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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

OAU PRESIDENT ON SOUTH AFRICA, ECONOMIC CRISIS, DEBT

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 11-12 Oct 86 p 3

[Interview with Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Organization of African Unity, by Bara Diouf. First paragraph is LE SOLEIL introduction]

[Text] In spite of an extremely full schedule after his long trip, President Denis Sassou-Nguesso found the time late yesterday evening to grant the following interview to our president-director general.

[LE SOLEIL] Back from the UN, where you made the voice of Africa heard, and from North America, where you had important meetings, how do you view the evolution of the situation in southern Africa? Africa's critical economic situation? The debt?

[Denis Sassou-Nguesso] I must say that I have returned from my visit to America satisfied with the contacts we had with the United Nations, the United States and Canada. I sensed that African problems are being more and more clearly perceived and even understood. Whether on South Africa or on the continent's critical situation, which had already been the subject of a special session of the United Nations last May, I sensed that our partners and those with whom we spoke were concerned about these problems and resolved to bring about a solution to them.

On the tragedy of South Africa and the associated problems of the sanctions to apply against Pretoria, we witnessed, to our pleasure, something very important.

The vote by the American Senate and House of Representatives in favor of sanctions, spectacularly bypassing the veto of the President of the United States against these sanctions, marks a noteworthy evolution in American public opinion, a turning point that could be decisive in the fight against apartheid.

There is a profound symbolism in this decision, we are pleased to point out. The votes are not insignificant. In fact, they are decisions by the authentic representatives of the American people, approved by an overwhelming majority, that compel the American administration to align itself with the positions of Africa.

In the United States as in Canada, the population is sensitive to the problems of apartheid and wishes to see it eradicated quickly and to see blacks accede to political power in their own country. Canada saw its government adopt advanced and courageous stands in the fight against apartheid. But the trend observed in the United States seems more significant and more decisive to us. On this question, we can therefore conclude that the fight against apartheid is undergoing a marked radicalization in the world.

Concerning the continent's critical situation, from our discussions and meetings at the United Nations secretariat, from our contacts in America with governmental, political, economic and business representatives, we sensed a true will to help Africa to turn its economic situation around.

At the United Nations, I was able to ascertain that the follow-up mechanisms are in place. Ambassador Lewis of Canada has been assigned to ensure their coordination within the General Secretariat. Contacts have been established with the international institutions and with states to obtain concrete commitments.

At the World Bank, measures have been adopted and one senses that officials at all levels have rallied their efforts.

This places us in a position to reiterate that in Africa, it is the duty of the OAU's member nations to honor the commitments they have made. Those with whom I have spoken believe--and I share their points of view to a large extent--that Africa must set the example she has pledged to set and that the national recovery programs adopted by each nation must reflect the plans submitted to the United Nations. If Africa keeps her word, the international community will act in her favor. We must indeed prove to the world that we are determined to rely on our own strengths first.

As for the debt--it remains a difficult problem. We have sensed, not refusal, but hesitation and apprehension among our creditors. It is our conviction that on this specific problem, we must go deeper in our reflections in search of a solution. Within the framework of the OAU's governing committee, which is to meet this December in Brazzaville, we will begin serious reflection on this burning question on which the recovery and progress of our economies depend.

We are now establishing contacts to bring together the African managers and specialists capable of showing us new directions. Contacts of the same nature are being established with the World Bank on this same question. The problem is not yet solved, but it remains on the agenda of both the creditors and the debtors.

[Question] The question of Chad, which you began dealing with even before becoming president of the OAU, has recently taken sudden new turns with the government gaining support, but also with the violent fighting among factions of the GUNT [National Union Transition Government] in the Libyan-occupied area. Are you considering other initiatives concerning this burning issue?

[Answer] The Chadian question is a delicate one. As we study it and try to solve it, we must have patience. We must not become discouraged in the search for the ways and means of definitely bringing an end to this problem, to help our Chadian brothers find a definitive solution to this tragedy. I think we have not yet established sufficient contacts to permit new initiatives in the coming days and weeks. Thus, we are in what might be called the contact phase, at the end of which we will know whether any initiatives are possible and propitious and if so, which one?

After two unfortunate attempts in Brazzaville to break through the impasse on the Chadian drama, you will understand why we cannot take the responsibility of a third initiative without taking all precautions. Essential information about what is happening in the north is lacking. But, know that the will to succeed in reconciling the Chadian brothers remains and will never leave us.

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POLICIES TO COMBAT DESERTIFICATION OUTLINED

Humans Blamed for Expansion of Desert

Brussels NORD SUD in French Nov-Dec 86 p 8

[Article: "The Desert Does Not Spread; It Is Created"]

[Text] In Africa, the loss of land that deteriorates to the point of becoming desert continues at a rate of 6 million hectares a year, nearly twice the area of Belgium! NORD SUD now focuses on that problem. Sylviane Cannio, Dan De Vos and Yvon Mors have analyzed the causes of the phenomenon, solutions and proposals made by the EEC, UNSO [United Nations Sahel Organization], the OAU, COMIDES [Ministerial Committee for Development of the Sahel] and agronomists such as Rene Dumont, B.P. Louant and Pierre Vincke. This initial analysis examines policies rather than the means used by financial organizations. The latter aspect will be the subject of another series of articles to be published in the coming edition of NORD SUD.

The deterioration of natural resources has expanded to a considerable degree in Africa. It is manifested spectacularly in the arid and semi-arid zones: in the Sahel, but also in the densely populated regions or mountainous areas such as Rwanda, Burundi, the high plateaus of Guinea, Kenya, Ethiopia and so on. This deterioration is marked by a drop in the natural fertility of soils, their erosion, impoverishment and finally, the disappearance of the plant cover, along with other things. Desertification, in the strict sense of the term, is the final phase.

Overuse

Observations have shown that even on the edge of deserts, the process of desertification mainly occurs in populated areas. It is man who is the major agent of desertification, even in Sahelian-Sudanese areas where climatic uncertainties play an important role. It would therefore be erroneous to believe in a kind of fatal destiny. Actually, the desert is not expanding; it is being created. Of course, the precariousness of natural resources in tropical zones and climatic disturbances such as drought help make Africa particularly vulnerable. But the scope and severity of the phenomenon essentially result from a profound imbalance in its development. The shift from a subsistence to a monetary economy and the population explosion have caused a considerable expansion of cultivated areas and new demands put upon

the land. The suddenness of such evolutions has upset the balance between man and the natural resources exploited. Without exception, farmers and herdsmen have been unable to adapt their technical practices to the need for change. The general response has consisted in an expansion of land used, with all that this implies in terms of deforestation and the use of marginal land. Furthermore, we are witnessing an intensification of crops with no concern for rebuilding the natural fertility of the land, whence these phenomena, observable everywhere: exhaustion of the land, overgrazing and deforestation, which, if care is not taken, could lead to irreversible situations of desertification.

This is the first explanation of the phenomenon of the deterioration of the natural capital of Africa. Unable to adapt his methods or management to the rapid evolution in needs, man overexploits. The excess population, compared with resources, destroys traditional balances and finally creates a desert. Consequently, the strategy to fight desertification must be based on man and his management capabilities.

#### Action Priorities Listed

Brussels NORD SUD in French Nov-Dec 86 pp 9-11

[Article by Y. Mors: "The EEG: Priorities of Action"]

[Text] For the European Economic Community Commission, action must be organized around the main cause of the "desertification" phenomenon: the imbalance of development. (Footnote 1) ("Protection of Natural Resources: The Fight Against Desertification in Africa," Communication to the Council Commission and European Parliament)

The intensification of agriculture is the first thing that comes to mind. But how can one reach that stage without overusing the land and consequently, exhausting it? Attention must concentrate first of all on rain crops. They supply most of Africa's agricultural production and concern the vast majority of its peasants. One must observe that to date, on the whole, technical progress has been introduced in an imbalanced manner, giving priority to production for export and considering other crops only secondarily. At the same time, the intensification of rain crops must depend on an integrated approach to the farming system taking all forms of production, subsistence agriculture and profit into account, integrating livestock raising into agriculture and replacing the multiple-vocation tree in this context.

However, let us not be deceived: Even if there is a whole range of measures already drafted, dissemination is very difficult. How is one to persuade farmers to improve, through costly, difficult action, land that does not belong to them individually, especially when individual allocation can be constantly modified? Consequently, emphasis will initially be placed on small, inexpensive improvements, small irrigation dams, for example.

A livestock-raising policy is also essential if one wants to master the phenomenon of desertification. Nomadic herding, as a mode of extensive

livestock raising, is in fact an important factor in the deterioration of the soil and reduction of the plant cover by overgrazing. In order to fight such overpasturing, one must promote techniques rationalizing the use of pastureland and increasing its capacity, by organizing pasture rotation with the planting of shrubs and forage plants, for example. Nevertheless, in order to be effective, livestock raising policies must be reoriented toward a more active participation of breeders. Once again, all of this requires profound changes in ways of thinking.

