of power. The more ambitious, perhaps because they could read about life in other modern countries, expected white-collar jobs. They would take over the positions previously reserved for white ex-patriates — as well as their perks such as subsidised housing and free trips "home" every couple of years.

More than a decade earlier in South Africa free bikes, and not the promised liberation, were all that black ex-soldiers received when they returned from "up north" at the end of the last world war. General Smuts had promised them much more — the non-racial freedom we're still waiting for — during the recruitment drive to save South African "democracy" from German fascists. But the wily statesman's promises were not ones he could be pinned down on — another reason he was not trusted by Africans and his own Afrikaner folk.

In Ghana, though, the new elite did get what they wanted — and more, depending on how much they were corrupted by power.

One cabinet minister, Krobo Edusei, became internationally notorious when he ordered a gold-plated double bed from a London store: he could easily afford it because he'd become a rich man in the few years it took Nkrumah's government to turn from an African showpiece to an increasingly repressive and corrupt regime. It was topped by a military coup before the garrulous Edusei could achieve another ambition — "for the nation, and not myself", as he told me.

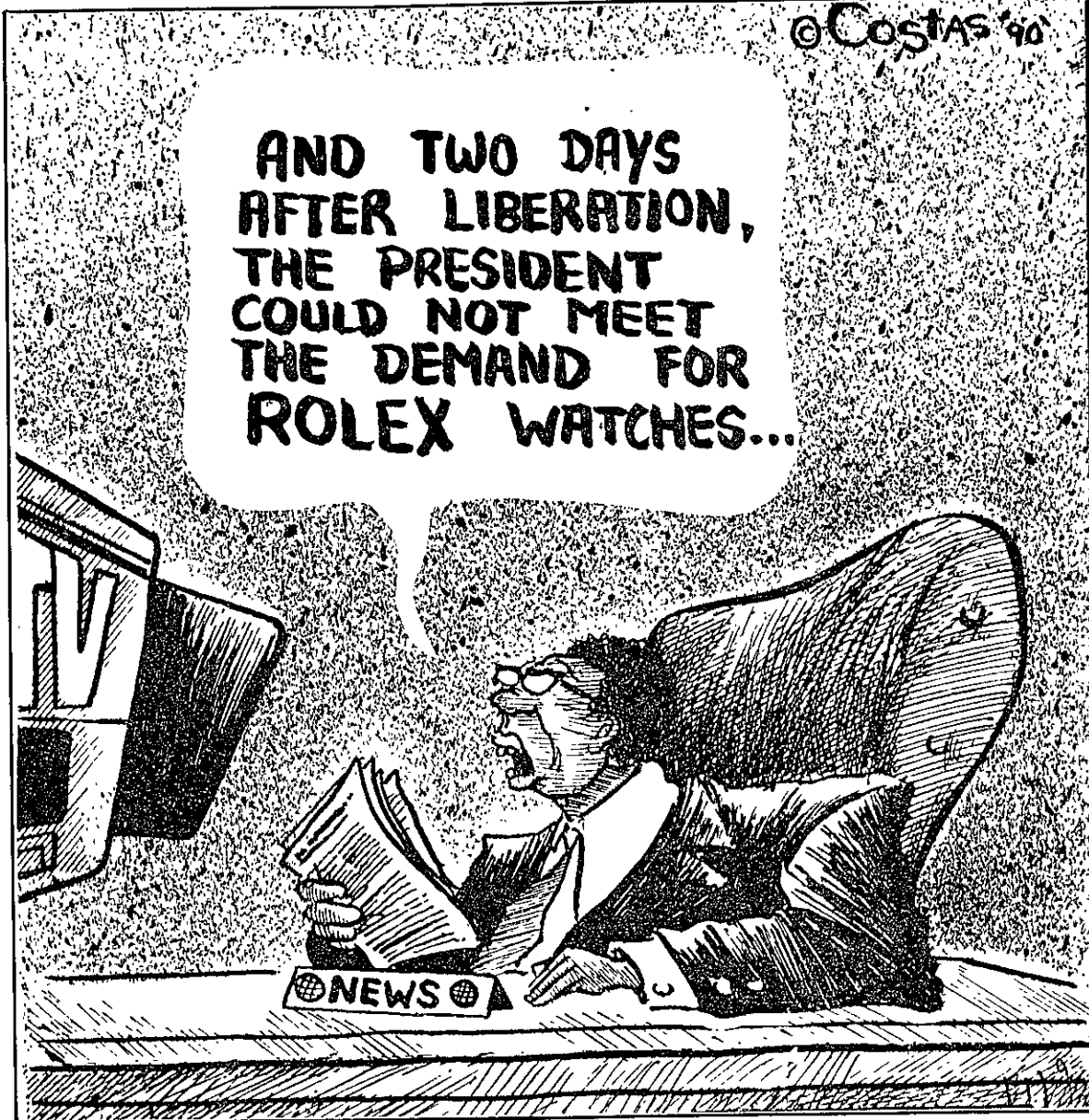
As minister of transport, he planned to rebuild Accra airport on the model of Cointreau airport which serves the Swiss in Geneva and the French across the border it straddles. That would have been a waste of millions beyond even Nkrumah's extravagance.

At independence Ghana was a rich country exporting gold from the mines in Ashanti and cocoa beans to provide luxury chocolates for the developed world's sweet tooth. But the flashy showboy's extravagance, and a cataclysmic drop in cocoa prices, started the country on the down-slide which continues today despite the attempts by military and other civilian regimes.

The bottom falling out of the international cocoa market was blamed on neo-colonialism; but whatever the reasons, the people's expectations have still not been fulfilled — more than three decades later.

When Zambia raised its head from the ashes of colonial Northern Rhodesia, the novelist Doris Lessing, who lived there until she emigrated to Britain, went back for independence and then warned in an article for a British newspaper that there was already a "crisis of expectation". That crisis is worse today because the once-wealthy country has been beggared in two decades; but for different reasons from Ghana's.

The major one being President Kaunda's laudably high principles which made Zambia the only country to impose total sanctions on Southern Rhodesia after UDI. There was, of course, also that same "neo-colonialist plot" fall in the price of



copper, which was the source of the country's wealth.

By the time Smithie was browbeaten into accepting proper independence at the Lancaster House conference in London, Zambia was poor despite China building the TanZam Railway to get the copper to world markets through Dar es-Salaam because its traditional and cheaper route through rebel Rhodesia was blocked by Kaunda's own sanctions.

Supermarket shelves are still bare 10 years after the demise of UDI because there are no foreign reserves to buy imports; and even wealthy citizens cannot spend their money abroad because of tough foreign exchange controls. And Zambians are not only hungry and threadbare, but rebelling against the one-party system imposed after the achievement of a multi-party liberation: food riots when subsidies are withdrawn have recently turned into political uprisings that have persuaded President Kaunda to reconsider his preference for an authoritarian system.

The irony is that Rhodesia south of the Zambezi prospered during the UDI years. But now the democratic Zimbabwe born out of that rebellion is also on the same slippery slope. President Mugabe is insisting on a one-party state despite resistance from within his own party and there is an increasing shortage of consumer goods.

There are long queues outside the South African Trade Mission in Harare of people applying for visas to enter South Africa on shopping sprees for goods which, despite official sanctions, are then resold at inflated prices back in Zimbabwe. Others in the queues want work permits so they can add their skills to the brain drain of emigrants to South Africa.

Hendrik Verwoerd's bones must be rattling with wry amusement in his grave now that his argument — apartheid can't be all that bad when migrant labourers are flocking in from neighbouring countries — is being bolstered by the kinds of skilled and professional people Zimbabwe needs much more desperately than does the boer republic.

The drift south was started by whites when Africans took over in Kenya, Northern and Southern Rho-

desia: trekking to avoid the feared bogey of black rule. Some of those white settlers have since gone back north after realising that they could survive, and even prosper, under black rule. What can be called "the crisis of dread" has turned out to be a myth for them.

Since white rule in South Africa lifted the 30-year bans on the African National Congress and other liberation movements, Doris Lessing's "crisis of expectations" has loomed larger in South Africa. The political juggling for the high ground at the post-apartheid negotiations has already soaked the beloved country in innocent blood.

The long-term danger facing the jugglers — ANC, PAC, Inkatha and others — is how the majority they intend to liberate will react when their expectations are not met. And most will not be met because, inevitably, they too will be naive or unreasonable, ranging, as they did in Ghana, from free bicycles to white-collar jobs without the necessary qualifications.

Some of the South African constituency are said (admittedly by whites-in-dread) to be expecting to move into suburban homes for a first taste of privileged life, while "comrades" whose education has been disrupted by slogans such as "liberation first" are rumoured to be expecting a liberation government to hand them diplomas and degrees that will give them access to the white-collar jobs their comrades in Ghana also believed would be their reward.

As Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Sowetan*, wrote last weekend in reference to the factional bloodbath in Reef townships: "The worst thing about us (Africans) is not race hate and intolerance. The worst thing is not political or tribal divisiveness. The worst thing about us is a petulance to expect too much from the world."

Africans, he argued, had been conditioned to "believe the world owes them something because we have been the oppressed. And if the world does not act the way we wish it to, we rebel like adolescent louts..."

"We exercise the extreme option under almost all perceived situations of hostility. A labour problem causes us to strike or to stay away from work.

The worst is we become violent..."

There have been similar disappointments in all the countries of the world which have snapped the colonial yoke — but only in a few have the people reacted "like adolescent louts" who go for the "extreme option".

Still, their experiences of extravagance, mismanagement and the suppression of democracy should be a warning and a guide to citizens of the New South Africa that is awaited with impatience by the majority and trepidation by a minority. And not all those who dread the future are white. A London friend who has recently returned to re-activate the Communist Party was asked by an aunt at a family reunion if it was true that she would lose her home come the constitutional revolution.

No, she was told: compared to Anglo-American her Indian affluence was not worth nationalising. She believed and was relieved; but others, black and white, will need much more convincing.

One warning is that liberation can never guarantee anything beyond everybody's freedom to achieve their maximum potential. And, equally important, that the poor will always be with us whatever tub-thumping politicians may promise: there will still be an underclass living in villages and townships or in poor-white suburbs. The richest countries still have such people of all colours because it is social class rather than colour or race which determines anybody's future.

All anybody should expect is the freedom that if they have it in them they too can fulfil the American Dream of making their way from a log cabin to the White House. (Pie in the sky these days since one first has to make millions and have billionaire friends before one can fulfil that particular dream.)

The German slogan, *Arbeit macht frei*, might have become suspect because of its fascist connotations; but it could be usefully adapted to the New South Africa — when an individual's colour or political leanings do not constrain freedom to work at what one is best at. That fundamental right is all that should be reasonably expected from a non-racial constitution. Whatever tub-thumping politicians may say.

A tale of three cities

The European parliament stretches across Europe — because member countries cannot agree on a permanent home, reports **HILARY CLARK**

THERE is no issue as likely to get a Euro-MP uptight as the eternal question of where to house the European parliament.

At the moment the place of work for the European Community's elected members is scattered along 4500 km of motorway.

Euro-MPs hold 12 plenary sessions a year in the French city of Strasbourg, currently their "home".

Meanwhile, for eight days a month they are in the Belgian capital of Brussels, where they meet in committee and for political group sessions.

And most of the administrative staff are housed in Luxembourg.

All the shuttling back and forth of people and papers that the split entails in terms of petrol, plane and train fares, hotels and restaurants, as well as the transport of documents, is staggering.

It is estimated that if the parliament ended its road show, expenses would be cut by as much as 25 percent — and the financial nightmare could get even worse as the EC expands in the 1990s, requiring many more elected MEPs than the present 518. A total of 850 is likely in the long run.

It is an issue that cuts across political and national loyalties. The point of view of particular MPs tends to depend on the relative convenience of the two contenders — Strasbourg and Luxembourg — for them.

The main argument put forward by the Brussels lobby is that it would be nearer to that other arm of European government, the European Commission, which already has its headquarters in the city. Brussels also has much better transport links with the rest of Europe than Strasbourg, and being a capital city, has a bigger selection of amenities — hotels, restaurants and cinemas.

But the French government is determined to hold on to the prestigious European institution. Just last year it looked as though the Belgian capital was going to win the argument when the parliament voted a resolution on a Euro-MP's right to determine one place of work, thus opening the constitutional path to a transfer of sites.

However, the prospect of a united Germany, with East Germans swelling the ranks of the European parliamentarians, has given France a new card to play. The Alsatian city of Strasbourg on the West German border is, say the French, a symbol of European post-war unity.

The predecessor to the European Community — the European Coal and Steel Community — held its parliamentary assemblies there from 1952.

During April's session, when the question of the parliamentary seat was fiercely debated, the French played the unification card for all it was worth.

France also threatened to use its right of veto in the European council of ministers on the siting of other European institutions, such as the EC Trademarks Office, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Environment Agency.

The strategy paid off. A motion was passed which, in effect, reconfirmed France's right to host 12 plenary sessions per year and slows down the programme of moving staff from Luxembourg to Brussels.

Meanwhile, property developers in all three cities are doing well out of the EC's indecision about where to site its elected government. — Hilary Clark in News

New round of talks to end Liberian war

BANJUL, Gambia. — Gambian president Mr Dawda Jawara said he would begin a new round of talks today to negotiate a possible ceasefire in the Liberian civil war even though he was not sure all factions would participate.

Representatives of rebel leader Mr Charles Taylor walked out of negotiations last week, threatening to fire on peacekeeping forces sent to Liberia by the five-nation Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas).

Mr Taylor had proposed at last week's negotiations a 10-day ceasefire, during which time the African alliance would send civilians to assess the situation. But the plan was rejected by others at the table, in part because it required Mr Samuel Doe to leave the country during the period.

Ecowas members also said they did not want to include civilians in the peacekeeping force sent to Liberia last month.

Mr Taylor has called for elections within six months and the creation of a provisional government to rule in the interim.

Mr Doe had earlier called new elections for next year and promised not to run again, but the rebels rejected the move as too little, too late and have demanded his immediate ouster. — UPI

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Bloody war killed a mother's spirit

MONROVIA. — The woman crouched alongside the road, slowly swaying back and forth, holding her baby loosely in her shawl.

The curfew was in force but she did not care. She had given up.

Her bare feet splashed in the rainwater puddle, stirring the sand. She was young. She was lost. The war had killed her spirit but she could not die.

"I can't, I can't. There's nothing. I don't want your money. Nothing to buy. Nothing to buy. I don't want your money," she said as she stamped her feet in the puddle.

The baby screwed up its red face. The woman was too tired to cry or even listen. She put the money given her on the pavement.

Hunger has almost emptied the streets. The only people left are too hungry to get off the road when the curfew starts. They don't care what the soldiers might tell them or do to them, or that they might steal from them.

They don't know when the curfew starts. The sun goes down and it's just another night on the street.

Liberia's civil war has become bloodier and more brutal each month since former civil servant Mr Charles Taylor launched his drive to oust President Samuel Doe in February. Rival rebel leader Mr Prince Johnson split from Mr Taylor's group and the two rebel armies encircled the capital.

But what began as a quick advance on Mr Doe's executive mansion bogged down and today the rebels spend as much time fighting each other as they do attacking Mr Doe. Deep tribal divisions have resulted in several massacres of refugees and innocent civilians. — UPI

NEWS FOCUS

Africa's ossified structures are cracking

MICHAEL HOLMAN

LIBERIA's slide from dictatorship into anarchy is terrible, even by the standards of a continent used to upheaval. But far from being an aberration, Liberia could prove to be just the first of several states to collapse under the weight of economic mismanagement and ethnic tensions, compounded by policy failures on the part of the superpowers and aid donors.

Other wars in sub-Saharan Africa highlight the continent's fragility: Angola, Mozambique, Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia are torn by conflict. Uganda has yet to recover from the Idi Amin era. Chad and Libya may again come to blows. Senegal and Mauritania keep an uneasy peace.

Almost wherever one looks, from Angola to Zambia from Mali to Mozambique, the ossified political structures of post-independence Africa are cracking. From across the continent come calls — endorsed by Western governments, aid donors and lending institutions — for multi-party systems. Political ad-

justment is catching up with the economic programmes being introduced. But the cry for democracy is as much a mean of pain caused by the economic failures over three decades of independence, and Africa is delicately poised between reform and further decline.

Good governance — the World Bank's term for better management and democracy — is essential to recovery from disaster.

The causes of the upheaval are complex. The most frequent explanation is variability coupled the renewed search for freedom with Eastern Europe's revolution.

French President Francois Mitterrand said in a recent speech, "The wind blowing from Europe has begun to sweep Africa. We should not mean over it, we should even rejoice over it."

France, like Britain and the U.S., is encouraging the process by linking aid to democracy.

"France will link its contributions to efforts designed to lead to greater democracy," Mitterrand told African leaders at the Francophone summit last June.

Even the OAU that club of autocrats so tolerant of each other's failings, last month conceded it was necessary "to democratise further our societies and consolidate democratic institutions."

But there are more important intricacies than Eastern Europe driving Africa to the barricades.

France is reappraising its relationship with Francophone Africa. The superpower's rapprochement has reverberations in southern Africa and the Horn of Africa in particular, as well as leaving African leaders anxious about their dwindling foreign patronage.

Aid-dependent regimes have become uneasy as the World Bank and increasing numbers of western governments have moved towards demanding political

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cal reform as a condition of aid.

SA's search for a constitution which accommodates the aspirations of the majority, while coping with the fears of minorities, is gripping the attention of the rest of Africa. Above all, a decade or more of sharp economic decline has made impoverished citizens throughout the continent angry with their rulers, and impatient to find leaders with alternatives.

Certainly, Eastern Europe's revolution encouraged oppositional movements. It further undermined belief in centrally controlled economic systems — although the examples of Tanzania and Zambia had already done that. And as regimes in East Germany and elsewhere collapsed, the governments in Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia lost reliable allies.

SA's search for a constitution which accommodates the aspirations of the majority, while coping with the fears of minorities, is gripping the attention of the rest of Africa. Above all, a decade or more of sharp economic decline has made impoverished citizens throughout the continent angry with their rulers, and impatient to find leaders with alternatives.

President F W de Klerk to embark on radical change. The spectacle of mass demonstrations against elitist governments evoked the worst white South African nightmare. And the collapse of communism as an ideology encouraged Pretoria in the belief that it was safe to urban the SA Communist Party.

But there are critical differences between the experience of Eastern Europe and the process under way in Africa which limits the appropriateness of any comparison. The former has an industrial proletariat with considerably more muscle than that of the peasants in Africa's predominantly agricultural economies. Essential to the success of the Eastern European revolution was the fact that the region's metropolitan power — the Soviet Union — was preoccupied by its own domestic crisis, and made clear it would not intervene.

For Africa this process took place over 30 to three decades ago when Belgium, France, Britain and Portugal decided that the price of the colonial relationship was too high.

Last November, the World Bank addressed another element to the pressure on African governments. In the most searching examination of Africa's problems ever published by the Bank, the continent's largest donor called on leaders to become "more accountable to their peoples."

"Many governments are wracked by corruption and are increasingly unable to command the confidence of the population," said the Bank, warning that without democratic reforms many countries' structural adjustment programmes would fail and external aid would become less.

Most African governments are restless at the prospect that, in future, aid will have political as well as economic conditions attached. Neither the Bank nor governments such as the U.S. and Britain, which have endorsed the approach, have so far drawn up formal political criteria.

Whatever the roots of the African unrest, one thing is clear. Despite World Bank-supported economic reform programmes adopted in varying degree by about two-thirds of sub-Saharan Africa the continent remains in deep economic crisis.

The Bank's report on Africa points out that the region's economies must grow by at least 4% to 5% a year for "modest" improvement in living standards. This target requires a 4% a year increase in real terms of official development assistance, together with further external debt relief. It represents Gross Overseas Development Agency requirement of \$20n a year at 1970 prices by 2000, the Bank estimates.

Many economists believe this underestimates Africa's needs, but even in comparatively cautious goal might be hard to attain. — Financial Times.

SA could lead the way to rebirth of Africa

Sowetan 29/8/90



FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

UNDER the leadership of State President FW de Klerk, assisted by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, the Government increasingly sees South Africa in terms of Africa and economic co-operation and development.

Since his inception, first as National Party leader then acting State President and finally State President, De Klerk has shown anomalous initiative for a South African leader.

Previous leaders like PW Botha, John Vorster and Hendrik Verwoerd, were seen as arch racists and were avoided with extreme prejudice.

In the days of the former, fighting apartheid was the hippest, trendiest and alas, ersatz "cause" abroad.

Last week in Madagascar, De Klerk received an enthusiastic welcome from a beleaguered African nation led by one of South Africa's (previously) vociferous opponents.

Last year when the De Klerk junket hit Zaire - that country's people were similarly inebriated by the State President's utopian promises.

De Klerk's sojourn into Africa is inspired in part by the developments in Eastern Europe, the reunification of Germany vis-a-vis the fiscal support the West and West Germany had lent Africa in the past.

Boundaries

Europe is also looking at dropping all its internal boundaries by 1992, all of which prompts comments like that of the French Finance Minister, Mr Pierre Bergevoy who earlier this year warned that Africans had to do more to help themselves.

He said that in a period of competition for resources it was up to the African countries to make themselves more attractive to new investors, both domestic and foreign.

This was the cue South African Foreign Affairs needed, the country has the expertise and infrastructure to lead an economic rebirth of the African continent.

"A primary task of South African diplomacy in Africa is to convince fellow Africans that South Africa has the will and the capacity and most important - the heart to be a good partner in making Africa a better place to live in for all its children." Mr Neil van Heerden, the director general of Foreign Affairs told *Sowetan* last week.

However, he said, that South Africa must guard against creating what he calls false expectations and making empty promises.

"Our diplomacy must be honest and realistic," Van Heerden said.

"Africa cannot hope to match the West in development capacity - we have neither the manpower nor the capital. But South Africa does have the indigenous and therefore acclimatised technical expertise and scientific knowledge which has been tried and tested on African soil under Africa conditions.

Contribution

"Our contribution to Africa's developmental needs will be qualitative rather than quantitative.

"South Africa's knowledge and expertise in the field of health, food produce, mining, energy, animal production and veterinary service, engineering and conservation is increasingly utilised in Africa," he said.

Corroborating a common African phobia, that of neo-colonialism in the form of hand-outs and loans by Western institutions that ultimately result in some form of dependence, Van Heerden said: "South Africa believes that partnership and training is preferable to charity and dependence."

The fact of the matter is, Africa, south of the Sahara, was in a "terrible condition", a correspondent for the *International Herald*

Tribune wrote earlier this year.

"The causes are complex, but the result is that most of sub-Saharan has lost control of its own future. Its governments have become stipendiaries of the International Monetary Fund and other leading international lending agencies.

"Economies have all but collapsed as prices have plunged in the market's for Africa's commodities," he said.

He reported that between 1980 and 1987 the value of Africa's cocoa exports fell by 38 percent, that of coffee by 41 percent of phosphates by 47 percent and of lumber and wood products by 80 percent.

Investment

Investment, he added, had dried up long before Eastern Europe's liberation.

Indigenous Africa has for many years (perhaps correctly) blamed colonialism for the crises on the global economy's lost continent. More recently, and since

colonialist have all but left the continent, it has been imperialism that bore the brunt.

Whether one agrees with this is not important; what is important is that Africa has to stop regional redevelopment as a reaction to the afflictions of colonialism and imperialism.

The colonialists have made their wealth and have fled, it is perhaps Africans who have not shed the accoutre of anti-colonialist ideology.

Perhaps Africans must come up with new ideas, indigenous ideas, ideas that are born not as a reaction (to colonialism and imperialism).

Finally, and perhaps not the least important, while Africa's options are perceived as either neo-colonialism through the IMF and Western funds or death while South Africa has to get through the continent to respectability and acceptance - maybe Africa's road to rebirth is through South Africa regardless of whom is in power...



Foreign Minister Pik Botha and President De Klerk

Appeal for more money for refugees

NAIROBI — Six African countries appealed for more money yesterday to help the army of refugees, created by civil wars in the Horn of Africa. ①

Foreign ministers from Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti and Ethiopia made the appeal at the end of a two-day meeting in Nairobi called to find ways of ending the fighting.

Of the six states, only Kenya and Djibouti are free from wars, which have killed tens of thousands of people, driven several million from their homes and wrecked fragile economies.

The ministers' appeal did not say how much money was needed.

The meeting followed a landmark agreement by heads of state in Addis Ababa last month to help each other end civil wars. They agreed to hold further talks. *810-2918190*

Since the Addis Ababa accord, Ethiopia and Somalia have agreed to step up efforts to implement a two-year-old peace agreement on the disputed Ogaden border, over which the two countries went to war 12 years ago. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Boost to trade

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PORT LOUIS. — Mauritius has approved the setting up of an office to promote trade with South Africa in a move officials said would be the first step towards establishing diplomatic ties with Pretoria.

A government statement issued after Thursday's cabinet meeting said the government was now looking into details of setting up the mission on the Indian Ocean island.

Mauritius already has sizeable trade links with South Africa. Its decision to set up a trade office follows a similar undertaking by neighbouring Madagascar — which did not previously have trade ties — during a visit there by President F W de Klerk earlier this month.

South African Airways and Air Mauritius operate four flights a week each between the two countries and some 38 000 South African tourists visited the island last year. — Sapa-Reuter

Africa's path of decline. OL the independent route? ①

w/Man 7/9-13/9/90

WILL Johannesburg look like downtown Lagos? That's the way the more cynical put the question about whether post-apartheid South Africa will follow the example of independent Africa.

Sadly, however, even those who have a certain empathy with independent Africa are disillusioned and nurse a subconscious anxiety that our future may follow the same path of decline.

True, conditions in independent Africa are appalling. The standard of living has declined by 75 percent per capita in a decade. Education, health, infrastructure and production are in retreat everywhere; democracy is a scarce commodity and coercion is rampant.

But there are clear reasons for this and it is sheer prejudice to suggest that Africa was doomed to its present fate or that an African majority government in South Africa will follow the same road. Indeed, the one remedy is for us to learn the lessons of independent Africa.

The most important factor in Africa's experience was the economic colonial legacy. Foreign interests remained predominant no matter what measures were taken to enhance domestic power. It was this intransigence which led Africa's governments to nationalisation, leading to serious dislocation.

But something had to be done, for, as Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere reflected in retrospect, "in economic matters, our countries are effectively being governed by people who have only the most marginal interest in our affairs".

African countries tried a range of different measures to take control of the economy. Some, like Zambia, acquired dominant shareholdings for the state; others, like Nigeria, compelled foreign companies to surrender 51 percent of enterprise shares to domestic owners.

Local control by state or private interests were not due to whim but to a real need to curb the scope of expatriate owners and managers to externalise profits, resist Africanisation, refuse to modify products to suit the domestic needs of the masses rather than those of export markets or the indigenous elite.

The history of state intervention in African economies is one of relatively inexperienced and weak governments struggling to exercise control over a foreign-controlled economy.

Furthermore, foreign control was compounded by the activities of experts imposed by foreign interests or brought in by governments ill-prepared for the complexities they faced.

Post-independence Africa was invaded by hordes of economic advisers lacking in local know-how. They espoused the post-war wisdom about growth and modernisation and encouraged Africa to build industries which would enhance the image of government and increase GDP statistics. But the import substitution model they advocated was not based on domestic inputs nor primarily directed at the internal market.

The fallacy of this model became evident when the terms of trade moved steadily against exporters so that less and less could be bought with the same amount of exports.

*There is a nagging fear that a 'new South Africa' will go the way of so many other African countries after independence. **BEN TUROK** reports on this country's chances*

The urban-based elite fit naturally into this, since they see themselves increasingly as part of the modern urban society with little connection or interest in the rural peoples or even the masses in the urban slums. Many seek advancement not through production but through trade.

Even this does not suffice, and politics becomes a vehicle for personal gain since official office provides access to import licences and government favours.

Since growth and development is not rooted in a total effort to harness the national wealth, but on marginal activities, the economy falters and scarcity sets in. This is the breeding ground for corruption.

It is now common for the international community to be critical of African "governance". Much of the criticism is warranted but poor government has a context and there are lessons to be learned.

Africa was faced with an acute management crisis soon after independence, which arrived with minimal preparation and in unfavourable conditions. Since top positions were held by expatriates, there grew substantial pressures for their replacement by Africans.

Yet, these foreign managers were paid well above rates in developed countries, setting a salary standard for local personnel. In some cases, counterparts were appointed to work side by side with expatriates at the same salary to avoid the charge of discrimination. This led to increases in the number of superscale posts.

Yet, the creation of required management culture was not addressed and dependency on expatriate managers continued or the quality of management deteriorated.

Africanisation of posts also applied lower down the scale. In colonial Zambia, the gap in skill and pay levels between white expatriates and Africans was huge. Union pressures and public opinion forced some change which took the form of increased wages from below — thereby massively raising the total wage bill.

Independent Africa could not deliver the goods promised during the liberation struggle and that a self-serving elite was entrenching itself in power.

This is no environment for the flourishing of democracy. One-party systems, at first dedicated to social mobilisation, faltered into one-person despotism. Multi-party systems were replaced by military dictat.

The fact that this is the dominant pattern, in respect of the ideological tendency, shows that undemocratic practices now have structural roots in economic crises rather than political ideology.

All the more reason, therefore, to be critical of th

international agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund whose structural adjustment programmes create scarcities of jobs, income and goods. A decade of lending to Africa at rising interest rates and in circumstances of falling export prices has meant that all of Africa is now in debt and is a net exporter of funds to these organisations.

So, what are the lessons for South Africa?

The obvious one is that freedom for the majority will not come under favourable conditions. The South African economy has parallels with the colonial structures of pre-independence Africa and measures for altering the structures of economic power will be unavailing.

However, the mistakes made in Africa have been studied, preferably with experts from Africa who now had 25 years experience of these problems.

Secondly, the economy will not develop if it continues to serve privileged interests, be they external or internal, white or black. Many African governments do not recognise that development never took off because they failed to mobilise their people behind the national project.

Instead, ordinary people soon became disenfranchised as they saw the fruits of the independence struggle go into luxury consumption by the elite.

Africans were speedily co-opted on to expatriate boards, black professionals took over expatriate posts, politicians paid themselves handsome salaries and no time a new elite force was in place. Many had unconsciously absorbed colonial values and failed to appreciate that the economy had to be redirected to serve the mass, not elite, interests.

To overcome such tendencies, policies will have to be put in place in advance and monitored subsequently. This is not a matter of socialist ideology or class struggle. Curbing elite acquisitiveness in the conditions of transformation is necessitated by national survival.

We must ensure that the end of apartheid is not monopolised by an elite-in-waiting which will swallow up and frustrate development. The ANC is entitled to demand the aspirations of any African elite which seeks to be the product of decades of struggle by the people.

The challenge of transforming management is a major issue. Pressures for white displacement will grow, and the solution does not lie in a total renunciation of such claims, just as it would be fatal to surrender them fully. White and foreign skills will be needed but should be retained only on the basis of a thorough restructuring of all occupations and processes, and examining of how skilled privileges are allocated.

This means job fragmentation and redesigning industrial procedures, not from above, but with the active operation of employees. That way productivity standards and productivity will be maintained.

South Africans should also be wary of the blandishments of the World Bank and the IMF. Repaying their loans are difficult at current interest rates and the debt of the Third World is choked by debt servicing.

Far better to be reliant and take an independent path. Ben Turok is a South African, now director of the Institute for African Alternatives in London, who was recently appointed to the country. He is the author of several books on development.

Africa

STimes 9/9/90

warms to SA

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE tempo of SA's contacts with black Africa is building up with two possible missions by top government officials.

Rusty Evans, assistant director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, arrived in the Comores yesterday to help reopen SA tourism to the islands.

And reports from Abidjan say SA has been invited to attend the opening by Pope John Paul II of the Ivory Coast's showpiece basilica.

Ceremony

SA officials refused to comment on speculation that Foreign Minister Pik Botha would attend the ceremony.

African leaders will gather for the ceremony near Yamoussoukro tomorrow, providing an extraordinary opportunity for unofficial contacts and discussions.

The basilica, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny's pet project, is the second largest basilica in the world after St Peter's in Rome.

The Comores, settling into post-coup stability, is the site of a new resort development pioneered by SA hotel tycoon Sol Kerzner.

Into Africa as trade hopes brighten

Three Possible Future Trade Routes for South Africa

South African exporters were on the first plane to Madagascar to establish trade links with that country after South African Airways was granted landing rights there from the beginning of this month. Since then Government officials have been talking to their Angolan and Comoros counterparts about extending trade into Africa.

BRENDAN TEMPLETON investigates the possibilities facing local exporters as previously forbidden territory starts opening up.

South African exporters should keep a keen eye on African markets, which are set to experience a massive boom in the next few months.

That's the opinion of Martin Smith, co-ordinator of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, southern hemisphere division.

As traditional political hurdles are overcome with increasing ease, previously closed doors are slowly starting to open, he says, and they are allowing chinks of light to shine on the heart of what used to be, for South African exporters, darkest Africa.

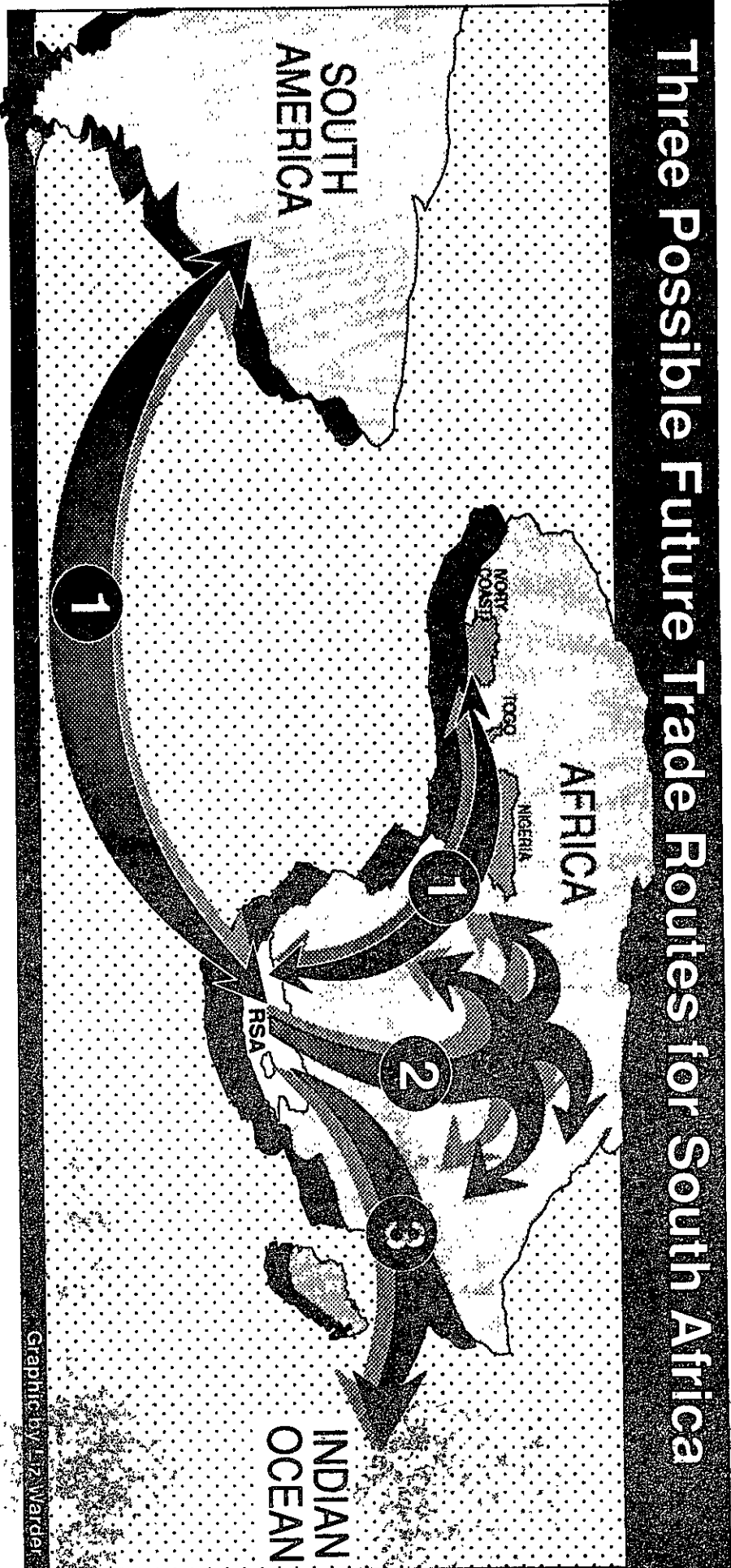
Elated by the very open welcome he and 25 top South African businessmen received in Madagascar recently, Mr Smith says the prospects for future trade with African states have never looked rosier.

Amazing

They were granted a 90-minute interview with Madagascar President Didier Ratsiraka and several Cabinet Ministers.

"It's amazing to be able to go into a country and to have open-door access to so many people who were actually happy to see us," Mr Smith says.

The Madagascar trip showed that South Africans would have to look sharp if they wanted to



take advantage of the sudden increased opportunities.

"The guy who gets in there first is going to get all the best opportunities. Exporters who go there in the new year are only going to be getting the crumbs from the table.

"There's a wind of opportunity blowing in this country which is going to last from now until the December holidays. After that there won't be anything left," Mr Smith says.

That is until the next country opens its doors. He is convinced African countries can only benefit by increasing trade between themselves.

He believes that in about 20 years South African trade will be divided into three main areas: extending through all of southern Africa; a south Atlantic triangle, linking South Africa to East African coastal countries and South America; and the Indian Ocean trade, stretching to countries like Madagascar, Mauritius and even extending to India.

Despite efforts by the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference over the last 10 years to limit the dependence of the Frontline states on South African exports, trade with this country and the rest of Africa has risen by more than 40 percent during the last 12 months, Mr Smith says.

Official figures put trade with Africa at about R5 billion a year, although Mr Smith says any figure is bound to be wrong because it cannot reflect all the sanctions-busting trade which is taking place under the table.

Over the years, Zaire, the Ivory Coast, Togo and Rwanda/Burundi have increasingly acted as springboards for South African trade, taking in goods and filtering them through to their neighbours.

Of course the presence of an extra middleman has effectively raised the price of such goods, making them less competitive. Other countries which refuse out of principle to deal in South African goods have

opted for more expensive products manufactured in such places as the US, Europe and the Far East.

But now the tide seems to be turning. A wave of democratisation is starting to wash away tenets of totalitarianism in other African countries, and reform initiatives in South Africa are flowing strongly. All point in the direction of greater co-operation and stability in Africa in general and in southern Africa in particular.

Enormous potential

Other countries are realising that they can be natural trading partners with a nonracial South Africa, and local businessmen have realised that open trade links with Africa hold enormous potential.

Angola is a country which holds special interest for Mr Smith. Pumping out 475 000 barrels of oil a day, it is the second biggest oil-producing country in Africa after Nigeria

— which produces more than a million barrels a day — and has huge potential if it can find a solution to the war which has paralysed its economy.

It also has vast tracts of land waiting to be exploited, and it produces 1.1 million carats of diamonds each year.

Mr Smith says: "The Angolans are keen to do business with us. I believe that if we went to them saying we wanted to do business with them, they would very quickly say 'yes'.

"Again, they are importing goods from Europe, from elsewhere, which they could buy at a cheaper price if they dealt directly with South Africa.

"But now they are speaking to our Government and they are speaking to Untla. Once the war is over, boy, is it going to be rich."

He leans back gleefully when he thinks about other prospective trading partners.

"Nigeria — when that market opens, you can get quite ecstatic about it — you really can. A

hundred and one million people. Lagos is a huge capital. It has at least 10 huge population centres there, spreading right through the country, not just the coast.

"It has a huge manufacturing base and an enormous market. We are natural partners," Mr Smith says.

Asked about a worst scenario, his face darkened.

"If we go to the worst possible scenario, we will actually be going back to troubled times

"We have been through before. I don't want to go back to that worst. For the sake of the world, we want to see a new Africa.

Nor does he believe South Africa would be a bad neighbour. "The strings in a new Africa where all countries deal openly with one another. The coming prosperity means that countries such as Nigeria and Angola are going to grow from strength to strength to create a healthy balance of power in Africa, he says.

Pik honoured at consecration

4/21/90



The consecration of the R700 million Our Lady of Peace basilica in the Ivory Coast on Monday by Pope John Paul II. Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Africa's longest-serving foreign minister, sat in the front row of the basilica with Ivorian President Felix Houphouët-Boigny — the first time in Africa that Mr Botha had been accorded his proper place according to protocol.

I'm glad FW is coming, says senator

By David Braun and Peter Fabricius

WASHINGTON — Leading US Congress members have expressed pleasure that President de Klerk is to visit Washington later this month.

Influential Senate Intelligence Committee chairman David Boren said at the weekend "I am very pleased President de Klerk is coming to the United States this month. "I know he can anticipate warm hospitality during his

visit. There is strong admiration in the US for the leadership which he is trying to provide for a peaceful transition to a nonracial South Africa."

Senator Boren is generally considered to be one of the most important policy-makers on the South African issue on Capitol Hill.

Other US lawmakers have been equally gracious about Mr de Klerk's visit.

In the House of Representatives, leading congressmen have said unofficially that they

will give Mr de Klerk a dignified reception and listen carefully to what he has to say.

The President is expected to meet separately with senators and congressmen on September 25, the day after he meets President Bush.

President de Klerk will not plead publicly for American sanctions to be lifted when he visits the US, senior Government sources said yesterday.

He will be going for a specific purpose to convey firsthand information about South

Africa, and then get out. He will not be going to make a show."

They said it was unlikely that American sanctions legislation — the so-called Triple A — against Pretoria would be lifted.

"Mr de Klerk will not be going there to plead for the lifting of the Triple A. Instead he will use the opportunity to persuade as many congressmen, senators and the media that real changes are taking place here."

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

South African's relations with a substantial number of African countries were now "virtually normalised", Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday after returning from the consecration of the massive R700 million Our Lady of Peace basilica in the Ivory Coast on Monday.

Front row

Mr Botha and his wife Helena were received "warmly and enthusiastically", shook hands at the ceremony with Pope John Paul II and sat in the front row of the basilica with Ivorian President Felix Houphouët-Boigny.

Behind them sat a crowd of 7 000 in the church and between 400 000 and 500 000 people outside.

Members of the South African party said that for the first time in Africa, Mr Botha had been accorded his proper place in protocol as Africa's longest-serving foreign minister.

Only Benin President General Mathieu Kérékou sat between Mr Botha and President Houphouët-Boigny in the basilica and at other functions.

Mr and Mrs Botha were the third couple to rise at the end of the consecration to greet the Pope. South African officials believe that the country's image will have been boosted considerably by TV broadcasts around the world showing Mr Botha's prominent

place at the ceremonies.

They said the Pope recognised Mr Botha from their meeting in 1988 when his aircraft was forced to land in South Africa on its way to Lesotho. Mr Botha told the Pope it was an honour to meet him again on African soil.

Mr Botha said yesterday that after his reception he believed that relations were now virtually normalised, if not formally then in the sense that South Africa was now accepted as an African state and an African government.

"I also gained the impression we were received with warmth and enthusiasm. There was no indication that dignitaries from all over Africa and the world who attended the consecration ceremony and receptions had any inhibitions about meeting my wife and I.

"Indeed the opposite was true."

Disturbing

Mr Botha said that for most African states, sanctions were a thing of the past and he sensed a growing concern about the disturbing implications for Africa of events in Eastern and central Europe.

"They seemed to agree with me that it is a matter of the highest priority for African states to put aside ideological differences and devote all their attention to proper regional economic planning."

Printing new banknotes costs Third World dearly

By Alan Watts
2/19-22/70

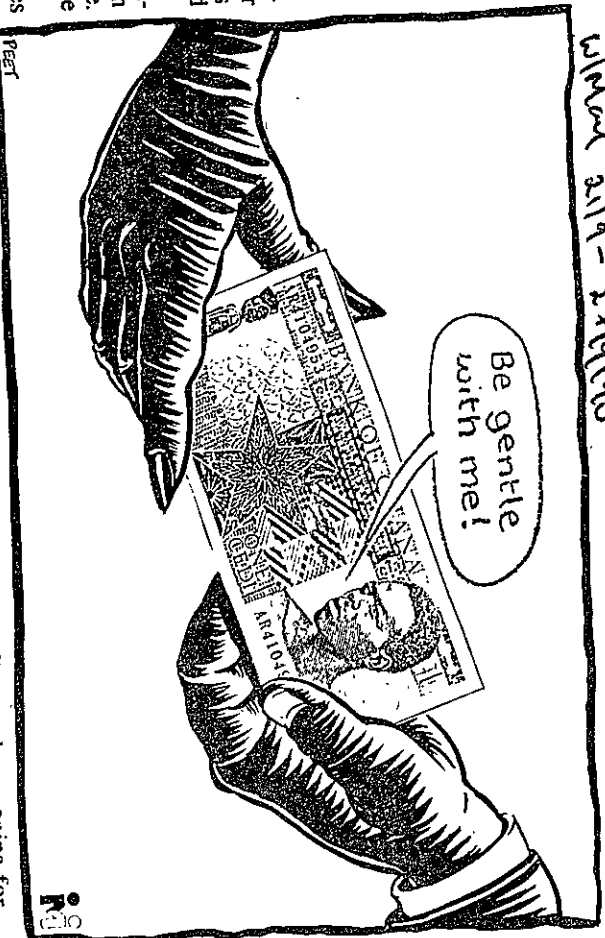
People may be careless with money, but they are even more careless with the way they handle the actual notes. Replacing banknotes is costing countries huge sums of foreign exchange. More coins are the answer, but, reports ALHAJIA TANKO, inflation inhibits their wider use

GHANA wastes millions of dollars every year printing replacements for torn or badly mutilated notes. Billions of cedis become so weak, scruffy, torn, dirty and smelly they cannot be used any longer.

The Bank of Ghana has begun a nationwide campaign to educate Ghanaians on handling notes to help prolong their life. Cedi notes are said to have one of the shortest lives of any currency.

The minimum for most currency notes is five years, but officials say the longest period the Central Bank of Ghana can allow the circulation of cedi notes is one year. Just this year the government has spent several million dollars printing 85.5-billion cedis (\$260-million).

Several factors have contributed to the situation. The Ghana economy, like that of many other developing countries, is essentially cash based. About 95 percent of all business transactions are in cash.



Peet

Ghana has no mint. Its currency is produced by the Royal Mint in London.

Research in Britain shows that through carelessness the lower notes have only four to six months' life span — hence the minting of £1 coins. The problem is even greater in Africa, Latin America and the Indian Ocean countries because of the hot climate. Few people use wallets and the notes become floppy and drippier.

The Royal Mint produces coins for about 100 Third World countries. At least 60 put in major orders every two years at enormous cost to their dwindling foreign exchange. The cost of reprinting notes is a similar drain.

It costs more to mint coins, but they have a life of 40 years and in countries with runaway inflation basic denominations can become worthless in weeks. A

sackload of Ugandan shillings, for example, has sometimes been needed in exchange for one British pound.

Mint spokesman John Kelly asks: "What is the benefit of minting a denomination which could not buy a newspaper? Coins take three to six months to mint and in a few cases they were obsolete when they were ready, worth next to nothing because of hyperinflation."

Some countries are now minting smaller denominations. Australia and New Zealand have replaced their lower notes with coins. The United States is on the verge of minting one-dollar coins. But in these countries inflation is not so high.

Third World women hide their money in unimaginable places like tying it in the tip of their clothes or wrenching it into their bras. Cheques are simply unacceptable in most cases. Illiteracy and superstition prevail.

One practice among rich Ghanaian traders is to tear off one edge of the higher denominations of the cedi to "avoid the money escaping to strangers with powerful black magic."

Ghana's campaign to persuade people to use banks faces tough going. Market woman Maami Sewa Anfi says: "The old and most reliable way is to be close to your money at all times, discounting banks as a safe place." — Gemini News

Group to study needs of new SA

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LONDON — The Commonwealth has set up an expert group to study the needs of post-apartheid South Africa, secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku announced yesterday.

The group will identify priorities for advanced education and work experience. It will also suggest ways of getting greater support from the Commonwealth and the international community.

The first meeting will take place in London in November. An interim report will be given to the next meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa in New Delhi in December.

A final report is expected to be presented to Commonwealth heads of government



Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

at their summit in Zimbabwe in mid-1991.

The Expert Group on Human Resource Development for a Post-Apartheid South Africa is chaired by John Harker, vice-chairman

of the South Africa Education Trust Fund, the Canadian branch of the Commonwealth-wide "Skills for South Africa" network.

The group includes two South African members: Papi Moloto, administrative secretary of the department of manpower development of the ANC, and Professor Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town's school of economics.

The expert group was suggested by the Canadian government at the meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa in Abuja, Nigeria, in May.

The group was endorsed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. — Sapa-AP.

AFRICA

Dismay in the Comores as its allure for SA begins to wane

Blom 24/9/90 (1)

THE three little Indian Ocean island "jewels" that make up the Comores have been the victim of some of the most bizarre historical twists, which rate unusual even by Africa's high standards of peculiarity.

One of the most frequently repeated sagas concerns the ousted late President Ali Solih and a dream about dogs.

Solih, known later as the Madman of Moroni, became president 28 days after the islands' declared unilateral independence from France in 1975 in a coup d'etat.

David Lamb writes in his book *The Africans*: "The Comores became Solih's personal toy, and like a child with a new Christmas present, he played and experimented and manipulated, ending one game and starting another whenever he became bored."

Frequently espousing the joys of the Chinese revolution, Solih fired the 3 500 members of the civil service and turned the government over to teenagers, lowering the voting age to 14 and declaring himself a prophet.

He reportedly became more and more dependent on drugs, and possibly in one of these drug-induced states, dreamt he would be killed by a man with a dog. The next day, after a breakfast of sausages and brandy, he ordered all the dogs on the islands killed. His personal guard, a youth brigade, carried out the order that day, hacking thousands of dogs to death.

In April 1978, Bob Denard, the same mercenary who had put Solih in power, landed with a

The Comores is often billed as a tropical paradise, but its history is anything but enchanted and its future is not especially bright. **TIM COHEN** reports on a recent visit.

force of 29 men and in three hours captured the country. Solih was shot soon afterwards, allegedly while trying to escape.

Ten Comoreans were killed in the coup, while one mercenary sprained an ankle. Bob Denard brought along his German Shepherd.

Although Comoreans were delighted at the demise of Solih, the rest of Africa was less impressed, as the African states argued that the country was run by white mercenaries.

The OAU initially refused to recognise the new Comorean government, now once again headed by the originally deposed president Ahmed Abdallah. He denationalised the economy and established close relations with France.

Abdallah ruled apparently successfully for 10 years and held a referendum to determine whether he would be allowed to stand for a third six-year term — something the constitution did not allow. More than 92% voted in favour.

Abdallah was killed on November 26, some say by accident, some say by the former head of the Comorean armed forces Ahmed Ho-

hamed, and some say by Bob Denard. Denard denied responsibility but nevertheless took control, and left after only a French task force was sent to the islands.

Denard and his men were taken to SA after delicate negotiations. Prominently involved was the present SA consul Marco Bom, and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Said Djohar was subsequently elected president in disputed elections.

The fact that SA interest in the islands is on the wane is causing some anxiety among Comoreans, who see SA's growing relations with the much richer Madagascar as something of a threat.

According to Information Minister Chouzone Loutfi, Comoreans felt that President F W de Klerk ought to have visited the islands since the Comorean relations with other African countries had suffered as a consequence of its relationship with SA.

Criticism was also levelled at the new president for not inviting De Klerk. But cleared of the necessity for contact with African states premised on isolation from the rest of the world, SA relations with the islands will now be dictated by a new agenda based on mutual interest.

Because the islands have little to offer SA, future relations seem set to take place at arm's length, while SA will take its cue from Paris, whose influence in its former colony is much greater.

Africa faces threat of increasing poverty

810ay 26/9/90

WASHINGTON — There will be 265-million people living in poverty in sub-Saharan Africa within 10 years, up sharply from 180-million in 1985, says the World Development Report for 1990.

In the next 10 years the population in this region will grow by 165-million.

For the purposes of the report, people earning less than \$370 a year are considered to be living in poverty.

The 1980s can be considered a lost decade for this region, the report says.

In the developed world, the average life expectancy is now 76 years, as against 50 years in sub-Saharan Africa.

The report identifies three key areas for progress — reducing fertility rates, expanding social investment (particularly in the area of education and health), and rehabilitating the infrastructural base.

It says a growth rate of about 5,5% — nearly 2% higher than the projected rate — would be necessary to keep per capita levels where they are.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has given notice that he intends addressing the issue of poverty when he makes his keynote address to the IMF today. A World Bank report reviews the same subject.

The report says that in Tanzania large-scale studies show that real private consumption per capita has fallen by 43% since 1973.

They show that food purchases have moved away from meat, dairy products and vegetables towards starch and cheap beans.

Between 1969 and 1983 real wages in urban Tanzanian areas fell by 65%.

Botswana, which has produced an average annual growth rate of 9% since 1963, is identified in the report as one of the exceptions on the continent, although 50% of the population earns less than \$375 a year.

Botswana's growth has

enabled it, unlike Ethiopia, Mozambique and Sudan, to cope with severe drought of the 1980s.

With an effective drought relief programme, which included getting large-scale food imports from SA, Botswana was able to counter the effects of drought during the 1980s, says the report.

World Bank president Barber Conable told the board of governors yesterday it was possible to reduce poverty.

But he added that parts of Africa had suffered a collapse of living standards.

"There Africa faces its greatest challenges," he said.

Conable said the way to reduce poverty was to begin with the premise that the most abundant asset of the poor was their labour and removal of policy biases would increase their opportunities.

The second aspect of the World Bank strategy is that expanding health and education services for the poor will augment their income-earning potential.

150 (1) 1/21/90

World Bank sees Africa sinking ever deeper into poverty

WASHINGTON — Appropriate economic policies could reduce the number of poor people by 300 million people from its present level of 1.1 billion, the World Bank says.

This is the key finding of a report by the bank on poverty as well as the focus of the address by the bank's president, Barber Conable, to its board of governors here.

In its report the bank paints a bleak picture for Africa, where the number of poor is set to increase, even if economic growth improves.

The poverty level is set at income not exceeding \$370 a year and according to the bank, one-third of the population in the developed world, could be defined as poor.

Africa is the region most afflicted by increased poverty and the bank estimates that high population growth rates could see the number of poor rise from 180 million in 1985 to 280 million by the year 2000.

Of the 180 million, two-thirds are classified as extremely poor — \$275 per capita a year.

This runs against the broad trend seen in most other poor regions of the developing world, namely Asia and Latin America.

"Economic growth per capita in South East Asia, for example, is forecast to rise by five percent a year over the 15 year period, whereas Africa's comparative growth rate is estimated at a mere 0.5 percent," the report says.

"Just to keep the number of poor consistent in Africa would require per capita growth of 2.5 percent a year, way above our predictions."

IMF and
World
Bank

SVEN LUNSCHÉ



The difference, according to Mr Conable, is the implementation of poverty reduction strategies, which has received more backing in Asia and Latin America than in Africa.

"The World Bank is determined to press Africa's recovery but governments must be committed to poverty reduction and scarce financial, natural and human resources must be used more effectively," Mr Conable said.

"People are seeking better choices and more control over their individual destinies and development is only likely to succeed where government is responsive and just."

The cornerstone of debt reduction strategies were policies which promoted economic growth and provisions for basic social services.

Economic growth could be achieved only by the entrepreneurial spirit of individuals, but the state needed to address major economic imbalances, such as high inflation, from which the poor suffered most.

The World Bank continued to propagate external assistance to help the poor nations in their fight against poverty but these programmes should be designed to "support the recipient country's own efforts".

"Aid cannot be expected to have much impact if there is a waste of

resources and should therefore be targeted directly at the very poor," Mr Conable said.

In its final analysis the bank stresses that the ultimate outcome of poverty reduction will depend to a large extent on world economic growth.

"Our projections of world economic growth for the 1990s will have to be lowered if the Gulf crisis worsens."

Just a half a percentage point drop in annual world growth to 2.5 percent from its forecast of three percent, would leave the number of poor at 1.1 billion in 2000, instead of the expected 300 million fewer.

Sliding towards the vortex

The accelerating slide into endemic violence in South Africa is beginning to follow the same pattern as it did elsewhere in Africa, notably in Angola.

Angola drifted into a vortex of civil conflict in which it has remained trapped for the past 15 years.

South Africa still has a chance to avoid getting into the same predicament. The parallels are becoming ominous, however.

In South Africa, what is referred to as "the struggle" began as a means of overthrowing white minority rule.

In Angola the initial objective was to overthrow Portuguese rule. As in South Africa, a multiplicity of "liberation movements" was formed to promote the struggle.

Once the objective of ousting the Portuguese had been achieved in Angola, the liberation movements began to fight among themselves for a new objective: political power in the "liberated" Angola.

Having obtained weapons to fight the Portuguese, they turned the same weapons on each other.

Destructive

The struggle for power became more violent and more destructive than the fight for liberation had ever been.

It has caused deaths whose numbers exceeds several times over the number of deaths in the conflict with Portugal.

It has virtually destroyed what was still a relatively healthy economy at the time of Portugal's withdrawal. And as is almost inevitable when violence is employed to gain political power, that power has not been achieved, certainly not in a form that can be exercised.

While the MPLA has been able to form a government and gain recognition in the OAU and the UN, it has not been able to govern effectively or to end the fighting.

The civil war in Angola has not been won by any party; it has proved unwinnable.

GERALD L'ANGE, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service, warns that South Africa is not learning from the mistakes of its neighbours. The fighting that follows "liberation" is far worse than the war itself.

As a result, the two main contestants are now beginning to move hesitantly towards negotiating a political settlement. This is a painful and difficult process because there is inevitably deeper animosity between the parties after years of civil war than before the war started.

Attitudes have become entrenched by conflict and glued by blood. The parties are trying to change them only because the suffering and damage of the war have become intolerable and because no other option is visible.

If they succeed in negotiating a solution they will have to work on restoring the damage done to their country by the war.

Politically, they will then be back to square one, back where they started when the Portuguese pulled out and gave Angola its independence. Economically, their country will be many years further back beyond square one.

In sum, they will be worse off than they were at independence and this is all they have got from the resort to violence.

If ever proof were required that disputes cannot be permanently resolved through violence, then it is surely to be found in Angola today.

The Angolan example is not the only one starkly visible to the factions in South Africa as they, too, apparently begin to drift into the vortex of violence.

Right next door in Mozambique is an example that is perhaps even more graphic in its horror, its destruction, its misery, its waste and its utter pointlessness.

Politically, the Mozambican example is not as clear as the Angolan one in that one of the warring parties, Renamo, has shady origins in Rhodesia, whereas the Frelimo government came from a liberation movement forged in the struggle to

overthrow the Portuguese.

But political credentials are in the end unimportant in an internecine struggle, especially when it gets as vicious as the one in Mozambique. What is important is whether the struggle can be won and whether the price that must be paid is worth it.

In Mozambique, as in Angola, it has become clear there can be no winner on the battlefield, if the term battle can be applied to the bestial methods employed by Renamo rebels. And it is doubtful that the price to be paid for whatever emerges from the conflicts will be considered worthwhile by those who will have to pay it — the descendants of today's combatants.

Some might argue that Zimbabwe provides proof that violence can succeed.

Certainly the government in power was formed from a liberation movement whose armed struggle began a process that led to the capitulation of white domination.

Quick victory

But in Zimbabwe the opponents of white domination did not then turn on each other in a civil war for power. They started to, but the contest was won so quickly by Robert Mugabe's Zanu (PF) that it did little damage to the infrastructure.

Some would claim it was in any case not Mr Mugabe's former guerrillas who won the contest but the threat of aerial attack by the (white-manned) air force against the armoured vehicles of Joshua Nkomo's Zipra army as it moved on Bulawayo shortly after independence was proclaimed.

Had the separate armies of Zanu and Zapu ever started fighting one another as the liberation movements in Angola did, Zimbabwe

might well have gone the same way.

South Africa is closer to the Angolan example than the Zimbabwean one, because of the multiplicity of political groups adamantly opposed to one another.

The overwhelming weight of evidence from the Zimbabwean and other conflicts shows that once political antagonists acquire sophisticated weapons and start using them against each other, the resulting conflict will almost certainly escalate to a point where it becomes extremely difficult to stop.

There appears to be a real danger that the lessons that are so clearly apparent from the profusion of such examples are not being learned in South Africa.

When African National Congress vice-president Nelson Mandela suggests, as he did recently, that armed groups might be organised to protect ANC members from attack in the townships, alarm bells ought to start ringing loudly and furiously everywhere.

A liberation struggle waged from foreign bases against the Government is one thing.

It is quite another matter when factions within South Africa are given arms to protect themselves against other factions or forces.

From there it is only a short step to the same whirlpool that sucked in Angola.

What makes the Angolan conflict especially tragic is that the parties were not really fighting for disparate ideologies and beliefs.

Politically, they were not far apart. At independence, the MPLA was not a committed Marxist-Leninist party.

It became so only after turning to the Soviet Union for arms.

At this stage neither are the black political movements in South Africa widely divided by ideological barriers. Their differences can still be reconciled.

If they start fighting each other with modern weapons, however, they — and the rest of the country — may be on the way to the whirlpool.

Africa after apartheid and Marx

STimes 30/9/70

WE should be asking ourselves if there is not still validity in the vision of linking American skills, experience and resources to the task of building a new area of peace, justice and prosperity in our sub-continent.

Until very recently such a notion would surely have been dismissed as an idle dream.

A previous attempt was made to organise southern Africa under the umbrella of the old colonial empires. But this system has collapsed and colonialism has been replaced by numbers of small independent black states most of whom are inclined to express their hatred of colonialism by attempting to build their economies on some African adaptation of the Marxist system.

Decay

As might have been expected, the results have been disastrous.

So-called "African socialism" combines the fundamental flaws which have destroyed socialism in eastern Europe with the administrative inefficiency which too often results from the inferior education system which has been all that was available to blacks under the colonial system.

South Africa reacted to these developments by launching the apartheid policy, a system which, while ostensibly opposed to socialism, involved in practice a substantial measure of centralised control of the economy. And so for the last 30 or 40 years southern Africa as a whole has been wasting its natural resources in an

Harry Oppenheimer calls for investment from the United States and co-operation among African countries to rebuild the continent



attempt to realise social and political objectives which were just a mirage.

But now at last, in spite of all the misery and violence, there is light at the end of the tunnel.

Apartheid and Marxism are both in a state of terminal decay and there seems to be a chance of building democracy, freedom and prosperity in southern Africa.

Many developing countries depend economically on a mining base.

Sound

Although a diversified economy exists, we still depend to a major extent on mining and in particular on the export of mineral products for the foreign exchange which we cannot do without.

The same is true for virtually all the new black states in the area. Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia, Zaire, Angola and Botswana are all mining countries and all could benefit enormously and could offer much in exchange if the skills and resources of the American mining industry could be made available to them in a sensible and businesslike way.

private investment which stands up to examination on the solid basis of calculation of profit and loss. The natural resources of these countries are great and a change to a new, sound economic system now seems to me within the bounds of possibility — provided we can get rid not only of apartheid but also of the moribund system of Marxism.

When the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa was formed it was thought of not only as a South African mining company but as a means of contributing to the development of the whole area from a South African base.

Hard

All this was envisaged within the structure of the old colonial system and in particular of the British Empire and Commonwealth of which South Africa was a member.

The political changes which brought that way of thinking to an end could not have been foreseen. But now, through hard and painful experience, it may be that we are moving towards a new form of political and economic co-operation which would allow South Africa and the new black states to work together to their great advantage and to the advantage of the whole free world.

□ Mr Harry Oppenheimer is past chairman of the Anglo American Corporation and De Beers. This is an extract from a speech delivered at the Mining and Metallurgy Society of America this week.

Unfortunately, because of the natural hatred of apartheid throughout black Africa, every effort has been made, and is still being made, to break the links between South Africa and the rest of the continent.

While this is understandable, it is entirely impractical, since the economic growth of the whole area requires the closest co-operation between South Africa — which is the economic powerhouse of the region — and the smaller, less-developed countries to its north.

It is through South Africa, and by taking advantage of its experience and specialised knowledge of African conditions, that resources from outside could best be channelled to build up the economy of this part of the world.

What is needed is not a continuation of the policy of pouring money like water into the new African countries for political reasons in the form of government or institutional grants and loans — a process which, while causing loss to those who give, does little in the long-run to help the recipients.

What the new southern Africa needs is

FW's tour could stop off in Africa too

A VISIT to an African country might be included in the itinerary of one of President F W de Klerk's short trips abroad this month. *By 3/10/90*

De Klerk yesterday confirmed that he would be making two visits to Europe in the next few weeks.

His office said the first trip, expected to start on October 14, would include De Klerk meeting a long-standing engagement to deliver a speech at an international conference of a business association, the

MIKE ROBERTSON

Young President's Organisation, on board the Queen Elizabeth II liner. The conference would be open only to delegates.

Brief courtesy calls would be paid on British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Portuguese President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva.

The second trip would involve an official visit to the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

A visit to an African state during one of the visits could not be ruled out.

Many villages decimated by spreading virus

Deadly Aids takes its toll in Africa

(1) (87)

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NAIROBI - By the time Ronnie Mutimusekwa was 15, he was sleeping regularly with three different girls. A few years later, the number had grown to 15 and he was proud to think any woman he asked would go to bed with him.

"I guess I made sex a hobby," said the 34-year-old.

It proved to be a deadly hobby. Mutimusekwa, from Zimbabwe's southern city of Bulawayo, contracted Aids. He does not know who gave it to him, nor does he know who may have caught it from him.

Spreading

Behaviour like his has contributed to the rapid spread of the disease in Africa, and has helped make the continent the Aids centre of the world.

Two-thirds of the world's estimated Aids cases are in Africa, and most of those are concentrated in about 12 countries across the continent's central, eastern and southern regions.

The problem only threatens to get worse, according to medical experts. Infection rates, unlike those in most other areas of the world, are rising in Africa. If current trends continue, millions of African infants will be born with the deadly disease, and Africa's population growth rate - now the world's highest - will be cut.

Infected

The Geneva-based World Health Organisation estimates that in sub-Saharan Africa, one of every 40 adult men and women is infected with the HIV virus that causes Aids.

In the United States, which has recorded about half the world's known cases of Aids, one of every 75 men and 700 women has HIV, WHO estimates.

Because of under-recognition, under-reporting and delays in



reporting, WHO estimates only a fraction of the world's cases of Aids and HIV have been recorded.

As of mid-1990, about 65 000 Aids cases had been reported from Africa. But WHO estimates closer to 500 000 adult Aids cases probably exist - more than half the estimated global total.

In what it calls a conservative estimate, the organisation says 5 million Africans may be HIV carriers.

"Aids and HIV are becoming more and more a disease of the developing world," said Michael Merson, WHO's anti-Aids chief, in a telephone interview from Geneva.

"By the year 2000, we expect 80 percent of the cases to be in the developing world."

Millions

The organisation says about 25 million to 30 million cases worldwide are expected by the end of the century.

Merson includes Latin America when he speaks of Aids and the developing world, but WHO statistics show the severity of the disease in Africa far outstrips any other continent.

Today, Aids is the leading cause of death among young adults in many African countries, said Merson.

The average African victim, however, differs from his American or European counterpart, who is usually a homosexual or an intravenous drug user.

In Africa, most Aids casualties are heterosexuals. Because of this, the number of women infected roughly equals the number of men.

And because many of the infected women are in their prime, HIV transmission from mother to child is an increasing problem.

Already this year, about half a million children carrying the HIV virus have been born in Africa, says WHO.

The organisation estimates an additional 10 million infected infants will be born before the year 2000. Another 10 million children born to infected mothers but who will not contract the disease are expected to become Aids-related orphans in the 1990s, says WHO.

A 26-year-old unemployed Zimbabwean who lost a two-year-old daughter to the disease said she learned she had Aids while still in the hospital after delivering her baby.

Feeding

"I was really hurt because the baby had also contracted the disease and whenever she was brought in for breast-feeding, I would look at her and cry," she told Ziana, Zimbabwe's news agency.

Her husband also tested positive for the disease. But rather than engage in safer habits, she said he stopped sleeping with her and started bringing other women home to bed.

Such negligent promiscuity is encouraging the disease's spread, as are a tradition of polygamy among many African peoples, a high incidence of other sexually transmitted diseases - particularly those that create sores - and centuries-old customs.

In Zambia, for instance, where 3 000 Aids cases have been recorded but many times that are believed to exist, a custom among the Kaonde tribe demands that when a man dies, a male relative must sleep with the widow to exorcise ghosts.

Enough people will be dying of Aids in the next 10 years that African population growth rates, the highest in the world, are expected to slow, says WHO. Beyond the year 2000, if current trends continue, populations could even decline.

organisation.

Already along the east-west corridor of countries from Kenya to Ivory Coast, the hardest-hit West African country, villages are being decimated by the virus.

In southeastern Uganda, where the majority of that country's Aids cases have been recorded, residents of Rakai said as many as six people were dying daily by 1988.

Burials

Fred Ssonko, manager of a local hotel, said at the time he was going to burials "almost every afternoon."

The 35-year-old took on the extra care of eight children he adopted after his brother and his best friend died of the illness.

While education and awareness programmes have changed behaviour and slowed the rate of new infections in Europe and America, the rates are increasing at an "alarming rate" in African and other Third World countries, according to WHO.

Despite internationally funded Aids prevention programmes throughout the continent, Africa still lacks the resources to mount educational campaigns that reach all its 500 million people.

Sexual

"We want to get safer sexual practices and more condoms used," Merson said. "And it's very important to treat other sexually transmitted diseases."

However, even some of those most at risk and who are easily accessible still don't believe Aids is a real threat.

Surveys have found that 60 percent to 80 percent of the prostitutes in some large east and central African cities are infected with HIV.

However, in Kenya's capital, Nairobi, some prostitutes interviewed recently by a local paper said they thought the figures were just propaganda for government-backed family planning programmes. - Sapa-AP.

New tourism vista opens

Sta 5/10/90

Kenya air link seen as major reform reward

Air links between Kenya and South Africa are to be renewed from December in one of the biggest breakthroughs yet for South Africa's reform initiatives.

Sources forecast a large flow of tourists from South Africa to Kenya, especially to the many hotels on the coast. And South Africans will, for the first time in decades, have access to the famous game parks of Kenya.

The air link will become a reality before the end of the year, according to industry sources.

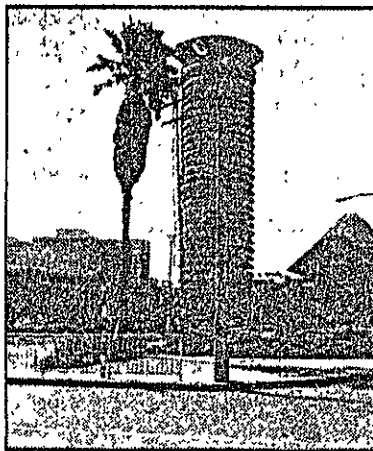
The Nairobi link will also be used to fly local Muslims on pilgrimage to Mecca, a business expected to be highly lucrative.

SA Government diplomatic sources were wary of commenting today, saying the diplomatic procedures had not been finalised.

However, they confirmed talks had been taking place and they believed the deal would go through — despite a premature leak from London.

The sources stressed that at this stage it was not envisaged that Nairobi would be used as a stopover for SAA flights to Europe, because Sudan was still denying SAA overflight rights.

The Johannesburg-Nairobi run would be purely regional. They ex-



Kenyan landmark ... the Kenyatta Conference Centre in Nairobi.

pressed confidence that this would change and that Sudan's opposition to overflight might go.

A full statement is expected next week.

Media manager for South African Airways Leon Els confirmed yesterday that talks were taking place with Kenya Airways, but could not give a date for the possible introduction of flights between the two countries.

However, a senior Kenyan airline official claimed the air link between the two countries, severed 27 years ago, would be reinstated in early December.

"The plan is that the airlines from both countries will make one

flight a week between Nairobi and Johannesburg," said the Kenya Airways official.

The official, who declined to be identified further, said both national carriers had already signed a memorandum of understanding.

He said South African Airways would fly a Boeing 747 and Kenya Airways a Boeing 757.

This would necessitate a certain amount of mutual technical assistance, because neither airline flies the other's type of aircraft, the official added.

The Kenya Times newspaper reported yesterday that Kenya Airways aimed to tap the lucrative London-Johannesburg route.

Quoting an unidentified government official, the newspaper, which is linked to the government, said "imminent majority rule" in South Africa had encouraged Kenya to explore trade links with Pretoria.

Kenya, like many African nations, officially severed all commercial, cultural, and political ties with South Africa on gaining independence in 1963.

However, Kenya continued to allow landings in Nairobi by half a dozen airlines enroute from Europe to South Africa despite criticism from most member of the Organization of African Unity. — Political Correspondent-Staff Reporter-Associated Press.

Hawks bow to finance men

Star 5/10/90
1

These days events keep ahead of terminology. Finance Ministers of the Frontline states meet their South African counterpart in Geneva, along with other internal political leaders.

Frontline? Since when were finance Ministers in the front line?

A year or two ago, every state neighbouring South Africa — and some further distant — had been on the receiving end of cross-border military action of some sort and expected more of the same.

It is a totally different story today. The Geneva meeting seems to typify it — the finance men, not the military men or the diplomats, getting together to discuss what is wrong with the sub-continent.

The truth is that the passing of the Cold War and the ravages of conflict in Africa have "marginalised" the military and shifted the focus of the diplomats to economic matters.