Protection of forests and reforestation also occupy a prime place in a program aimed at preserving the environment. Too frequently, poor management of existing forests is the cause of fires, overcutting by lumbermen and foresters, which results in the disappearance of wooded areas. In order to change the situation, direct action should implement forest management policies intensifying surveillance and organizing exploitation. Indirect action should also be brought to bear to reduce pressure on the forests: on the one hand, by promoting crops that reduce the need to clear land and, on the other hand, through a more rational use of firewood and the development of alternative energies. One should cite the example of the "green poles" in Senegal and Mauritania, aimed at intensifying small-scale reforestation throughout the Senegal River Valley.

The fight against erosion is another element of any far-sighted action aimed at developing production in rural areas. Examples of possibilities are numerous: defending potential reserves by control of fires and access of humans and animals; the restoration or creation of mixed pastureland and woodlands in areas of cultivated land; the reforestation of hills; the harnessing of springs; the creation of natural hedges; and the systematic reforestation of trailsides, roadsides and the edges of canals. These are all activities that must never be superimposed on local circumstances, but on the contrary, be integrated into and supported by the local population, especially by making rank-and-file groups responsible.

Population policies are also of cardinal importance in the problem of desertification. A birth control policy is therefore essential, however delicate it may be, given established ways of thinking. The population growth rate in Africa is extremely high, an average of 3 percent annually, going as high as 4 percent in some countries. These rates continue to rise and at that speed, the African population doubles in less than 25 years.

In most African countries, the population increase is expressed by increased pressure on natural resources. Consequently, the demographic question can no longer be avoided, especially when dealing with a problem of desertification, the product of an imbalance between man and his environment. It has therefore become obvious that this demographic explosion makes development precarious and that one cannot, under such conditions, hope to see a "natural transition," which is itself affected by the development of education, income, and so on.

The European Commission intends to discuss this problem with authorities of the ACP nations [African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (associated with

the EEC)] and it claims to be willing, insofar as it is able, to lend its support to suitable policies and programs in this field.

In addition, measures to accompany or encourage migrations are essential. The people in question react spontaneously to the man-resource imbalance, either by conquering new lands inside or outside the country or by the rural exodus to the cities. Man flees from the land which can no longer feed him sufficiently. When migrations occur spontaneously, it is extremely desirable for governments to accompany them with other measures ensuring that the conditions for the use of new land will be matched by measures protecting their natural fertility and that, internationally speaking, migrations will be legal.

Wherever migratory movements do not occur naturally, because of certain natural or sociocultural obstacles, they can be encouraged, particularly by the creation of favorable conditions such as the opening up of plots of land, different types of aid to migrants, the granting of certain land rights in exchange for commitments which migrants would make regarding the management of natural resources. Whatever the case, we must ensure that this type of migration is organized on a voluntary basis: One will encourage people to leave, not force them, and the conditions created must be well-thought-out and organized.

This rapid review of the European Commission report clearly shows that the fight against desertification will not be the result of isolated actions. For example, trees alone will not overcome the desert. It will therefore be necessary to implement overall policies and programs attacking the problem from diverse angles that are carefully coordinated.

All of these efforts must naturally be accompanied by technical and financial means, which will be the work, not only of central and decentralized administrations, but also of independent organizations of the ONG [nongovernmental organizations] type. In other words, the fight against desertification will not constitute a separate program. For Africa, it will be one of the key elements in the development process in general.

#### Plan for Canadian Cooperation

Brussels NORD SUD in French Nov-Dec 86 pp 11-13

[Interview with Sandelle Schrimshaw, ACIDI adviser in charge of the Sahel Plan, by D. de Vos; date and place not given]

[Text] In Arabic, "Sahel" means "the edge of the desert." It is an edge that is constantly shifting because every year, the desert mercilessly expands. Squeezed in between the Sahara and the bush, the Sahel covers approximately 2.5 million km<sup>2</sup>, five times the area of France. Here, the balance between man, livestock and vegetation is fragile.

In 1972 and 1973, tragedy struck in the form of a relentless drought. The situation was catastrophic. Harvests were nearly nonexistent and starvation

became the rule. Moved by so much suffering, the international community responded by sending emergency aid and funds for rehabilitation. Over \$1 billion poured in. It was during these painful times that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) joined the ranks of emergency aid donors in Africa for the first time.

In the Sahel, our representative met with Sandelle Schrimshaw, CADI adviser in charge of the Sahel Plan, a new program of Canadian bilateral assistance to fight desertification.

[Question] How did Canadian cooperation in Africa's Sahel come about?

[Answer] Canadian cooperation in this part of the world is recent. Its first action in the Sahel dates from 1974, the year of the great drought. During that period of international mobilization, Canada participated in the emergency aid. Next, the CIDA became involved in projects of bilateral cooperation with Niger, Burkina Faso, Upper Volta at the time, and Mali. Regarding our own assistance, we began to reflect and tried to analyze our approach to development. That is why a consulting firm outside of our agencies was entrusted with the task of examining our commitment in Africa.

[Question] What are the main lines of that investigation?

[Answer] They saw that our efforts were too scattered, that our knowledge of the milieu was limited. Participation of the people was greatly inadequate. Furthermore, our coordination with other donors was nil. Regarding equipment, we had difficulties in supplying spare parts in a reasonable period of time, having no post-sales services locally.

[Question] Did that study truly lead to a reorientation of your cooperation?

[Answer] We analyzed the experts' report very closely. We considered all information, proceeding case by case. We made a series of proposals aimed at improving what we were doing. This self-criticism enabled us to reorient our presence in the field.

[Question] What form did that reorientation take?

[Answer] In addition to our strategy of intervention applied to every country in particular, it appears essential to channel our cooperation toward a more overall program based on the fundamental problems of the Sahel on the whole. The fruit of 10 years of concerted action and experience, the new Canadian program in the Sahel is intended to be a coherent plan of relevant action aimed at the survival of the region and dealing more specifically with the No 1 problem in the Sahel: desertification.

[Question] What does the new program consist of?

[Answer] It is designed to make a maximum contribution to the establishment of a new socioecological balance in the region. The result is the Sahel Plan,

which outlines three major areas of intervention: stabilizing the plant cover, the food balance and development of energy.

[Question] What are its objectives?

[Answer] Undertaking reforestation, stabilization of the dunes and rationalizing livestock raising in order to protect the plant cover. Achieving a food balance presumes action to help agricultural production, irrigation, livestock raising, fishing, storage, marketing, plant protection, rural trails and community health. This can be done through the development of small irrigated areas, storage of grain at the village level, conservation of crops and harvests, action aimed at improving the supply and marketing, orchards, market garden crops, and so on. Finally, it seeks to develop alternative and renewable energy supplies.

And yet, predictions for the Sahel are not encouraging: deforestation and aridity of the soil, blocked livestock production and inadequate food production. The development projects undertaken in the field of bilateral and multilateral cooperation are as numerous as they are burdensome. And yet, results are far from satisfactory.

[Answer] That is true; there are no miracle solutions. And yet, it seems that there is a lack of attention and participation on the part of the village population, which shows how uninvolved the people feel. If there is distrust, there is definitely a reason for it!

It is not because I am a woman that I say that (she said smiling), but you have to admit that African women are the key to economic life in the villages. For me, that must be the source of hope because in Africa, women are more open to change than men.

[Question] Do you feel that the people, both sedentary and nomadic, are ready to become involved? Do they truly want to contribute to the necessary efforts? Are they capable of doing so and do they have the means?

[Answer] The main protagonist in such strategies must be the farmer himself. He is capable, without any doubt. As for the increased participation of women in development, the evolution takes on a very special significance when one thinks of the preponderant role that women play in essential fields such as agricultural production, hygiene, nutrition, community health and education. Furthermore, their organizations have demonstrated their ability to implement viable policies adapted to the different national contexts. They therefore have the means to do so.

[Question] There must also be a profound change in ways of thinking. Will these old habits be able to change?

[Answer] Like any environment, the Sahel has a diversity of interests, some of which may engender conflict. There is in fact a real opposition between the interests of the nomads and those of the sedentary people, as well as

between those of the urban and rural population, between the choices of the modern and traditional sectors. Given this perspective, selection of the target population groups therefore becomes a choice of development. The policy that we (CIDA) practice is to help the neediest people and, within this group, the most neglected segments.

[Question] Are you not afraid of favoring some over others?

[Answer] The Sahel Plan is to be a long-term solution. The three main areas of intervention are completed by support activities that include the development of all human resources without distinction, a village water policy and support for existing transportation systems. In a period of drought, nomads migrate to the south. Nomadic herders have even tried to grow crops out of season. For others, as soon as the situation improves, they go back to the desert. Forced to protect themselves from the same threats, the Sahelian people are forced to adapt.

[Question] Do you believe it is still possible to bring the Sahel back from the desert?

[Answer] If we succeed in initiating a real dialogue at the political level and real cooperation between donors in order to begin a development process based on the people and for the people, nothing is lost. Only at that price will the region be able to ward off the threats to its future and the Sahel be able to ensure the survival of its peoples and their environment. Canada has already tackled the job.

#### Strategy of UNSO

Brussels NORD SUD in French Nov-Dec 86 pp 13-14

[Article by D. De Vos]

[Text] The United Nations has not remained indifferent to this unprecedented catastrophe in the history of Africa. It set up UNSO (United Nations Sahel Organization), the only UN entity entrusted with this highly specialized mandate, which is the fight against desertification. UNSO helps draft strategies and apply them in the hardest hit African countries.