GRAHAM LINSKOTT spotlights the change of emphasis in southern African relations, evident from the recent meeting of southern African Finance Ministers in Switzerland.

Economic needs are accentuated by a shortage of development funding. The Western world has wearied of pouring money into a bottomless pit of corruption and inefficiency. Loans are today dependent on economic disciplines in the recipient countries.

A re-emerging Eastern Europe is a serious competitor for investment capital. Bulgaria, say, might be in a bit of a mess today, but an ancient civilisation lies just beneath the surface. And the Bulgarians have never burned down their factories the way the Ciskeians did, not too long ago.

The only way southern Africa is going to attract the investment needed to realise its potential and offer its peoples a reasonable way of life is if the finance Ministers have their way over the ideologues.

And let us not be too condescending about this. South Africa's Finance Minister has only recently been able to assert himself over the ideologues and the military hawks.

Fight

The Finance Minister is supposed to be the second most important man in the Cabinet. (In Britain he lives next door to the Prime Minister). He holds the purse strings and his Cabinet colleagues have to fight to get money out of him for their pet projects.

Until the De Klerk era, Dr Nico Diederichs had been the last Finance Minister to have had this kind of authority. To a large extent he influenced policy by dishing out the money. But he operated in times of plenty.

He was also an architect of the apartheid structure and he poured billions into what his impoverished successors are now trying to dismantle.

Whatever their misgivings about Calvet policy, Dr Diederichs's successors simply did not have the same clout. Remember Senator Horvd blindly signing away funds for the Information Department's activists? Barend du Plessis having to leave while overseas that P W Botha'd granted the civil servants a pay raise for which he did not have the money?

The me Barend du Plessis seems just to be truly at the helm. He's talking to his counterparts in the sub-continent. It is most encouraging.

Have the Day of the Demagogue and the Day of the Hawk given way to the Day of the Finance Minister? To be sure, is not quite as stirring to the blood but a lot of people could eat her and sleep more soundly in their beds.

Ivory Coast may soon forge diplomatic links

Sowetan 8/10/90

The Ivory Coast may soon become the second country in Africa, after Malawi, to establish diplomatic ties with South Africa.

The Ivory Coast's ruling Democratic Party has adopted a resolution at a conference in Yamoussoukro, calling for diplomatic links with

this country. SABC TV news has said.

It said developments such as the release of Mr Nelson Mandela were the proof of fundamental change in South Africa.

Last month the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was in the Ivory Coast along with other international dig-

nitaries attending the papal consecration of a cathedral. to begin weekly flights between Nairobi and Johannesburg, the ban by Kenya on travel to South Africa has been lifted. The move is intended to help Kenya explore commercial markets in SA.

Lifted

There's also been an improvement in relations between South Africa and Kenya. Two days after an announcement that South African Airways and its Kenyan counterpart were

In August, economic ties between SA and Madagascar were also restored. -Sana

Horizons opening up for SA tourist trade

For more than two decades, South Africans without the resources to go overseas have had to restrict their horizons to well within southern Africa's boundaries.

Ever within this region, South Africa's political rigidity and intransigence of some surrounding countries reduced travel to a dribble during most of the 1980s.

But a new era of political thinking, spearheaded by a vastly stormed South African government, links severed for many years are being restored.

The most recent coup was this month's announcement that air links would be resumed between South Africa and Kenya, via the first scheduled flights to and from Nairobi planned for December 1.

Direct access

While SAA has said the link would only be an extension of its regional service, the tourism industry's optimistic that this agreement is the first step to gaining direct access to Europe instead of having to fly around the bulge of Africa.

This would allow for cheaper packages and save hours in airports for European tourists that still deny South Africa overlying rights include the Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Morocco and the Congo.

As South African political life begins to normalise, the first dividend resumed tourist links, is gradually becoming a reality. **HELEN GRANGE** reports.

This year SAA announced the introduction of regular flights after the granting of landing rights, to Zaire, Rwanda and Madagascar, a destination that has elicited substantial enthusiasm from South African businessmen.

Apart from these destinations, South Africa also has strong air links with Zimbabwe, Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho and Zambia.

Flights to Mozambique, once devoid of South African tourists, have been increased to three a week.

But there are many hurdles still to overcome. One hiccup has been the discontinuation in January of SAA flights to the Comoros in the wake of the closure of two Sun International hotels. However, South Africans have the option of flying Luxair to this island.

Air links, although they are of fundamental importance in opening up the world to South African tourists, are only a small part of viable tourist interaction, says Rupert Lawlor, former president of the Association of SA Travel Agencies.

While we might be able to fly to various African destinations, there are still countries that are inaccessible to South African passport holders. Obviously visa requirements in some countries need to be reviewed," he said.

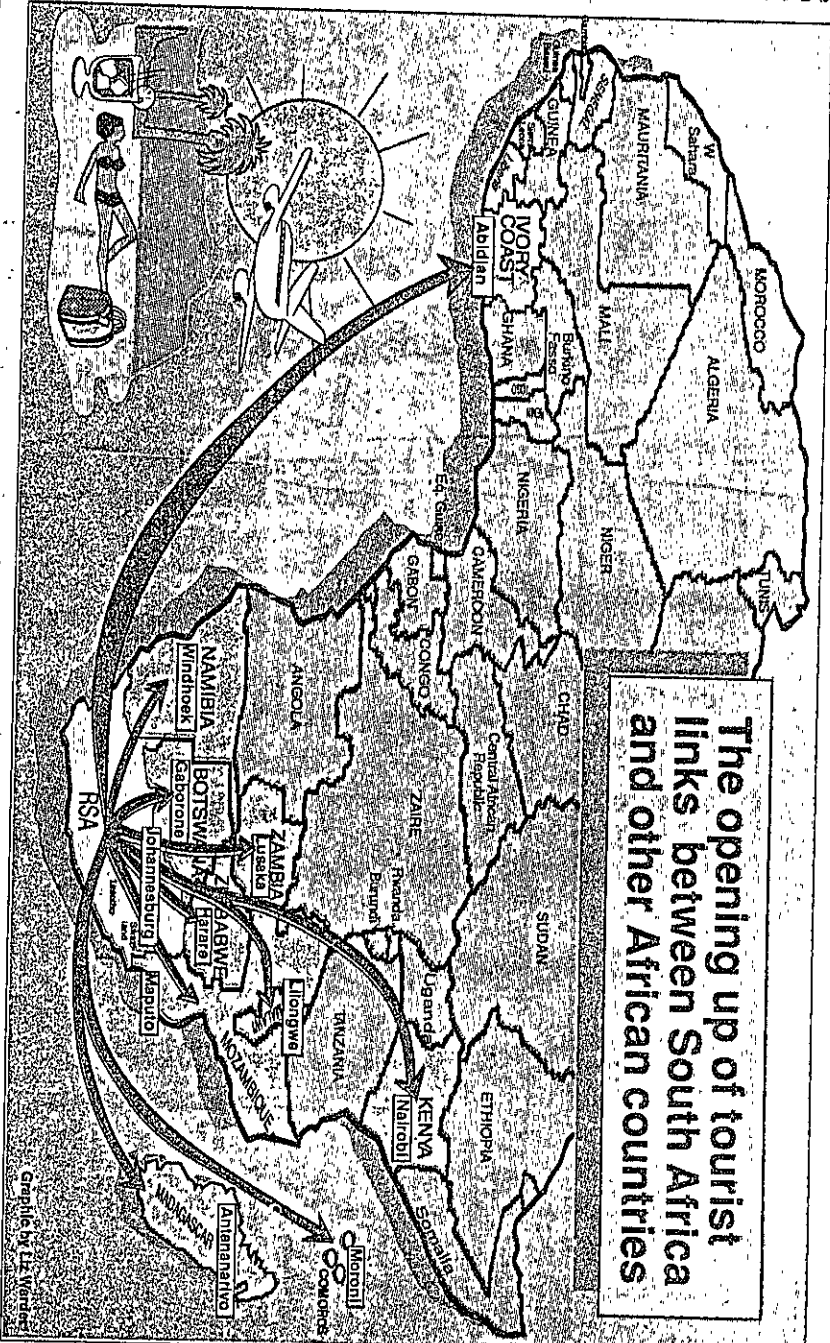
Another burning issue facing international tourist trade was the marketability of newly opened countries. The Comoros, for example, because of the unstable political situation and the fact that two hotels were closed recently, had become unviable for tourists.

High hopes

In Mozambique's capital, the famous Polana hotel is currently undergoing refurbishment in an attempt to attract tourists. The small islands off the east coast of Mozambique, although they are beautiful, do not have the facilities to entertain numbers of tourists at a time.

Nevertheless, it was a positive development that South Africa was no longer trading through the "back door" with its African neighbours and the first step towards developing tourist markets in Africa.

The opening up of tourist links between South Africa and other African countries



Graphic by E. W. W. W.

Chaos in Africa's most unruly land (1)

NOT very long ago, it was an article of faith among Liberians anxious to see an end to their country's civil war that peace would return when President Samuel Doe left.

Doe was captured and killed by rebels a month ago, and things have only become worse. Today, three armies, including a "peacekeeping" force deployed by the Economic Community of West African States, are engaged in full-scale war in and around the capital, Monrovia.

Neither an end nor a predictable outcome of the nine-month-old war is in sight. Recently, the West African force has gone on the offensive, strengthened by the assignment of a Nigerian combat officer as its field commander.

Nigerian planes have bombed positions held by Charles Taylor, the strongest and most obdurate rebel leader, and soldiers of the 6 000-strong force have moved into Monrovia from their base at the city's port.

But like all previous developments in this conflict, this has only clouded the future of what was always one of Africa's most unruly lands.

Liberians in exile and other observers believe that the political and social structure of the country has been so shattered by the length and ethnic nature of the civil war that it could take years to restore order after the fighting stops.

"So many of the assumptions about how Liberia works have been destroyed," said one longtime observer of the country, "that it's not clear how the people are going to organise themselves into a political structure."

The progression of tragedy has confounded Liberians and foreigners alike.

Liberians believed the death of President Samuel Doe could bring peace to their country. Now even this hope has been dashed,
reports **MICHAEL A HILTZIK**

When a group of Liberian exiles met in August in Banjul, Gambia, to nominate a provisional president and government to take over after the West African task force landed, they assumed that an end to the turmoil was around the corner.

Instead, the weeks since then have been a succession of slim hopes violently dashed.

When the two rebel armies, under Taylor and his rival, Prince Yormie Johnson, arrived in Monrovia at the beginning of June, most observers believed that Doe's departure from office was the only way to restore order. But his death at Johnson's hands has added to the turmoil.

Taylor declared a ceasefire late last month, but it collapsed days later.

One disappointment to many leading Liberians outside the country has been the performance of the West African task force. The detachment's original assignment, to monitor a ceasefire, was its first problem because there was no ceasefire to monitor when it landed on August 24. It has been hampered by the absence of a clear objective ever since.

Even now, with the task force on the offensive, some observers question how long it can continue to fight Taylor.

Leaving Taylor in nominal control of the country is not itself a guarantee of order. Taylor's own force is disorganised, and his control over his deputies is dubious. — Los Angeles Times



Charles Taylor

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Opening the doors to Africa

FOR more than two decades, South Africans without the resources to go overseas have had to restrict their touring horizons to well within the boundaries of Southern Africa.

Even within this region, South Africa's political rigidity and the instability of some surrounding countries reduced travel to a dribble during most of the 1980s.

But as the African continent enters a new era

of political thinking, spearheaded by a vastly reformed South African Government, links that were for many years severed are being restored.

The most recent coup was this month's announcement that air links would be resumed between South Africa and Kenya, with the first

scheduled flights to and from Nairobi planned for December 1.

While SAA has cautiously said the link would only be an extension of its regional service, there is optimism in the tourist industry that this agreement is the first step in gaining direct access to Europe instead of having to fly around the

bulge of Africa.

This would allow for cheaper package flights and save hours in journeys to European destinations.

Countries that still deny South Africa over-flying rights include war-torn Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Morocco and the Congo.

According to Leon

Eis, SAA spokesman, continuing discussions are taking place between a number of African and world airlines and governments in an attempt to gain wider access to the continent.

"Ultimately, the decision over restoring air links with South Africa lies with the politicians," he said.

This year SAA announced the introduction of regular flights, after the granting of landing rights, to Zaire, Rwanda and Madagascar, a destination

that has illicitly substantial enthusiasm from South African businessmen.

Apart from these destinations, South Africa also has strong air links with Zimbabwe, Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho and Zambia.

Flights to Mozambique, once devoid of South African tourists, have been increased to three a week.

But there are many hurdles still to overcome.

One hiccup has been the discontinuation in January of SAA flights to the Comores in the wake of the closure of two Sun International hotels.

However, South Africans have the option of flying Luxavia to this island.

Hurdle

A more difficult hurdle is the discontinued SAA flights to the Ivory Coast. This service, according to Eis, was taken over by Namib Air, which means the nearest take-off point is Windhoek or Harare.

Air links, although they are of fundamental importance in opening up the world to South African tourists, are only a small part of viable tourist interaction, according to Rupert Lawlor, former president of the Association of SA Travel Agencies.

"While we might be able to fly to various African destinations, there are many countries that are inaccessible to South African tourists."

"Obviously visa requirements in some countries need to be reviewed," he said.

Another burning issue facing international tourist trade was the marketability of newly opened countries.

The Comores, for example, because of its unstable political scenario and the fact that two hotels were closed recently, had become unviable for tourists.

Tourists

"There is a lot of work to be done on creating an infrastructure able to accommodate tourists in places like the Comores, Madagascar, the Ivory Coast and various African countries."

"There is a need for hotels and a good transport network, which can only emerge from sound economies," Lawlor said.

In Mozambique's capital, the famous Polana Hotel is currently undergoing refurbishment in an attempt to attract tourists.

The small islands off the east coast of Mozambique, although they are beautiful, do not however have the facilities to entertain numbers of tourists at a time.

"Real tourist trade comes via the package deal, and it is only when there is the infrastructure available that these marketing avenues are possible."

"It also takes time to put together package deals at reasonable prices and tourist operators will be a lot of work ahead."

Summit causes cash crisis^①

MBABANE - Concern about a 19-nation all-Africa summit conference to be held in Swaziland next month grew at the weekend after the country's finance minister asked parliament for an extra R3,5 million to pay for it.

Sowetan
16/10/90

The summit of the

Preferential Trade Area Economic Grouping is to be held here on November 23 and 24.

Heads of state are expected from Angola, Zambia, Lesotho, Sudan, Comoros, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Mauritius, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Ethiopia,

Somalia, Djibouti and Namibia. Host-nation Swaziland is the 19th.

A scathing editorial comment in a widely read local newspaper last week said the money could be spent on more urgent projects "... than wining and dining politicians". - *Sowetan Correspondent*

African govts 'looking to SA'

8/10/90
CHARLOTTE MATHEWS

DURBAN — Southern African governments were accepting the merits of linking shared assets and development projects in association with SA, Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Rusty Evans said yesterday.

He told the Building Industries Federation of SA (Bifsa) conference that: "SA's relationship with its neighbours is being discussed in African capitals. What is concerning African governments now is European unity in 1992, changes taking place in eastern Europe and disillusionment with the donor nations."

Governments were finding their former Eastern bloc allies were losing interest and the superpowers were no longer competing for Africa. France was the country with the most influence in Africa.

He said SA's contribution to Africa could be greatest in technology, agriculture, mining, building and construction and the promotion of small-scale business ventures.

SA visitors 'key' to ^{B1Daw 17/10/90} economy of Comores ¹

SA VISITORS were not only welcome in the Comores, they would be a key element in the future economic planning of the Indian Ocean archipelago.

This was said last night by the Comorean Tourism, Transport, Urban Planning and Housing Minister Saidali Youssouf, who led an official delegation to SA.

Youssouf was speaking at a media conference in Pretoria at which Trade, Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr had announced SAA flights between SA and the Comores would be resumed in March.

Tourism infrastructure was also being upgraded, with World Leisure taking over the operation of the Comores' premier hotels — Le Galawa and the Itsandra.

Youssouf said tourists to the Comores would not

Business Day Reporter

only be welcome, but would find its people to be friendly, relaxed and hospitable.

"Our Islamic culture, our island heritage and our Arabic and African roots make hospitality not only a duty, but a pleasure and a time-honoured tradition," he said.

Jobs

Resumption of regular weekly flights could result in an estimated 10 000 SA tourists visiting the islands in the first year of operation.

The positive effect on the Comorean economy as a result of the tourism would be immense, Youssouf said.

"The (reopened) hotels themselves will provide jobs for 500 people, while additional staff will need to be employed at our interna-

tional airport.

"In addition, it has been estimated that a further 250 jobs will be created in the wider tourist infrastructure — in areas such as sightseeing tours, transfers, car rental, fishing and sailing.

"These figures may seem small within the context of the SA economy, but in my own country these are very significant numbers indeed."

The tourist industry had the potential rapidly to become the country's foremost earner of foreign exchange and the biggest contributor to GNP, he said.

The Comorean delegation arrived in SA on Monday and included special adviser to the Comorean president on economic and development affairs Mohamed Said Mchangama.

The party met local officials to finalise arrangements for closer ties.

The revival and extension of the islands' tourist infrastructure were also discussed.

Sol to put more than R7m into Comores hotels

WORLD Leisure International (WLI), the recently established British company owned and controlled by Sol Kerzner, is to spend more than R7m to re-open two hotels it has leased in the Comores.

WLI Southern Africa and Indian Ocean Islands director Bruce Hutchison said yesterday the company planned to spend R8m re-commissioning and improving the R80m Le Galawa and Istandra hotels and R1,2m to launch them

MANDY JEAN WOODS

under the WLI banner. The planned opening date for the hotels is March 1991.

Details for the lease of the hotels had recently been finalised between the Comoran government, the company Nouvelle Socotel (in which the Comoran government has a 74% shareholding) and the Industrial Development Corporation. WLI also had an option to develop a site next to Le Galawa called Malounga

Beach, Hutchison said.

The company was also in the final stages of concluding deals for the establishment of two other hotels in the Indian Ocean.

He said WLI had signed a three-year agreement with SAA to operate regular flights to the islands, beginning March next year.

"Our forecasts indicate that, with SAA, we will be moving at least 10 000 SA tourists to the islands within the first 12 months of operation.

"With this flow of tourists, the hotels will achieve an annual occupancy of 55% and SAA's weekly flights a seat occupancy of 73%," Hutchison said.

Plans were being finalised to improve facilities, including a professional diving centre, a sailing academy and deep-sea fishing infrastructure.

"These will be ready for implementation in November," he said.

WLI was established in April this year with former Southern Sun MD Peter Bacon as MD and SA cricket administrator Joe Parnensky on the board.

Its headquarters are near Kerzner's London home at Henley-on-Klip.

However, the international marketing and reservations centre would be in SA.

WLI's local offices, yet to be set up, will probably be in Randburg.

Rwandan leader ready to talk to rebels

ENTEBBE — Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana was prepared to hold talks with the rebels who invaded his tiny central African state if they accepted a ceasefire, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni said.

Museveni said he would be contacting the rebels, who launched their invasion from Uganda on October 1, in an attempt to start peace negotiations.

"There are no conditionalities. Habyarimana said he would talk to the rebels if they accept a ceasefire," the Ugandan leader told reporters after returning from a summit with Habyarimana in Tanzania late on Wednesday.

Most of the rebels are from the 250 000-strong community of Rwandan refugees in exile in Uganda.

Thousands of other refugees, mainly members of the minority Tutsi tribe, live in other countries in the region.

Museveni said Habyarimana, who has always maintained his remote, densely-populated country could ill-afford a mass return of the exiles, was now willing to make concessions on the point.

"He has agreed in principle for Rwandan refugees to return home, but some modalities have to be worked out," Museveni said.

Earlier, the presidents of Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania called for an immediate ceasefire after a summit in the Tanzanian town of Mwanza on the shores of Lake Victoria.

"We have agreed to reach an immediate ceasefire in the fighting that is now taking

place and thereafter seek a negotiated solution to the conflict," Tanzania's President Ali Hassan Mwinyi told a news conference.

Asked what steps would be taken if the rebels refused to lay down arms, Mwinyi replied: "These guys are not trigger happy. There is something they are after and I believe they will cooperate with us."

Most of the rebels deserted from Uganda's National Resistance Army (NRA) to join the invasion of the mountainous homeland many have never even seen.

Museveni is reported to have warned rebel leader Maj-Gen Fred Rwigyema, former deputy commander of his army, that failure to agree to a ceasefire could mean the expulsion from Uganda of thousands more Rwandan refugees.

In Brussels, a spokesman for the rebel Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) said on Wednesday it would refuse to negotiate unless Habyarimana resigned.

"He has no mandate to negotiate in the name of a people that he is slaughtering," spokesman Shyirambere Barahinyura said, calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Rwanda.

Zaire has announced it is pulling out forces sent to help Habyarimana repel the rebels. Belgium, Rwanda's former colonial ruler, and France still have troops in the country but say they are deployed to protect their nationals.

Mwinyi told the Mwanza news conference a regional conference would be held soon, but declined to give a date. —Sapa-Reuters

Historian in bid to bring pluralism to Ghanaians

By KABRAL BLAY-AMIHERE: Accra
HISTORIAN Albert Adu Boahen, an author of international repute, is making history himself. He is leading a nationwide movement to bring constitutional rule — and specifically multipartyism — to Ghana. *West African Times* 19/10/25/10/90

Many students know Professor Boahen's classic text, *Topics in West African History*, and at the University of Ghana he lectured for many years as head of the History Department, retiring in 1985.

On August 1 he launched the Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ), which is asking the Ghanaian government, led by Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, to hold a referendum to decide whether Ghanaians truly want the non-party based district assembly concept or a return to party politics.

Many political observers say the odds are against Boahen and his MFJ because the Rawlings government is determined to divert the wind of pluralism blowing in other parts of Africa away from the shores of Ghana.

Rawlings says party politics will not work in Ghana. Although the government is organising debates to determine the future of democracy, it has made no secret of its preference for the district assembly system practiced since 1989.

Rawlings, according to United States Under-Secretary for Africa Richard Cohen, is allergic to party politics and since he came to power nine years ago has tried to turn his personal hatred into a national phobia.

Says Boahen: "Rawlings says Ghanaians do not want a return to party politics. We say they want it. Only a referendum will decide."

At first encounter 58-year-old, softly-spoken Boahen does not look like the man to lead a movement advocating constitutional rule in a country where most people prefer to obey what government spokesmen themselves describe as a culture of silence.

The preventive custody law, the newspaper licensing law and the abrogation of *habeas corpus* in Ghana, stop many Ghanaians openly expressing their views.

But Boahen has always shown courage when it comes to matters of freedom. In 1972 he courted danger when he condemned a new military regime which had just overthrown the civilian regime as "uncalled for and unnecessary".

In 1987 he founded the People's Movement for Freedom and Justice to fight for constitutional rule. In 1988 he made headlines when he used a public lecture to call on the Rawlings government to return Ghana to multipartyism.

He says claims by some African leaders, including the Ghanaian leadership, that multipartyism in Africa is alien are false. — Gemini News

Comores urgently seeking SA tourist boost

21/10/90

By DAVID CARTE

WHEN Sun International withdrew from the Comoro Islands and SAA flights ceased, the Indian Ocean archipelago lost its biggest contributor to GDP.

That explains the urgency with which the Comoro's new government first persuaded Sol Kerzner's World Leisure to take over the hotels vacated by Sun International and second sent a delegation to SA this week to persuade SAA to resume flights.

Tourism Minister Said Ali Youssouf is hoping that the weekly flight of a 250-seat Airbus plus an occasional Boeing 737 will bring 10 000 South Africans to his island every year. That would occupy only

50% of World Leisure's two hotels, the Itandra and the Le Galawa.

The hope is that eventually 20 000 South Africans a year will make the three-hour flight to an unspoiled paradise. The cost of the flight plus a week on the Comores is about R3 000 a person.

Mr Mahomed Said Mchanga, special adviser to the Comoran president on economic affairs gave me the hard sell this week:

"The Comoro Islands are as balmy and beautiful as Mauritius and the Seychelles but they offer more in the way of history and culture. Unlike the others, they

have been occupied for 1 000 years. There's a fascinating mixture of Arabic, African (Swahili), Indonesian and European cultures.

"There are four islands with differing scenery and vegetation. We have rain forests and the islands are an orchid-lover's paradise. There are active volcanoes and of course, this is the home of the coelacanth.

"Our islands are one of the great diving meccas of the world. Because of the volcanoes, the coral reef is outstanding. Jacques Cousteau has opened a diving school there.

"It's quite common for divers to be able to swim with whales. Another undersea rarity is that there are caves full of dozens of sleep-



SAID ALI YOUSOUF

ing sharks. "The sharks fall asleep because of underwater conditions and divers can actually swim up to them and turn them around in their

sleep. "I must add, however, that coral reef protects the beaches and sharks are not a problem. We have never had a shark attack on a beach."

Mr Mchanga says it is ironic that South Africans should be worrying about instability and violence in the Comores.

"The Comoran people are hospitable, tolerant and peaceable. We have had four murders in the past 10 years. One of them, that of President Abdullah last year, was perpetrated by a foreign mercenary."

"He was not liked, but violence is so foreign to our culture that people actually mourned him.

"Since the coup, we have had free and fair elections.

We have an agreement with France guaranteeing our external and internal security."

While the Comores is Islamic, it does tolerate alcoholic liquor. Mr Mchanga says the islands are poverty-stricken but the poverty is not distressing. Everyone eats.

He reckons economic potential is tremendous and is confident that the islands are on a new growth path.

The islands have longstanding relations with SA. The SA government has a permanent representative on the island, Mr Marco Boni.

SA has helped the Comores in matters agricultural, medical and commercial and CSIR-designed houses for the grasses are on the cards.

Argus 22/10/90

Into Africa on FW's reform

PRESIDENT De Klerk's latest trip into Africa demonstrates again how his reforms are undercutting the African National Congress' influence in black Africa.

The ANC is still calling for African and all other countries to maintain sanctions on South Africa, including bans on diplomatic and cultural relations as well as trade. This means that every time Mr De Klerk is received openly and officially by an African head of state in his own capital the ANC's demands are being openly rejected.

AFRICA

It appears that African governments are increasingly taking the view that the reasons for ostracising South Africa have been removed by the De Klerk reforms.

Those that want direct access to South African trade, technology and aid would have little patience with sanctions barriers that they regarded as being no longer justified. Or it could be that they only needed half an excuse to deal with South Africa in the first place and this is provided by the De Klerk reforms, even though the ANC says these are insufficient.

Some African countries had, after all, started dealing openly with South Africa even before Mr De Klerk took office, while P W Botha was still president.

A more extreme interpretation of developments is that the ANC could now have to face the possibility that some African governments suspect that its insistence on continued sanctions is aimed at gaining political power rather than seeking a solution acceptable to all South Africans.

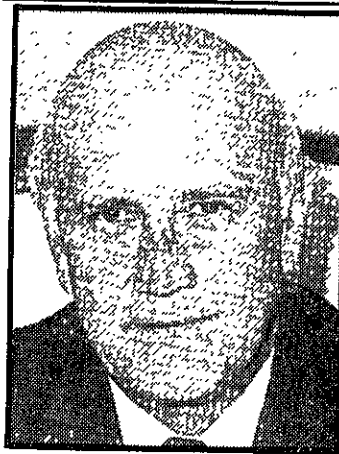
Moroccan motive

Whatever the motivation of those governments opening their doors to the State President, the effect is to strengthen Pretoria's influence in Africa at the expense of the ANC.

The Moroccan government's motives in inviting Mr De Klerk to Rabat are perhaps even more open to speculation than were those of the governments of other African countries he has visited as president: Ivory Coast, Mozambique, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Madagascar.

Morocco largely follows an independent line in inter-African politics and has long been one of the strongest supporters of Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita move-

Continuing his safaris into Africa, President De Klerk is this week opening major new contacts and making important advances in gaining acceptance for South Africa in the continent. GERALD L'ANGE, Editor, Argus Africa News Service reports.



President FW de Klerk

Africa and in the wider Arab world.

Morocco is a constitutional monarchy under King Hassan and is governed by a coalition of four parties. Its troubled economy has begun improving after the institution of reforms required by the International Monetary Fund. It has a relatively large mining industry and is the world's third largest producer of phosphates.

The Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Rusty Evans, sees the visit as "a reflection of the changing attitudes of African heads of state and government towards South Africa and a particular mark of respect for President De Klerk and what he is doing."

He says his department is optimistic that this spirit of acceptance will spread wider in Africa. Mr Evans sees the Rabat visit also as "a reflection of the wider recognition that South Africa is getting in African capitals because of the fact that we identify with Africa."

Before he left there was speculation that Mr De Klerk would visit another African country in addition to Morocco during his present journey and observers considered it likely that this would be one of the Francophone countries.

These countries have usually had a more pragmatic attitude to South Africa than the former British territories. South Africa has long had informal relations of various kinds with the Ivory Coast and is known to have had dealings

Opinion: The New, white...
Gavin Boller, Pine Aker, Craig Lowe, Hen...
next year, said Barlow had de...
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1600.
Nets at Stellenbosch, Wednesday.

Commings in from the cold

Sec 22/10/90

(D)

WDA

President de Klerk — the man who is bringing South Africa in from the political cold — breaks more barriers this week. Today, he visits the influential north Afri-

can state of Morocco, tomorrow he begins a two-day visit to the Netherlands and on Thursday he will spend several hours in Luxembourg before returning home. What

does FW hope to achieve from this whirlwind tour? Africa News Service editor GERALD L'ANGE and special correspondents set the scene.

Tackling the lion in his den

THE word apartheid is laden with special emotion in the Netherlands, a country with a reputation for being South Africa's fiercest critic in Europe. It comes straight from the Dutch and means separateness.

The fact that it is also universally used to describe South Africa's system of racial segregation is abhorrent to most Dutchmen, reminding them of the complicated historical, linguistic and religious ties that both bind and divide the two countries.

These ties will be highlighted on Tuesday when President de Klerk makes a two-day state visit to The Hague. It will be the first time a South African Government leader has been invited to the Netherlands in more than 40 years.

Mr de Klerk's presence in the Netherlands is a diplomatic triumph for Pretoria and a direct reward for his efforts to foster political dialogue with black South Africans. But the controversial visit will be far from easy for him, as criticism of his country is traditionally vocal in the Netherlands.

The visit is not expected to change the Dutch government's stance on economic sanctions.

The fact that the visit is taking place at all is reward enough, according to Mr Ruud Bosgraaf of the Southern African Committee, an anti-apartheid group. Anti-apartheid campaigners argue that the invitation to Mr de Klerk was premature.

The Dutch government is no more stringent in its sanctions policy than any of its European Community partners, preferring to build consensus rather

than go it alone. But, among the population at large, opposition to apartheid is strong and widespread.

Undoubtedly the biggest factor setting the Netherlands apart from other European countries is the violence and property damage that have accompanied the Dutch anti-apartheid campaign.

These hard-hitting tactics, which include arson attacks, bomb threats and other actions aimed at Dutch companies that do business in South Africa, are the work of small, secretive groups of extremists, not of the three mainstream anti-apartheid organisations.

The often tense relations between the Netherlands and South Africa are a result of intertwined histories, languages and religions. Today's Afrikaners, who dominate South African political life, are descendants of Dutch farmers who emigrated to southern Africa in the 17th century.

Of all the links between the two countries, religion best illustrates the evolution of bilateral relations over the past few decades and the Netherlands' gradual disenchantment with the descendants of South Africa's Dutch settlers.

The two largest Dutch Protestant churches, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, long maintained close ties with South Africa's Dutch Reformed Churches, but until the 1960s and 1970s these links were primarily with the white branches. From the 1970s however, the focus switched to the reform churches for black and coloured South Africans. — Financial Times News Service. □



Globe-trotter... Mr de Klerk has joined the presidential jet-set this year.

Tiny state with a lot of muscle

TRADE sanctions and the situation in South Africa are likely to dominate talks between President de Klerk and leaders of the tiny European Community (EC) state of Luxembourg when they meet on Thursday.

These key political developments and pressure from Mr de Klerk on Luxembourg to back the removal of EC sanctions means that talks on commercial ties between the two countries will take a back-seat during the whirlwind trip.

One South African diplomat said: "From our perspective there is some logic in the visit. We have been to Belgium and we are going to the Netherlands and the third partner in the Benelux group of countries is Luxembourg."

"From the political point of view, Luxembourg will have the presidency of the EC from January. They have a role to play." Luxembourg, with a population of 250 000, is by far the smallest EC state. But its vote can still block EC proposals and its role as a banking and finance centre is beginning to threaten that of Switzerland.

Italy, which chairs the EC at present, has been in no hurry to put the sanctions issue on the political agenda, though the issue could come up at the heads-of-government summit later this month.

The Grand Duchy has taken a similar line on South African issues to the other Benelux countries. Socialist Jacques Poos has held the influential Foreign Minister post in the Centre-Left coalition government. Some Luxembourg financiers

claim that Mr Poos has prevented South African banks from gaining entry to the burgeoning financial centre as well as stopping companies setting up captive insurance subsidiaries in the centre.

Diplomats say that South African banks are keen to set up in Luxembourg to gain a stronger foothold on the continent, but until international relations are normalised, the European presence will be restricted to five banks in London. But the government's attitude has not stopped holding companies such as South African-backed mining group Minorco from setting up in Luxembourg and putting its share quote on more major international exchanges.

Another successful South African-owned company is the Luxavia airline, which flies passengers and cargo to Johannesburg using planes leased from Luxair, the state airline. Its prices compete well with other airlines on the route.

Steel is one of Luxembourg's major industries outside the financial sector but one currently blocked to South Africa by EC sanctions.

Mr de Klerk is due to visit Prime Minister Jacques Santer, Mr Poos, the president of the parliament and the Grand Duke Jean before lunch on Thursday. He will also meet the press before flying home at 4 pm.

Luxembourg is sandwiched between Belgium, with which it has a monetary union, France and Germany. Nearly a quarter of its population has foreign nationality and it houses several EC institutions, including the court of justice. — Foreign News Service. □

...own, killing his father and paralyzing him.

Red carpet for FW in Morocco

CMT TTB 23/10/90

From BARRY STREEK

RABAT. — Landing rights in North Africa and diplomatic relations between South Africa and Morocco are on the cards.

This follows yesterday's one-and-a-half hours of discussions between King Hassan II and President FW de Klerk in the Moroccan capital of Rabat.

The Moroccan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Abdallatif Filali, is to visit South Africa soon to follow up negotiations.

Mr De Klerk said he and King Hassan had agreed that it was in the interests of both countries that ties between them be "expanded and strengthened".

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and Mr Filali met last night for further discussions before the delegation leaves today for Holland.

Mr De Klerk said the two foreign ministers would discuss the upgrading of diplomatic links between South Africa and Morocco. They would also discuss matters such as landing rights, expansion of trade and the exchange of expertise in various fields.

"I have no doubt that will lead to a blooming relationship between our two countries because we have much to offer each other," Mr De Klerk said.

Friendship

In reply to a question, Mr De Klerk said South Africa was taking the initiative on the issue of landing rights because it was determined to put its airline into a competitive situation.

"We are keen to broaden our basis of friendship with the international community. In the African context, we have much more to offer than we need," he said.

His announcement last night followed a warm reception yesterday in Rabat where he was met by the Prime Minister, Mr Azzedene Laraki, and other ministers.

After his talks with King Hassan, Mr De Klerk told a press conference that they had discussed a "wide range of subjects" including the situation in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and the Middle East, and future developments in Africa.

He also said he was going to the Netherlands confidently because both Holland and the rest of Europe realised fundamental change was taking place in SA and had accepted that the process was irreversible.

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Ste 23/10/90

De Klerk seeks SAA rights in Morocco

By Martin Challenor

RABAT (Morocco) — South African Airways jets could soon be landing at Morocco's international airport following talks in Rabat yesterday between President de Klerk and King Hassan II.

Mr de Klerk said South Africa had "much more to offer Africa than we need from Africa". He took the initiative in discussions with King Hassan in trying to secure landing rights at Rabat and overflying rights.

The outcome of the 90-minute meeting is that Moroccan Foreign Minister Abdalatif Filali will visit South Africa soon to meet Foreign

Minister Pik Botha and discuss representation at diplomatic level between Pretoria and Rabat, SAA access to Morocco and the expansion of trade and other contacts. The two Foreign Ministers started discussing these issues yesterday.

Foundation

"I have no doubt that this visit has laid the foundation for a blossoming and good relationship between our two countries because we have much to offer each other," Mr de Klerk told an international press conference.

He said SAA had to fly around the continent of Afri-

ca, which put the airline at a disadvantage. The Government was keen to take the initiative to rectify this so SAA could be put on a normal, competitive situation.

"This does not mean that I came to Morocco with a shopping list ... We are not here in that spirit to ask favours or special concessions.

"We are here to broaden the basis of our co-operation and friendship with the international community. In the African continent in general terms, we have much more to offer than what we need."

Foreign journalists at the press conference probed Mr de Klerk on his reform steps

and were told: "There is no turning back."