Following the great drought of 1973, the countries belonging to CILSS (Footnote 1) (Inter-State Committee To Fight the Drought in the Sahel, which includes eight countries: Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Gambia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Chad) asked the United Nations to provide them with longer-lasting aid than only the emergency assistance linked with the drought. The secretary general of the United Nations responded to the appeal by setting up the United Nations Office for the Sahelian Region: UNSO..

The main task of the organization was to administer a special fund which the General Assembly had set up in the hope that it would take in the resources needed to face the problems of the Sahel. Set up in New York, how can this organization wage effective action in the vast stretches of the African Sahel?

It would do so, first of all, by setting up a small but solid team of experts, some of whom would be from the Sahel. All were gifted with exceptional knowledge of the many aspects of the situation in the field. In addition, the modesty of the organization gave its action greater operational flexibility. Five years later, UNSO was attached to the UNDP (United Nations Development Program), which asked donors for help and made its vast network of foreign offices available to it.

UNSO's first mission would be to participate in the fight against the drought waged by CILSS countries. The second mission started in 1977, following the UN Conference on Desertification. In 1978, the UN Program for the Environment entrusted UNSO with the task of coordinating the campaigns in 15 African countries located the length of the continent. Today, UNSO is being called upon to intervene, not only in the Sahel, but throughout the Sudanese-Sahelian region, meaning in 22 African countries.

### Strategy for Survival

The UNSO strategy includes several major aspects to be promoted simultaneously:

**Road system:** During the great drought in the early 1970's, difficulties of gaining access to certain regions made it extremely difficult, even impossible, to provide aid and increased their vulnerability to starvation. The first UNSO program -- now the most important one -- had to do with the establishment throughout the region of a network of secondary roads serving the eight CILSS countries. In other words, it was a major attempt to end isolation. It would also make it possible to open up new outlets in remote areas, supply services and meet the broader objective of integrated rural development.

This is an important element of development in this region equal to five times the size of France. Plans include construction of 5,000 km of roads passable in any season and costing \$205 million. In August 1985, UNSO gathered together the necessary funds and completed work on 2,123 km of roads.

**Stabilization of sand:** In Mauritania, UNSO provided emergency aid to stabilize dunes in order to halt the invasion of urban areas, roads, farms and pasture by sand. In Somalia and Sudan, a program of general stabilization of the dunes would be undertaken. In Somalia in particular, the different situation of the coastal areas and those in the interior would be taken into account. Thanks to a project launched in 1984, the invasion of the Bilma palm plantations in Niger by sand is beginning to be turned around.

**Use of water resources:** In 1983, UNSO began to intensify the management of water resources on the Cape Verde islands. It also drafted instructions for the construction of small earthen dams, stone dikes and underground catchment basins. A large number of small earth dams are planned in Niger. To increase its water resources, Sudan is studying and experimenting with new methods of using the waters of the Mara Djebel. Mali is discovering and using considerable underground water, it would appear. In Gambia, small dams will be built for irrigation and for protection against salt water infiltration.

Fighting deforestation: In Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan, a vast program to develop tree planting in order to increase resources is underway. Species that grow rapidly and that are drought-resistant are used. In Sudan, the *Acacia seyal* in particular is planted, for it not only stabilizes the soil, but also produces Arabic gum, the source of additional income for farmers.

In Burkina Faso, a national campaign has been launched with the support of UNSO, to promote the use of furnaces that do not use much fuel. Various means are employed: radio, posters, T-shirts, drama troupes, and so on, with great success. In the capital alone, some 80,000 furnaces were in service at the end of 1984. Their users saw their costs drop by half!

In Gambia, furnaces operate using briquettes made from peanut shells. In Senegal, tests are underway to use peat briquettes. This would make it possible to reduce the demand for coal in Dakar by some 50 percent. In Cape Verde, within the framework of a pilot project to use wind energy, two turbines have just been installed.

#### National and Regional Strategies

UNSO plays a key role in the drafting of national strategies, the first to ever exist. They serve as a basis for efforts being made on three levels: mobilization, financing and completion. UNSO is cooperating with countries of the western Sahel to set up a regional Sahel Action Plan survey of measures to be undertaken. In July 1984, UNSO cooperated with COMIDES (see our article) for the pooling of knowledge gained from experience and the drafting of a joint plan. Exchanges of views and consultations continue.

#### COMIDES Seeks Political Dialogue

Brussels NORD SUD in French Nov-Dec 86 p 15

[Article by D. De Vos]

[Text] In order to improve the approach and implement a strategy and planning within the framework of the fight against desertification, the COMIDES conference has affirmed its political determination to take the legislative and regulatory measures in the financial, technical and social fields needed to improve living conditions in the Sudanese-Sahelian region.

The statement is tirelessly repeated everywhere: It is essential to undertake urgent action to halt the expansion of the desert. And yet, aided by man, the Sahara imperturbably continues its advance. Every year, it spreads from 2 to 7 kilometers, depending on the region. We know the reasons perfectly well; we have all the data: inadequate rainfall, overgrazing, deforestation, the results of the actions of man, the agent responsible for desertification. In order to obtain climatic information, the AGRYMET (Agriculture-Hydrometry-Meteorology) Center has been set up in Niamey and is in daily contact with the Meteosat satellite.

CILSS, the Inter-State Committee To Fight the Drought in the Sahel, was created to undertake such action. In order to finance conservation and development projects, UNSO, the United Nations Sahel Organization, was formed. Recently, this UN agency participated in financing to protect the Fouta-Djalou Mountains in Guinea (Conakry), the veritable source of 17 hydraulic basins! This watershed in West Africa is the headwaters of the Senegal and Niger Rivers, which cross the main Sahelian countries and which, in 1983, had lost two-thirds of their normal flow.

In Dakar, at the invitation of the Senegalese chief of state, leaders of the countries affected by the drought in the southern Sahara met at an important forum. They called themselves the PAD: Countries Attacked by the Desert. This was in 1983.

#### Political Coordination?

In order better to coordinate action, President Abdou Diouf launched the idea of organizing closer coordination, whence COMIDES, the Ministerial Committee for Development in the Sahel. In July 1984, 22 countries participated in an exchange of information. Among other things, the Dakar conference made it possible to show the usefulness of determining more intensive areas of cooperation. Strategy policies were planned and the firm will to apply such resolutions under the best possible conditions was expressed.

This political commitment is intended to stimulate the strengthening of regional cooperation on the matter, first of all, by consolidating national plans, when they exist, or by encouraging them. Second, it would be done by coordinating an overall policy in the arsenal of the fight. For example, one might penalize brush fires or any other form of deforestation, promote the creation of nurseries in each of the countries belonging to COMIDES, organize and control reforestation.

In order no longer to suffer the consequences of desertification, political commitment is also necessary, for it makes it possible to combine efforts. Before the situation has become irreversible, the urgency of action is fundamental. It must prevent the situation from affecting the climate of the entire African continent. Having said that much, it is difficult to simplify the problems of desertification because in this field, one action pulls along another. Deterioration is so rapid that it is not possible to react in an overall fashion. The first concrete objective determined by COMIDES involves integrated development and the fight against erosion of the basins situated upstream from the major waterways.

This political consistency will encourage governments, international organizations and financial backers to coordinate their action. If COMIDES succeeds in its mission, there should result an improvement in food self-sufficiency and living conditions. At least, COMIDES permits this shift in intentions and procures the political means to accomplish it.

Newcomer

Linguistically speaking, Norway does not truly have bilateral cooperation in Africa. But under the pressure of public opinion moved by the images of starvation, Norway is sensitive to the people of the Sahel. This summer, 80 representatives of Sahelian countries, including nine ministers of agriculture, responded to Oslo's invitation to participate in a conference on rural development in this subregion of the African continent.

From the meeting results a determination on the part of Norway to participate in the strengthening of the ACOPAM system (an accomplishment of the UN World Food Program), which would be extended to the nine CILSS countries. In addition, Oslo has declared its intention of joining the Sahel Club (financial backer of CILSS) and whose role we shall discuss in our coming issue of NORD SUD. In conclusion, everyone seems to agree this time that development of the Sahel cannot be conceived without the indispensable participation of the village people. The Sahelian farmer of the future will be a protagonist in his own development.

#### Agronomist Rene Dumont Interviewed

Brussels NORD SUD in French Nov-Dec 86 pp 16-19

[Interview with agronomist Rene Dumont, by Sylviane Cannio; date and place not given]

[Text] In their latest book, "Pour l'Afrique J'Accuse," agronomist Rene Dumont and his collaborator Charlotte Paquet challenge a whole series of political, economic and financial factors affecting decisions on their choice of development for Africa. If desertification exists, it is because it is the fruit of a large number of (poor) choices made in the regions affected. These accusations are maintained in the exclusive interview granted to us.

[Question] With your first book on Africa, "L'Afrique Noire Est Mal Partie" [Black Africa Is Off to a Bad Start], you found yourself a persona non grata in many African countries. How are your current relations with those same countries?

[Answer] Senegal was the first to reopen its doors to me, followed by the Central African Republic. The only country where I remain a persona non grata is Gabon, but I do not seek to return to Gabon. If I returned to Africa, it was at the request of Thomas Sankara in 1983. Since Upper Volta had a new government that wanted to adopt a new policy, he wrote to me and asked me to come and I accepted immediately. That expedition was to last six weeks. It took me to the edge of the desert. That time, I noticed that the desert had expanded dramatically. I immediately wrote to Kountche, to Niger and Mali to propose a free study. Niger responded. Shortly thereafter, the high commissioner of the OMVS, the Senegal River Development Organization, summoned me: "We have built the dams. We are apparently going to have problems. Can you come to see us?"

This book will obviously not please everyone, but as you can see, Thomas Sankara, Seyni Kountche and Abdou Diouf are not badly treated.

[Question] In the preface to your book, you say that it is basic to avoid the trap of cultural domination. Fantastic! But how can you say that when your points of reference are French, your education French? How can one achieve that historic distance needed to analyze African society objectively?

[Answer] I can see it with my eyes of the Frenchman who was in Indochina in 1929, who fought colonialism in Indochina, who fought against the war in Algeria and who now fights neocolonial policies. I was called by Pompidou in 1959 to serve on the FAC (Aid and Cooperation Fund) board. I could not remain over 18 months, being against his policies, and handed in my resignation. I have always defended a certain number of positions and continue to do so.

[Question] But those reference points....

[Answer] The problem of knowing whether I analyze Africa objectively. I am trying. Now, have I done so? That is different. As a cultural model, I am first of all from a farm family whose father was a teacher of agriculture. I next became a student of agriculture, therefore, an agronomist, a technician involved with technical matters. I went to Indochina for 3 years and worked with rice growing. In doing so, I saw that economic and social problems dominated technical problems. I therefore turned to economic and social problems, especially since, in returning to France in 1933 -- in the midst of a crisis -- the General Association of French Wheat Producers had proposed that the government buy rice production in Saigon and dump it in the China Sea so that that rice would not compete with French barley, oats and corn. We therefore had to study the causes of those surpluses in our country when they were starving to death elsewhere.

[Question] Many people are guilty, in your opinion. The title of your book is evocative: "Pour l'Afrique, J'Accuse." You criticize the action of international institutions, of the industrialized countries, of the Africans. In order to change the world?

[Answer] You are a utopian?

[Answer] No, I am a reformist.

[Question] You mentioned the unsuitability of the "aid" procured by cooperation with the real needs of the people. Too frequently, they choose enormous projects, far removed from village circumstances. You also condemn French cooperation, which is trying to find a market in Africa.

[Answer] Jean-Pierre Cot was against that policy; that is why they got rid of him.

[Question] And Michel Aurillac?

[Answer] We are waiting for him. Aurillac has taken up the positions of Foccart. I would remind you that when I left the FAC in 1961, it was because of the Foccart policy aimed at watching over French interests: to make people learn French and gain control of the market. They are happy to supply the machinery, but not the spare parts! De Gaulle said that "when you spend 1 franc on cooperation, it brings in 10."

[Question] It is the same everywhere; let us not be naive.

[Answer] Yes, that is why we have taken up the defense of the Africans.

[Question] In the field, do you see cooperation that is a little better oriented?

[Answer] In my opinion, the Swedes in Tanzania, although their projects have not enjoyed complete success. There is the CIDA in Burkina Faso, which backs a whole series of small projects at the village level.

[Question] You say that the greenback (the dollar) is the ruin of Africa. Is it not a little simplistic to accuse the United States or Westerners when others -- and I am alluding to the socialist countries -- do nothing at all using the excuse that they are not former colonial countries?

[Answer] I have not taken up the defense of the Eastern countries, but the little book preceding this one is named "Bangladesh-Nepal: L'Aide Contre le Developpement." In it, I deal with the food aid that prevents the peasant from selling his rice when he has any, or those farm credit funds in Bangladesh in the hands of usurers, who get money from the World Bank at 17 percent interest a year and who loan it out at 10, 20 or 30 percent a month! The World Bank money helps usurers in Bangladesh! We have the duty -- not only the right -- to say so.

I do not accuse the World Bank of always being mistaken, but look at the work of Claude Reboul they ordered him to destroy. Of course, a study can be criticized, but from there to order that it be burned! It is unacceptable. The same World Bank admits being mistaken in Africa 8 years after Reboul's work, which only showed it what it did not want to see. "We have made many mistakes in Africa, but we have learned a great deal," the World Bank says. Yes, at the expense of the Africans!

[Question] You criticize the short-term policies of the IMF.

[Answer] Yes. Take the example of Taiwan, which is an economic success. Taiwan began with protectionism. All the countries, even European countries, began that way. And the IMF bans protectionism and advises all Third World countries to export more and import less. Everyone must export more and import less; that is not possible! It is absurd!

[Question] What about Lome III? And STABEX [Export Stabilization Fund]?

[Answer] I do not condemn Lome III; I say that it is inadequate. That is also true of STABEX because the credits are not sufficient. It is not the formula that I condemn, but the resources they have mobilized. Every year, each European pays from \$7 to \$8 to help the Third World; no more. I blame them for not adding a 0 to that sum!

[Question] And you truly do not like the consulting firms. They often recommend gigantic projects that flatter the pride of chiefs of state, but respond only poorly to the real needs of the country, the so-called "white elephants." But those firms will tell you that the industrialized countries must diversify to new markets, therefore, sell. What is to be done?

[Answer] That is true; they forget the people, the rank and file. The big dams in Senegal are an unprecedented example in the history of the consulting firms. It is the first time that the chiefs of state have received only one project with the recommendation that it is the miracle solution for the Senegal River. It is inconceivable!

The biggest lie of the consulting firms concerns southern Casamance, where they promise, if the project is followed, that the Mechanized Rice Office will earn 1.8 billion CFA francs every year starting in the year 2000. That is truly an insult! Furthermore, I have told President Diouf so!

It is like the sorghum project in Burkina Faso. There, an "expert," the agronomist Wichinsky -- whom I name -- deceived Sankara by promising him that by growing a sweet sorghum, they would obtain 6 tons of vitreous grain per hectare, along with 4,000 liters of alcohol. Verification showed that this was a total lie. Sankara, isolated at the time, was looking for a project to stir up his people and found one; no more, no less.

[Question] There is one country that has emerged from its problem of famine: China.

[Answer] I know the country well, I have been there seven times and written four books on China, the last of which was "La Chine Decollectivise." The Chinese peasants were collectivized by force and nevertheless managed to force the *apparatchiki* to decollectivize. That is fantastic!

[Question] In your opinion, could Africa follow part of the Chinese example?

[Answer] There can be no question of a Chinese-type revolution, of going through everything China endured. It is not necessary.

[Question] I was referring to the "barefoot doctors," with the emphasis on agriculture and its "labor-intensive" production.

[Answer] That is fine! Every barefoot doctor has a little garden in which he grows plants, while doctors raised in Europe have forgotten how to grow plants and have fought this form of medicine. They have even found natural pesticides, as in the case of a Colombian woman they asked to burn her research work! All for the sake of the market!

And another thing one could adopt, something the Chinese peasant has not scorned: On the social scale, the peasant is above the merchant and just after the educated person, while in Africa, he is considered a slave, on the bottom of the social ladder.

[Question] In your work, you preach giving greater value to the work of the peasant, changing agricultural policies to avoid production solely for export.

[Answer] I have not condemned export crops so much as I have the poor use of the currency earned.

[Question] On weapons or purchases not truly needed by the country.

[Answer] Or for Mercedes!

[Question] This book is a little bomb that will certainly be greatly criticized in Africa or -- I hope for your sake -- well received after all. Do you still have hope that they will listen to you?

[Answer] Listen, "Black Africa Is Off to a Bad Start" was banned, which gave it good publicity. They are now selling 300 copies a month, even though the book was published in 1962. Let us hope that this one enjoys the same fate!

R. Dumont and Charlotte Paquet

"For 24 years, I had already been pointing out the extreme seriousness of the situation in Africa and its future, when it was forced to sell off its mineral resources, without having the means of upgrading them. Now we have another type of deterioration -- equally grave -- of its heritage: Africa's land is increasingly worn out, impoverished, if not actually ruined, by erosion and the desertification which the poor peasants have neither the strength nor the means to fight effectively. The climate is also, as we have recently learned, arid. Another terrible, if not mortal, danger has emerged, the extreme gravity of which too few Africans recognize: the demographic threat. And yet, since the World Conference on Population in Bucharest (1974) and Mexico (1984), nearly the entire Third World has become aware of it. Measures to control the birth rate and to ensure respect for women are being drafted, but Sub-Saharan Africa is still the exception, which places a heavy responsibility on its leaders. Their descendants risk not pardoning the lack of foresight which the Chinese, since 1976, have bitterly blamed on their liberator, Mao Zedong.

"'Pour l'Afrique, J'Accuse': The title is a warning before it is too late, for from Ethiopia and Sudan to the Sahel, and even from Somalia to Mozambique, Africa, that lost continent, is threatened with death. Too many men, too much livestock, the lack of any agricultural policy (or one aimed only at production), a lack of organization and structure due to scorn for peasant and herder societies: The entire environment is deteriorating so quickly while the desert expands. One has but to mention the death of children today

and we react, but when in 1953 I announced the imminent death of the soil and vegetation, people did not care. "Prenez Garde, Consuls" was a final warning. In 1978, the American Embassy in Addis Ababa said that the high plateaus of Ethiopia were losing over a billion tons of top soil a year due to erosion. That meant over a million deaths with the next drought, which has now come to pass. The next time in the Sahel, we will perhaps to count them in the millions. I am somewhat ashamed to emphasize it, but I do not have the right to remain silent because I do not want to lose hope and I am bringing a book of hope."