Trumpeters, palace guards carrying lances and wearing red, green and white costumes provided a colourful backdrop for Mr de Klerk's meeting with King Hassan.

Symbolic

The South African leader said he saw great symbolic value in the meeting between the heads of the most northern and southern states in Africa. Southern African states should move closer together to develop economic ties to co-operate in the business of development, he said.

Moroccan 'nod' to SAA landing rights

MANDY JEAN WOODS

MOROCCO has agreed in principle to grant SAA landing rights in the country.

This was a sequel to this week's meeting between King Hassan and President F W de Klerk, a Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed yesterday.

SAA has never had landing rights in Morocco. The only country on the west coast where SAA has landing rights is the Ivory Coast.

Recently, SAA announced it would begin direct flights to Kenya from December 1.

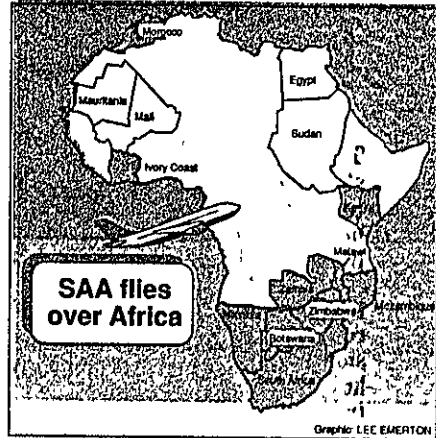
To secure a route across Africa, SAA would have to get landing rights in Tanzania, Sudan and Egypt (if it flew via Kenya) and Mali and Mauritania (if it flew via the Ivory Coast and Morocco).

The Foreign Affairs spokesman said it was decided at the beginning of this year to make Morocco a priority as SA had no relationship with Arab countries.

De Klerk then sent a letter to Hassan who responded by inviting De Klerk to visit Morocco "any time".

"We also asked the President to mention landing rights. SAA told us they wanted fly-over rights as a priority to get a short route over Africa," the spokesman said.

SAA spokesman Leon Els said yesterday no decision had yet been taken on the



introduction of flights.

Els also said yesterday that South Africans travelling to Kenya would probably be issued with 14-day visas on arrival at the airport. In the past, SA passport-holders were not allowed into the country.

The move would put Kenya in line with Madagascar, which recently granted SAA landing rights, and Zaire, both of which previously disallowed SA passport-holders.

"The matter is being sorted out by the two airlines and we expect finality on the matter after a meeting to be held next week," he said.

Benefits for SA in links with Africa

ZILLA EFRAT

THE rapid opening up of Africa and the re-establishment of direct links with SA offered local business major opportunities, Safto CE Wim Holtes said yesterday.

Addressing a project and contract management conference organised by management consultants Whitehead Morris in Johannesburg, Holtes said Africa was a major recipient of official development funding amounting to as much as R40bn a year.

The World Bank alone assisted sub-Saharan Africa with loans and credit up to R10bn annually.

Even a modest share of this development assistance would provide SA contractors, engineering companies, consultants and supporting industries with substantial opportunities.

While much of this funding was linked to suppliers in donor countries, SA companies had increasingly gone offshore. They had linked up with international groups with operations throughout the region, thus



● HOLTES

becoming eligible for some of these programmes.

In addition, SA's annual exports to Africa were worth more than R5bn and were growing at a rate of 40% a year.

SA had become a major supplier to nine countries in the region and trade between SA and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries amounted to seven times intra-SADCC trade.

SA contractors and project developers had historically played a major role in Africa, but this had tailed off during the past decade.

Holtes said the key problem in Africa was the lack

of feasible, forex-generating projects and the lack of long-term finance.

SA was not willing to participate in the hand out race in Africa and local business had pursued commercially feasible projects instead of social and infrastructural programmes.

The soft loans and aid available to foreign competitors had increasingly been experienced as a major export incentive available to competitors. This placed SA contractors at a disadvantage, but it could change soon.

Nevertheless, SA companies had a competitive advantage in delivery times, low costs, problem solving capabilities and familiarity with working conditions. It also had similarity of agro-industrial, mining and infrastructural expertise developed in SA.

Many larger projects, such as the Lesotho Highland Water Scheme, the Sua Pan soda ash project and Maputo Port, were pointing the way to creative co-operation between SA business, other local organisations and banks and international partners.

Another breakthrough for FW as he heads for Senegal

TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to pay an official visit to the east African state of Senegal today, achieving another significant breakthrough in Africa.

Sources said yesterday De Klerk and his party would stop over at Dakar and would be received by Senegalese President Abdou Diouf.

He will leave for SA tomorrow. In 1987, Dakar was the venue of one of the first meetings between white South Africans and the ANC.

A spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department would not comment on the trip.

Senegal has been critical of SA in the past and has supported the call for sanctions, but has also emphasised the need for diplomatic relations with SA immediately.

De Klerk may secure trade links and landing rights, sources said. De Klerk arrives in Dakar after today's stopover in Luxembourg following his visit to the Netherlands.

BARRY STRECK reports from The Hague

Hague that a Dutch Foreign Affairs spokesman said the EC's investment sanctions against SA and bans on religious, educational and scientific links could go by mid-December.

The spokesman said other EC sanctions measures would remain until all apartheid measures had been scrapped and the European governments were convinced the process of change in SA really was "irreversible".

He stressed that the gradual lifting of sanctions would be part of a comprehensive EC package which still had to be negotiated with the other countries.

Luxembourg will hold the EC presidency during the first half of 1991 to be followed by Holland for the second half.

Standing foreign affairs commissions in both chambers of Holland's parliament are investigating Dutch policy on SA and are expected to report back in mid-November.

The EC Council of Foreign Ministers, which met in Luxembourg on Monday, has also set up a special investigation into policy on SA and is due to meet again before summit of European heads of government in Rome in December.

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Next stop, Senegal

CAN-11-15 25/10/70 Correspondent ①

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk is expected to pay an official visit the East African state of Senegal today, achieving another significant breakthrough in Africa.

Sources said yesterday Mr De Klerk and his party would stop over at Dakar and would be received by Senegalese President Abdou Diouf. He will leave for South Africa on Friday.

Dakar was the venue of one of the first meetings between white South Africans and the ANC in 1987. The meeting incurred the wrath of the then president, Mr P W Botha.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday would not comment on trip, saying it was up to the host country to confirm such a visit. The visit is expected to be announced today.

BUSINESS

Africa affording more opportunities for business

(1) (2)
Star 25/10/90

By Duma Gqubule

The rapid opening up of Africa and the re-establishment of direct links between South Africa and the rest of Africa holds great promise as well as challenges for the South African business community.

Mr Wim Holtes,

chief executive officer of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (SAFTO) said in Johannesburg yesterday that Africa was now a major recipient of official development funding amounting to as much as R40 billion a year.

"Even a modest share of this flow of development assistance would provide South African contractors, engineering

companies and consultants, as well as South African supporting industries with substantial business opportunities," Mr Holtes said.

Current South African exports to Africa were well over R5 billion a year and growing at the rate of 40 percent a year.

Mr Holtes said South African companies had a competitive advantage in delivery times, low

costs, familiarity with working conditions and labour force and similarity of agro-industrial, mining and infrastructural expertise.

He said SAFTO had undertaken a major multi-exporter study into business opportunities available through international aid programmes and well over a hundred South African business groups were involved.

AFRICA

African countries debate virtues of monetary union

NAIROBI — Finance ministers from eastern and southern African states meet in Nairobi this weekend to debate a radical blueprint for monetary union by the year 2000.

Critics call the scheme a non-starter in a region where many national economies are in crisis.

But the plan's architect, Jonathan Frimpong-Ansah, says that while his timetable is likely to be abandoned, the 18-member Preferential Trade Area (PTA) should at least consider monetary harmonisation at the meeting.

If not, says the former governor of Ghana's central bank, efforts at economic integration will stall.

In the short term, members should liberalise trade and exchange rate policies and redesign economic reform programmes to take account of the PTA goal of monetary harmonisation, he said.

"As to the timetable, no one can be definite on that. But you can prescribe stages (preparing for monetary union) and let them evolve as member states become ready for them," he said.

His report on monetary union was commissioned early this year by the PTA, a trade group which stretches from Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa to Lesotho.

It was looking for ways for PTA states to catch up in a world increasingly dominated by powerful trading blocs.

Crazy idea ^{BIPCOM} 26/10/90

PTA economies remain hampered by red tape, poor communications and restrictions on foreign exchange transactions nine years after the organisation was established to try to form a common market.

One banker described the idea as crazy. "They can't even get themselves organised domestically," he said.

But PTA secretary-general Bax Nomvete told PTA officials preparing for the talks that working toward monetary union was a way forward. "An integration process among developing countries requires monetary harmonisation as an infrastructure," he said.

Like EC plans for European monetary union, Frimpong-Ansah suggested a phased move toward the goal of a single currency issued by a common central bank.

He said the PTA need only co-ordinate rather than initiate such tough reforms, as many members had already begun the process under structural adjustment programmes agreed with the IMF and World Bank.

But conference sources said at this week's preparatory talks that national officials were wary of the implications of union for a wide range of government policies — especially the report's call for further devaluations for most PTA states.

"There are some very sensitive questions involved. Everything from exchange rate devaluations, pricing policies in parastatals, debt management, inflation," one source said.

The officials were expected to recommend a watered-down version of the report to central bank governors before the weekend talks. — Sapa-Reuter.



This old woman, pictured in a refugee camp in Kisinga, south-east of Uganda, is one of 3 000 refugees who fled after an attempt to overthrow the Rwandan government

THE invasion of Rwanda by rebels led by Major-General Fred Rwegema has revived fears of ethnic conflict there, and drawn attention once more to the ever-present factor of foreign military intervention in Africa.

The invasion began on September 30, when between 5 000 and 10 000 former Ugandan National Resistance Army soldiers of Rwandan origin and Rwandan refugees-turned-rebels moved into the Mutara area of northern Rwanda from southern Uganda.

Rwanda President Juvenal Habyarimana was out of the country and it seemed to take the government in Kigali and the small army by surprise. The rebels moved well into Rwanda and attacked the military post at Gabiro in the north-west.

The small Rwandan armed forces — a mere 5 200 men with a few armoured cars, two combat aircraft and a few helicopter gunships — struck back against the rebels but were unable to dislodge them, let alone push them back into Uganda.

To prevent a military disaster which could have led to the overthrow of the government, Habyarimana appealed to the former colonial power, Belgium, for help.

The Belgians agreed to send around 200 paratroops to Kigali. Ostensibly, they were being sent to guarantee the safety of Belgian citizens, but they took

WMAnt 26/10 - 1/11/90 ①

In times of need, small African states still rely on foreign help

Desperate to survive last month's invasion of Rwanda, President Juvenal Habyarimana solicited military aid from France, Belgium and Zaire. They obliged, ostensibly to protect their own citizens.

KEITH SOMERVILLE reports

up positions around the international airport.

The Belgians were soon joined by the French. They also agreed to send troops and promptly dispatched 150 paratroops from their base in the Central African Republic.

They too justified their action by saying that the soldiers would not intervene in the fighting but would concentrate on protecting French citizens. The French were deployed alongside the Belgians around the airport.

The airport was soon to prove a strategic installation as it was used to fly in a force of 500 Zairean troops. There was no doubt about their role — President Mobutu Sese Seko and Habyarimana both said that they would fight alongside Rwandan troops against the rebels.

By the end of the second week of October there were said to be around 1 000

Zairean soldiers in Rwanda, some of them already involved in the fighting in north-western Rwanda.

Although the threat to Habyarimana has receded, he needs foreign military backing to guarantee his survival.

The episode illustrates the reliance of many African states, particularly the smaller ones, on foreign military help (generally from outside Africa).

Countries like Rwanda have small armies with few major weapons. They are generally used more for maintaining internal order than external defence.

In cases of invasion from abroad, many of these armies are unable to cope. This was certainly the case with Rwanda.

At least 1 000 of the rebels are believed to be battle-hardened veterans of Uganda's civil war. They are well armed and led by Rwegema, who has a reputation

as a good leader who always puts himself in the frontline.

Backed by thousands of refugees, he stood a good chance of stretching the Rwandan army to the limit.

The French have never been slow to come to the aid of friendly states which ask for help. Although originally a Belgian colony, Rwanda enjoys good relations with France and has, in recent years, fallen within the latter's sphere of influence.

France maintains some 6 000 troops in Africa, plus a couple of squadrons of Jaguar aircraft and logistical units. They are capable of quick reactions to threats to French allies.

Since the granting of independence to African states in the late 1950s and early Sixties, France has intervened militarily in Cameroon, Congo, Gabon, Chad, Mauritania, Djibouti, Central African Republic and Zaire.

Belgium has also demonstrated a willingness to send units to Africa when the interests of its friends are threatened. This was the case in the Shaba crises of 1977 and 1978 (the latter being carried out in conjunction with the French).

And the Zaireans co-operated with the French in Chad in support of Idriss Deby.

It is clear from what has happened in Rwanda, that the days of foreign military intervention in Africa are numbered. — Gemini News

FIM 26/10/90 (20/10/90)

Premier dived into the intimidating African market in 1982 and, where other companies have foundered, the Johannesburg-based food conglomerate has succeeded. Premier's experience holds valuable lessons



Nelissen

for other SA companies now taking the plunge as political reform at home generates vastly expanded opportunities elsewhere on the continent.

Even before February 2, Premier's African trade was booming — in 1987 it jumped by 82% in value

over the year before, in 1988 by 58%, last year by 66%, and so far this year by a further 82%. (Nelissen won't disclose the total volume or value of Premier's African trade.)

Moreover, new markets continue to open.

"While trade with southern African states grew strongly since February, over the last few months a completely new atmosphere has been visible in our relations with the rest of Africa," he says. "Countries as far afield as Ghana and Egypt now show interest in buying from us."

Nelissen says Premier's secret in trading with Africa lies in "doing everything ourselves" — not through third parties or agents. The group's trade relations, he notes, involves not only selling consumer goods in African markets, but also joint venture investments, takeovers and management

AFRICAN TRADE (20/10/90) 1
A PREMIER CHALLENGE

Crumbling transport systems, scarce convertible currency, miserable consumer buying power — the pitfalls of trading with Africa are well-known. FIM 26/10/90

As Premier International CE Albert Nelissen puts it: "You can lose a fortune in trading in Africa. You need strict control over cash flows and inventories. Quick deals do not work — you must go in and stay in the market. The best solution is to have your own people on the spot."

FIM 26/10/90

(20/10/90) 1 BUSINESS

agreements. In addition, by restricting its African trade to essential commodities such as food, building materials and pharmaceuticals, the group has had no trouble in getting paid.

But where does the buying power come from? Nelissen says a successful African trade requires investing in local business ventures to create both local currency and foreign exchange reserves. This also provides a ready market for exports.

In Zaire, for example, Premier has just obtained timber concessions over 2m ha of virgin forests from local public corporations. Sawmills will be built and finished wood products exported, which will raise both local currency and foreign exchange — buying power for imports from SA. Zaire is Premier's largest African export market, fol-

lowed by Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi and Angola.

In Mozambique, Premier has established innovative harvesting schemes involving timber, cashew nuts and copra, a coconut product. In addition, Premier has set up six depots across Mozambique and stocked them with consumer goods and basic foodstuffs for sale to the 450 000 dependants of Mozambican mineworkers who work in SA. The goods are paid for in rands deducted from the mineworkers' wages.

Nelissen believes strongly that SA should concentrate on developing the 150m-strong southern African market. "There is enormous potential for expanding trade relations between SA, Mozambique and Angola once the wars in these countries are resolved." Angola, he notes, offers the potential for

barter trade in valuable commodities such as oil, coffee, diamonds and timber.

SA's improving political image is only one reason for the improvement in African trade links. African countries are being forced to deal with SA, Nelissen says, because aid and credit handouts are drying up as the end of the Cold War diverts the attention of the superpowers to the markets where their money can go furthest.

"The trouble is that Africa has a bad image as an investment market — poor economic growth and weak financial management have led to disillusionment with the continent's economic future," he says. "The world is disinvesting from Africa — and even world bodies such as the International Monetary Fund would prefer to channel their aid for Africa via the private sector in SA." ■

Morocco is all set to resume SA relations

5 Times 28/10/90.

MOROCCO is preparing to announce full diplomatic relations with South Africa early next year, according to diplomatic sources.

This will make it the first recognised African state — besides Malawi — to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria.

The way for the historic move was opened during President FW de Klerk's visit to the Moroccan capital of Rabat this week.

President De Klerk announced after talks with King Hassan that SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Moroccan counterpart, Abdellatif Filali, would begin discussions about full diplomatic relations.

Pleased

This would include a visit by Mr Filali to SA. A date has not yet been set.

Moroccan diplomats indicated after the announcement that they hoped to exchange ambassadors early in the new year.

SA diplomats were surprised, but pleased, at the speed at which diplomatic exchanges with Rabat developed this week.

The man currently being tipped to become SA's first ambassador in Africa north of Malawi is Justus de Goede, the No 2 in the SA embassy in London.

Mr De Goede flew to Rabat to act as interpreter for President De Klerk in

French-speaking Morocco.

Morocco is a conservative African Arab state. It has a stable government under King Hassan, who is only the second ruler the country has had in three decades.

Morocco's lingering dispute with other states over its annexation of Western Sahara has estranged it from the Organisation of African Unity.

It has also been something of an open secret that Morocco has substantial trade links with SA and has been an important Armscor customer for years.

Yet it remains an influential African member of the so-called Maghreb group of states, which include Tunisia, Algeria and Libya.

Diplomats expect many African countries to want to take advantage of SA's accelerating acceptability — and to do so in the flush of the "honeymoon" period.

With many African states now desperate for foreign sponsors after the developed world's swing to Eastern Europe, none will want to be far back in the queue in opening political and economic exchanges with SA.

The symbolism of the Moroccan move and its portents of more of the same from the rest of Africa, will now place the ANC's sanctions policy under near-breaking strain.

Diplomats expect the Ivory Coast to be the next country to follow Morocco's example.

De Klerk visit opens doors

By SEKOLA SELLO

SANCTIONS against South Africa are crumbling and the doors to Africa are opening for the country, State President FW de Klerk has said.

Returning on Friday from a triumphant state visit which took him to Morocco, Holland, Luxembourg and a quick stop in Senegal, De Klerk told newsmen at Jan Smuts Airport that his African visits would reap fruits and had laid a foundation for future contacts.

He said trade with Africa - which in the past had been conducted secretly - was improving and was now being acknowledged publicly.

South African products were now sold openly without their origins being

concealed.

Although confident that economic sanctions against South Africa were crumbling, he gave cautious indications that this would not take place soon.

He had not gone to Europe with a shopping list or to ask for the lifting of sanctions, he said, but implied that he expected changes on a cultural level, particularly with Holland.

The world was beginning to realise that South Africa had an important role to play in the development of Southern Africa as well as the rest of the continent.

Linguistic and historical ties between Holland and South Africa could pave the way for Holland, one of Europe's

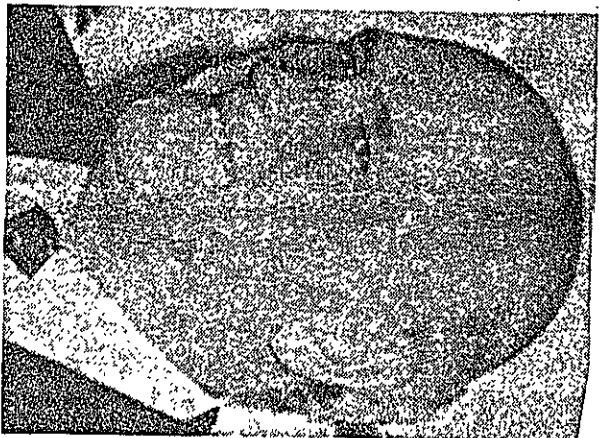
harshest critics of South Africa in the past, to restore cultural contacts with this country, he added.

His visit to Morocco, where he was given red-carpet treatment and held talks with King Hassan II, is seen as of vital importance in opening doors for South Africa to the Arab world.

This was the first State visit by a South African leader to an Arab country.

De Klerk did not give details of his discussions with King Hassan and his Senegalese counterpart, Abdou Diouf.

Since taking over as State President over a year ago, De Klerk has already visited Zambia, Madagascar, Mozambique, the Ivory Coast and Angola.



FW de Klerk ... sanctions going.

Global warming may cause famine

8 Day 29/10/90

Own Correspondent

LONDON — World food production is likely to be severely reduced as a result of global warming with risk of starvation and malnutrition in central America, Africa and south east Asia and a 20% rise in world food prices.

This is the prediction contained in a new book by an expert UN adviser on climate change, Prof Martin Parry of Birmingham University.

He forecasts that drier conditions, caused by man-made climate change, will reduce food production in the breadbasket regions of the world, leading to rocketing food prices in developed countries.

World agriculture would adapt, Parry said, but this was likely to mean severe disruptions regionally — particularly in Africa. In higher latitudes, formerly unproductive wildernesses such as the North York Moors and Iceland would have to be ploughed up for agricultural use.

Emissions

He said up to a billion people who live in the poorest and currently most marginal agricultural regions — south east Asia, western Arabia, the Maghreb, western Africa, the Horn of Africa, southern Africa and eastern Brazil — would see drops in yields of 25%, increasing the risk of starvation and malnutrition and mass migration of peoples.

The report's publication by the UN Environment Programme is likely to increase pressure for tough reductions in carbon dioxide emissions to be made at this week's Second World Climate Conference in Geneva, to be attended by UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and other world leaders.

The assessment of climate change envisages that if man-made greenhouse gases continue at their present level, global

mean temperatures could increase by 1.1°C over the next 40 years and by about 4°C by 2090.

The temperature rise would be higher in higher latitudes, meaning that agricultural land currently being taken out of production and "set-aside" in northern Europe might have to be put back into production as the arid regions of the world became totally unproductive.

Agricultural zones would move 300km northwards with each 1°C increase in average temperature. The areas where crops such as maize were grown would move steadily northwards with corn-on-the-cob being grown in Scotland by 2050.

The growing of other continental crops, such as sunflowers, soya beans and red grapes would become possible with 2°C or 3°C of warming. With such a temperature rise Birmingham would have the same potential for growing red wine as Bordeaux.

Crop species such as malting barley, which depends on frost, would be pushed northwards and raspberries currently grown in Perthshire would have to relocate to Aberdeen or Thurso.

There remained many uncertainties about climate change, not least the possible benefits from the increase of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere from the burning of fossil fuels.

Increased carbon dioxide can accelerate plant growth, as tomato growers have found, but this might be a phenomenon restricted to commercial greenhouses which would not work in nature.

Perry insisted it was dangerous to talk of likely "winners and losers" from climate change, as some Soviet scientists, had been doing. There were likely to be winners and losers within countries and within regions. — Daily Telegraph.

EDYTH BULBRING

COMMERCIAL visits between SA and Morocco, the establishment of overflying and landing rights in the country and the setting up of telecommunication links were on the cards, Foreign Affairs sources said yesterday.

These issues were part of structured talks held between President F W de Klerk and King Hussan during De Klerk's visit to the Moroccan capital, Rabat last week.

The sources said it was expected diplomatic ties between the two countries would be announced next year after a visit to SA by Moroccan Foreign Affairs Minister Abdellatig Filali.

Visits to Morocco by SA businessmen to explore technical, industrial and commercial opportunities were imminent and the

Morocco's relations with SA 'improve'

process had already begun, the sources said. Reciprocal visits by Moroccan businessmen were also expected.

Granting of overflight and landing rights by Morocco would cut the flight time to Europe by 38 minutes and mean enormous petrol savings.

BARRY STREEK reports that it was reliably understood that negotiations about overflying or landing rights were at an advanced stage in other countries in West Africa near Senegal.

Although a distance of about 320km across Algerian territory still remained a

□ To Page 2

Moroccan

problem, SA diplomatic sources said there was a very strong possibility that negotiations could result in SAA not being forced to fly around the "bulge" of Africa, at considerable extra expense and time.

"It looks very promising," one source said.

The extent to which progress was being made was underlined by De Klerk's visit to Dakar in Senegal, which was officially described as an "extended technical stop-down".

This was the first official SA government visit to Senegal in 27 years. It was made possible through discreet negotiations by SA's non-resident trade representative in Cape Verde, Cape Verde President Aristereas Pireira and Senegalese diplomats.

With the governments of both Morocco and the Ivory Coast wanting to establish diplomatic relations with SA, and South

African diplomats making discreet visits to nearly every country in Africa, where trade and diplomatic links have also been discussed, the tide is certainly turning.

The establishment of trade and air links with Madagascar earlier this year was another indication that Africa's approach to SA was changing.

And last week Zimbabwe allowed an all-party delegation of South Africans to visit the country and hold discussions with government officials.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha has been urging Western governments to become more involved in African issues.

De Klerk, speaking at a Press conference in Dakar last week, said: "The important reality is that the new South Africa will be an integral part of Africa and will play an integral role in Africa."

He hoped these developments would enable SA to "take its full rightful place as an African nation".

From Page 1

FW gaining on ANC in Africa

Sowetan 29/10/90

WHAT South Africa may have lost on the swings through the reported cancellation of Kenyan landing rights, it has gained on the roundabouts through its newly improved relations with Morocco, Senegal and Madagascar.

So in its efforts to break through its ostracism in black Africa, Pretoria is still ahead. In deciding to deal openly with the South African Government, Moroccan Government, Madagascar, Morocco and Senegal were obviously inspired by President FW de Klerk's reforms.

But in trying to capitalise on this new attitude, the Government is being opposed by the African National Congress, which is still advocating diplomatic as well as trade and cultural sanctions against South Africa.

It is perhaps simplistic to say that the issue has resolved into a contest between De Klerk's reforms and ANC influence in Africa.

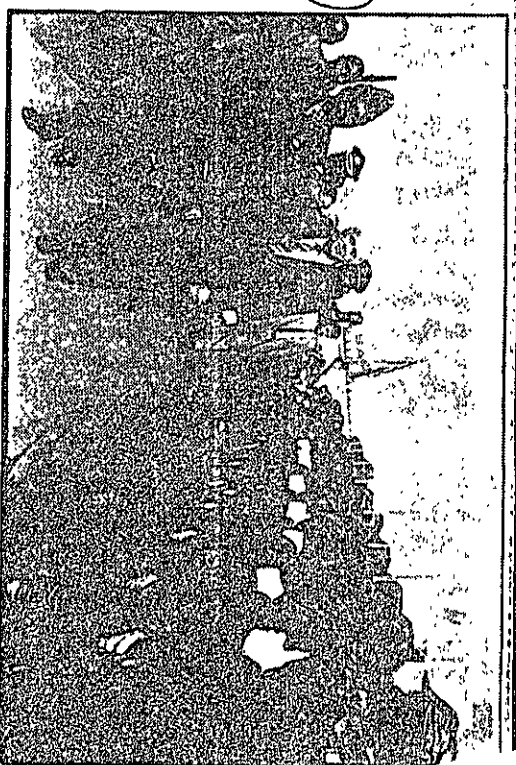
But that is essentially what it comes down to while the ANC keeps trying to keep South Africa ostracised and Pretoria keeps trying to break out on the back of reform.

Issue

As in the rest of the world, the issue revolves largely around a determination of whether the reform has become irreversible.

African and other governments are almost certainly weighing up whether the reforms are cosmetic, designed to win foreign friends, or whether they are inspired primarily by domestic imperatives.

The Kenya Government's initial decision to exchange landing rights



President FW de Klerk being met by Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko on arrival in Kinshasa. Pic: ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

with South Africa was very probably taken in the belief that the reforms would make the deal acceptable in African eyes.

Kenya, while belabouring apartheid rhetorically, has long shown an eagerness for open dealings with South Africa.

Several years ago Nairobi was on the point of quietly allowing South African tourists to visit Kenya, but it was rescinded when the decision was leaked to the Press.

The decision on landing rights (which would inevitably have meant opening the doors to South African visitors) coincided by chance with a stop in Nairobi by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela while on his way to Australia, and he took the opportunity to oppose the decision.

Whether this was enough to make the Kenya Government change its mind is open to conjecture, but no other reason has emerged.

The budding new relationship between South Africa and other African states is still at an extraordinarily sensitive stage.

Advantages

However, much the other states might want to seize the advantages available from open dealings with South Africa, it has still not become clearly respectable.

If entails spurning not only the ANC on this particular issue but also the Organisation of African Unity, which still officially supports the ANC stance.

Refuelling stop or not, the fact that Diouf will be openly receiving his South African counterpart is almost as good for Pretoria's purposes as a state visit.

It breaches the ANC embargo just as effectively.

African rethink on monetary union date

31 Nov 30 10 190
 NAIROBI — East and southern African states have abandoned ambitious plans for monetary union by the year 2000, saying that national differences in economic development demand a more gradual approach to co-operation.

Finance ministers from the 18-nation Preferential Trade Area (PTA) said a new mood of pragmatism had emerged at talks which ended at the weekend.

"What we're trying to do is inject realism into our discussions," Zimbabwean Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero told journalists after the weekend talks had ended.

"You cannot overlook the fact that we are at different stages of development in the PTA, and to start with monetary union now would be putting the cart before the

horse," he said.

The ministers decided on a step-by-step approach to economic links and aim to co-ordinate reforms to spur growth.

International monetary experts say the trade area, Africa's biggest trade bloc, may now be making a fresh start after nine years of limited progress.

"These guys looked serious, but they've got a long way to go," an international observer at the talks said.

One spur to greater regional co-operation is the fear Africa will be left out in the cold by powerful trade blocs such as the EC and the US/Canada free trade zone.

In the past, Preferential Trade Area attempts to negotiate preferential tariffs ignored basic economic barriers to trade, economists said. — Reuter.

The killing fields of Africa

①
Sd wlfen
30/10/90

NAIROBI - From North to South, East to West, Africa is wracked by seemingly unending turmoil and unrest.

In many countries, drought and poverty worsen the agony - and relief supplies fall casualty to civil war.

A few signs of hope shine out like beacons.

In South Africa, the white government is taking steps to dismantle the apartheid system that enshrines white privilege and supremacy, but black is killing black as their leaders vie for political leadership.

In Chad, a conflict with Libya that has lasted 17 years may be drawing to an end - but in Ethiopia and Liberia bitter fighting rages on.

Newest

Somalia's vast impoverished land is mostly under rebel control, and fighting continues in southern Sudan. The newest conflict in Africa is a rebel invasion of tiny Rwanda.

In the south of the continent rebel armies wage civil war in Mozambique and Angola, although diplomats say military action in both conflicts appears to have lessened since peace talks started this year.

Reuter correspondents sent the following reports:

RWANDA: This hilly central African country (population: seven million) became the continent's latest venue for war when a rebel force invaded on October 1.

By the end of the month the rebel force, composed mostly of exiled members of the coun-

This is part one of a *Sapa-Reuter* article on the internecine wars plaguing Africa since independence.

FOCUS

try's minority Tutsi tribe who deserted the Uganda army to launch their campaign, were firmly entrenched in a northeast corner of the former Belgian colony.

The rebels said they were campaigning for Rwandan citizenship and the overthrow of President Juvenal Habyarimana, who they called corrupt and undemocratic.

The government accused the rebels of trying to re-install Tutsi leadership which prevailed before a revolt by the majority Hutu tribe in 1959.

Diplomatic efforts to end the conflict were launched rapidly and both sides agreed in principle to a ceasefire. But the government later accused rebels of truce violations and called for an international monitoring force.

ETHIOPIA is the cockpit for two of Africa's most bitter conflicts - in Eritrea and Tigray.

In Eritrea, guerillas have been fighting since 1962 for independence for the former Italian colony, Africa's longest-running civil war.

Thousands have died in the fighting which has devastated the land. With rains failing in the impoverished Horn of Africa, Ethiopia has also been ravaged by some of the worst famines this century. The United Na-

tions estimates some four million people face starvation next year.

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front has laid siege to President Mengistu Haile Mariam's second army of around 120 000 men dug in near the Eritrean capital Asmara and linked to Addis Ababa only by an air bridge.

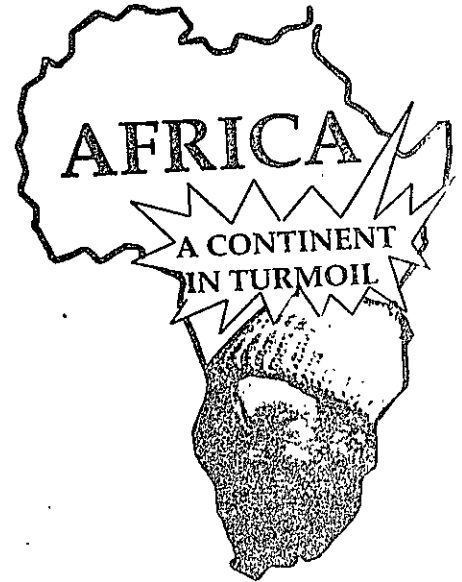
Meanwhile, the Tigray People's Liberation Front which says it is fighting for a broader-based government now controls Tigray province and parts of neighbouring Gondar, Wollo and Shoa provinces.

Bloody

LIBERIA, the closest thing the United States ever had to a colony in black Africa, is gripped by a civil war that has wrecked the country and degenerated into bloody tribal conflict.

Thousands of people, mostly civilians, have been killed since rebel leader Charles Taylor invaded northeastern Liberia last December seeking to overthrow President and former army Master Sergeant, Samuel Doe.

The combat in this lush West African country, founded in 1847 by freed American slaves, quickly took on tribal overtones as Doe's Krahn-dominated army took reprisals against civilians of the Gio and Mano tribes which provide the bulk of Taylor's forces.



Taylor's rag-tag rebels took revenge on Krahns and their tribal allies, the Mandingos.

Taylor routed Doe's army in virtually every battle. He quickly took control of almost all the country, but became bogged down when he reached the capital Monrovia in June.

A rival rebel group led by Prince Yormie Johnson, who split from Taylor in February, seized control of Monrovia's port in July.

The Economic Community of West African States sent in a five-nation peacekeeping force which is seeking to enforce a ceasefire. Doe was tortured to death on September 10 after falling into Johnson's hands.

The peacekeeping force is slowly pushing Taylor back from the outskirts of Monrovia but the US educated rebel leader has vowed to fight on even if it means guerilla warfare in the hills.

ALGERIA: Since a new constitution in 1989 guaranteed political freedoms, marches,

demonstrations and strikes have become almost daily events in Algeria. The first free general elections were promised for early next year - but the army has warned that it will intervene if turmoil threatens national unity.

CHAD: A 17-year conflict between Chad and Libya over a patch of desert could be coming to a close at last. The two countries agreed last month to refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice in the Hague.

The conflict began in 1973 when Libya annexed the Aouzou Strip, a 110 000-sq-km stretch of the Sahara reported to be rich in uranium. In 1980 it boiled up into a full-scale war in which France used military support for Chad. A ceasefire sponsored by the Organisation of African Unity stopped the fighting in September 1987 but a war of attrition continued, fanned by long-standing accusations that Libya was supporting Chadian rebels.

* Part 2 tomorrow

AFRICA

Defeat looms in first Ivory Coast challenge

B 12/24 30/10/90 (1)

ABIDJAN — Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny defeated his first challenger, winning a lopsided victory for a seventh five-year term, according to preliminary returns.

An Interior Ministry official said that with about half the vote counted, the 85-year-old president had taken more than 85% of the vote in Sunday's election, the first contested presidential poll in the country's history.

Opposition candidate Laurent Gbagbo, a 45-year-old history lecturer, was averaging about 13%, the official said.

Gbagbo alleged massive vote fraud by the ruling Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (PDCI) and warned at a news conference on Sunday that some cities were near insurrection.

But he also said he considered the election to be a major step on the road to



● HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY

democracy in the West African country, the world's largest cocoa producer.

After pro-democracy riots early this year, Houphouet-Boigny accepted a multi-party system in April. Up to 25 new opposi-

tion parties will contest parliamentary elections on November 25.

The president won almost 100% of the vote in some rural areas.

Gbagbo, who cast himself as the candidate of youth and change, fared best in urban areas.

His best score was in the southern cocoa town of Adzope where he polled more than 60%, early results showed.

Final tallies were not yet in but the official said about 5-million people voted compared to 3.5-million in 1985.

The official said supporters of Gbagbo's Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) broke voting boxes in some districts and closed the polls, saying the boxes had been stuffed.

The official party-controlled newspaper *Fraternité Matin* yesterday said Gbagbo's remarks about fraud amounted to incitement to civil war. — Sapa-Reuter.

Rwanda demands rebels withdraw

KAMPALA — Rwanda will join peace talks with rebels only after the insurgents withdraw from the tiny Central African country, a Rwandan diplomat said yesterday.

The diplomat also claimed that since Sunday, Rwandan forces had retaken three towns and pushed the rebels back towards Uganda's border, where heavy fighting was reported.

First Secretary Joseph Bukeye of Rwanda's embassy in Kampala said: "In our view, we take the RPF (Rwandese Patriotic Front) invasion as an external aggression. There is no way we can talk with them when they are on our territory."