Lacking space, we can only repeat a few condemnations (accusations) and proposals made by R. Dumont and Charlotte Paquet. Read their book (Coll. Terre Humaine, Plon); it is well worth the trouble.

#### Accusations

They are clearing Fouta-Djalou, headwaters of the Niger and Senegal Rivers. From 24 billion cubic meters, the flow of the Senegal fell to 7 billion in 1983. On some days, there is no water at all. For the first time since its flow has been measured, the Niger River ceased running in June 1985 at the end of the dry season in Niamey.

The wandering herds, especially goats which browse on the young shoots, prevent the natural regeneration.

Livestock, which often belongs to prominent city dwellers, ruins the herders.

Firewood in the form of cut wood or wood charcoal takes over a million tons of wood a year in Senegal.

Export crops, the source of foreign exchange, prevent crop rotation and therefore, the recovery of the soil.

The work of women, the basis of development, is underestimated. Drawing water from wells kills them when a simple pulley could greatly simplify their work.

The work of peasants is undervalued because of the white-collar workers proud of their diplomas.

Misdirected food aid causes sales prices of local agricultural products to drop and they then rot.

Aid has mainly developed the tertiary sector, a parasitic economy in the cities. Rural countries have been reduced to the status of dependents.

Some unscrupulous consulting firms take advantage of the incredulity -- the naivete or lack of knowledge? -- of chiefs of state to make them accept projects that are more harmful than positive for their development: the sourou in Burkina Faso, big dams in Senegal, "white elephants" in general.

Harness crops, because they work the soil more deeply or because the work is done at the wrong time of the year, have increased the risk of erosion.

A whole series of so-called "development plans," even at the village level, is adopted without considering the priorities of those same village communities.

The ruined peasant populations, betrayed by authorities determined to develop but actually helping only a few privileged persons, who are generally parasitic city dwellers, can no longer invest.

The World Bank has "gained" experience at the expense of the Africans and it is the latter who pay in the end.

The International Monetary Fund has forced these countries into an austerity paid for by the poorest people and rejected any protectionism, however indispensable at the outset.

The expert leaders have, by their policies, ignored, ruined and scorned the peasant men and women of Africa and helped upset traditional societies that had managed their land well.

#### Proposals

Education must be in the local languages. Traditional values must be reintegrated into education.

How is one to develop without making the beneficiaries, the peasants, participants in their own development? Their opinion must be asked when any project is designed.

The work of peasants must be appreciated at its full value.

The work of women must be valued and their water-bearing task simplified. How can one produce when one has to carry dozens of liters of water a day over kilometers?

Priority must be given to small village water projects that often cost one-fifth what major projects cost, thanks to the far higher proportion of human investment.

The peasant must be taught to control the expansion of the desert, for it is with his cooperation that it will be halted. The causes of desertification must be explained to him.

A future solution might reside in the construction of agricultural areas resembling European-type mixed woodlands and pasture areas, with fields surrounded by hedges and whose equivalent would be windbreaks of shrubs, along with trees scattered in the fields. The anarchic use of plant cover, with its abuses, remains an essential obstacle to this modification.

With the aid of the ONG, small areas easy to irrigate, would be set up. Grass-roots peasant organizations would be aided.

#### Development Plans Contrasted

Brussels NORD SUD in French Nov-Dec 86 pp 8-20

[Article by Dan De Vos]

[Text] The action of the European countries as well as that of the Africans themselves has been greatly criticized. Some throw stones, challenging them both when it comes time to study the major causes of desertification. The question is knowing whether the errors of cooperation stem from a deliberate strategy aimed at helping the big multinationals or geostrategic positions or whether, more simply, they are the mistakes of the young.

How is cooperation doing in Africa? Is it moving along without problems, as some would like to hint in the corridors of the EEC? Or is it doing poorly, as one would believe when reading a book by Rene Dumont?

Perhaps it is preferable to take an in-between position, as do B. P. Louant, professor of agronomy at the Catholic University of Louvain, and Pierre Vincke, instructor at the Institute of Environmental Sciences at the University of Dakar. They both say: "Only those who wash dishes break plates." In other words: Engage in cooperation and there will inevitably be satisfactory results and mistakes.

#### Paternalism

Are those of us in Africa paternalists? Yes, when there are moral sanctions concerning the future of others. One is therefore always paternalistic when among the nations of the world. And what are the Americans doing in Europe? If we had interviewed Paris at the time of Lutetia, they would have said: "But you do not realize what you are doing! You have to fix this or that. Design proper city planning, plan the electrical facilities, the distribution of water, of basic commodities, organize development of the territory, cultivate the land, get rid of waste, build a road infrastructure and set up communications systems. Furthermore, one would have to be crazy to set up a city on such a spot. The site is poorly chosen. Wait for this; wait for that!" Let us leave people's future alone. Whatever the case, when one solves a problem, one creates another. That is evolution. And yet, can one let anything happen without intervening?

#### Interventionist System?

Louant replies: "Obviously, it has to exist. To say the opposite would be incredible cowardice. We all do it. In the East, it is nothing new. The countries of the Eastern bloc want to impose the administration of a collectivist system on Africa, in theory. The fact is that communism is not even applicable in countries that have tried to carry it out! Its very control

kills it. As far as individualism is concerned, it is preserved insofar as it can be. Africa well such behavior [sic]. Even if kolkhoz sometimes exist, communism remains totally foreign to the African way of thinking. As for the way in which the Soviet Union acts abroad, it is nothing more than a racket! No Western country would ever permit itself to have such an attitude.

What about Chinese cooperation? The Chinese have an essentially different way of thinking. Africans who observe them consider them to be gluttons for work, maniacs. There is no possible understanding between them and the Africans.

What about us? We must retain our own bit of authenticity! Let us respond with pride to the pride of our African brothers. We have no guilt complex to harbor.

#### Halting the Bleeding Hearts

Criticism is easy; art is difficult. Pierre Vincke: "By dint of quibbling over whether or not the dams are timely, we will end up arguing about them for decades. It is easy to say, 'It is a scandal.' There will always be someone to say so. But when one asks the majority of villagers in the Senegal River region what they want, they answer, 'Our problem right now is water. When we have enough, we will be able to irrigate.' This therefore remains a strictly African problem. In the end, we will have to stop arguing and act. If we have to condemn, our system allows us to do it. We have to do it in time, meaning before the work. Not after."

#### Condemn?

What is there to condemn? The personality cult, incomplete training, a very personal interpretation of figures and statistics? After all, any resemblance to persons living or dead is pure coincidence! There are abnormal situations, to be sure. Sometimes errors in judgment in some consulting firms. But they try to use the official data received from local governments.

Another example: prestige projects that cannot be economically profitable. In Africa as elsewhere, politics is not always rational. Nevertheless, both sides have to abandon big prestige projects. The list is exhaustive. However, one is at least honest in declaring one's intentions and one moves ahead.

#### Manipulation?

Professor Louant asks: "Give me an example of an economic sector that is not manipulated in international commerce. Everything is manipulated. If African countries want to participate in this big game, they have to follow the rules. The first chance they have to manipulate someone, they do so also. For example, one has the disorganization of the coffee and cacao market in brother countries helping a monopoly of an African country."

## Interdependence

Interdependence must be the only foundation on which we can build our cooperation, said Hugh Shearer, president of the ACP Council. In this connection, the Ivory Coast presents the example of an economy that in 20 years has experienced a regular, diversified growth of its foreign trade. In 1982, three products represented over 60 percent of all sales abroad (80 percent in 1979): coffee, cacao and forest products. The Ivory Coast also exports other products, essentially agricultural: pineapples, palm oil, bananas, cola nuts, rubber and cotton fiber. The same is true of oil products. In contrast, the country mainly imports oil, machine tools, machinery, road vehicles, iron and steel products and grain.

But in Africa, the case of the Ivory Coast is rather singular. Most nations on the black continent depend on only one or two export products, which also means depending on often highly uncertain international prices. Zambia, for example, gets over 90 percent of its receipts from the sale of its copper. When the price of the ore goes up, the country's purchasing power rises. But today, following several years of a depressed price for the red metal, Zambia has had to appeal to the IMF. Who would imagine that the country has more "natural gifts" -- agricultural, among others -- than the Ivory Coast?

As for Niger, 80 percent of its export receipts come from uranium sales. To uranium it owes the rapid growth in its purchasing power. Like Zambia, Niger sees the volume of its imports go up or down depending on the highs and lows of the price for its raw material. It is one more reason for our European cooperation (EEC) to support proposals to stabilize prices for basic products.

## Who Does Better?

The report of the Brandt Commission states the following: "If societies do not prepare their citizens for the interdependent world they have inherited, then their governments will experience difficulties in making the decisions demanded by an interdependent world economy." Let us therefore tell the truth: We are all part of a powerful interplay of mutual interests. It explains the past, but also affects the future. Since there are mutual interests, a North-South cooperation policy exists. Its rise is vital. To recognize this is not the result of political egotism or narrow economic views. If our interests force us to cooperate, politics, morals and humanism retain all their rights, which alone can inspire the model, methods and priorities of that cooperation. Let us develop all dialogues possible.

11,464

CSO: 3419/45

ANGOLA

DOS SANTOS NAMES NEW COLONELS

MB311655 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 31 Dec 86

["Order No. 78 of 28 December 1986" issued in Luanda by Army General Jose Educardodos Santos, commander in chief of FAPLA forces]

[Text] Article 1. Under the terms of Article 45 of the rules on military service for officers, the following officers have been promoted to the rank of colonel:

Alberto Bento Ribeiro, Alexandre Lucas de Lemos Botha Militar, Antonio Bernardo (Chinhama), Antonio Jose Miranda, Antonio Gaspar Ramos, Antonio Ressoreicao Henriques Val Neto, Antonio (Sombe Manjambe), Antonio Magalhaes, Augusto Sebastiao Lopes, Carlos Pestana, Domingos (Fungu), Evaristo Domingos Kimba, Francisco Deolindo (da Rocha), Gloria (Paquita da Costa), Afonso Ribeiro dos Santos, Goncalves da Silva, Henriques de Carvalho Santos, Isaias (Jacinto) Reis, Joao Domingos (Lemos), Jose Antunes, Joaquim Varela Rangel, Joao Manuel Martins, Joao Ernesto dos Santos, Jose Cesar Augusto, Joao Ernesto Saraiva de Carvalho, Jose Teixeira de Matos, Monteiro (Franco), Manuel Joao Adao Neto, Mario Afonso de Almeida, Manuel Antonio da Costa (Campos), Mendes Afonso de Castro, Manuel Francisco Tuta, (Moises Justino), Pedro de Castro van Dunem, Paulo Miguel Junior, Roberto Leal Ramos Monteiro, Rui Guilherme Cardoso de Matos, Rafael Sapilinha Sambalanga, Simeao Adao Manuel, Xavier de (Jesus) Cequeira, Sebastiao Garrido, Santana Andre Pitra Petroff, [name indistinct], and Comrade Lieutenant Colonel Marques Monakapui Bassovava.

Article 2. Under the terms of Article 43 of the rules on military service for officers, the following officers have been given [graduados] the rank of colonel:

Lieutenant Colonel Alberto Correia Neto, Antonio Jose Maria, Jose Pereira Teixeira, and Major Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos.

/12913

CSO: 3400/735

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH SPAIN--Spain and Angola will begin cooperating more closely following the granting by Spain of credits amounting to 65 million dollars that will allow the development of commercial relations between the two countries. [Text] [Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 18 Dec 86 p 3]

/9716

CSO: 3542/39

## BRIEFS

BOTSWANA CITIZENS NEED VISAS--Mmabatho, 31 December, SAPA--Bophuthatswana informed South Africa today of its intention to "amend the existing agreement with South Africa relating to railways entering into and out of Bophuthatswana." A government statement issued by Bophuthatswana's Ministry of Internal Affairs did not elaborate and added: "At the same time we have also advised Botswana that as from the 9th day of January 1987, all holders of Botswana passports and travel documents will need visas to enter, travel through and depart from Bophuthatswana." Internal Affairs Minister Mr Kgosi Motsatsi was quoted in the statement as saying: "I also want to take this opportunity to inform the people of Bophuthatswana and Botswana that as of tomorrow they will have to complete the arrival, departure and transit forms which will be supplied at the border posts." [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1407 GMT 31 Dec 86 MB] /12913

CSO: 3400/735

## AID BRANCH OPENS IN BAHR DAR

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 21 Dec 86 p 1

[Text]

(ENA) — A new complex built by the Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank at a cost of 1.2 million birr went into operation here yesterday.

Opening the building, Comrade Tadesse Gebre-Kidan, member of the CC of the WPE and Chief Administrator of the National Bank of Ethiopia, said that satisfactory results have been obtained as a result of the measures taken by the bank to accelerate the country's economic development.

He said that the complex was built as part of the effort to implement the 1978 E.C. loan and interest policy, the programme of the WPE and the Ten-year Perspective Plan as well as to guide and control the economic transition period.

Comrade Tsegaye Asfaw, General Manager of the Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank, said that the bank is rendering considerable loan services to the expansion and intensification of state farms development, industry, handicrafts and peasant cooperatives.

Comrade Ayalew Bezabih, General Manager of the Ethiopian Insurance Cooperation, stressed the importance of opening a branch office in the town, which he said it would help contribute towards the economic construction of Gojjam as a whole.

The development bank has earlier granted a loan of 32 million birr to a few peasants associations to be channelled towards various agricultural activities.

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CSO: 3400/732

## MENGISTU RECEIVES FRENCH CP OFFICIAL

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 24 Dec 86 p 1

[Text]

(ENA)— Comrade Mengistu Haile-Mariam, General Secretary of the CC of the WPE, Chairman of the PMAC and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, yesterday received and held talks with Comrade Maxime Gremez, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the French Communist Party and Head of the Party's Foreign Relations.

During the talks, Comrade Mengistu exchanged views with Comrade Gremez on the relations between the WPE and the French Communist Party and on international affairs.

Present at the ceremony which was held at Comrade Mengistu's office at the CC of the WPE was Comrade Ashagre Yigletu, member and Secretary of the CC of the WPE.

In a separate ceremony, Comrade Berhanu Bayih, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the WPE and Minister of Foreign Affairs, yesterday received and held talks at his office with Comrade Maxime Gremez.

Comrade Berhanu and Comrade Maxime Gremez discussed relations between the WPE and the French Communist Party and the long-standing friendly relations between the two countries.

Comrade Berhanu recalled that the French Communist Party had been expressing support to the Ethiopian revolution since its eruption and that the WPE had participated in the festival organized by the French Communist Party, thereby strengthening their relations. He expressed belief that the relations between the two parties will become stronger in the future.

Speaking on his part, Comrade Gremez pointed out that the French Communist Party admires and closely follows the progress of the Ethiopian revolution under the leadership of the Party and the Revolutionary Government.

The French Communist Party will give support and cooperation for the efforts being made by the WPE and the Revolutionary Government for the development and progress of the country, he said.

Present during the talks were the delegation of the French Communist Party led by Comrade Gremez.

Meanwhile, talks which centered on the existing and future relations and cooperation between the WPE and the French Communist Party was conducted at the office of the Central

Committee of the WPE here yesterday.

Exchange of views were conducted between Comrade Ashagre Yigletu, and Comrade Maxime Gremez.

In the course of the talks, Comrade Ashagre Briefed Comrade Maxime Gremez and members of his delegation extensively on the progress of the Ethiopian revolution, the activities so far undertaken by the WPE, the efforts to found the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PD-RE) and on the drought situation as well as the measures taken to solve the problem.

Comrade Ashagre and Comrade Gremez also discussed the situation prevailing in Africa and the international arena and particularly on world peace.

The two sides expressed their belief that this first official contact of the two parties since the formation of the WPE would further pave the way for future relations and cooperation.

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CSO: 3400/740

Comrade Gremez stated that the French Communist Party supports and admires the progress of the Ethiopian revolution and the leadership policies of the WPE.

Comrade Gremez went on to say that in spite of the fact that he had followed the developments of the Ethiopian revolution from its eruption, he feels he has gained a better understanding about it after his current visit to Ethiopia.

Present during the talks were Comrade Girma Beshah, alternate member of the CC of the WPE and Deputy Head of the Foreign Department of the WPE, and Comrade Habte-Mariam Seyum, Deputy Head of the Foreign Department of the WPE, and other comrades.

The two-men French delegation led by Comrade Maxime Gremez arrived on a working visit yesterday.

The delegation was welcomed at the airport by Comrade Ashagre Yigletu.

## MENGISTU ON AGRICULTURE, FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY

EAL21111 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1715 GMT 8 Jan 87

["Full Text" of "Revolutionary Directives" given by Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the WPE Central Committee, chairman of the PMAC and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, at the close of the national seminar on implementing the food self-sufficiency plan during the 3-year plan; date, place not given--live or recorded]

[Text] Comrades, as you all know, food shortages caused by the successive droughts that hit our country have caused very great loss in life and property to our compatriots. The suffering caused by the drought cannot be calculated in figures like material damage, but it has inflicted a great scar on our history, and the morale and pride of our people. Damage caused by natural disaster is usually viewed in terms of development, but in our case, it is seen in terms of the very survival of the development path we are following. For this reason, it can be said that self-sufficiency in food supply is a question not only of the economy, but of changing ugly history, renewing the pride of compatriots and guaranteeing the revolution's future progress.

The main objective of the program we formulated for self-sufficiency in food supply is to achieve a stage of development whereby compatriots will not be exposed to disaster caused by famine. This is the desire and belief of every true citizen. We realize that to achieve this development stage, which is the expectation of all our compatriots, demands a long-term and tireless struggle with nature. Today, in this historic hall, as we pledge to implement this action plan, I am confident that we do so with determination to make all necessary sacrifices to solve our country's food shortage problem once and for all, and to create reserves for any eventuality. [applause]

All of you present in this hall who have made this historic pledge have been at the front line of development and made us victorious many times in the past. We are confident that you will make our country victorious in this bitter struggle we are waging to tame nature. [applause]

Comrades, our objective is to free our country from its backwardness to reach a higher stage of development, and change the current ugly situation. For our objective to become reality, we must understand very well not only what caused the present situation, but also when we analyze our present economic situation,

in particular the agricultural sector, it is not difficult to see that we are facing basic problems that need great attention from all our compatriots. By any standards the agricultural sector of the economy is at a very low stage of development. For this reason, [words indistinct] very low stage of development. For this reason, even during the years of favorable climatic conditions, agricultural food production could not fully satisfy our compatriots' needs, and during any of these years there was a food grain shortage of about 5-6 million quintals.