Biday 31/10/90
 Bukeye said he was echoing comments made in a nationwide address on Monday by Rwanda's President Juvenal Habyarimana.

The rebels, who invaded from Uganda on September 30, are predominantly Rwandan refugees of the minority Tutsi tribe.

Hundreds of thousands of Tutsi fled Rwanda when the majority Hutu seized control of the country in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Many of the invaders are deserters from Uganda's army. They are led by former Ugandan deputy army commander Maj-Gen Fred Rwigyema, a Rwandan of Tutsi origin.

The rebels accuse Rwanda's

president, a Hutu, of corruption and failing to repatriate Rwandan exiles. They say they seek a democratic government in which all ethnic groups can participate.

Rwanda has accused Uganda of supporting the rebels with food and weapons.

But Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni has denied the accusation and insists his borders are closed to the insurgents.

The rebels say that, consequently, they cannot comply with Rwanda's demand to withdraw because they have nowhere to go.

Bukeye said: "If that is the case, we shall fight until we win the war militarily." — Sapa-AP.

AFF

Ivory Coast poll opens up changed but uncertain vista

Blom 31/10/90

ABIDJAN — Whether Ivory Coast's first contested presidential election was a landslide or a charade, it ended a 30-year era and ushered in an uncertain future.

Veteran leader Felix Houphouet-Boigny now faces a credible opposition leader, the prospect of a fractious parliament and a free Press.

His challenger, Laurent Gbagbo, alleged wholesale cheating in the vote, denouncing it as a "masquerade".

But the 45-year-old history lecturer realises he has changed the political map in Ivory Coast, the world's top cocoa producer.

"We used to have a proverb that the eyes see but the mouth does not speak. From now on, the mouth will speak," a member of Gbagbo's Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) said.

A senior official at the interior ministry conceded: "Gbagbo is no fool. He is making a lot of noise, but his real goal is the next election in 1995."

Houphouet-Boigny's age cannot be hidden. Officially, he is 85. Many believe he is older.

Diplomats and Ivorian analysts are divided over whether the "Old Man" will retire before 1995, but they agree Gbagbo and the flourishing opposition will step up the pressure after 30 years of stifling one-party rule.

Their softest target is the ruling PDCI (Democratic Party of Ivory Coast), whose wealthy barons are jostling for power.

Upheaval

Many party members say the PDCI must reform or die, noting that Gbagbo's best results were in urban areas led by PDCI bigwigs perceived as corrupt.

"The danger is that the old rulers will ignore discontent and see no reason to change," commented a West African diplomat.

If that happens, foreign diplomats predict prolonged political upheaval after decades of relative stability.

"This is a country of young people. The trouble is that the PDCI barons want to cling on," a senior Ivorian official said.

Opposition candidates are sure to win seats for the first time in the 170-member national assembly (parliament) in elections on November 25.

The FPI has support in working-class areas of Abidjan, home to one-sixth of Ivory Coast's estimated 12-million people.

With the economy in the doldrums, because of low cocoa and coffee prices and a huge foreign debt, there is fertile ground for dissent among the unemployed and poorly paid.

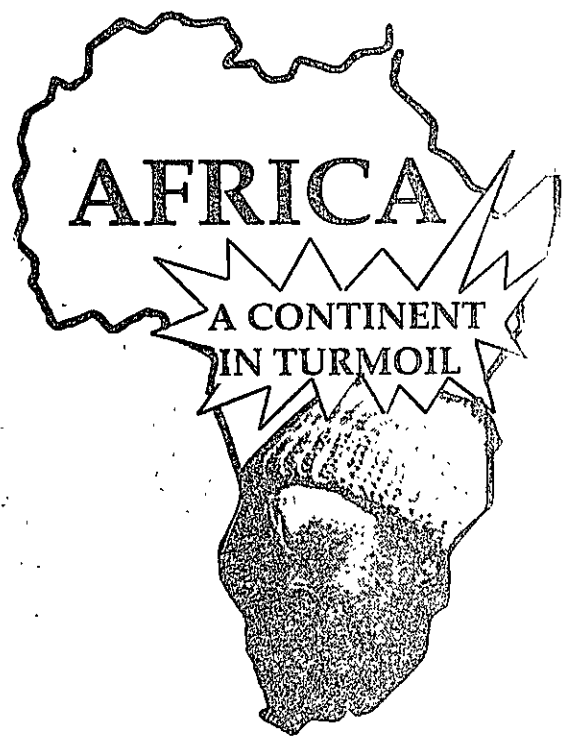
But to win the presidency, Gbagbo must shake off the "tribalist" tag PDCI supporters try to pin on him. He is a Bete, deemed by many of their compatriots as hot-tempered and unjustly resentful of Houphouet-Boigny.

Gbagbo, who is discreetly backed by France's Socialist Party, is confident of his party's future. "We are training this country for democracy, nothing will stop us," he said.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Africa the land of death

①
Soulter
3/11/90



NAIROBI - From North to South, East to West, Africa is wracked by seemingly unending turmoil and unrest.

This concludes a two-part *Sapa-Reuter* article on the internecline wars plaguing Arica since Independence.

In many countries, drought and poverty worsen the agony - and relief supplies fall casualty to civil war.

FOCUS

War raged in its vast, undeveloped southern area from 1955 until 1972 when then-dictator Jaafar Nimeiri agreed to give the south autonomous rule.

The present round of fighting in south Sudan has indirectly caused the death of hundreds of thousands of civilians through hunger and disease, with both sides in the conflict using food as a strategic weapon.

SOMALIA: Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre's impoverished country is largely ungovernable, with much of the countryside controlled by heavily-armed rebels.

Eleven years later rebellion erupted again after Nimeiri decided to carve up the south into three provinces.

ANGOLA's leftwing government is still fighting US-backed rebels of the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola, which controls the south-east around its base at Jamba and is active along the country's eastern border and in the north.

Increasingly frequent bombings by clandestine groups in Mogadishu, the capital, brought the conflict to his doorstep, and the army has been accused of brutal reprisals against civilians in its war with rebels.

Harsh

The ranks of the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army swelled further when Nimeiri imposed strict Islamic Sharia laws on Sudan without exempting non-Moslems from their harsh tenets.

Diplomats say Unita has established a second headquarters in northern Angola, near the Zaire border, across which Unita gets at least 50 million dollars a year of US support.

Three main armed opposition groups - the Somali National Movement, the United Somali Congress and the Somali Patriotic Front, based respectively in north, central and southern regions, are fighting to end Siad Barre's 21-year rule.

The SPLA seeks a secular Sudan in which all ethnic and religious minorities are given an equal say with the Arabised Moslems in the running of the country.

Diplomats say about 75 000 people have been killed in the war. The United Nations says as many as 500 000 lives were lost between 1980 and 1988 from war-related causes such as starvation and disease.

SUDAN has suffered civil war and military coups since independence from Anglo-Egyptian rule in 1956.

In June, 1989 a coup led by General Omar Hassan al-Bashir brought Sudan under direct military rule for the fourth time.

A 50 000-strong Cuban army, invited to Angola by the new government soon after independence in 1975 to counter an invasion threat from South Africa, is now pulling out.

came independent Zimbabwe in 1980. But South Africa says it no longer funds rebel movements in either Mozambique or Angola.

MOZAMBIQUE's civil war, now 14 years old, has pitted government forces against the ruthless bush army of Renamo (Mozambique National Resistance) which claims to have more than 26 000 men under arms.

Reports suggest Renamo attacks peaked in 1987 when 424 civilians were killed in a single attack. A year ago, the United Nations said some 900 000 Mozambicans had died of war-related starvation and disease.

Renamo was created by Mozambique's white minority-ruled neighbour Rhodesia in the 1970s and taken over by South Africa after Rhodesia be-

Renamo is reported in Nairobi to have dropped pre-conditions for resuming peace talks, now expected to take place in Rome in November. Kenya is mediating. *Sapa-Reuter*

Democracy a thorny issue in Africa?

Using dirty tricks to hold on to power

①
Souther
27/11/90

PROMISES have been made a year after Africans braved teargas and gunfire to shout for democracy in more than a dozen capitals, but not a single one-party government has been unseated.

Fifteen regimes have said they would accept multiparty rule, but there is no sign that democratically elected administrations will replace any of them soon.

Leaders who could not crush protest movements with troops and arrests have turned to delaying tactics. While paying lip service to democracy with promises of free elections, they use a bag of dirty tricks to stay in power, critics say.

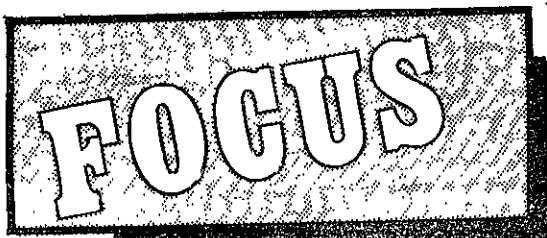
Collapse

Those who mimicked the Communist system and told their people to look there for inspiration were taken at their word when East Europeans started demanding freedom.

After the collapse of Communist parties in the Soviet bloc, the writing was on the wall for Africa's one-party governments. Western nations that helped corrupt leaders, in order to keep them from the Soviet orbit, found it difficult to justify more support.

"There is no true development without genuine democracy," Jacques Pelletier, the French minister in charge of relations with Africa, said recently.

France is a staunch advocate of aid to Third World countries, but Pelletier's comments echoed



those of African opposition leaders, not governments.

At a conference on Africa, Herma Cohen, US assistant secretary of state for African affairs, said governments that resisted their people's demands for democracy would find themselves "in an increasingly disadvantageous position" in the competition for aid.

Bans on opposition parties have been lifted in six countries: Benin, Cape Verde, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Sao Tome and Zaire.

Nine have agreed to move toward ending one-party government, but opposition parties are not yet operating. They are Angola, Cameroon, Congo, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Somalia and Zambia.

The first show of unrest came from Benin, where protesters stoned a statue of Lenin. They blamed the nation's bankruptcy on the Marxist-Leninist ideology adopted by President Mathieu Kerekou, who gained power in a coup, and demanded his resignation.

Kerekou renounced communism in response and said his government was writing a new constitution to liberalise the

economy and guarantee human rights. In a move later copied by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, he appointed a transitional government but set no date for himself to step down.

Mobutu shocked Zaire in April when, under intense pressure from the United States and other Western backers, he said he would give in to demands for multiparty democracy.

Unrest

Student unrest continued and Belgium, the former colonial power, accused Zairean commandos in May of killing more than 100 at Lubumbashi University. Mobutu's government claimed only one student was killed and blamed local government officials.

In November, six months after Mobutu legalised opposition parties, soldiers still were breaking up their meetings.

On November 6, opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi said Mobutu had ordered that he be prevented from leaving the country to meet with US Secretary of State James A Baker.

Other leaders, like President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo and



President Mobutu Sese Seko . . . clinging on to power.

Joseph Momoh of Sierra Leone, have said no to change and often have called out soldiers to enforce the decision.

Gabon moved closer to democracy than the others when President Omar Bongo was forced to conduct the first multiparty general election in 22 years.

Several rounds of voting had to be held because voters smashed ballot boxes, burned government cars and attacked officials they claimed were rigging the election.

Bongo emerged with a bare majority in the National Assembly, but his term as president does not expire for three years.

Ivory Coast held its first contested presidential election in October. Police dispersed opposition campaign rallies with teargas and clubs. On election day, voters

smashed ballot boxes and claimed fraud.

Government-controlled television and radio denied the opposition access until the campaign was nearly over, then censored the statements.

No bonds

Laurent Gbagho, a history professor, was the only opposition candidate. Two others could not raise bonds equivalent to 80 000 dollars each, which the government announced as a requirement one week before the 11 day campaign began.

Everyone expected the victory of President Houphouet-Boigny, the octogenarian who has ruled since independence from France in 1960, but many doubt he got the 81.67 percent of the vote his government claims. *Supa-AP.*

Plans for African common market

Sowetan 27/11/90

MBABANE - Plans for the creation of a common market for Southern and Eastern Africa were taken one step further at the week-end when 19 African countries endorsed key elements of a long term

plan for economic integration which included South Africa.

Representatives of the 19 member countries of the Preferential Trade Area for Southern and Eastern Africa (PTA) had gathered in the Swaziland capital of Mbabane for

the largest summit meeting in the organisations history.

For the first time two South African organisations, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) and the National Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) were granted

observer status at a PTA summit.

A final communique issued after the meeting approved the establishment of important organisations designed to finally implement long term PTA goals.

These included:

- * Approval of the establishment of an African Joint Air Services organisation as a step toward the long cherished ideal of a PTA airline to serve the entire area.

- * Agreement on the establishment of a PTA Stock Exchange and Futures Market.

- * Approval of an integrated road transit charge.

Agreements were also signed to establish PTA metallurgical and leather research organisations, as well as a re-insurance company.

In an interview the South African-born PTA secretary general, Mr Max Nomvete issued a call for South Africa to join the PTA "as soon as possible".

"There is a need for a democratic South Africa to join the region in presenting a common front toward the rest of the world which is busy also forming trading blocs" he said. "we need South Africa and South Africa needs us." - Sowetan Africa News Service.

Plans for an African Economic Community

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 challenge of greater integration by the dawn of the new millennium?

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.

"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 of 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 practises.

Others note that the continent is still riven by civil and border wars and therefore has a long way to go to establish the political stability essential for regional development.

The Organisation of African Unity is finalising a draft treaty for an African Economic Community for signature at a summit next June.

Groups

It says it wants to build upon the achievements of regional groups such as the Preferential Trade Area, which links 18 southern and eastern African nations, and the 16-member Economic Community of West African States.

"The OAU will try to knit together at a continental level what is happening in the PTA, ECOWAS and other regional groupings," said

SAPA-REUTER

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 finally establish an economic community.

But many groups, including the PTA and ECOWAS, are still facing an uphill struggle toward greater cooperation.

"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.

Summit

At a PTA summit in Swaziland in mid-November, some Western donors cautioned 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," Ouedraogo, who is in charge of economic affairs, said.

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;

- * Greater internal cohesion as most African countries restructure their economies, either independently or backed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

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'Little chance' for African common market this decade

By David Canning

DURBAN — Suggestions that a Southern and East African common market can be established by the end of the decade appear to be "wishful thinking," says Professor Gavin Maasdorp, director of the Economic Research Unit at the University of Natal.

He was commenting on Press reports of such a plan from Mbabane at the weekend, after a meeting of 18 Eastern and Southern African states in the Preferential Trade Area (PTA).

The PTA was reported to have mooted the establishment of a regional common market, including SA, by the end of the decade.

Professor Maasdorp said no common market could be established without freedom of movement of labour.

Yet there was not one government in the PTA

countries which would find this acceptable because of the resulting massive flows of labour to South Africa and Zimbabwe. This would happen because of the imbalance of industrial activity in the region.

He said every country in the region had an immense problem of employment creation. The region was simply too disparate for such a concept at present.

It had taken the European community 30 years to get to its present position — and even now agreement was difficult on some key issues, like currencies.

A number of African currencies were extremely weak. In many ways the region was better off under a currency union which had been very successful.

He believed the best approach to such a change would be to convert the customs union into a common market

and then try to align currencies. Some mechanism also would have to be found for an association agreement aimed at reducing tariffs gradually.

South African business leaders from Sacob and Nafcoc were accepted during the PTA meeting as official observers.

"We are talking to them because we are all building for the future," said Bax Nomvete, secretary-general of the PTA, Reuter reports.

"The meeting launched a programme of monetary harmonisation which will lead to a monetary union."

It is reported, though not confirmed, that the PTA is talking about a joint airline, a PTA commodities futures market and a stock exchange.

As a first step to towards the airline, it launched a Joint Air Services Initiative. It also approved a harmonised road transit charge.

Star 26/11/90 (1) ~~2~~

Tutu calls for 'change of heart' in Africa

LAGOS — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday blamed human rights violations by African governments for mounting instability and violent protests

Speaking in the Nigerian city of Ibadan, where he is attending a meeting of the All-African Con-

ference of Churches, Archbishop Tutu called for a change of heart by Africa's leaders.

He urged them to "do all they can to ensure that there is true freedom in their countries".

He said their violations of human rights had caused growing un-

rest and civil wars.

The continent is wracked by civil wars and rebellions, from Ethiopia and Somalia in the east, Liberia in the west, Rwanda and Chad in Central Africa and Angola and Mozambique in the south. — Associated Press.

A common market of 22 African countries to be set up by 2000

MIRABANE — A common market of 22 southern and eastern African countries — including SA — is set to come into being by the end of the decade, say African leaders.

In Swaziland at the weekend, the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), which consists of 19 African countries, launched at its ninth summit a programme of 'monetary harmonisation', which will lead to the establishment of a monetary union.

The summit, attended by heads of state or their representatives, approved a 'harmonised' road transit charge and launched the African Joint Air Services (Ajas) as a step towards the setting up of a PTA airline.

The summit also agreed on the establishment of a PTA commodity futures market and a PTA stock market.

The member states signed a customs bond guarantee and signed a charter on multinational industrial enterprises. Creation of a metallurgical and technology centre, leather and leather products institute and a re-insurance company were also approved at the meeting.

In his closing statement incoming PTA chairman King Mswati III said the authority looked forward to the day when SA would be a member of the organisation.

But earlier ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela criticised the SA government

TIM COHEN
25/11/90

and accused President F W de Klerk of "stalling". In a final communique the summit appealed to the international community to maintain sanctions against SA.

The SA Chamber of Business and Commerce (Saco) and the National Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafco) were given observer status for the first time.

The PTA has established a list of more than 700 commodities which are the subject of reduced tariffs for intra-member trade. However, the executive's report says only four member states have published the second further tariff reduction.

It was agreed that all member states should publish the initial, first and second further tariff reduction by March 31.

The summit also insisted that member states that had not ratified the protocol for the elimination of visa requirements between PTA member states should do so by March 31 next year.

PTA outgoing secretary-general Bas Nnonweke said the mechanism for the progressive reduction of tariffs and the relaxation of non-tariff barriers to intra-PTA trade, with a view to their eventual elimination by 2000, had been put in place.

Saco's Ron Haywood said his impres-

sion was that members wanted the summit was that members wanted to move faster towards increasing intra-regional trade, a concept which his organisation strongly supported.

Nafco senior vice-president Joe Hlongwane said SA obviously could make a great contribution to the region and expressed the hope that SA's problems would be settled in the near future.

PTA incoming secretary-general Bingu wa Mutharika said the organisation should focus on strengthening the framework for co-operation and development and accelerate the pace towards a common market.

Picture Page 3

ance future supply.
Keith Hamm of Petroleum
Economics in London says:
"There are a lot of bends over

African trade doors opening up — Safto

Finance Staff

A greater recognition of the critical role of market forces and commercial initiatives is emerging in Africa and SA businessmen are well-placed to assist in this awareness process, says Wim Holtes, chief executive of Safto (the SA Foreign Trade Organisation).

"The SA businessman is, on the whole, a great individualist, which is his major strength", Mr Holtes said yesterday.

"In Africa, however, he has rather to spearhead a team effort with his banker, an experienced Africa trader, public or private sector decision-makers in African markets concerned, as well as with international aid organisations."

The commercial approach to Africa had so far succeeded, he said.

Trade with Africa rose 40 percent last year and now amounted to R5,5 billion a year in goods and services, both direct and indirect, most of it in cash or the cash equivalent.

Mr Holtes said that as doors opened for the business community in Africa, foreign aid was becoming a viable alternative financing source.

It was a major support mechanism for most African countries, with the continent as a whole receiving a total foreign exchange inflow of R40 billion a year.

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Ivory Coast reels under Aids strain

DABOU, Ivory Coast - Amenan Bissi's truck driver husband may have other wives, then again he may not. She isn't sure, but knows she and her eighth child have the Aids virus.

"I don't feel bad but I get tired because the child is sick all the time and it's very difficult," said Bissi, a handsome Ivorian in her late 30s.

She had brought her 18-month-old son, Ange-Jean Francois, for a checkup at the Protestant Hospital in Dabou, 50 km west of Ivory Coast's capital Abidjan.

In two months, the child's weight had dropped from 7,2 kg to seven kilos, 50 percent of normal for his age but a common occurrence among Aids babies.

Bissi said she has not had other sexual partners but is not sure about her husband, who travels for weeks at a time, leaving her to look after their four children living at home.

Hospital records show that she, her child and her husband tested positive for the sexually-transmitted virus that causes incurable Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

"I'm the only wife he has," she said. "But I don't really know, maybe he has some others."

Poverty

African family structure, tolerance of promiscuity and poverty that puts purchasing a condom beyond the means of most people are letting the disease flourish in Africa, doctors and health specialists say.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) in Geneva predicts that by the turn of the century half the world's anticipated six million Aids victims will be from Africa.

A recent Aids conference in the Zairean capital

Truck drivers are spreading deadly disease

Kinshasa heard that one in 40 Africans has the virus.

Ivory Coast's fragile health system is feeling the strain. The West African cocoa-growing country of 11,2 million people is waking up to the fact that it is not at the edge of the crisis, but at the very centre.

The US Centers for Disease Control (CDC) based in Atlanta, Georgia, this month inaugurated a new Aids laboratory at the main hospital in the bustling capital Abidjan.

Retro-CI, named after the Aids retrovirus HIV, is the second such US-financed lab on the continent, after Project Sida - named after the French acronym for Aids - in Kinshasa.

Centres

Retro-CI's Belgian-born director, Dr Kevin de Cock, said Abidjan now ranked higher than Kinshasa and Congo's capital Brazzaville as centres of Aids cases.

He said the incidence per hundred thousand people in the city of 2,5 million exceeded New York, one of the most seriously affected cities in the United States.

In 1986 3,3 percent of pregnant women tested positive for Aids virus. The figure has climbed to more than 10 percent, De Cock said.

He said Aids was the leading cause of death among adult males in Abidjan and the second leading cause of death - after death in childbirth or abortions - among women.

"There are few out-

ward signs that Abidjan is a city under siege," De Cock said. "But if a natural disaster had killed this many people, it would have made headlines throughout the world."

De Cock said that infant mortality in Ivory Coast will begin to rise, after years of decline. Cases of tuberculosis, a disease which often attacks people with the Aids virus, were 35 percent higher than they should be.

"Abidjan is now in the top 10 African cities for Aids, he said. "This is something that requires urgent action."

Many health specialists think Ivory Coast has been slow to come to grips with this problem, even though it is a crossroads country and regional transit centre, making it a perfect target for spreading disease.

Posters

Apart from grim posters on billboards or clinic walls, and an occasional television or radio programme, Aids is rarely mentioned.

The national Aids committee is in chaos, medical specialists say. Its long-time director, Dr Koudou Odehouri, was recently removed for what some analysts believe was the fault of belonging to a political party opposing veteran President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

During a recent visit to a palm oil plantation, a team talked to 250 workers, some of whom thought they could get Aids by breathing the same air as an infected person and others who thought the disease didn't exist.

Prostitutes

The workers listened but also laughed when a woman nurse used a plastic tube to show how condoms were worn. They nodded knowingly when shown pictures of prostitutes, whose services are much in demand in this country where many workers come from neighbouring countries without their wives.

"You don't change people's habits overnight," said Leopold Momatien, a 28-year-old plantation worker. "But I always stay with my wife."

Health workers in Ivory Coast complain they do not have the resources to check or treat patients for Aids.

Drugs such as AZT, widely available in Europe or the United States to halt the advance of Aids, are almost unknown here even though Ivory Coast is one of the wealthiest West African countries.

Ruling party ^① coasting ^{80% etc} to victory ^{27/11/90}

ABIDJAN - Ivory Coast's ruling party was coasting to victory in early returns from Sunday's first multi-party parliamentary elections in the West African country, but turnout was lower than expected.

Veteran President Felix Houphouët-Boigny's Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (PDCI) won all 13 seats announced on national television several hours after polls closed.

Misguided State spending and slow political change

Discontent grows in Ghana

ACCRA - Ghana's leftwing government, whose sweeping economic reforms made it the darling of world financial circles, is facing growing impatience at home with the slow pace of political change.

After nine years of a government which still calls itself "provisional", many Ghanaians say official plans for a wider say in national affairs are not going fast or far enough.

Their discontent is highlighted by what they see as misguided state spending at a time when ordinary Ghanaians are going through increasing economic hardship.

"There is no doubt the government is facing more pressures now than it has for some time," one Western diplomat said.

The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) has ruled Ghana on a non-party basis since Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings came to power in a 1981 coup.

Populist in tone, the PNDC has always resisted adopting Western-style democracy wholesale, saying it wants to find more appropriate African forms of government.

It has already instituted a system of partially-elected local assemblies.

Options

"I believe that there are more options to be examined than the presence or absence of more than one political party, including some of our own traditional methods of reaching consensus on issues relating to the community," de facto prime minister PV Obeng said.

In July, faced with mounting calls for multi-party politics in tune with Eastern Europe and many other African nations, the PNDC set up a series of regional debates under a newly-formed National Commission for Democracy.

The government says it is weighing up suggestions made at the meetings.

But opposition figures say the process, with no

clear timeframe, is just a smokescreen masking the PNDC's intention to cling to power. They say the debates were attended by relatively few people, mostly with government connections, and that opposition viewpoints stand no chance of consideration.

Debate

"There is no serious debate going on," said Kwesi Pratt, a leading member of the broad-based Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ). "The regime is trying to create the impression of a debate so in the end it can impose its own wishes."

The MFJ, an umbrella group embracing both left- and rightwing activists, was created in August to campaign for human rights and freedom of political expression.

It wants an independently supervised referendum allowing Ghanaians a basic choice - non-party or multi-party politics.

MFJ leaders say they have been threatened by security forces and briefly arrested. They are contesting an official ban on an MFJ rally planned in the central city of Kumasi last month.

Diplomats say the MFJ is too heterogeneous ever to turn itself into a political party, but has widespread support and is effectively forcing the pace of political change.

"The genie is out of the bottle," one said.

Credible

"The MFJ is the first credible political organisation for several years."

Staunchly leftist in his politics, Rawlings gulped down the bitter medicine of a rightwing structural adjustment programme in 1983 to get the country's shattered economy back on its feet after years of corruption and mismanagement.

The 43-year-old leader

looks less dashing now than when he took power but most people still see him as an honest man who wants the best for his country.

Spectacular economic growth of between five and six percent a year has won roars of approval from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Bilateral aid is flooding in - loans, grants and debt relief from Germany, Britain and France total nearly R425 million in the last two months alone.

Overseas investors are starting to take an interest and Ghanaian emigres are

bringing their foreign earnings home.

But many people say the programme has made little difference to ordinary Ghanaians, now squeezed even further as the Gulf crisis sends fuel prices rocketing and higher transport costs make basic goods and foodstuffs more expensive.

Battling

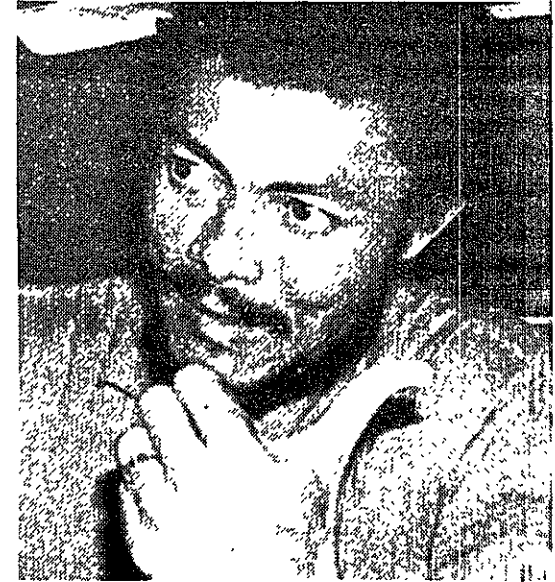
At the same time they see the government committing itself to heavy spending on two things they feel they could do without - a war far from home and a costly international conference.

Ghana became directly embroiled in Liberia's civil war when it committed troops to a five-nation West African peacekeeping force.

Three months later the force is still battling Charles Taylor's rebels and prospects for peace are as hazy as ever.

Some diplomats estimate Ghana will have spent some R125 to R140 million by the end of the year, just to maintain its troops in Liberia. Others put the bill even higher.

And as the casualties mount, the pressure to pull out is growing. - Sapa-Reuter



Jerry Rawlings . . . "a honest man want best for his country".



Africa is a puppet of Europe ^①

SIR - There never was in Africa power of the kind that could have transformed the continent in a few years.

There never was in Africa any indigenous power capable of sweeping away the colonial power.

On the contrary, all the power that has transformed Africa since 1960 has come from outside.

Thus what has been presented to the whole world as the emergence of many free and independent black nations, was in actual fact something quite different.

It was an invading imperialism of money - economic colonialism in a new and more sophisticated form.

However, a clear dis-

Sowetan 14/11/90
 distinction must be drawn between what appeared to have happened and what actually happened.

Propaganda on a scale never experienced before in history has succeeded almost entirely in concealing the truth that the African regimes now represented at the UN and in the OAU are all puppets.

They are all wholly dependent on support from outside Africa.

So what is this "invading imperialism of money" which has revolutionised Africa? How did it come into existence and what is its purpose?

For an answer, it is necessary to turn back to the days when different nations of Europe participated in what came to be known as "the scramble for Africa".

Money and other as-

sistance in every imaginable form eventually poured into Africa to launch "black nationalist liberation" movements.

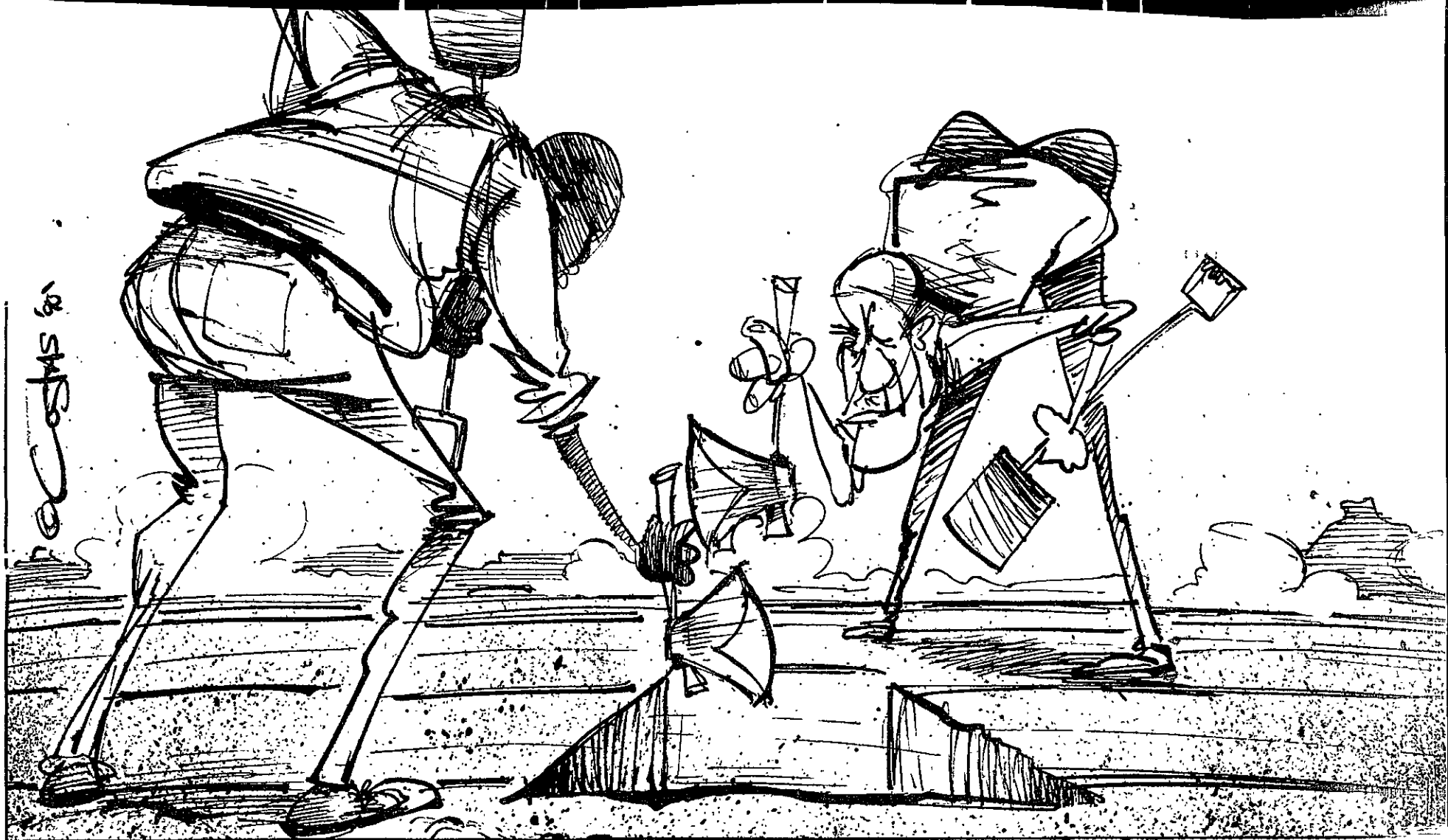
They were supported by conspirators and rootless intellectuals.

It seemed to the indigenous people that liberation has certainly come to Africa but it was not the liberation they had dreamed of.

It was Africa's natural resources which were liberated - freed and separated from the indigenous people. And they also exploited its human labour.

So, South Africans, as we are the last of the colonialised let's take heed of what has happened in the past. Let us fight for better lives and greater freedom.

MOKANA CHALIB
 Meadowlands, Soweto



Burying the hatchet ... once the evils of apartheid have been eradicated South African businessmen can resume full trade links with their counterparts in the rest of Africa

Trade: Getting back through Africa

w/ Mail Suppl. 30/11 - 6/12/90

IT IS common cause across the political spectrum that the ending of apartheid will open up a new era of regional co-operation in Southern Africa.

The Frontline alliance and South African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) have long identified apartheid as the root cause of instability in Southern Africa.

Developments in South Africa since February 2 have given rise to great optimism in the region. The SADCC has indicated that a "South Africa free of apartheid and the dream of economic, military and political hegemony over the rest of the region will be most welcome" in its ranks. Similar sentiments have been expressed by the Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area (PTA), which held a heads-of-state meeting in Swaziland last weekend.

All this takes place at a time of profound change in the world economy. The ending of the Cold War has coincided with a trend towards the emergence among the major Western economic powers of rival trading blocs.

There are indications that the core industrial countries will increasingly focus their attention inwards and towards the opportunities now being created for them by changes in Eastern Europe. Current technological developments are at the same time tending to reduce demand for the types of raw materials

With a new political dispensation, South Africa's trade prospects are bound to improve.

ROBERT DAVIES looks at why sub-Saharan Africa offers local businessmen the best opportunities for export expansion

which colonialism marked out as Africa's specialisation in the world economy.

These developments will provide a strong impetus for countries outside of the major trading blocs to forge closer economic co-operation. No African country can any longer afford to look to its future place in international economic relations exclusively in "north-south" terms. "South-south" co-operation will have to assume a more prominent place in the future development strategies of countries located outside of the core blocs.

In the case of southern Africa, all countries in the region can potentially benefit from closer economic co-operation in a post-apartheid era. The markets of Africa will be of considerable importance to a future democratic, non-racial South Africa's efforts to become a significant exporter of manufactured goods.

In a number of areas, South African technology is more appropriate for African countries than that from elsewhere. Neighbouring countries are also in a position to supply South Africa with a range of inputs essential for industrial development — from hydroelectric power and water resources to,

in the medium to longer term, mineral products.

Closer co-operation with a post-apartheid South Africa also holds the prospect of these countries gaining greater access to the South African market for their own products. In strategic terms, a regional economic alliance could reduce the vulnerability of all countries to pressures from powerful extra-regional forces. It could also strengthen the bargaining power of the region in relations with the rest of the world.

A key question for Southern Africa will be how and on what terms will the closer regional economic co-operation, which objective circumstances are dictating as an imperative, be structured after apartheid. This issue cannot, in my view, be adequately addressed without coming to terms with the heritage left by existing patterns of regional interaction.

First, it is essential to recognise that existing regional economic relations are characterised by acute disparities and imbalances. The development of capitalism in Southern Africa was a process which led to a relatively high level of interaction between the economies of the different territories of the

sub-continent, but the pattern was uneven. The principal poles of accumulation were located in South Africa, while the other territories became incorporated into the emerging regional sub-system in subordinate roles — as labour reserves, service economies and markets for South African goods.

These imbalances continue to characterise contemporary regional economic relations. For example, the SADCC has estimated that South African exports to its nine original member states exceeded imports from these countries during the period 1983-6 by a factor of more than 5 to 1 (with exports of \$5,1-billion versus imports of less than \$1-billion).

The SADCC project, which was launched in 1980, was rooted in a critique of these disparities and imbalances. It argued that development in the SADCC member states required a more balanced pattern of regional economic interaction.