This is only in relation to the present low standards of living. If an improvement in living standards is taken into consideration, the shortage will be much greater. If the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] standard of 2,000 calories per person per day is applied to the present population, it is estimated that there will be a minimum shortage of about 15 million quintals. In addition to this, the population of our country is very high. Present estimates are that our population is increasing by a minimum of 1 million annually. To mention that the present population of 42 million was 22 million 20 years ago indicates the high annual rate of increase. It is thus estimated that the population will rise to 67 million during the next 20 years.

The question is, what hope is there for our future if food supply and agricultural produce in general does not increase at a higher rate than population? This is a basic question that should be seriously considered by every compatriot. Even though the struggle to satisfy our food needs is emphasized in our plans and activities, our development objectives due to the present situation, demand the expansion and strengthening of other production services. In addition to food, the growth of industries that produce, cloth, shoes, shelter, medicine and the like, in short goods that are necessary for the improvement of a society's living standard should be expedited. Moreover, our objective of bringing our country to a higher stage of development will never become a reality unless preceded by industrial growth.

In particular, it should not be forgotten that in the current world economic situation, rapid social development is rapid industrial development. The agricultural sector of the economy, which is the livelihood of the majority of our people, can reach a stage of high social production only if supported by industrial growth. On the other hand, construction of industries that form the bases for the country's rapid economic growth can only be expanded if development of the agricultural sector of the economy is expedited and provides the necessary raw materials, foreign exchange and market support.

As we see from this, both the improvement of the living standards of the working people and the rapid economic growth of the country depend on the growth of the agricultural sector of the economy, which has a very important place in the economy. Thus, in our current stage of development, the rapid growth of the agricultural sector can also be said to be the progress of the revolution. It is not a new conclusion or a strategy we arrived at recently that the agricultural sector is a base for our development. As we have said from the beginning, we must give necessary attention to development of the agricultural sector in all development plans over the years. In regard to organization, the administration of agricultural development, which was under

one ministry in the past, is today organized under three ministries, one commission and many corporations.

The capital budget allocated to agricultural development has been growing every year. During the year 1986-87, the development budget for agriculture allocated through the Ministries of Agriculture, State Farms and Coffee and Tea Development and the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission reached 1.8 billion birr. This shows a growth compared with that of 1979/80 of 120 percent.

As for manpower training, during the course of our revolution, the training of agricultural workers was given more attention than any other field of education. The number of agricultural workers locally trained at higher and intermediate level is more than 1,000 annually. Most of those sent abroad for education every year are sent for training in agriculture. As for improving the knowledge of the peasants themselves, in addition to the famous Agarfa Comprehensive Farmer Training Institute, many farmer training centers have been established in various regions by the Ministry of Agriculture and Education.

Efforts made to expand transport, education, health, drinking water and like services in Rural Ethiopia during the past years are also directly or indirectly contributing to the rapid development of agriculture.

Even though great priority was given to speeding up agricultural development, as I pointed out earlier, the result was not satisfactory. In fact, viewed in the long term, agricultural production is showing a declining trend. At this point it is necessary to ask why agricultural development is not moving at the speed we wanted. We must ask whether it was because the attention we have given was not commensurate with the size of the sector, or was there a mistake in strategy. Or was it due to weakness in implementation that the growth in agricultural production was not rapid? Unless we answer these questions properly we cannot be sure of fruitful results in our future development plans.

Dear comrades, as we review the problems that led to decreased production in the agricultural sector, it is worth mentioning that in most highland and plateau areas of the country, natural agricultural potential has been eroded. As you know, at this particular time, 85 percent of the population live in only just over 45 percent of the country's total area, that is the highland and plateau areas. In our country, 95 percent of our agricultural production and 75 percent of our livestock are concentrated in these highland and plateau areas. In these areas, farming has been carried on for many years. The increase in population has led to the clearing of forests and encroachment on hillsides for agricultural purposes.

As a result, great soil erosion has been inevitable in many areas and the productivity of the land has deteriorated. According to studies carried out recently, 27 million hectares of land in the highland and plateau areas are exposed to soil erosion. Out of this total, 14 million hectares of land are greatly eroded, while 2 million hectares are completely eroded and the terrain is completely stony.

The areas that have been worst affected by recurrent drought and where soil has been heavily eroded are Eritrea, Tigray, Welo and northern Shewa regions.

Most Ethiopian peasants have to work under these conditions. It was not possible to assist these peasants because we have not yet developed agricultural management skills, based on research, to cater for the areas where natural resources have been exploited. On the other hand, while there is a great need for input, to achieve increased production in areas where natural resources have been exploited, the efforts made so far are insignificant compared to the magnitude of the problem. They are also minimal compared to other countries that are at the same stage of development as our country.

It is important to mention some figures so that we can understand the situation clearly. The farm implements used by the peasantry today are very primitive and there are not even enough of them. Recent studies showed that 38 percent of our peasantry have no oxen for plowing, 32 percent have one ox, 25 percent have a pair of oxen and 5 percent have two pairs of oxen. Similarly, the possession of other facilities by the peasantry is minimal.

As with farming implements, the number of peasants who cannot get enough seed grain is high. As we see from this situation, the number of peasants who use modern agricultural machinery is very small. It is difficult to say that there are peasants who use tractors. Only two percent of the entire peasantry uses selected seeds. The use of fertilizers is less than 10 kg per hectare. Pesticides, insecticides, herbicides and animals are not distributed to the peasantry in sufficient quantity.

Transportation and storage facilities used by the peasantry are very primitive. This results in wastage of produce. As we know from the experience of economically developed countries, the development of agriculture is based on research. In view of the very weak situation we are in this is the basic problem besetting agricultural development. Only when research is expanded, can one identify the characteristics of soil resources, select seeds suitable for different areas and draw up agricultural strategies appropriate for different crops and areas.

One major obstacle is that Ethiopian agricultural development is not supported by proper research. The little research now available is not distributed to the peasantry adequately and this is another weakness. Above all, our greatest weakness is our inability to make proper use of existing, conventional technology, work in a disciplined fashion or produce what can be produced.

Advisory services by development workers and extension services must be supplied if the peasantry are to produce in a disciplined fashion. Consequently, great efforts were made in previous years to produce agricultural experts in large numbers, but still the number of development workers is small when compared with the size of the peasantry. Therefore, they have not been able to change traditional farming methods rapidly. Besides, most agricultural experts are engaged in administrative tasks.

So we cannot say that we have fully used the experts that we have produced. The discipline of the peasantry and the experts engaged in agriculture is not compatible without desire to change the agricultural sector, at least in a short period of time. The main obstacles to agricultural development are the scattered and dilapidated farms of the peasantry, the peasants' inability to plan their activities and their total dependence on nature. These are problems that must be mentioned.

The conclusion we draw from the magnitude and characteristics of the problems that have curbed the development of the agricultural sector is that we need to do much more than ever before to give agriculture the utmost attention and to make great efforts to transform agriculture and bring it to an advanced stage. It is a fact that the support we have given to the agricultural sector is immense when compared to the situation we inherited. We should be satisfied with what we have done. However, it has become obvious that the rapid transformation of the agricultural sector necessitates greater capital, manpower and facilities than we have used up to now. Furthermore, earlier strategies drawn up for the development of the countryside were not based on the need to generate increased production in a short space of time. Therefore, we had to concentrate on securing expensive agricultural input, purchased with foreign currency, in order to increase agricultural productivity. It was not right to concentrate exclusively on technological products purchased with foreign currency at a time when we had no developed mining or industrial sector to provide the technological necessities of agriculture.

As a result, the services supplied were incompatible with the needs of the peasantry. The concentration on the agricultural input imported in this manner became an obstacle to the efforts to make the peasants capable of applying technology. Due to this and other reasons, the productivity of the agricultural sector remained low and when the climatic conditions changed the majority of the population was exposed to famine, forced to beg and to receive aid in order to save our lives and consequently ridiculed by our enemies. This will never happen again.

Dear comrades: We realize that the obstacles facing our efforts to promote the development of the agricultural sector and solve our basic problems are immense and complex. The present situation however, is not one in which the scope for future agricultural development is hopeless or devoid of options. On the contrary, we have a great, broad and reliable opportunity, provided we lay down a correct development strategy and give full support to its implementation, thereby rapidly boosting agricultural productivity.

In spite of the fact that the highlands and plateaus of our country are densely populated and their natural resources over-exploited, our country today still possesses vast areas of virgin land, particularly in the lowlands, where there are vast, uninhabited valleys suitable for large-scale agricultural development. In these valleys there is a total of about 67 million hectares that could be developed. Out of a total of 3 million hectares in the country to be developed by means of irrigation. Ninety percent lies in this area. It is true that a great deal of work is required--as opposed to on the highlands and plateaus--to extend services such as health, water and others in order to create more suitable living conditions there. In most areas, it is necessary to install and expand road infrastructures and other communications facilities, but since those areas have reliable rainfall for crop production, the need for applying such measures for their utilization is unquestionable.