In a context where Pretoria's regional policy was premised on reinforcing ties of dependency — for both economic reasons and to gain greater strategic leverage — the SADCC defined its immediate priority as "a reduction of external dependence and in particular de-

pendence" on South Africa. While significant progress has been made in reconstructing regional transport infrastructure (severely damaged by Pretoria's destabilisation policies), the SADCC itself has acknowledged that only modest results have thus far been achieved in altering fundamental disparities.

These disparities represent one of the realities which has to be taken into account in considering the future pattern of regional economic interaction, another is the legacy of apartheid destabilisation. Unicef has calculated that 1.5 million people died in Angola and Mozambique between 1980 and 1985 as a direct or indirect result of SADCC sponsored wars.

Economic and military aggression is estimated to have cost the nine original SADCC member states' economies the equivalent of \$60.5-billion. Pretoria sponsored wars were primarily responsible for reducing Mozambique to its present plight as one of the poorest countries in the world (with a per capita gross domestic product estimated at between \$125 and \$150 a year) and for creating conditions in which Angola and Mozambique have the unenviable record of the highest rates of infant mortality in the world.

The African National Congress has on numerous occasions indicated that it agrees with the SADCC that future co-

Conference on Africa trading

WIMAN 30/11 - 6/12/90

SOUTH AFRICA hopes to tap into the billions of rands of aid money that pours into Africa every year and boost its trade with the rest of the continent.

This emerged at the announcement this week of a conference, "Scenario for a sub-continent", which is being arranged by the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Saf-to), the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) and BMW SA.

Sacob deputy director general Ron Haywood said this week at the announcement of the two-day conference in March next year on forming a sub-Saharan common market that South African exports to Africa amounted to only 10 percent of total exports.

The potential for expansion is therefore enormous.

Safto chief executive Wim Holtes said South Africa's trade with Africa rose by 40 percent last year and now amounts to R5,5-billion a year in goods and services, both direct and indirect, most of this in cash or cash equivalent.

A knotty problem in exporting to Africa has been the lack of foreign exchange.

South African business has come up with a number of suggestions on how to overcome this, the best-known being Eskom's vision of buying hydro-power electricity from countries to the north to give African countries rands to buy South African goods.

Holtes mentioned another source of money. He pointed out that as doors open for the South African business community in Africa, foreign aid is becoming a viable alternative financing source. It is a major support mechanism for most African countries, with the continent as a whole receiving a total foreign exchange inflow of around R40-billion a year.

However, he said, aid organisations abroad are increasingly aware of the need to "mix and match" their available funding with local business initiatives in Africa, enabling, for example, soft loans or grants to be used on infrastructural and human resources components and commercial credit facilities on the commercial portion of the projects concerned.

Local business groupings are hoping foreign aid money comes our way in a post-apartheid South Africa, and we can normalise trade links with the rest of the continent, reports **REG RUMNEY**

Former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said at an investment conference in London recently that with the independence of Namibia and renewed interest in South Africa the focus of the World Bank and other development agencies in Africa was moving southwards.

South African expertise, he said, could ensure the success of projects. "When aid is tied to bilateral trade even modest participation by South Africa could be worthwhile. Moreover such participation can occur without running the risk of lack of finance."

At the press function to announce the conference, Haywood said putting into practice the idea of an African or even Southern African version of the Common Market was far off. But greater regional co-operation, including South Africa, was clearly possible.

The announcement of the conference comes after the launch by the Southern African Preferential Trade Area (PTA) at its ninth summit of a monetary harmonisation programme which it is hoped will lead to a monetary union.

Sacob and Nafcoc are being given observer status in the PTA.

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) has also indicated it would accept a South Africa free of apartheid.

Holtes said South Africa already had indirect trade links with most African countries, and especially Zaire, the Congo, Mozambique, Malawi, the Ivory Coast, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Seychelles, Mauritius, and the Comores. Clearly it has strong ties with Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, and Swaziland. Recently South Africa has started trading with Madagascar, Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya and Angola.

This bloc represents a total population of some 150-million people and a gross national product of \$95,4-billion.

Relly also pointed out in his speech that in a world moving firmly towards

the establishment of large regional trading blocs there was a need for a common market in Southern Africa.

But he advised an evolutionary approach.

Relly said that instead of trying to achieve a common currency — which must be a distant goal — a more modest aimed should be harmonising investment codes so that the foreign investor could look to the regional market rather than just the one national one.

In turn this would require serious attention to the difficult problem of tariff barriers between countries; incremental progress on bilateral rather than multilateral bases was probably all that could be expected in the short term.

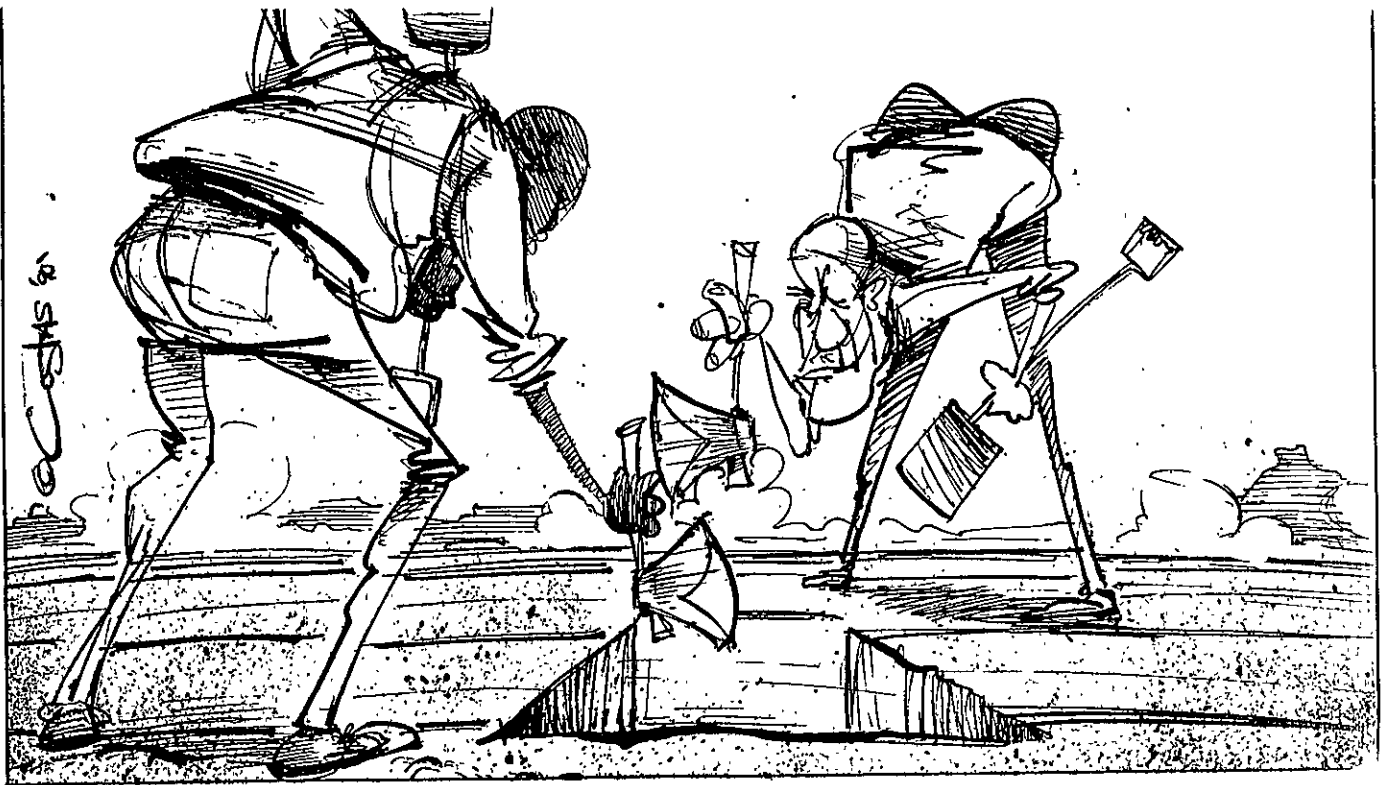
Attention would be needed also in areas such as exchange rate reform and improved regional infrastructure. Attitudes in the region, said Relly, were conducive to all of these reforms being far more realistically tackled than before.

Relly was also of the opinion that South Africa was sensitive to fears that it would swamp all the smaller economies.

"That is one of the reasons why important South African leaders such as Simon Brand, the head of the Development Bank, advise the incremental approach on institution building. Hence both the South African Customs Union and the SADCC are likely to co-exist for some time to come."

South Africa possesses important advantages for trade with Africa, Relly said. These include:

- An appropriately valued currency.
- Proximity to African markets.
- African know-how — this is especially important in agriculture, veterinary services, technical expertise such as construction and mining and training.
- With the exception of Angola and Mozambique, South Africa shares with all of Southern Africa a history of British rule. It therefore enjoys a common legacy of legal, administrative and commercial practices and traditions, not least of which is the ability to speak English.
- Our African identity. We are an integral part of Africa and therefore are not perceived as outsiders.



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● To PAGE 18

operation between a democratic, non-racial South Africa and the rest of the region should be based on principles of equality, mutual benefit and inter-dependency, rather than hegemony and dependency. ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said in Maputo in July that a situation in which some countries in the region prospered while people in others starved would be "intolerable" and "unacceptable" for a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

The ANC's recent "Discussion Document on Economic Policy" proposed that "greater regional economic co-operation" should be constructed "along new lines which will not be exploitative and which will correct imbalances in current relationships".

The same document said that this would necessitate "prioritising the interests of the most deprived of our neighbours in certain areas, according to basic principles of affirmative ac-

The route back to world trade is via Africa

● From PAGE 17

tion". This is not an argument in favour of a non-racial South Africa paying reparations for the crimes of apartheid; rather a proposal that in forging new patterns of co-operation, which will benefit all, the balance of advantage should in a number of areas be tilted in favour of the most deprived countries, particularly where their vital interests are at stake.

Another principle which both the ANC and SADCC have supported is that a new regional order should not be imposed, but rather be the product of negotiation between all the sovereign and free peoples of the region. Such negotiations could be expected to define principles and parameters for co-operation in all the main sectors of regional economic interaction.

While forging closer regional co-

operation after apartheid accords with the aspirations both of the SADCC and of the major anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa, it is also a terrain on which a number of other important actors have become extremely active, particularly in the period since the initiation of talks on Angola/Namibia.

South Africa's African trade, which halved in dollar terms between 1980 and 1985, has increased significantly since 1988. Although complete figures are not published, government officials have said that by early 1990 trade with Africa accounted for 10 percent of South African exports compared to 6.5 percent in 1984.

Eskom recently announced that it had entered into new contracts with Zambia and Zimbabwe as well as increasing its sales to existing regional customers. Transnet reported that it

earned R30-million in the six months to July 31 1989 by playing "big brother" to the transport services of neighbouring states.

This increased activity has not been confined to current commercial transactions. Various attempts have also been made to draw independent African states into strategic planning about future regional economic relations.

An article published in the August 8 edition of the *Sunday Times* claimed that "an ambitious development programme which could lead to a Southern African common market" had been put to nine of the 10 SADCC member states by the Department of Foreign Affairs. Efforts to involve international financial institutions in discussions on this issue have also been made.

While all the implications of these developments are not yet fully clear, the possibility cannot be ignored that new realities are now being created which could be difficult to alter in the future.

Not only could this have implications for the future pattern of regional relations, it could also affect domestic economic reconstruction especially if it leads to contracting new commercial loans.

A broader range of forces urgently needs to become involved in the debate if regional economic co-operation after apartheid is to achieve its full potential and create a firm base on which all the peoples of the region can better shape their own destinies and secure better terms for themselves in international economic relations.

● Robert Davies is co-director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape

Ivory traders banking on a comeback

PERTH — Asian and African traders are hoarding ivory in the hope an international trade ban, which has cut sales by about 80%, will ease, a world conservation conference in Australia has been told.

A ban on international sales of ivory, which began to take effect from the middle of last year, has decimated the market, putting thousands of carvers out of work, mostly in China.

The objective was to save African elephants, poached for their tusks. In Asia, although demand is miniscule compared with what it was, the wholesale price of ivory remains strong.

"In fact, in a couple of countries, Vietnam and Laos, the price has actually doubled in the past two or three years," said Kenya-based elephant expert Esmond Martin.

He said the price varied, but raw ivory which once fetched US\$300 a kg in Japan peaked at about \$800 and had now dropped back to about \$465.

"But it doesn't sound logical. If nobody is buying ivory, why hasn't the price of the raw substance gone down?"

① "It can only be because traders in Asia and Africa believe the world is going to reopen some of its markets, so they don't want to decrease the price of raw ivory and lose money."

Another pointer to hoarding was that poaching was continuing in Africa. —
Reuter.

Small showing for Ivory Coast opposition

ABIDJAN — Ivory Coast opposition candidates squeezed into parliament for the first time in an election that ended 30 years of single-party rule but ensured veteran President Felix Houphouet-Boigny a crushing majority. *Monday 27/11/90*

Returns so far yesterday in the country's first multiparty general election gave the opposition 10 of 175 assembly seats.

Houphouet-Boigny's ruling Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (PDCI) took 150, an independent candidate won a seat and the remaining 14 were still undecided, results from the Interior Ministry showed.

The results endorsed the 85-year-old

Houphouet-Boigny, Africa's longest-serving leader, who last month swamped his opponent in the country's first contested presidential election. (1)

Houphouet-Boigny reluctantly authorised multiparty politics earlier this year after a series of violent demonstrations.

Turnout was a meagre 30% to 35% of the country's 4.7-million voters.

Opposition leaders claimed people stayed away because they were afraid, while diplomats and political analysts said the opposition failed to mount an organised campaign. — Sapa-Reuter.

International cooperation can allay poverty

A united Africa a fact with planning

Sowetan

22/11/90

By HERBERT W VILAKAZI

PRESIDENT De Klerk made a moving plea for joint cooperation of the developed countries of North America and Europe, together with South Africa, in efforts to eliminate poverty in Southern Africa.

This was during his address to the Press Club on a recent visit to the US.

He was not there to stress that the lifting of Africa from poverty and misery shall require internationally co-ordinated activities.

President Gorbachev made the same point two years ago in his address to the UN; and about a year ago, the former President of the World Bank, Robert MacNamara, argued similarly.

The unprecedented poverty and misery of most of Africa are generated by enormous and complex factors, which can only be counter-acted by internationally-coordinated activities.

What factors are these? To name a few - the fall in the prices of many of the raw materials in the world market, the enormous financial debt owed to the financial institutions of the West, diseases, particularly Aids, and the ecological disaster, desertification.

None of these problems can effectively be solved without an internationally-coordinated plan.

The principle of overall planning of socio-economic life goes against the celebration of the principle of society-wide or regional planlessness by free-marketeers and the principle of free enterprise.

Overall socio-economic planning, free enterprise, and the market, are not mutually exclusive in all circumstances. It depends on the size or enormity, and complexity of the activity concerned, and the size or enormity of capital needed.

The solution of the problem of the supply of water in South Africa, for instance, which has called forth the Lesotho-South-Africa Highlands Water Project, requires co-ordinated socio-economic planning, involving not only South Africa and Lesotho, but also many other governments and financial institutions the world-over.

And the solution of this problem takes us beyond the free-market and free enterprise without cancelling out the solution of problems of transportation by means

of free-enterprise, for examples, taxis.

The scholarly free-marketeer Leon Louw, and his co-thinkers, seem to be making the same mistake, which was noted by applied anthropologists working in the poor countries in the 50s and 60s, namely, the mistake of governments, financial donors, and economists, assuming that the simple availability of money and technology are enough for community members to engage in profit making activities, thereby bringing about economic growth.

There are other factors and problems to be dealt with besides mere economic ones, problems which affect, restrict, or spur or oil economic activities.

Assets

At the Liberation Spring Seminar held recently Louw stated: "The State owns about R300 billion in assets. If all that was sold off, each black family could get R15 000."

The question, of course, is this: shall the majority of these families invest this money in profit-making enterprises?

It all depends on the love to make more money, lodged in each of the individuals possessing this money, their pressing indebtedness, and pressing long-unmet needs, plus many other factors.

The ideas of the radical free-marketeers are not a solution of the problem of large-scale poverty and misery in South Africa, or in Southern Africa as a whole.

The factors causing large-scale poverty and misery in Africa are so complex and enormous that they call for co-ordinated international efforts - and Southern Africa is not exempted from this rule.

I am suggesting that a new, democratic and humane South Africa should approach the problem of poverty and misery in Southern Africa differ-

ently, through a socio-economic plan for the whole region, in the manner in which South Africa is currently planning to solve the problem of water-supply.

There does exist and operate, in fact, a plan, covering the whole region of Southern Africa. The only problem is that it has been operating all along behind our backs, through the free-market principle, and it has been favouring the core of this economic region, South Africa.

And within South Africa, white supremacy has for years channelled this wealth, first and foremost, to whites. In fact, the "economies" of the various nations of Southern Africa are largely parts of the economy of South Africa.

Zimbabwe is a relative exception to this rule, by virtue of its developed nature; again, there, white supremacy for years channelled the wealth, first and foremost, to whites.

Consequently, in the efforts to remedy the problems of poverty and misery in the whole region, we should convince one another that the region should be viewed as a single economic region, requiring a single investment plan, formulated by representatives of all the different Nation-States comprising this single economic region.

This emphatically does not imply cancelling out, or underplaying local private enterprise. In other words, we should make the existence of the economic unity of the region obvious, official, rational, and just.

Right now this unity operates behind our backs. It is unofficial, largely irrational, and unjust, in that it favours South Africa, to some extent Zimbabwe, and specifically whites.

I am talking here about public economic planning, and public investments; again, this does not cancel out private en-

terprise planning and investments, although they shall have to be some sort of co-ordination between the two spheres.

In other words, resources from the developed countries of North America and Europe shall be handed to the Central Economic Council for Southern Africa, which, after democratic consultation and determination of needs in each country, shall then apportion these resources for development projects in the various nations.

The aim, here, should be to bring about balanced, rational, and just, development in the entire region, with the desire to bring about, ultimately, economic equality between the different regions.

Pretoria tries to apportion funds to different universities of the country in this manner, although the formula used is not just and rational, as far as the African population is concerned.

To stop people from all regions flocking to Johannesburg or to South Africa for jobs and better amenities of life and opportunities for development, we should plan, encourage, or direct private investments into developed regions.

Attractive

To make all areas attractive for private investments, we should plan to develop and strengthen markets in all areas currently suffering from lack of such markets.

Needless to say infrastructure in the entire region should be developed from this central plan, as well as infrastructure for education and health and housing.

We shall have to try to imbue every member of this economic unity with this moral code. That way, we shall also help prevent the economic domination of the region by South Africa, and subsequent charges, as a reality, of South African imperialism.

Through developing and strengthening the economic unity of Southern Africa, and making this unity just and democratic and humane, we shall be paving the ground for the future, probable emergence of the United States of Southern Africa.

Indeed, as this unity develops, as outlined above, and becomes visibly beneficial to more and more nations of Africa shall seek to join into the Council.

And that, ultimately, may clear the ground for the realisation of the age-old dream: The United States of Africa.



VILAKAZI



DE KLERK

Ethnic violence is shattering the

calm of Senegal

W/ Mar 16/11 - 22/11/90
By MICHAEL HILTZIK: Dakar

INCREASING ethnic violence has taken scores of lives and shattered the calm of Senegal, on Africa's westward bulge, long admired as one of the continent's most tranquil countries.

The violence is centered in the southern region known as the Casamance, which is geographically and culturally isolated from the rest of the country.

Since April, at least 76 people have been killed and hundreds injured in the Casamance. Named after the river that waters its valley, the Casamance is cut off from the rest of Senegal by Gambia, the long, narrow, English-speaking country that juts like a finger into French-speaking Senegal.

The region's sense of isolation has other roots, largely cultural. The Diola tribe, its most important, is one of the few ethnic groups in Senegal that does not speak Wolof, the country's main traditional language. Generally labelled animist, it is also one of the few groups that do not practice Islam.

The region also differs from the rest of the country in its agricultural self-sufficiency. Its land is rich and well-watered compared to the semi-arid Sahelian climate of northern Senegal. Since the early 1980s the Senegalese government has tried to increase the productivity of under-used Casamance land by seizing it from recalcitrant subsistence farmers and transferring it to market-oriented "northerners".

Although the Casamançais are not excluded from Senegalese public life — they are well-represented in the government and the army — the agricultural policy exacerbates their resentment at being deprived of their fair share of the country's meagre development.

Violent skirmishes have become more frequent in the last two years, and the government recently assigned a military governor — characteristically, a northerner — to take things in hand.

An over-violent response to the separatists jeopardises Senegal's world standing as a paragon of human rights. President Abdou Diouf is an international diplomat, this year's chairman of the World Islamic Summit and a former chairman of the Organisation of African Unity.

But mishandling of domestic problems is ruining his reputation. Militant Casamance separatists are believed to number no more than 300, but they have the capacity to cause great trouble.

Senegal has taken major steps to defuse Casamançais resentment. The land transfers have stopped. The military governor has offered full amnesty to armed separatists who turn in their guns. Most notably, the government, which will host the Africa Cup soccer tournament in 1992, has made Ziguinchor the No. 2 venue for the matches, after Dakar, the national capital, a step that will bring in considerable money.

— Los Angeles Times

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AFRICA FOCUS

W/14/16/11/90 - 22/11/90
Rescuing the Ivorian cocoa miracle

THE bitter-sweet scent of cocoa awaiting shipment overseas still permeates the huge lagoon-side port district in Abidjan, a reminder that this is the commodity that created Africa's most stunning economic success story.

But reliance on this single major crop has also come close to destroying the Ivory Coast.

"We can't continue to be a cocoa economy," says Alassane Ouattara (48), now in his eighth month as economic czar of the country.

In that time Ouattara, a native Ivorian with international banking credentials, has turned Ivory Coast into a closely watched laboratory of Western economic prescriptions for struggling African countries.

In a virtual blitzkrieg against the country's old, hidebound economy, Ouattara has laid off excess government workers and cut bureaucratic costs with determination.

Handed presidential carte blanche to restructure a nation whose bureaucratic

bleat and nonchalantly pervasive corruption resemble that of a boom town just past its prime, Ouattara may have one of the hardest jobs in Africa.

Ivory Coast was a forgotten backwater of the French empire when it received its independence in 1960, seemingly doomed to living in the shadow of rich neighbours like Ghana.

But its president, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, adjoined the pan-Africanist and quasi-socialist policies of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah. He invited foreign talent to work in his country and ordered a single-minded buildup of cocoa — and coffee-producing capacity. Within a few years Ivory Coast was rich, the world's leading cocoa producer.

But the "Ivorian miracle" did not last. When cocoa prices slumped to 15-year lows in the 1980s, the economy followed them into the trough. By the be-

One man has been given a carte blanche mandate to revive the ailing Ivory Coast economy.
MICHAEL HILTZIK reports

ginning of 1990, after two years of overpaying farmers for their crops and trying to drive the world price back up by stockpiling cocoa, the country was more or less bankrupt.

A plan to lighten belts by slashing public workers' salaries and imposing an equivalent tax on private workers sent thousands of demonstrators into the streets of Abidjan last spring.

Houphouët-Boigny's 30-year-old reign was tottering. The president's answer was to put Ouattara in full charge. An urbane product of Ivorian, French and American schooling and formerly the International Monetary Fund's top officer in Africa, his official title was to be president of the Interministerial Co-

ordination Committee of the Stabilisation and Economic Recovery Program: in essence, the president told him to do whatever was necessary to rescue the economy, as fast as he knew how.

Ouattara says he took one look at the government's half-hearted recovery plans, "scrapped everything and started from zero".

He cancelled outright the pay cuts and new taxes. He moved to trim the public payroll by firing excess workers, cutting expenses and improving tax customs and tax collections. He closed 12 Ivorian embassies and slashed the fleet of official government cars.

He recently negotiated to turn over Ivory Coast's huge state-owned electrical utility to a subsidiary of the French industrial giant Bouygues — to be followed by the sale of the state telephone system and its palm oil distribution company.

In a way, Ivory Coast may now be better equipped for a new economic surge than most of its West African neighbors: its boom years financed construction of the region's best roads and telephone system, along with European-grade water supplies and electrical utilities.

But cocoa also nurtured a culture of official corruption and favouritism, and it is questionable how far Ouattara will be able to go before the entrenched interests in the Ivorian economy begin to fight back in earnest. For one thing, what he sees as fraud, corruption and patronage have been key elements in the governing style of his own patron, Houphouët-Boigny.

It is he who appointed the managers of most of the under-performing state enterprises, and who has handed out the franchises and licenses that give political favourites the right to collect export fees and customs duties without doing a cent's worth of work. — Los Angeles Times

'Cover-up' of AIDS in Africa to ensure foreign investment

SOME Third World countries have suppressed AIDS statistics following fears that foreign investment could be harmed, according to the Development Bank of SA (DBSA).

In its AIDS in Southern Africa report, the DBSA said while Zambia had been comparatively open about its AIDS problem, the extent of it had been suppressed.

Government sources in August last year indicated that there was an overwhelming fear that in the short to medium term, severe damage would be done to business confidence and to the economy if the full extent of the AIDS problem was acknowledged, the report said.

Zambia reported the second highest number of AIDS cases in the subcontinent, namely 2 291 since 1988, with the copperbelt and Lusaka being the worst hit areas.

Until recently HIV-related data in Zimbabwe was generally believed to be sup-

MARIETTE DU PLESSIS

pressed, with doctors being instructed not to include references to AIDS in death certificates, but government now appeared to be facing the problem with a new openness.

Zimbabwe reported 1 311 cases in 1989 compared with 202 and 119 cases in 1988 and 1987 respectively, with an extrapolation of these figures giving a million cases by 1994.

While data suggested that there might be more than 250 000 HIV-positive carriers in the country, AIDS was also currently the most common cause of infant death in Zimbabwe.

Up to December 1988, Angola had reported a total of 104 AIDS cases, but evidence suggested a high level of HIV-positivity existed among Cuban soldiers who served in Angola.

The report blamed unemployment and rapid urbanisation as aggravating causes.

It said issues that influenced and aggravated AIDS were primarily the economy of the country and the political situation.

Data showed that unemployment often resulted in women being forced into prostitution through poverty, with inevitable consequences for the spread of HIV infection.

Similarly, where there was political turmoil and civil war as in Angola, Mozambique and parts of SA, there was a breakdown in normal social behaviour and refugees moving from place to place might provide a pool of infection.

Malawi has reported 6 158 AIDS cases since 1988 compared with SA's 356 cases.

Since 1982 when the first two cases of AIDS in SA were recorded, there had been a total number of 455 reported, with nearly half of the cases occurring in the Transvaal.

Data also showed that the cumulative number of cases would be 217 000 in 1995 and 1,4-million in 2001 if the present trend continued.

Mine research cuts hit

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Farm issue hinders progress at Gatt talks

^{310 am}
GENEVA — Developing countries from Asia, Latin America and Africa expressed concern yesterday over lack of progress in Gatt talks to reform world trade.

Venezuelan Foreign Minister Reinaldo Figueredo, speaking on behalf of 15 developing nations, said: "There seems to be complete paralysis.

"In virtually no area do we see progress being made," he told reporters after a meeting of the Steering Committee of the so-called Group of 15 (G-15) set up

^{9/11/90}
after a 1989 summit of non-aligned nations.

Gatt director-general Arthur Dunkel summoned delegates from some 30 countries yesterday to try to unblock the farm support issue, which has stalled the talks.

The G-15 steering committee is made up of the foreign ministers of Venezuela, Malaysia and Senegal.

The group itself brings together Argentina, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Senegal, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe, Algeria, Brazil, Egypt, Jamaica, Mexico, Nigeria

and Peru. (1) (60)

Figueredo said the vexed farm support reduction issue had prevented serious talks from effectively getting off the ground with less than a month to go before they are due to end.

The EC agreed on Tuesday, at its seventh attempt, to offer a 30% cut in farm subsidies.

"The offer falls far below expectations," said Figueredo, echoing previous reaction from the US and the Cairns Group of 15 developed and developing farming nations. — Sapa-Reuter.

Pik at prayer with Africa's leaders

①
CNA Twp
8/11/90

LUSAKA. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha met several top Africa leaders at a prayer breakfast here yesterday.

Among the leaders were the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the host, and President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique.

Mr Botha congratulated President Kaunda on arranging the "spiritual initiative" to try to help solve Southern Africa's problems. He said South Africa's moves to end apartheid were irreversible and urged all parties seeking multi-racial democracy to overcome mutual suspicion.

President Kaunda called for reconciliation between all South Africa's people and prayed that President F.W. de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and all others engaged in attempting to end apartheid would succeed.

The meeting was also attended by ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo. — Sapa

Australia counters Pik on its SA mission

CAPE TOWN — Australian Foreign Affairs Minister Garreth Evans told his parliament yesterday Australia would not comply with a request from SA to reduce its diplomatic representation here.

SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha announced on Monday that the SA consulate in Sydney would be closed early next year and embassy staffing in Canberra would be scaled down. (9) (24/11/90)

Governments normally agree to have the same number of diplomatic representatives in one another's country. Evans's reaction thus caused a stir, and could be seen as a unilateral breach of long-standing diplomatic practice if carried through.

Sapa reports that Botha confirmed in

Political Staff

London yesterday that the diplomatic cut-back in Australia was part of a reallocation of limited funds needed to set up promising new missions in central Europe.

He was speaking en route to Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, after a midday meeting with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd in London.

As an example, he said closing the consulate in Australia would save about R7m annually, without adversely affecting SA's diplomatic presence there. Setting up and maintaining a full-scale diplomatic mission in one of the central European countries would cost only about R4m annually.

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Done.
Elzan.

TIM COHEN

Diplomats target 5 key African states

SA WOULD normalise relations and establish a presence in five key "power points" in Africa, including traditionally hostile Egypt, Nigeria and Kenya, within a year, Foreign Affairs deputy director Rusty Evans predicted yesterday.

Evans said SA was concentrating its diplomatic efforts on southern Africa because of limited resources and the need to increase the region's use of under-utilised infrastructural links. *BIDAM 15/11/90*

But the department would work hard on normalising relations with Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Nigeria and Kenya and expected to have "some sort of presence" in those countries within a year. Relations with other African countries would be nor-

malised as a result. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
Ultimately, normalisation of relations with the key countries would mean the establishment of full diplomatic ties.

Evans disclosed that Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak had told President F W de Klerk, when they met during the Namibian independence celebrations, that he wanted to completely normalise relations between SA and Egypt.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Butros Ghali told Evans this would take place the moment the Gulf crisis was over.

"Certain steps" had been taken already, said Evans.

Oilmen head for the no-crisis Gulf

LONDON — Western oilmen are stampeding to the Gulf — not the Persian Gulf, but West Africa's Gulf of Guinea, an area stretching from Nigeria down to Angola, and including Cameroon, Gabon and Congo.

If this region is not exactly virgin territory for the world's oil industry, it is taking on much greater importance as an alternative to excessive dependence on the Middle East and because it mostly produces light, low-sulphur crude oil, much in demand by American and European refineries.

In fact, West Africa is emerging as one of the hottest oil properties in the world with extensive new licence zones coming up for bids.

Giant fields

Output from West Africa is running at about three-million barrels a day (b/d) — just above North Sea levels. Analysts predict that by the mid-1990s production could rise by at least 50%.

"Beyond geography, geology is playing a major role in attracting oil companies. There is a feeling that there are still some giant oilfields to be discovered in West Africa," said Matthew Shaw, oil analyst at Edinburgh-based County NatWest Woodmac.

Nigeria, Africa's largest oil-producer, is attracting most attention. The government announced that 136 blocks would be made available to foreign companies in 1991.

Dave Norman, senior international adviser with Northern Michigan Exploration Company, said: "American oilmen are tripping over each other to get to Lagos and talk terms with Nigerian officials, who are trying to broaden the oil industry's base from the seven large oil companies already in the country."

Nigeria hopes that new exploration activity will enable it to boost reserve levels significantly to more than 20-billion barrels by the end of the 1990s.

Own Correspondent

Similarly, more than US\$6bn is to be spent to raise production capacity by 25% to 24-million b/d by 1994.

At the same time, Nigeria is putting the final touches to a \$25bn scheme to become sub-Saharan Africa's first exporter of liquefied natural gas (LNG) to clients in Europe and North America by 1995.

Production is set to soar in other West African countries too. Angola, whose production doubled between 1985 and 1989, should register another 30% growth in 1991 to 575 000 b/d.

According to a study by Norland Consultants, \$17bn is to be invested in the development of offshore deposits between 1990 and 1994. Moreover, ongoing exploration will continue at a fast pace, with new offshore areas in the central and southern part of the country being drilled for the first time.

Congo, too, is experiencing a boom, with production rising by 15% a year. Output is set to surge above 200 000 b/d in 1992. Recent offshore finds have raised hopes, while onshore exploration is just moving into high gear.

Gabon offer

New discoveries in Gabon's hinterland have radically improved the country's oil future. Production has grown by 40% since 1989 to 280 000 b/d as new inland deposits are brought on-stream.

Gabon is to offer Western companies a swathe of high-potential onshore acreage next year. "More systematic exploration should turn up significant new hydro-carbon resources, perhaps surprising even the most optimistic forecasts," said Norman.

Cameroon, the only West African country to experience declining output, has finally amended its oil code to make the climate more attractive to foreign investors. — Daily Telegraph.

Sherwood reaches across Africa

THE emergence of a "new SA" has given the motto of export trading house Sherwood Exports cc — "Reaching across Africa" — new meaning, says MD John Hood.

While the company is already trading in 14 African countries, with the majority of its exports going to Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi, Zaire, Ivory Coast, the Comores and Zimbabwe, the opening up of new markets has become a reality.

"This year, we have met delegations from Egypt and Kenya looking for SA products and we are in the process of establishing

agents in those markets. "We have always concentrated our business in Africa and are involved this year in Kenya, Sudan, Rwanda and Tanzania."

Sherwood Exports, which has been in operation for almost 20 years and has a staff of 72, exports a variety of goods, including steel, foodstuffs, motor spares, vehicles, chemicals, electrical components, building materials and stainless steel products.

Eighty percent of the products' raw materials are from SA.

In the period March 1988 to March 1989, exports increased by 59,7% and for

the period March 1989 to March 1990, it increased by 25,6%, an achievement good enough to win the company a Past Winner's Award in the service sector of the State President's Export Awards.

"Business is doing so well we will overtake last year's export growth by a considerable amount," Hood says.

Part of the company's success in promoting exports has been in its personalised marketing programme.

"We try to visit every market at least once a month. At any given time, we have at least five traders somewhere in Africa," Hood says.

Burundi trade group in SA to explore ties

ABOUT 40 delegates from east central African state Burundi's business sector are in SA to explore trade opportunities and joint venture potential.

Burundi Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Donatien Bihute said in an interview yesterday the group had come to SA at Saffo's invitation to investigate possible trade

MARCIA KLEIN

links between individuals or companies.

He said at present there was only limited trade between SA and Burundi companies through "a third party".

Delegates were investigating areas such as food processing, tourism, mining (tin, gold and nickel),

construction material, and chemical and pharmaceutical products.

Bihute said Burundi hoped to export coffee, tea, glassware, beer, hides and skins and textile products, as well as to promote partnerships and attract SA investment in Burundi.

He said an air link was being discussed with SAA.

Foreign exchange had been managed "prudently" and Burundi's foreign reserves at July would cover six months of imports.

He said Burundi had no import restrictions.

African aid programme gets \$8bn in pledges

WASHINGTON — The World Bank has received pledges for aid of between \$7.5bn and \$8bn over the next three years to help 21 poor, deeply indebted African governments that had accepted close monitoring of their policies by the bank and the IMF.

The bank's Africa vice president Edward Jaycox said that unspecified amounts would come from 20 governments and international bodies, such as the bank itself and the EC.

Major contributors included the US, the EC, France, Japan, Britain, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavia countries.

The money would not be used for big long-term pro-

jects but would be spent on the maintenance and rehabilitation of schools, clinics and machinery.

The pledged contributions would be supplemented by \$3bn to \$3.5bn from the World Bank's International Development Association and \$1bn to \$2bn was expected from the IMF.

The pledges were part of the bank's second special programme of assistance for southern Africa.

Jaycox said that during the next three years he expected countries such as Kenya, Ghana, Togo and Gambia to graduate from the programme.

Countries such as Angola and Liberia might enter the programme. — Sapa-AP.

Africa hopes for an 'EC' by 2000

Star 11/2/90
ROWENA WHELAN

ADDIS ABABA — An African Economic Community by the year 2000? One Finance Minister laughed at the prospect, but advocates believed it was possible.

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 millennium?

"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," he told Reuters. "Nothing is unrealistic if the political commitment exists."

Wars

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 of 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, others note that the continent is still riven by long-running civil and border wars.

The Organisation of African Unity is finalising a draft treaty for an African Economic Community for signature at a summit in June.

It says it wants to build upon 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. — Reuter.

Grim tale of political farce in Africa

C/P No 2/12/90

PROMISES of democracy have been made in more than a dozen African capitals after chanting citizens braved teargas and gunfire – but not a single one-party government has been unseated.

Fifteen regimes have said they will accept multi-party rule, but there is no sign that democratically elected administrations will replace any of them soon.

Leaders who could not crush protest movements with troops and arrests have turned to delaying tactics. While paying lip service to democracy with promises of free elections, critics say they use a bag of dirty tricks to stay in power.

After the collapse of communist parties in the Soviet bloc, the writing was on the wall for Africa's one-party governments.

Western nations which helped corrupt leaders to keep them away from the Soviet orbit have found it difficult to justify more support.

At a conference on Africa, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said governments which resisted their people's demands for democracy would find themselves "in an increasingly disadvantageous position" in the competition for aid.

Bans on opposition parties have been lifted in six countries: Benin, Cape Verde, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Sao Tome and Zaire.

Nine have agreed to move towards ending one-party rule, but opposition parties are not

yet operating. They are Angola, Cameroon, Congo, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Somalia and Zambia.

The first show of unrest came from Benin, where protesters stoned a statue of Lenin. They blamed the nation's bankruptcy on the Marxist-Leninist ideology adopted by President Mathieu Kerekou (who gained power in a coup) and demanded his resignation.

Kerekou renounced communism in response and said his government was writing a new constitution to liberalise the economy and guarantee human rights. In a move later copied by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, he appointed a transition government but set no date for himself to step down.

Mobutu shocked Zaire in April when, under intense pressure from the US and other Western backers, he said he would give in to demands for multi-party democracy.

Student unrest continued and Belgium, its former colonial power, accused Zairean commandos in May of killing more than 100 students at Lubumbashi University. Mobutu's government claimed only one student was killed and blamed local officials.

In November, six months after Mobutu legalised opposition parties, soldiers were still breaking up their meetings.

On November 6, opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi said Mobutu had prevented him from leaving the country to meet Baker.

① Other leaders like President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo and Joseph Momoh of Sierra Leone have said "no" to change and have often called out soldiers to enforce the decision.

Gabon moved closer to democracy when President Omar Bongo was forced to conduct the first multi-party general election in 22 years.

Several rounds of voting had to be held because voters smashed ballot boxes, burned government cars and attacked officials they claimed were rigging the election.

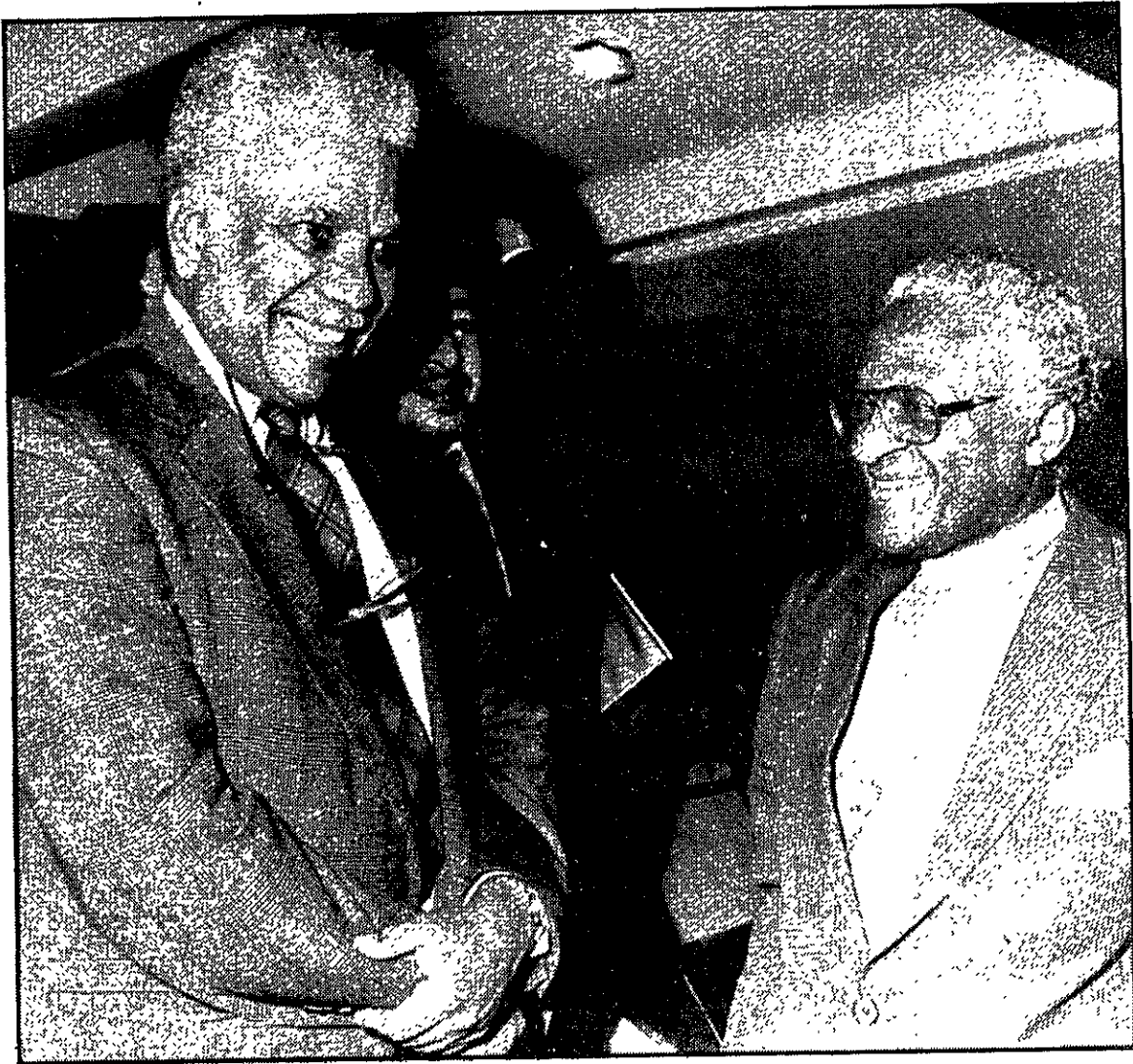
Bongo emerged with a bare majority in the national assembly, but his term as president does not expire for three years.

Ivory Coast held its first contested presidential election in October. Police dispersed opposition campaign rallies with teargas and clubs. On election day, voters smashed ballot boxes and claimed fraud.

Government-controlled television and radio denied the opposition access until the campaign was nearly over, then censored their statements.

Laurent Gbagbo, a history professor, was the only opposition candidate. Two others could not raise bonds of R200 000 each, which the government stipulated one week before the 10-day campaign began.

President Felix Houphouet-Boigny won the day, but many doubt his 81 percent majority vote. – Sapa



Professor Ali Mazrui is welcomed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Johannesburg last night before the Desmond Tutu Peace Lecture. Picture by Sean Woods

African quest for democracy ^{Star 3/12/90} 'rooted in religious heritage' ¹

By Carina le Grange

South Africa has telescoped two liberation struggles into one: the first being that for collective political self-determination and the second for a new independence towards individual rights, Kenyan professor Ali Mazrui said in Johannesburg last night.

Professor Mazrui, considered the doyen of African academics, but now a lecturer in the US, delivered the annual Desmond Tutu Peace Lecture at the opening session of the National

Interfaith Conference (NIC) held by the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP).

He said the quest for democratisation in Africa could be found in the religious heritage, which was one of tolerance.

"There were no religious wars in Africa until creeds from outside were introduced into the continent.

"Only in Africa could we have found a Muslim country — Senegal — who accepted a Christian head of state for two decades. The ecumenical spirit is alive and well.

"Only in Africa — also in Senegal — could we find a Muslim president who has as his first lady a Roman Catholic."

He said there was in Africa a link between religion and democracy. It was only in Africa that the first Nobel prizes had been won for the most fundamental of all the values of survival — that of peace (won by Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Tutu).

"Religion is the probable midwife to the new African democracy," said Professor Mazrui.

The lecture was at-

tended by a capacity crowd at Johannesburg's Selborne Hall, with the audience representing faiths across the spectrum including Islam, Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity as well as a Rastafarian representative.

The opening words were spoken by WCRP-SA president Dr Gerrie Lubbe, the master of ceremonies was Muhammad Dangor and the vote of thanks was given by Dr Franz Auerbach. The closing prayers were led by Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris.

Donors may withhold financial aid

West warns Ethiopia ¹ to halt civil wars

THE West, tired of watching Ethiopia bleed, is telling the government it will get no cash to reform its feeble economy unless firm steps are taken to end its civil wars.

"Ethiopia is too poor to fight and develop ... it's just painfully obvious to everybody," said one Western economist.

Western donors reckon the government spends 60 percent of its revenue on defence, and are holding up approval of a package of producer incentives, trade liberalisation and a shake-up of the public sector of the erstwhile Marxist state.

"They probably have the right policy in mind, but this war is just going to drag them down," the economist said.

Timetable

Detailed talks with World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) officials over a timetable for structural adjustment of the economy began after President Mengistu Haile Mariam announced in March an end to 15 years of socialist policies.

His speech signalled an acceleration of reforms begun more than two years ago to introduce market forces into agriculture, industry and housing to revive Ethiopia's stagnant economy.

From the famine-hit north to the fertile lands of the south, its largely peasant population struggles to subsist on primitive farms or drifts to the shanties of underdeveloped towns.

Per capita income of

FOCUS

Sapa-Reuter

about 120 dollars a year ranks Ethiopia among the poorest countries in the world, and its 52 million people are calculated to be worse off than in 1974 - the year of the revolution that later brought Mengistu to power.

Ethiopian Deputy Prime Minister Wollie Chekol told Reuters that when discussions with the World Bank and IMF were finalised, resources would be channelled into essential capital imports to develop industry and agriculture.

The public sector would be profit-orientated, government-run firms would become autonomous and rigid labour laws would be reviewed.

Potential

"The resource potential of this country is vast," he said, adding that Ethiopia was actively seeking foreign investment in its new mixed economy.

While many donors applaud such policies and say they want to help, agreement on funding their implementation has stumbled on the issue of a widening budget deficit due largely to the war.

"We don't believe the government can control spending ... in the current security situation we cannot give structural loans," said one top Western economist.

Ethiopia has been

fighting the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) for nearly 30 years, and a second major rebel group, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) since 1975.

Estimates vary on how much government revenue is allocated to defence - most Western sources say it is more than half - while arms and aid from the Soviet Union and former communist allies in Eastern Europe are drying up.

Logic

Economists say that because of the war taxes cannot be cut to encourage business, while men are taken from farms and factories to serve on the front. "The whole logic of war goes against development," said one European economic expert.

Recent US-backed peace efforts have raised some hopes of a settlement, but economists say concrete steps will be required before donors are likely to review funding policies.

Meanwhile, they are trying to gauge the extent of Ethiopia's financial crisis since oil prices soared because of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August.

"It has a significant impact," Wollie said, adding that the government was rationalising the use of fuel. But he declined to give further details of the economic costs.

Residents report signs of petrol shortages in both the capital and countryside, and say queues are lengthening for household kerosene.



President of Ethiopia General Mengistu Haile Miriam.

Economists calculate Ethiopia's foreign exchange reserves - last put officially at 10.6 million dollars in June - have been eroded to cover at most a few days imports.

Rising fuel costs add to inflationary pressures building since subsidised cereal supplies were ended and grain trading liberalised in March.

The price index for Addis Ababa - the only measure published - was eight percent higher in September than a year earlier. Grain prices were up 18 percent on the same basis.

"The financial situation is now very parlous," noted one Western diplomat. But he added, "It's really not as bad as you'd expect - electricity works, there's water,

roads get repaired."

Economists say part of the price of continued economic activity is non-payment on some debts for the first time in Ethiopia's prudent financial history.

Meticulous in repaying debts to Western creditors - put at 2.98 billion dollars at the last official count - Ethiopia is said to have slipped in recent months in servicing loans from the Soviet Union and East Europe.

"Donors have a soft spot in their hearts and they would like to come back if they felt their aid could be used effectively," said one top economist. "This (current stalemate over government war spending) is not the end of the story - it's just a delay."

Surge in SA exports to rest of Africa

TIM COHEN

AFTER years of remaining fairly constant, SA's exports to African countries have surged this year by about 40% and will breach the R5,5bn mark, SA Foreign Trade Organisation's Martin Smith says.

However, this growth will probably level off next year.

Smith, co-ordinator of the southern hemisphere division of Safto, said although import and export figures were not released for individual African countries, it was known that trade with Zaire and Madagascar, among others, had expanded greatly. B10 ay 5/12/90

The sudden increase in trade was primarily because of government's reform initiatives which had resulted in trade with SA becoming politically more acceptable.

Smith said Safto expected the surge to lose steam over the next few years, until further markets opened up for SA exporters.

Imports from African countries had also increased dramatically, although even after the increase was accounted for, SA would import goods worth only about R1,2bn.

African countries were aware SA might dominate the region, but had established that they could save a lot of money by importing from SA rather than from, for example, Europe.

In the case of Kenya, this saving would amount to about 20% of its total import bill.

A senior government adviser said yesterday Cabinet had in the early '80s decided not to publish statistics of SA's trade with other African countries.

Government took this decision at the request of the countries concerned.

However, the decision was reviewed regularly, although no change could be expected in the immediate future.

The source said manufactured goods made up the bulk of exports to African countries in hard currency transactions.

The increase in trade was, therefore, not simply due to the initiation of a few large projects.

□ To Page 2

SA exports

The source also warned against projecting the increase in trade with African countries too far into the future, pointing out that many African countries had limited foreign exchange resources.

African countries were "famous" for printing import permits and then not being able to pay because of foreign exchange shortages, he said.

This resulted in the countries accumulating substantial arrears, forcing exporting countries to "queue up" to be paid.

Sapa reports that trade between Zimbabwe and SA had increased tremendously

over the past five years, Nico Nel, SA trade mission representative in Zimbabwe, said.

In an interview with the national news agency Ziana, Nel — attending the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries business conference at Victoria Falls — said the level of trade was expected to increase because of Zimbabwe's trade liberalisation policy.

SA primarily imported agricultural produce and minerals from Zimbabwe, especially tobacco and asbestos.

"We hope to soon import some maize, since Zimbabwe has a surplus," he said.

□ From Page 1

African economic groups to let SA in?

VICTORIA FALLS. — Business leaders from 12 African states yesterday resolved to urge their governments to allow South Africa observer status in two regional economic groupings.

The businessmen hope SA will be granted observer status in both the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Area of Eastern and Southern Africa. The SADCC was set up in 1980 specifically to break links with South Africa.

The resolution was agreed to at the end of a three-day conference of commerce and industry bodies from the 12 countries and South Africa.

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It represented a major breakthrough for South African links with the continent, diplomats who attended the talks said.

The conference was organised by the Confederation of Zimbabwean Industries with the approval of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, who has in the past been at the forefront of African initiatives to strengthen economic boycotts against SA.

The delegates also agreed that a reformed SA would play a pivotal role in the economic development of the region.

Addressing this week's conference SADCC Business Council chairman Mr Harry Thomson of Malawi said his group was "fully supportive" of SA's full mem-

bership. Informal contacts towards this goal had been established, he said.

The chairman of the CZI, Mr John Deary, who is known to have close links with President Mugabe's government, predicted Zimbabwe would "react favourably" to the appeal for SA observer status.

Zimbabwe's vice-president Mr Simon Muzenda, who opened the conference, said current peace initiatives in Angola, Mozambique and within SA "give us tremendous hope that SA will soon play an important role in the region".

The ANC and PAC accepted invitations to attend, but did not arrive. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-AP

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France has passed a test, writes George Graham in Paris

The old mantle falls away

10/12/90
Stev

WHEN President Francois Mitterrand announced last June that France's military presence in Africa was there to help against external aggression or protect its own citizens, not to intervene in internal conflicts, there were many sceptics.

France has for decades seemed so reluctant to shed its imperial mantle over its former African colonies that many believed this change of policy would not stand up to serious testing.

In Chad last weekend, however, the French Foreign Legion stood by while a rebel army marched into the capital Ndjamena.

French soldiers even stood guard for talks between rebel leader Idriss Deby and the remnants of the former government of President Hissene Habre.

The time has passed when France could pick and choose the governments in these countries, change them or maintain them as she wished, said French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

After Gabon in May, where France reinforced its military contingent to protect French citizens, but maintained an approximately scrupulous refusal to intervene on behalf of President Omar Bongo, the events of the last few weeks in Chad appear to confirm the reality of the new policy.

Defence Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement pressed home the point by rejecting the argument that France should aid the Chad government against external attack on the grounds that Libya was arming the rebel troops.

Arms deliveries are not enough to define a case of downright military aggression, he said.

Diplomats in Paris appear to accept this interpretation of French policy, but note that France's relations with Mr Habre have been uneasy for some time. They add that the rebel leader, Mr Deby, appears to enjoy the respect of many French government officials, and they have welcomed his assurances that he will respect human rights and establish a multi-party system.

Besides Gabon, four other African countries have French military contingents under bilateral defence agreements: Senegal; Ivory Coast, Central African Republic and Djibouti, where France also has an important naval base.

France's action in Chad and Gabon sends a clear message to these countries that they cannot rely on French military support to prop up their regimes. At the same time, France is linking the provision of aid to its old African partners to the degree to which they embrace democracy.

All the same, some scepticism lingers. Would France ever really abandon President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the 85-year-old president of the Ivory Coast?

Meanwhile, Mr Deby, who heads the Popular Salvation Movement, is consulting his officials while receiving a stream of visitors, including France's ambassador to Chad, Mr Francois Gendreaux. — Financial Times News Service. □

Africa impatient for SA's entry into its markets

By Alan Fine

ALAN FINE

WEDNESDAY's call by SADC business leaders for SA to be given immediate observer status within the organisation would not have come as a surprise to Idasa's Van Zyl Slabbert who has just returned from an extensive tour of Europe and Africa.

He said this week that there was a broad recognition throughout Africa that the emergence of new international politico-economic power blocs meant the nations of Africa had themselves to seek urgently such an alliance. This is essential to avoid further retrogression, and SA is seen as a key to that process.

He warns this trend will put intense pressure on the ANC to ease substantially its position on sanctions. This was a prophetic statement made a day before the contents of the ANC's draft discussion document appeared in the media.

"A situation is developing where, if the ANC and government cannot soon agree on a common strategy regarding relationships with Africa, there is a real likelihood of a series of bilateral agreements between SA and African nations which bypass the ANC," Slabbert said.

A conference in Addis Ababa last month attended by technocrats from 17 African countries helped Slabbert

formulate his thesis that Africa has to establish itself in a way similar to that of Europe and Asia.

The theme of the conference was Stability, Security and Co-operation in Africa. Not by coincidence, this theme is identical to that of earlier conferences in Europe and Asia.

Africa, says Slabbert, is asking itself what it should do in response to the changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The new order has meant a growing indifference to the plight of Africa in the form of donor fatigue.

"At the Addis conference there was an amazing degree of self-criticism. There is an acknowledgment that Africa cannot blame colonialism for all its ills, and a recognition of the corruption and personality cults which have stifled its development," he says.

And in seeking a way out of the morass, delegates repeatedly returned to the same two themes which have dominated post-cold war Europe — democratisation and the flourishing of the market.

"They recognise that democratisation and markets are preconditions for stability and security, and that that you cannot talk of stability and security for Africa, or for regions of

Africa, without talking about domestic stability and security.

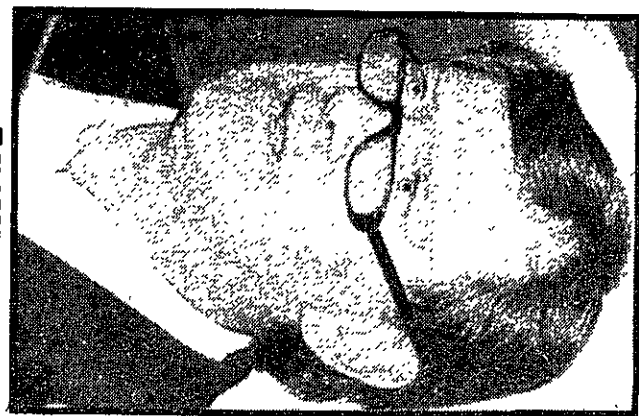
"Another dominant theme... was that, at the same time that the OAU countries are beginning to talk about democratisation, SA too is beginning to do so.

"They see SA as a critical part of the development of African markets. In some respects they even overestimate the importance of SA in the development of the continent," Slabbert argues.

Hence the drive for the economic integration of SA into the continent, and the need for the major players here to begin developing a new and joint approach — to begin preparing for future trade, scientific exchanges, and other areas of interaction with African countries.

"All (of) Africa needs to husband its resources — the international realignments make this necessary. Having the ANC and government playing African states off against each other on their relationships with SA makes this even more difficult than it would otherwise be.

"Why should it be necessary for,



□ SLABBERT

for example, Senegal to have to pay five times as much for powdered milk imported from Europe as it would have to pay if it imported the product from SA?

"The continent is in deep trouble

and it would be immoral to continue political posturing. A continuing ANC hard line would, anyway, not stop the growth of links between SA and other African nations," Slabbert asserts.

Slabbert argues that once normal economic relations develop, SA will have to move beyond southern Africa to realise fully the benefits of continental economic links.

In most of the southern African region, he says, economic relations will be more in the nature of developmental work — like transport, other infrastructure, and solving common agricultural problems. Real large-scale African trade is more likely to develop with the more powerful economies — Nigeria and French African nations like Senegal and the Ivory Coast.

Right now time is of the essence for the rest of Africa, and this makes the ANC's conference debate on sanctions in a week's time all the more critical.

"If the ANC wants to retain the most sensitive types of sanctions like the arms embargo, that is OK. But Africa must not be made to sacrifice any more because of SA's internal political processes," he concludes.

LETTER

LIFE in Ethiopia's Asmara has a thin veneer of normality. Residents still go to work dressed in suits and frequent bars in the early evening before returning home.

"But this is a population in a state of hunger, weariness and fear," says *Africa Watch*, a Washington-based human rights monitoring group.

"All travel on foot, because there is no fuel available for private citizens. There is nothing to do in factories because there are no telephone links with the outside world, virtually no business transactions, and no electricity supply during daylight."

The picture becomes more bleak when citizens return home in the evenings. There is very little food and firewood is almost unobtainable "so people must burn their furniture in order to cook or else eat grains soaked in cold water (which is difficult for children)."

Without electricity for most of the time, water pumping stations are inoperative in Asmara, resulting in a dire shortage of water. "People can scarcely drink, let alone wash. Lines of empty drums stand in

Catch-22 as Ethiopia's siege bites

AP/W
9/12/90

the streets in the forlorn hope of the arrival of a water lorry. Instead of the normal hum of traffic, the city is quiet except for the roar of military aeroplanes from the airport and the occasional explosions of rockets fired by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), says *Africa Watch*.

Asmara has been under siege since February, but it has been a siege with a difference.

"The great majority of the besieged residents do not support the army 'defending' their city. Instead they have more sympathy with their own relatives, often their own children, who are a few miles away in the hills, planning their attacks. "It is a fact that the government sees the

civilian population of the city as a potential (if not an actual) 'fifth column' that makes the siege of Asmara one of the most gruelling on record."

The 14-page *Africa Watch* report concludes on a chilling note: "Asmara is starving. While the EPLF inflexibility over permitting safe passage of food to the government-controlled enclave has contributed to this, by far the greater part of the blame belongs to the Ethiopian government.

"The government has made no effort to supply relief itself. It has blocked the Eritrean Relief Association (ERA) from bringing food from Sudan, attacking relief lorries and preventing civilians from moving freely to

obtain food at distribution centres and markets controlled by the EPLF.

"The army is feeding itself from the depleted stocks of local civilians. The EPLF siege amounts to a sentence of hardship - government actions make this into a sentence of death."

The Ethiopian government has suspended any semblance of the rule of law in Asmara, charges *Africa Watch*. Instead it exercises arbitrary and brutal control of the population.

People are at risk from death and injury, adds *Africa Watch*, due to the side-effects of the fighting. "But the government is in addition following a policy of deliberately exposing the civilian population to these risks

as part of a strategy for deterring attack by the EPLF." (1)

As a result the people of the government-controlled enclave are weary and frightened.

There is a note of impending doom when *Africa Watch* says: "The current situation is a nightmare, which may yet become a worse nightmare should the EPLF capture the city and the Ethiopian government unleashes an apocalypse of aerial bombardment upon it; a repeat of the horror and terror of Massawa (another region in Ethiopia), but on a larger scale."

The group has now called upon the Ethiopian government and the EPLF to observe a month-long truce in order to allow civilians to leave Asmara if they wish.

Africa Watch also calls upon both parties "to expedite the supply of food and other essential commodities to Asmara and the surrounding enclave".

It also calls on the Ethiopian government to ratify the Additional Protocol to the Geneva Convention of 1949, relating to protection of victims of non-international armed conflicts.

Special appeals for 'crisis in Africa'

LONDON - British aid agencies said planned a public appeal for funds to help victims of a famine threatening millions of people in many parts of Africa.

The Disasters Emergency Committee said attention would focus on Ethiopia, Sudan, Angola, Mozambique and Liberia "where a combination of serious drought and civil conflict has decimated crops and left millions short of food".

Seven relief agencies coordinated by the committee will formally launch their "Crisis in Africa" appeal with special radio and television broadcasts early next year.

Ethiopia, hit by its second successive year of drought, has already appealed for food aid for an estimated 4.3 million people. Relief agencies say some six million people will need help in neighbouring Sudan. -

Sapa-Reuter

Tribalism need not be the threat
it was once seen to be

Separatism

Star 12/12/90

thrives where it is forbidden

TRIBALISM, say self-satisfied Europeans, is a failing of backward peoples, most of them in Africa. African leaders too often agree. They say they must hold on to power without elections. They say that given a free vote, each constituency would oppose the very existence of the state. Their nations need strong leaders (meaning themselves) because they are fragile, the artificial creations of failed empires.

Now Europe's last internal empire is falling apart, and in awkward consequence Eastern Europe's tribes are reviving.

Yugoslavia bursts with inter-ethnic hatreds. Slovaks vote to rescue their language from Czech domination and then, when the Czechs agree, grumble because Hungarian-speakers are given similar linguistic rights.

Moldavians vote to leave the Soviet Union and join the people of Romania who speak the same language; so Moldavia's Russian-speakers recruit into their protest movement the Gagauz, Christians who speak a sort of Turkish. Tribalism rules.

Africa's emerging nations were put together by European empire-builders who then went home. Europe's own re-emerging nations have a triple inheritance, from the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires that went phut in 1918, the brief German one that went bang in 1945, and the Russian one that is still fizzling out.

Freed after centuries of unifying authority, people want to be themselves. Religious and linguistic fault-lines appear: some of them traditional, more of them invented to justify the ancestral pastime of detesting the man next door. European tribes dignify

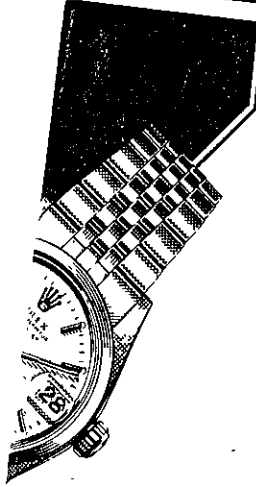
themselves with the title "national minorities" — meaning peoples of different language, culture or religion within a common border. But some parts of Western Europe are learning how to deal with such tribal passions. The Spanish let the Catalans run their own region. The French, who in the 1790s invented the modern nation-state, acknowledge the existence of the "Corsican people", thus officially admitting that Napoleon was not really a Frenchman after all.

Separatism thrives when there is something hard to separate from. After four decades of peace, West Europeans have gone relatively soft on national identity, in favour of something more pragmatic. If the Scots or the Catalans or the South Tyroleans go off on their own one fine Sunday, most of the Spanish and English and Italians will gladly shake their hands in Brussels on Monday.

Canadians were rightly terrified of a Quebec whose "freedom" might be expressed by tariffs against motor cars or maple syrup; much less terrified of a French-speaking enclave that, along with Mexico, would be a part of a huge free-trade area for all North America.

The craving for statehood remains strongest among those who have been told they could not form a state. Africans and South Slavs defend frontiers they were forbidden to build. Arabs dream of a unity they long ago lost; Iraq invoked that memory when swallowing Kuwait. Imperialism was repressive. Communism was repressive. Today the smoke emerging from their funeral pyres is that of tribalism. Nothing damps it down like a Community. — The Economist News Service. □

By Charles Schulz




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Commission investigating constitutions

TIM COHEN

The constitutions of African countries and the ANC's draft bill of rights were being studied by the SA Law Commission, deputy-chairman Mr Justice P J Olivier said yesterday.

He would be visiting Mozambique soon to study that country's constitutional developments, he said.

The commission had also discussed constitutional issues with professors from other African countries, including Nigeria.

African constitutional experts were very interested in Law Commission projects, he said.

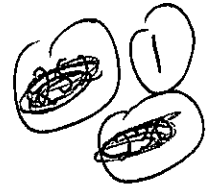
Experts from African countries, many of which were undergoing their own constitutional development, apparently felt that they might be able to learn some useful mechanisms from the commission's work, Olivier said.

Commission members have already undertaken an extensive trip overseas, which included visits to Lisbon, Berne, Zurich, Helsinki, New York, Frankfurt and Paris.

The commission is finalising its proposals on group and human rights which will be handed to government early next year.

C

The good, bad and ugly in Africa



South 13/12 - 17/12/90

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 rati-

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:

fied the African Charter of Human and People's Rights.

Mr Richard Carver, research director of Africa Watch, a recently-formed non-

governmental human rights monitoring 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

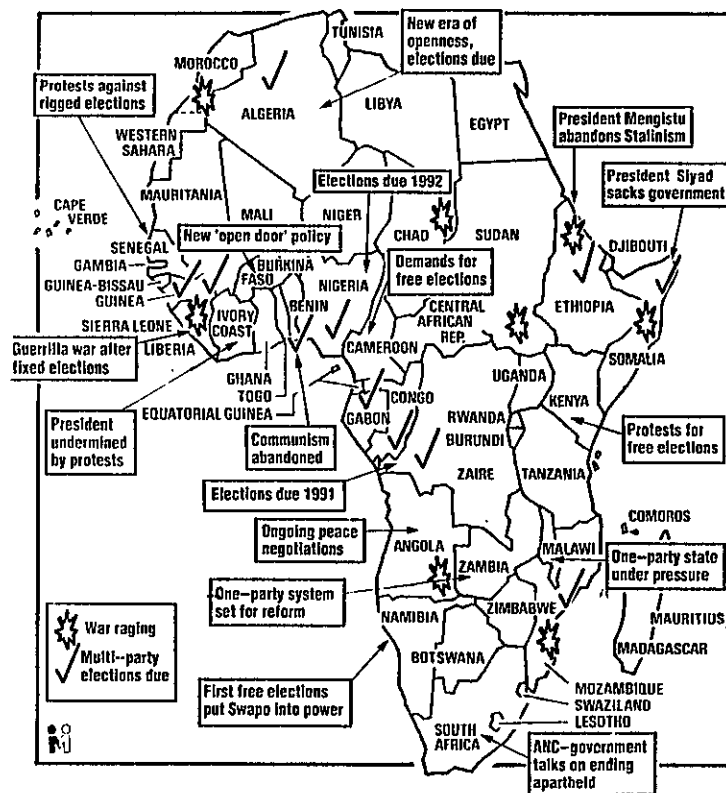
"What has remained underreported are abuses of human rights in the home lands and in the rural areas," he says.

An ad hoc committee on human rights was formed in Ghana. Nigeria also had a vigorous civil liberties organisation.

Some situations remained bad, especially 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.



Millions facing death in Africa

Sowetan
14/12/90

LONDON - British aid agencies say millions of Africans face starvation, and some compare the situation to the Ethiopian famine that shocked the world only a few years ago.

John Magrath, a spokesman for the Oxfam charity, said this week he had received a telex from a worker just back from the Ethiopian province of Eritrea saying "animals dying and people already on the move".

Oxfam has joined with six other agencies to form the British Disaster Emergency Committee, which will launch an appeal for funds in the new year to assist Ethiopia, the Sudan, Mozambique, Angola and Liberia.

Other participating agencies are the British Red Cross, Action Aid, Christian Aid, the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development, the Save the Children Fund and Help the Aged.

Announcing the appeal on Monday, the groups set no financial target but



The market place in Maputo...food supplies are drying up and more than 16 million Mozambicans will face starvation.

said they were appealing on behalf of "victims of a major famine now threatening millions of people in many parts of Africa."

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization has appealed for 1.3 million tons of food aid for Sudan - one million tons for relief and the rest to replenish depleted stocks.

It said major and immediate relief is needed to avert calamitous famine.

Mozambique's government says half of its 16.3 million people face deprivation or death because of food shortages.

Suffering

Liberia is suffering because of the food shortage compounded by the disruption of civil war.

In Angola, an estimated 1.9 million people are affected by food shortages.

Appeals for Africa come at a time when the European Community is pulling together a \$5-billion food aid programme for the Soviet Union.

"A problem is building in Africa while the world is looking elsewhere," said Oxfam

spokesman Tony Vaux.

Oxfam workers John Wilding and Trish Silkin said on Monday that they found a near-total crop failure in Eritrea province, and severe crop failures in Ethiopia's Tigré province.

"There will be a food crisis in Eritrea as early as January unless there is an expanded programme of relief," said Wilding, who estimated that 2.5 million Eritreans are at risk of death from hunger or thirst.

In Eritrea, Wilding said, there were no crops.

"There is an almost complete lack of grazing, and livestock is in an extremely poor condition. Water levels are falling below the bottoms of many wells."

The situation is less severe in the neighbouring northern province of

Tigré, Wilding said, but 2.2 million people were in need of food aid.

Silkin said the current conditions in Ethiopia were similar to the situation during the disastrous famine of 1984-85.

"The potential for the same situation is there," she said, but added that now there is an effective distribution system for food relief.

Report

A report prepared for a World Bank meeting in Paris on Monday said Mozambique would need more than 1 million tons of food aid next year to stave off mass starvation.

"Massive, direct, emergency assistance is required now," the report said.

The FAO has promised 25 000 tons of wheat, 19 000 of which have been delivered. No other donors have made any

commitments.

The country's problems have been exacerbated by the 15-year civil war between government troops and soldiers of the Mozambique National Resistance movement (Renamo), the report said.

It is the second consecutive year of severe food deficits in Sudan from lack of rain. The harvest also has been hindered in the south by a continuing civil war that has killed hundreds of thousands of people in eight years and displaced many more.

Estimates of the number of people at risk in the Sudan vary from 3 million to 11 million.

Adam Kettel-Long of the British Disasters Emergency Committee said Liberia had been particularly hard hit.

Sapa-AP

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A woman breaks the hardened soil in drought-hit Atsibi, in the Ethiopian province of northern Tigray. According to relief workers in London, farmers in the area are 'living on a knife edge' and are totally dependent on aid

Photo: AP

By MICHAEL SIMMONS

FAMINE is threatening at least 20-million people in Africa, according to Britain's Disasters Emergency Committee of leading private sector aid donors. The situation in many countries is at least as bad as that which led to the mass famine in Ethiopia in 1984.

Attention in a New Year appeal for funds will be concentrated on five countries — Ethiopia, Sudan, Angola, Mozambique and Liberia — even though serious crop shortages have been reported elsewhere. In each of these five countries drought and crop failure have been complicated by long-running civil wars.

Africa famine threat 'at least as bad as 1984'

The committee brings together Oxfam, the British Red Cross, Save the Children and other non-governmental agencies.

Meanwhile, an Oxfam-sponsored crop assessment mission which has just returned from northern Ethiopia warns that up to four and a half million people in that area alone are affected, of whom three and a half mil-

lion urgently need about 800 000 tons of food aid.

The crop assessment team covered 3 200km in mainly rebel-held areas. It found that for the second year running the harvest had been an almost complete failure. In some areas in Eritrea there were virtually no crops to assess, as well as a complete lack of grazing. Livestock had become too emaciated to move and water levels were falling dangerously low. Available water was too saline to be used.

The disasters committee claims that if there is no effective response to national and international appeals there will be mass migration and starvation on a massive scale. — The Guardian

NAIROBI — Vast areas of Africa stand on the brink of one of the worst famines the world has known.

Millions of people, already weak after a decade of falling living standards and poor health care, are at risk from Angola and Mozambique in the south, across most of the Sahel through Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Chad to Niger.

Food shortages are reported in oncelush Liberia — destroyed by nearly a year of vicious civil war — and in Mauritania, scene of ethnic conflicts between blacks and Arabs.

Years of war, drought, population explosion and sluggish agricultural production have left the world's poorest continent heavily dependent on outside help for survival.

But political arguments, increased fuel costs and general weariness with Africa's seemingly never-ending conflicts are combining to delay relief from a world more concerned with the Gulf crisis and Soviet food shortages.

No interest

"The major concern on our part is there will be a lack of interest because Eastern Europe is drawing off aid through political considerations," said Aengus Finucane, chief executive of the Irish aid organisation, Concern.

In Sudan, one of the worst-hit countries, between 5 million and 6 million people face starvation in 1991.

"Reports of malnutrition-related deaths come up all over the country," Trevor Page, director of the UN World Food Programme said in Khartoum.

Aid workers estimate that more than 3 million are in danger in northern Ethiopia and perhaps a further million in a much less publicised famine in the east of the country.

War, more than any other single factor, is blamed for Africa's plight. Even now, with famine disaster looming, conflicts are hampering relief.

At the end of October, Sudan appealed for 75 000 tons of emergency food aid. So far it has received only about 19 000 tons. The United Nations this week called for up to 1.3 million tons of food aid for Sudan next year.

Western governments are reluctant to help the military junta led by General Omar Hassan al-Bashir, accusing Khartoum of supporting Iraq.

Other FAO teams are currently visiting nine countries of the western Sahel to assess the full extent of crop failure, but the trend is already clear, according to Peter Newhouse, head of FAO's global information and early warning system.

"The missions have confirmed poor crops in Niger, Chad, parts of Burkina Faso and Mauritania. So there is a need for increased food aid flows to West Africa as well in 1991," he said.

Newhouse said entire crops had failed in Ethiopia — where the government is involved in bitter conflicts with Eritrean and Tigrayan rebels.

The FAO this week appealed for a million tons of emergency food aid for

On brink of famine yet again

Star 15/12/90

JONATHAN CLAYTON

Ethiopia after its reported drought had led to total crop failure throughout most of Eritrea and parts of Tigray.

In Angola and Mozambique, where the prospects for peace are brighter than for many years, the legacy of a decade and a half of civil war lives on. Half of Mozambique's estimated population of 16.3 million faces starvation or serious deprivation, according to a report drawn up jointly by the United Nations and the government.

The report, presented to a World Bank meeting in Paris on December 10, said "massive, direct, emergency assistance is required now". It called for a million tons of food aid next year to avert mass starvation.

The meeting promised Mozambique R3 billion in aid for 1991, including R325 million of emergency food aid.

The report said nearly 2 million of those needing food aid were displaced within the country as a result of Maputo's 15-year-old murderous bush war.

It added that, even if a peace accord between Renamo and the government was signed then about a million refugees living in Malawi, Swaziland, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe could return.

"Neither the government nor the international community would be in a position to assist them adequately."

In Angola, too

The United Nations estimates that a further million people in Angola are facing starvation, but has had some success in opening a "corridor of peace" into the worst-affected areas.

On November 2, the first 24-truck emergency convoy left Lobito port with 338 tons of maize and vegetable oil for the central provinces.

The cost of the six-month operation is estimated at R188 million.

In the 1960s, the continent was a producer of excess food, but over the past 25 years sub-Saharan Africa's population has grown at an average rate of 2.8 percent while agricultural production has risen by an average of only 2 percent.

The World Bank estimates that, if present rates of population growth and agricultural output remain unchanged, a food-gap of some 15 million tons in 1990 will increase to 200 million tons by the year 2020. — Reuter.

NEWS
Africa slowly starving
to death

Millions of Africans face 'worst' famine

6/12/1990
NAIROBI — Vast areas of Africa stand on the brink of one of the worst famines the world has ever known.

Millions of people — already weak after a decade of falling living standards and poor health care — are at risk.

Years of war, drought, population explosion and sluggish agricultural production have left the world's poorest continent heavily dependent on outside help for survival.

But political arguments, increased fuel costs and general weariness with Africa's seemingly never-ending conflicts are combining to delay relief from a world more concerned with the Gulf crisis and food shortages in the Soviet Union.

Migration

In Sudan between 5-million and 6-million people face starvation, with children already dying.

Aid workers estimate that more than 3-million are in danger in northern Ethiopia and perhaps a further 1-million in a much less publicised famine in the east of the country.

War is the main culprit in Africa's plight. Fighting has wrecked agriculture, led to the migration of entire rural communities and destroyed road and rail networks. This also hampers relief efforts.

The UN last week called for up to 1.3-million tons of food aid for Sudan next year after the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) confirmed widespread crop failure.

Other FAO teams visiting nine countries of the western Sahel say there is a need for increased food aid

in 1991 after crops failed.

In Angola and Mozambique where the prospects for peace look good, the legacy of 15 years of civil war lives on.

Half of Mozambique's population of 16.3-million faces starvation or serious deprivation, says a report drawn up jointly by the UN and the government.

The return of 1-million refugees would present further problems.

A World Bank meeting in Paris on December 10 promised Mozambique \$1.2bn in aid for 1991.

The UN estimates that 1-million people in Angola are facing starvation, but has had some success in opening a "corridor of peace" into the worst-affected areas, with government soldiers and Unita rebels pledging not to attack the aid convoys.

Even without the wars Africa would need food aid and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

The World Bank estimates that if present rates of population growth and agricultural output remain unchanged, a food-gap of about 15-million tons now will increase to 200-million tons by 2020. — Reuter.

Minister breaks the ice with Cameroon

TIM COHEN and EDYTH BULBRING

MINERAL and Energy Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers returned at the weekend from a four-day visit to four West African countries, during which he became the first SA cabinet minister to meet members of the Cameroon government in an official capacity. *Day 18/12/90*

The visit to Cameroon, at the invitation of that country's government, has been hailed in government circles as a diplomatic coup for SA, in the light of Cameroon's past anti-SA stance.

Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Rusty Evans said he and De Villiers also visited Ivory Coast, Sao Tomé e Príncipe and Congo.

He said De Villiers met heads of state and government ministers in all the countries and identified areas of future economic and technical co-operation.

Co-operation in the field of mining featured prominently in discussions and oil production was also discussed.

Meanwhile, the Lusaka meeting today between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was expected to deal with peace in the southern African region. On the agenda would be ending the Angolan war and areas for co-operation between SA and Zambia.

The meeting will be the second to take place between Kaunda and Botha in recent months. Botha last visited Lusaka in November when he accepted an invitation from Kaunda to attend a prayer meeting along with representatives from the Frontline states.

Vision of a strong united Africa remains a dream

Star 19/12/90

The former general secretary of the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA), South African-born Bax Nomvete, is a man with a dream.

It is a dream of a strong, united Africa being able to hold its head high and take its place among the economic giants of the world on the basis of equality.

It is a dream for which he worked for 30 years — but it remains a dream.

Recently Mr Nomvete and representatives of the 19 member countries of the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) — including 14 heads of state — gathered in the Swaziland capital of Mbabane to congratulate themselves on past achievements, look to future ones, and peek over the border at the country they hope will soon join them in their endeavours.

Looking back across the border, it was easy to see the celebrating but more difficult to see the reasons for the celebration.

On the eve of the gathering a Swazi newspaper posed the question "Who needs this R4,5 million conference?", suggesting that it was wrong that taxpayers should have to foot the bill so that "politicians from the PTA can come here to wine and dine with our ministers."

Co-operation

Observers might well be excused for thinking that the PTA does little other than wine and dine itself at a seemingly endless succession of meetings.

Its professed aim is clear-cut: to foster trade, co-operation and development within the member states, leading to the eventual creation of a regional common market.

Mr Nomvete sees this as the only way under-developed African countries will ever be able to compete with other more advanced countries that are also forming regional trading blocs, such as the European Economic Community.

When the "new South Africa" is accepted by Africa, one of the most important of the organisations that will open their doors to it will be the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA), which is said to be leading a "struggle for survival" by the states of the region. KEN VERNON of the Argus Africa News Service reports.

"African countries cannot possibly generate self sustaining economic development in the modern context without forming economic groupings," he says.

"African markets are small, the resources which could be the basis for serious industrialisation are not spread evenly. If African countries try to stand alone against the world economic giants they will never succeed — and never develop — and this is why we have decided to combine.

"It's a matter of survival, pure and simple".

Despite Mr Nomvete's drive and determination, the PTA has often been criticised as being little more than a "talking shop" churning out reams of paper day-dreams.

Given the disparities and inequalities in both the size and ideological direction of the economies of the member states, the task of achieving economic unity is enormous — but even so the achievements in its seven years of operation have been miniscule.

A key piece of the PTA plan for promoting intra-regional trade has been the reduction of trade barriers: tariffs and trade licenses.

In 1987 the PTA established a programme of 10 percent tariff reductions on a number of commodities selected because of their importance to the export drives of member countries.

So far only 10 of the 19 member states have promulgated even the initial tariff reductions, and some of them are not issuing import licences for the goods covered by the tariff reductions, effectively voiding the programme.

At the Mbabane meeting it was noted that this tendency, along

countries continue giving priority to non-member imports, meant that intra-PTA trade made up just 6,4 percent of global PTA trade.

Pride of place in the PTA list of achievements goes to the PTA Clearing House — designed to facilitate intra-PTA trade in local currencies and so save scarce foreign exchange reserves.

The much touted launching of the African Joint Air Service (AJAS) at the Mbabane meeting is an example. Far from being launched, the AJAS exists only on paper. It has just three member countries: Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. An operational agreement is due to be completed in 1991.

Yet the AJAS was one of the founding projects of the PTA and was first touted 20 years ago.

In an effort to get stalled projects off the ground the PTA has appointed a task force which presented its findings at the Mbabane meeting.

The task force suggested that the PTA Monetary Harmonisation programme "should be launched immediately". It said priority should be given to granting import licences to products from member states. It recommended that projects not implemented be implemented, and that projects taking too long to implement should be speeded up.

Not surprisingly it also recommended that two new committees be formed to oversee these suggestions.

The reasons for the PTA's love of paperwork and committees may be traced to its parentage. It is a child of the United Nations, and grew from the UN Ec-

onomic Commission for Africa (UNECA) that in the 1960's propagated Pan Africanist ideals and educated an emerging generation of bureaucrats from African countries.

Many of those bureaucrats have now come home to roost — and perpetuate the ideal of a united Africa first born during the struggle to escape from colonialism.

Mr Nomvete says that the PTA was first conceived as an "economic counter-weight to South Africa".

The links to the UN are still strong, and a majority of the funds used come from UN agencies, although Mr Nomvete says that the operating funds for the 100 strong PTA secretariat come from member countries.

That is not quite correct. Eleven of the 19 member states are in arrears in their contributions to the PTA budget, six of them back to 1987, while only two have paid their 1990 dues.

A major question that the performance of the PTA to date raises is how it can expect to survive, especially given the demise of other more viable economic unions in Africa such as the East African Economic Community (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) and the Central African Federation (Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi).

According to Mr Nomvete the answer to that question is that it simply has to survive in order for the member states to survive in a harsh international economic climate.

"What we sell to the rest of the world is not wanted by them anymore, because of changing technology and changing patterns of consumption — they don't need our mainly agricultural goods.

"To survive we have to create our own economic structures and, it's a strange thing, once we begin to create economic development, the rest of the world will become interested, will invest here, will buy our goods.

"So in a word the PTA is a struggle for survival."

Rowena Whelan reports from Addis Ababa on the chances of Africa getting its economic act together at last

Kicking and screaming into the next Century

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 millennium?

"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 Afri-

can 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 be-

hind 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. □

Botha stuns Comores

sowetan 19/12/90
FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha has stunned the Comores by saying that the South African government never wanted to give refuge to mercenary leader Bob Denard and called on France to "take him off our hands".

Botha's bombshell came during his visit to the island last Thursday, in a speech at the Comorian Presidential palace broadcast by state radio and reported by the BBC.

He told Comorian president Abdul Djohar and others at a banquet that South Africa had only accepted Denard in order to "avoid a bloodbath" after Denard and his mercenary band failed to take absolute control of the country following the assassination of president Ahmed Abdullah Aderemane last November. - *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

Loans to Africa reach \$800m

WASHINGTON — In a burst of year-end activity, the World Bank has announced \$436.9m worth of loans to Africa, bringing the total for last week to nearly \$800m.

All the loans, except \$132m worth to Morocco, are on easy terms: 35 to 40 years to pay with long grace periods during which only interest is due, at about 1% a year. The loans to Morocco are for improvements to Casablanca harbour and are for 20 years, at 7.72%.

Mozambique is to receive \$53.7m to build schools and improve teaching. Lesotho will get \$21m to help small and medium-sized industry. Kenya gets \$144.8m to increase exports and improve farms and forests.

Zaire will be able to spend \$30.4m on health services, including family planning, and education. — Sapa-AP.

New spirit sweeps through Africa

By *Arnold Shankman*

1



Momovla massacre . . . a rebel executes a Libertain soldier. Despite such bloodshed, Africa enters 1991 with widespread optimism.

Picture: Reuter

Despite a savage civil war in Liberia, murderous clashes in South Africa's townships and major battles in Angola and Chad, 1990 will be remembered in Africa as a year when a new wind of change began to blow through the continent.

It was realized by a new generation of Africans that colonialism and apartheid were not to blame for all their ills, and they dared to stand up against home-grown oppression and demands to be free.

The near abolition of apartheid in South Africa and the unbanning of political parties, the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and return of exiles, were rays of light that brightened the lives of Africans throughout the continent, prompting them to fight for freedom from one-party dictatorships.

Multiparty democracy and its attendant freedoms were either won or promised in many countries south of the Sahara, such as South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, Zaire, Lesotho and Chad.

Civil war

Standing like rocks in this river of freedom was an old dictator in Kenya and a young king in Swaziland.

President Daniel arap Moi sent riot police to break up pro-democracy demonstrations, and in Swaziland, King Mswati did the same to protesting students. In Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe still plies to become a rock in the path of democracy, but has been forced to bide his time because he wants to implement his one-party state democratically.

After 15 years of bloody civil war in both Angola and Mozambique that basically revolved around the demand for an open political system, talks between

KEN VERNON looks back at the year gone by and at the changing face of Africa as more nations seek freedom.

the warring sides offered the prospect of peace — if not perpetuity.

No doubt the surge to freedom in Africa owes much to the similar trend in Europe. Many of the dictatorships in Africa have long been propped up by the Soviet bloc, and when it wobbled, its clients fell.

The end of Soviet bloc military and financial support for unpopular and bankrupt regimes, combined with recession in the West, meant that home-grown solutions had to be found for African problems.

But like politicians everywhere, African politicians did this reluctantly.

In Mozambique, the new "democratic" constitution notwithstanding roadblocks all along the path to be walked by future political parties.

In Zambia, President Kenneth Kaunda promised to cling tenaciously to power, scolding newspaper editors who dared report opposition views.

In Angola, both the MPLA government and Unita rebels talked peace while trying to win a war.

While the politicians fiddled, Africa grew poorer. Foreign aid, the mainstay of most African countries' economies, began to dry up, a trend that if continued will spell disaster to many countries, but possibly produce long-term economic solutions.

While hunger, starvation and violent death were immediate concerns in many areas, the

less dramatic but greater danger of AIDS stalked much of the continent. In some areas of central Africa, whole regions suffered population drops because of the ravages of the untreatable disease. Thousands of children were orphaned, and many more thousands were born with the virus — doomed to either die young or perpetuate the killer disease. Not all was gloom.

Tribal conflict

New ground was broken when a group of African countries formed a peacekeeping force and invaded Liberia to restore order — only to begin fighting both sides involved in the civil war.

The Liberian conflict evolved from a drive to rid the country of President Samuel Doe into a genocidal conflict between different tribes.

As Eastern European white faces disappeared from the continent, they were replaced by South African white faces.

The band of long-suffering but tireless diplomats of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, directed by the indefatigable Pk Botha, pressed opened doors long closed with a combination of political reform and financial clout.

On their trail followed South African Airways — to Kenya, Madagascar, Ivory Coast, Burundi, Congo and Zaire. The list continues to grow.

Aboard the SAA flights were South African businessmen, waving rands that suddenly looked very good next to Malagasy francs, for instance. All in all, a year that Africa will long remember.

Africa wipes away traces of communism

BRAZZAVILLE — Anyone wanting a souvenir of African Marxism had better hurry to Congo, where winds of change are blowing away traces of one of Africa's first communist regimes.

Signs saying "Fight the bourgeoisie" and Lenin posters are becoming a rarity. So are snippets of speeches by Congo's first Marxist president, the Guvvara-like Marien Ngouabi, which popped up on state radio for years after his assassination in 1977.

Many of the top leaders of the ruling Congolese Workers Party (PCT), founded by Ngouabi in 1969, have defected.

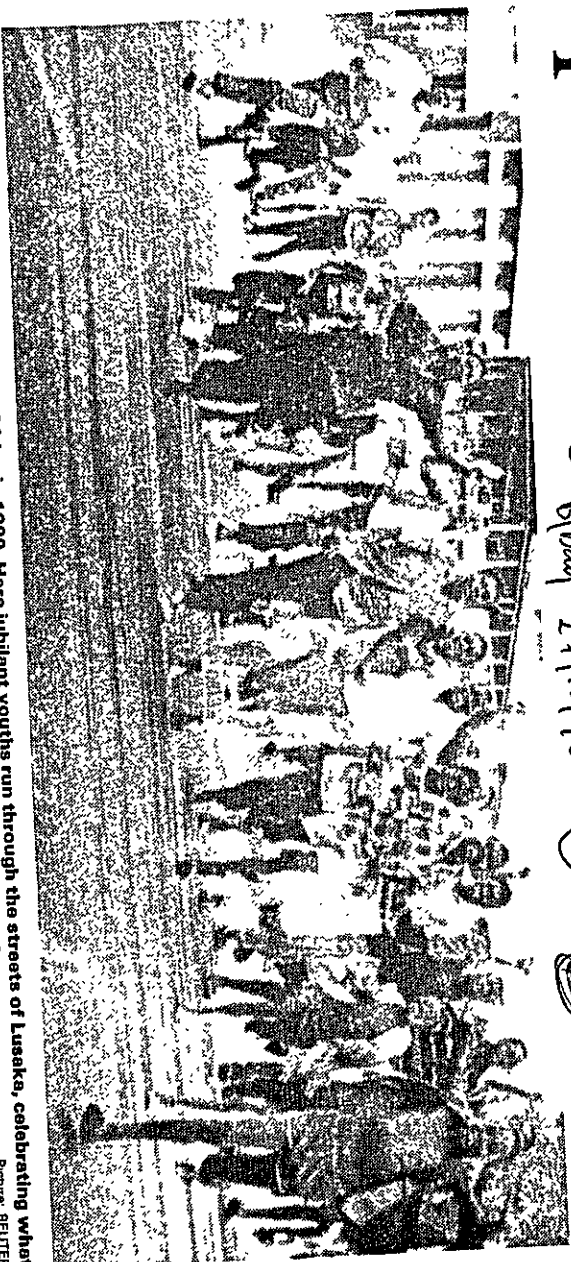
Taking their cue from President Denis Sassou-Nguesso's announcement earlier this year that opposition parties would be legalised from January 1, they have formed their own political organisations or have openly challenged the government. In all, 22 parties were officially registered by yesterday.

At a congress earlier in the month the ruling party dumped Marxism, embraced a social-democratic platform and endorsed multiparty politics.

Disarray in the PCT may herald greater change in Congo than other African countries which this year converted from one-party to multiparty systems, diplomats and Congolese analysts say.

"I'd compare it to what's happening in Eastern Europe," a Western diplomat said.

"With the collapse of the one-party



Political protest simmered throughout Africa in 1990. Here jubilant youths run through the streets of Lusaka, celebrating what they believed to be the fall of Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in a coup attempt in June. Picture: REUTER

system, the Congolese government as well as the ruling party have lost a great deal of legitimacy.

"There's no ideology or any popular appeal at all any more, yet the party's still there. . . . There has been a tremendous erosion of authority and legitimacy."

Other African countries which made the switch this year have not faced such a severe test.

Gabon, paralysed by strikes before adopting multiparty rule, elected a new national assembly dominated by President Omar Bongo's party. Some

opposition leaders hardly bothered to campaign and were suspected of running to get government funds.

Ivory Coast's President Felix Houphouet-Boigny trounced his first challenger for the presidency and a month later his party swept the national assembly poll.

Benin adopted a new constitution providing for multiparty democracy in the formerly Marxist country, but analysts say President Mathieu Kerekou may well weather the changes.

Congo, according to Congolese as

well as Western analysts, may break the mould.

The list of deserters from the PCT reads like a who's who of the country's elite, including former central committee members, prime ministers and the head of Congo's labour confederation.

"We weren't born Marxist, but the party tried to remove all the religious ideas from our head, like wiping something clean with a sponge," said Jean-Michel Bokamba-Yangouna, head of the Congolese Labour Confederation

(CSC) and until last month a PCT central committee member.

"Now we are doing the same with Marxism," said Bokamba-Yangouna, who in September blocked a government attempt to impose new leadership on the union and annul the results of a union congress.

The showdown led to a general strike which all but shut down the country and which diplomats said proved the government's loss of control.

Since then, Congo has been hit by a wave of strikes.

IMF and World Bank missions due to visit Congo in October and November to negotiate new loan agreements postponed their visits.

"There wasn't anyone at the finance ministry," one banking source said. "They were down to 30% of normal staff."

Western diplomats and business executives who monitor Congolese politics say Sassou-Nguesso has staying power, despite the challenge facing him.

Before the PCT renounced its ruling party status, he got the PCT-dominated assembly to alter the constitution to let him serve until 1994.

But many Congolese object.

"Every time he goes out these days, people yell, 'Thief, thief,' a government worker said. "They want him to step down, but because of all the bad things he's done, he can't." — Sapa-Reuters.

Africa looks inward for its economic survival

B/Doy 2 7/12/90

AFRICAN leaders are realising that the continent's survival lies in greater regional co-operation, and that SA is an important part of its future.

SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) deputy director-general Ron Haywood says there is a growing awareness of the need for Africa to stand on its own. This was the message from delegates to the recent Preferential Trade Area of Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) meeting in Swaziland.

There is a trend towards regional trading blocs, and this could lead to greater world competition. Also, a breakdown in GATT negotiations could destabilise trade patterns and result in trading blocs becoming increasingly difficult to enter.

Changes in Eastern Europe and the economic slowdown in OECD countries could restrict the availability of world funds. Many African leaders believe that foreign aid and investment could decline.

But Haywood says despite these predictions, one major donor country has increased its aid budget to

sub-Saharan African countries by 40% to more than \$500m a year. Other donors appreciate the need to continue supporting the region.

In some cases it appears the problem is not so much a shortage of money as the lack of suitable investment or development projects, or the ability to motivate these strongly enough.

In the long term the OAU foresees one trading bloc, but Haywood says Africa is too large and diverse for this. Regional co-operation should first be improved. "But this will not be an easy. It took Europe 35 years to become a trading bloc and there are still problems."

Haywood does not expect to see the same extent of deregulation and sophistication in Africa as in Europe's move to a common market.

Existing African regional groupings include the PTA, Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the Southern African Customs Union, the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) and a grouping of

ZILLA EFFRAT

North African countries.

Africa's export markets are shrinking and commodity prices, particularly for raw minerals, are under pressure, but much scope exists to boost intraregional trade.

For example, only 10% of the 19-member PTA's trade is intraregional and a mere 3.4% of SA's foreign trade is with Africa.

Haywood says intraregional trade makes sense because of the geographic proximity and existing infrastructure. The liberalisation of trade between countries and simplifying and eliminating unnecessary barriers could greatly speed up trade between nations.

But African countries often sell the same products, like agricultural produce and minerals, and the continent has not developed its infrastructure and industrial base adequately. These have to be built up and in-

ternationally competitive products have to be produced. Joint ventures could assist in giving sufficient economies of scale enabling some industries to become global players.

Regions also have to start sharing their scarce resources and particularly skilled manpower. R & D and advisory services.

Haywood says a good start to regional co-operation could include areas such as electricity, air links, rail and road networks and intraregional tourism, which could be expanded reasonably quickly.

He says: "Africa is in a hurry. It has realised that it has serious problems and is realistic about these."

Africa's problems include soaring population growth rates in the face of low economic growth, as well as a large and rising external debt burden. Within the PTA, more than 50% of export earnings go to service external debt and this debt makes up about 89% of the areas' GDP.

Haywood adds that Africa's risk to reward ratio for investment is probably one of the most unfavourable in

the world. Instability is the largest inhibitor of foreign investment in southern Africa.

For the region to maximise growth, peace in Angola and Mozambique is considered a prerequisite. "The positive message is that the superpowers, USSR and the US, which were previously at loggerheads in the region, are now working together to bring about its stability."

PTA and SADCC leaders have stated that once SA's political reform process is complete, it will be invited to join these groupings. South Africans have already been invited to recent PTA and PTA chamber of commerce and industry meetings as observers, something Haywood says would have been unheard of six months ago.

However, he cautions that SA must not be seen to be, nor will it be, the dominating force in the region, but merely a valuable partner. Without improved regional co-operation and without SA being part of it, sub-Saharan Africa will not achieve its potential.

LETTERS

People want to be themselves, says The Economist

Tribalism rises as old European empires fall

TRIBALISM, say self-satisfied Europeans, is a falling of backward peoples, most of them in Africa. African leaders too often agree.

They say they must hold on to power without elections because, given a free vote, each constituency would become an ethnic lobby, each region would oppose the very existence of the state.

Their nations need strong leaders (meaning themselves) because they are fragile, the artificial creations of failed empires.

Now Europe's last internal empire is falling apart, and in awkward consequence Eastern Europe's tribes are reviving.

Yugoslavia bursts with intense hatreds. Slovaks vote to rescue their language from Czech domination and then, when the Hungarians agree, grumble because Hungarian-speakers are given similar linguistic rights.

Moldavians vote to leave the Soviet Union and join the people in Romania who speak the same language; so Moldavia's Russian-speakers recruit into their protest movement the Gagauz, Christians who speak a sort of Turkish. Tribalism rules.

Spain 28/1/79

Africa's emerging nations were put together by European empire-builders who then went home. Europe's own re-emerging nations have a triple inheritance, from the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires that went phut in 1918, the Brief German one that went bang in 1945, and the Russian one that is still fizzing out.

Freud after centuries of unifying authority, people want to be themselves.

Religious and linguistic fault-lines appear: some of them traditional, more of them invented to

justify the ancestral pastime of detesting the man next door.

European tribes dignify themselves with the title "national minorities" — meaning peoples of different language, culture or religion within a common border.

But some of Western Europe is learning how to deal with such tribal passions.

The Spanish let the Catalans run their region. The French, who in the 1790s invented the modern nation-state, acknowledge the existence of the "Corsican people", thus officially admitting that Napoleon was not really a French-

man after all.

Separatism thrives when there is something hard to separate from. After four decades of peace, West Europeans have gone relatively soft on national identity, in favour of something more pragmatic.

If the Scots or the Catalans or the South Tyroleans go off on their own one fine Sunday, most of the Spanish and English and Italians will gladly shake their hands in Brussels on Monday.

Tribes resisted nation-states that tried to run everything. In

states that defer to some higher order, who really cares?

The craving for statehood remains strongest among those who have been told they could not form a state. Africans and South Slavs defend frontiers they were forbidden to build. Arabs dream of a unity they long ago lost; Iraq invoked the memory when swallowing Kuwait. Imperialism was repressive.

Communism was repressive. The smoke emerging from their funeral pyres is that of tribalism. Nothing damps it down like a Community. □

apart

By Robin Drew
Africa News Service

SA ports in line for boost

Spec 28/12/80

HARARE — Zimbabwean importers may make greater use of South African ports if the Mozambican authorities persist with a new system of pre-payment in hard currency for goods railed from their ports to destinations in neighbouring countries.

The new system is due to come into effect on Tuesday despite strenuous objections from users of the port of Beira.

The Zimbabwean government has been kept informed by the Beira Corridor Group, whose managing director, David Zausmer, said it would be a very sad day if use of the ports of Beira, Maputo and Nacala diminished.

Mr Zausmer said the Harare government was exasperated by the short notice and by the fact that the decision had been taken without consultation. He was still trying to ascertain whether the decision was a rigid one and what exactly was meant by "pre-payment".

It seemed that the Mozambican railways, which already owned the National Railways of Zimbabwe a substantial amount, not only wanted payment of hard currency for rail-age on their system but also for raiilage inside Zimbabwe. He thought that shippers of containers would be more likely to use South African ports if the new system came into operation, as it would be easier to administer the transport of containers through Durban.

On other cargoes where the costing was more marginal, they would probably continue to use Mozambican ports.

Of concern is the future of fertiliser shipments due in Beira soon.

Mr Zausmer said: "We must assume the fertiliser will wend its way along the railways. We must wait and see."

Beira port-users are also known to be concerned at delays at the port, at the loss of efficiency along the railway at the port, and at the loss of efficiency along the railway system in Mozambique where there have been numerous derailments since October.

It's desperate: UN pleads for food for Africa

Star 29/12/90
NAIROBI — The United Nations issued an urgent appeal yesterday for food aid to avert a massive famine brought on by wars and drought across Africa.

A report by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) warned that food aid needs for 1991 were expected to increase sharply.

Deteriorating

The report said two successive years of drought had caused crop failures in countries bordering the Sahel, from Mauritania in the west to Ethiopia in the east.

"Of most concern is the rapidly deteriorating situation in Sudan and northern Ethiopia," it said.

It warned that widespread loss of life would be inevitable unless nearly two million tons of food aid arrived next year.

Starvation caused by drought and civil wars in Ethiopia and Sudan killed an estimated 1.7 million

people in the 1980s.

The report urged support for speedy deliveries of food to populations starving as a result of displacement by wars in several countries, particularly Angola, Liberia and Mozambique.

The 10-month-old civil war in Liberia has caused the displacement of 850 000 people who now rely on food aid.

An estimated 110 000 tons of food are required for a UN programme in Angola.

Worries

Almost two million refugees returning home to Mozambique face serious food shortages, but only about 50 percent of the 60 000 tons of food pledged by donors for 1990/91 has arrived.

The shortfall reflects what the report argues may be a sign that worries over food shortages in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe will divert assistance away from African countries.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Trade drive to Africa

MANY black African countries are already responding enthusiastically to economic advances from South Africa, the former apartheid pariah.

Despite black Africa's ideological suspicions, almost every country is ready to welcome full economic co-operation the moment apartheid is ended.

Perhaps the most concrete example of the new economic trend can be seen in the relationship between South Africa and Madagascar. President FW de Klerk

SOUTH Africa has launched a full scale economic drive in black Africa, proclaiming apartheid has ended. It says sanctions should end too and wants to cash in on African markets as soon as it can. Its initiatives are succeeding.

paid a state visit there in August, with a retinue of businessmen in tow, and returned after signing a tourism and air links agreement.

South Africa's Sun International Leisure group is considering building a luxury hotel in Antananarivo, the Malagasy capital. Johannesburg mining companies have also expressed interest in nickel, chrome, bauxite, graphite and marble deposits in Malagasy.

Mozambique is another country that has long been the target of South African economic penetration. A South African trade mission is already well established in Maputo. South Africa, former backer of Renamo rebels, has suddenly changed into the rich neighbour keen to invest.

The trade mission reports there are over 100 applications a month from South African businessmen eager to find investment opportunities in the born-again economy.

South Africa, one of the main sponsors of the Cabora Bassa dam when it was first built in 1977, hoped it would supply power to its industry. But its backing of Renamo resulted in continual disruption of the supply. Now South Africa has sufficient confidence in the new entrante to spend R50-million in the dam's reconstruction.

Ultimately it hopes Mozambique will be able to supply 10 percent of its electrical power from the dam. South African troops are now actually guarding the

dam while reconstruction goes ahead. Already, as Mozambique privatises, South African firms are arriving to buy rich land for plantation projects. Other businessmen are moving fast into hotels and tourism.

Trade is already increasing under the bilateral agreement signed in 1989. Traditional Mozambican exports of prawns, fish and furniture are being supplemented by synthetic and cotton textiles, blankets, clothes, cashew nuts, nut-oil, asbestos sheets, tyres and inner tubes.

Even Zambia, once the target of armed strikes and economic strangulation by its powerful southern neighbour, is now developing new relations.

In August the Zambian government announced that traders could start using routes through South African ports to import and export essentials. The move was welcomed by the business community, which knows South Africa provides cheaper and more efficient transport and looks forward to the day when trade can be liberalised too.

The Zambian government has also lifted restrictions on a number of manufactured and agricultural goods that can be exported to South Africa. This is seen as a covert way of lifting sanctions without doing so officially.

South Africa is now so confident in its new economic drive in black Africa that it almost ensnared Kenya. A deal between Kenya Airways and South African Airways that would have been profitable to both companies and countries was actually signed.

Flights were advertised and due to start on December 1 and some tickets were sold.

Under the agreement the airlines were to co-operate in joint maintenance, catering, security, ground handling, and the recruitment and training of staff.

But when ANC leader Nelson Mandela stopped over in Kenya on his way to Japan, he persuaded President Daniel Arap Moi to stop the deal. Mandela insisted the ANC had not been contacted and wanted sanctions against South Africa to be maintained.

Moi recognised the political issue at stake and ordered that the air link should be cancelled "until apartheid is dismantled".

Everyone knows both economies would benefit from a fast lifting of the ban, as will other African economies when South African co-operation becomes a reality. - NEW AFRICAN

World watches as Africa starves

Star 3/12/90

①

By RICHARD DOWNDEN

I know that sometime soon, probably in March, I am going to step off a plane in Africa and drive a short way to visit people who have no food. If things go well it will only take me a day to reach them — from London, that is. I will look at them and try not to stare at the inhuman matchstick limbs and the tumoured stomachs. I will try not to look into the eyes because the eyes are human. They are not angry, they do not beg, they appear to be waiting for something.

Someone will take pictures. I will try to write down a few of their names and the names of their children. I will talk to some of them through local aid workers and try to decipher their answers to the question "How did it happen again?" I will get back in the car, take a furtive swig from a water bottle — it is screaming hot and dry — and head back to an air-conditioned hotel for a beer and a meal. Then I will try to file a story about what I have seen.

And it seems I will probably have to do the same in 1992 and 1993 ... and it is now clear that famine will be a semi-regular feature of parts of Africa for the foreseeable future.

When the great famine in the Horn of Africa of 1984/5 broke, the aid experts believed that this was a blip on the path to development. Aid agencies turned from agricultural projects and education programmes to provide food for the starving.

It was an infuriating step backwards. Oxfam, for example — the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief — was originally founded to cope with disaster, but in the early 1960s moved on from relief to de-

velopment.

When famine returned in 1984, Bob Geldof launched Band Aid. Most of the R300 million raised was never needed to buy food, so Band Aid turned to development, and the money on projects aimed at preventing a recurrence of famine.

But hopes that development would end the need for emergency relief have been dashed.

1991's famine areas are Sudan, Ethiopia, possibly Somalia, Mozambique, Angola and Liberia. There is no common denominator. War is the direct cause in the last three countries.

In the Ethiopian highlands, drought and war have combined. In Sudan, drought has been added to incompetence and the disintegration of government to set the scene for the country's worst famine.

In much of Africa, people have always had to face lean years. As soon as the crops failed, a complex and well-tryed strategy of survival came into play. In the Ethiopian highlands, for example, men migrate in search of work or begin petty trading.

These strategies have worn thin in recent years. War has destroyed markets and trade routes.

The optimists believe that if the wars are ended, the problems can be solved.

But more and more development experts believe that even if politics are removed from the equation, there are deeper issues that we barely understand.

They suggest that parts of Africa are trapped by a combination of environmental, demographic, political and social factors which are both feeding off and feeding war. — The Independent News Service. □

Bid to stop thousands starving

LONDON — Save the Children said today the world must act in the first weeks of 1991 to avert catastrophic famine in Africa and that even food sent now would be too late to stop tens of thousands dying.

"Some 15 million people are now facing severe food shortages in the Horn of Africa alone," the charity said.

"A combination of drought and civil war means that the

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scale of the famine is widely predicted to be worse than that of 1984/85 when over one million people died.

"Even if food aid is delivered now, many tens of thousands of people will die."

But Save the Children said lessons had been learnt from the famine of the mid-1980s. Mechanisms to deliver food were in place.

"If food aid and support for transport and distribu-

tion is mobilised quickly by the international community, a human tragedy on a similar scale may still be averted."

Save the Children and other charities are making a New Year Crisis in Africa appeal to the world.

Angola, Mozambique and Liberia are also cited as danger areas. — Sapa-Reuter.

● World watches Africa starve - Page 7.

1 350 killed in Ethiopia, claim rebels

NAIROBI - Eritrean rebels said their forces killed 1 350 Ethiopian government troops and wounded another 2 600 in fighting that began last Wednesday.

The secret radio of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, monitored in

Nairobi on Saturday, said Ethiopian forces launched an offensive "on all fronts".

But the rebels, in a strong counter-offensive, had neutralised the government attacks in the northern Ethiopian region, the station added.

The main fighting was reported to have been around the Eritrean capital, Asmara, surrounded by the EPLF for nearly a year.

Ethiopian officials, who do not normally comment on rebel successes, have said nothing on the latest situation around Asmara.

But diplomatic sources in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, said fierce fighting had been taking place. - Sapa-Reuter.

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