It is known that of the countrys' total manpower, 85 percent is engaged in the agricultural sector. Of the total area developed so far, 6 million hectares have been used for food crop production. Correct average production from this immense manpower and vast area of land is nine quintals per hectare. In the

economically developed countries, the average yield per hectare is 20 quintals, which demonstrates the effectiveness of technological change. It also indicates that the struggle to improve our agricultural facilities and output will be great.

Dear comrades: The 1987-89 food self-sufficiency action plan envisages increasing the yield of the existing agricultural lands and also developing new areas. Viewed from this angle, the action plan is no different from the programs we worked out earlier to increase agricultural productivity. Basically, increasing agricultural output requires the development of additional lands and raising the field of the existing farms. In this respect, there should be no difference. The only ways in which the food self-sufficiency action plan differs from the earlier programs consist in the overall emphasis applied to the plan and the much greater capital allocated to agricultural development during the period of the 1987-89 plan. Accordingly, about 2 billion birr has been allocated to agricultural development for the coming 3 years. On the other hand, strategies to promote basic changes have been set in light of the action plans' priority tasks of increasing productivity and the lessons we have learned from weaknesses in the implementation process. The food self-sufficiency action plan is based on the emphasis given to specific surplus-producing areas to enable the program to register higher results in a short period of time.

It must be clear that above all we expect a high standard of working discipline from the peasant in order to increase the productivity of [word indistinct]. As I tried to explain earlier, it is hard to say that our struggle in this field during the past years has been satisfactory. [sentence indistinct] In spite of the fact that today we do not clearly know what these [word indistinct] it is certain that undiscipline at work has reached alarming proportions in rural Ethiopia. The standard of farm management peasants in various areas is clearly indicative of lax discipline at work. Moreover the area of uncultivated land is increasing every year [words indistinct]. Although there are various reasons for land not being cultivated, the growing extent of its indicates that indiscipline at work is the main cause. [sentence as received]

It must be stressed that in a country repeatedly hit by food shortages a very high standard of work is expected from our farmers. Agriculture being the foundation of our general economic development, all land holders must realize that the timing of its cultivation cannot be set according to their personal wishes. The holding of land also includes the obligation to work and I do not think it is questionable that in our present situation more emphasis must be given to that obligation. It is clear to everyone that to free our society, including the peasants, from the present backwardness, even 8 hours work a day is not enough. In this society, failure to fulfill these 8 hours of work in any sector--which we laid down by law--cannot be seen as other than a crime. In order to implement the action plan rapidly to become self-sufficient in food, peasants' associations and party and government organs at various levels must ensure that the peasants are fully devoting their energies to agricultural work.

In our struggle to increase agricultural productivity a very heavy responsibility, not less than that of the peasants, rests on agricultural experts.

In fact, to transform the nature of the agricultural sector of our economy, the introduction of new agricultural methods as well as a positive attitude to hard work is decisive. Action by agricultural experts in preparing the peasants for work both morally and with technical knowledge is decisive to the success of our food self-sufficiency action plan.

Inasmuch as we must learn from past experience to change the future, we take this opportunity to make a correct assessment of the role of our agricultural experts. In agriculture, as in any other profession, there is participation in research, training and administration, but the main duty agricultural experts must perform consists of providing the peasants with extension services. Inasmuch as our country is generally a peasant country. As I tried to explain earlier, enriching the peasants' technical knowledge by introducing him to modern scientific and technological methods to enable him to increase productivity is therefore a very important service. As in the case of every developing country, the number of peasants in ours is large, so the provision of agricultural extension services to promote agricultural growth is very important. The deployment and services of agricultural experts in any developing country should therefore reflect this fact.

To clarify the situation further it is worth mentioning some comparative figures. Five percent of agricultural experts in Africa are engaged in administration, while 6 percent undertake technical support work such as research, training and so forth. This shows that the proportion of those who provide direct services to the peasant in agricultural development stands at 89 percent. In Asia, of the total number of agricultural experts, 9 percent are in administration, 6 percent in the technical field and 85 percent are working on agricultural development. The situation in Latin America is about the same. In the developed countries, the number of agricultural experts is shigher, but the proportional deployment of the experts is no different from that in the developing countries.

Accordingly, European statistics indicate that of the total number of their agricultural experts, 13 percent are in administration, 18 percent in the technical field and 75 percent in direct agricultural work.

But holding our own case in light of those statistics we find that 39 percent of agricultural experts are in administration, 43 percent in technical work but only 18 percent in direct agricultural development. In fact, in our case the majority of those in administration of agriculture are not agricultural experts. But even if they are not professional agricultural experts it is clear that at least from the budgetary point of view, the administration is unnecessarily over-staffed. Those in the technical field are involved in work closely related to their profession, so we may take comfort in that. However, compared to Africa and Asia, the number of our experts deployed in this field is sevenfold. Compared with Latin America it is threefold, from which it is clear that no proper and fruitful use is being made of our experts.

Moreover, a weakness that should not be ignored is that only 18 percent of our agriculture experts are directly participating in agricultural development. If we are determined to promote the growth of the agricultural sector of our

economy with particular reference to soon becoming self-sufficient in food, there is no doubt that we will have to change the present deployment and use of experts. We certainly know that there is no comfortable living in today's rural Ethiopia, so we realize that our agricultural and other experts deployed in the rural areas are not living comfortably. Comrades, who can change the present uncomfortable situation for us? Who will take our place and make the sacrifices needed to promote our country's social development? [word indistinct] [applause]

In the previous years, our main emphasis was to ensure that all services and development efforts were distributed equally in all areas. Our agricultural development efforts were based on the same policy. It was correct and is to be pursued in the future, while being viewed from different angles, because the problems we have encountered over food crops have been such that in order to solve them rapidly, we have to adopt a different approach.

The maintenance of equal distribution of [words indistinct] to the population hit by recurrent famine is the second question. The basic question is ensuring a sufficiency of food crops in the country. Whichever way you look at it, if there is enough food in the country, our citizens cannot be affected by food shortages or famine. Acting on this premise, it is appropriate to concentrate our limited manpower, capital and facilities in areas identified for their productivity to enable us to soon become self-sufficient in food. Accordingly, 182 surplus grain-producing districts have been identified as being ideal from the points of view of their soil fertility, climate, regular and reliable annual rainfall, the discipline of the peasants, strength of the producers and service cooperatives and other criteria. The agricultural development program applying to the coming 3 years for food self-sufficiency will focus on these districts. Extension services, fertilizers, selected seeds, processing machinery and other input to assist agricultural production as a whole will therefore be deployed in areas.

It is true that due to our limited resources, it might not be possible to launch the program in all of these districts in a single year, but the program will be launched this year in 148 of the districts known for their grain productivity. The 3-year plan period will embrace all the districts and [words indistinct] additional areas. It will be incorporated every year. The main focus of the agricultural development launched in the [words indistinct] districts will be on raising productivity using existing resources without incurring further expenditure. The program differs from the usual agricultural development efforts in that it will apply this strategy in order to raise productivity.

In my opinion, it is important to examine to some extent the basic facts behind this strategy so that we can arrive at a clear understanding of the genuine motive behind it. It is known that our present economic situation is such that we have no developed sector capable of supporting or increasing our foreign currency earnings to enable us to purchase technological products. Our reason for giving priority attention to the development of agriculture is to enable us to purchase the technological products we need to effect our overall economic progress.

Under such circumstances, the question must be raised of how to raise money if the development of agriculture itself is to be based on production services requiring greater foreign exchange expenditure. It is also important to consider ways or identify sources able to cater to the fulfillment of technological requirements to effect the development of other sectors of the economy. Apart from the basic financial question, it must be realized that the expected volume of production through the proper utilization of our available resources is very great.

The problem of waste affecting activities ranging from farm land preparing to storage due to failure to take corrective steps in time and other weaknesses in working systems, handling and management has become immense. It is believed that the peasants' productivity could increase by a minimum of 20 percent if refined seeds are used. It is also known that thorough and timely weeding can result in a productivity increase of 15 percent. In general, it is believed that agricultural productivity could be increased by a minimum of 50 percent by correcting mistakes made in the production, transport and storage processes and by taking care of the working system. Under favorable climatic conditions, an additional production of 30 million quintals could be realized every year. In our situation, if we could bring about a 20 percent rise in productivity, let alone 50 percent, we could obtain 15 million quintals of additional produce. This alone would, to a large extent, enable us to make good the shortage of food crops.

In this context, bringing about increased productivity on the existing farms is neither an ambitious nor an impractical change. It is a form of change achieved by countries that are economically advanced. Agricultural research conducted at every stage of development seeks to devise strategies toward achieving increased productivity by overcoming the weaknesses mentioned above, such as waste.

Several examples of the historical development of countries that have achieved economic progress can be cited. If we take the example of India, which was in the same situation as we are in 20 or 30 years ago, it will help us to understand things more clearly. In India, in the sixties, waste of agricultural produce lost to pests and in the course of the transport and storage processes was 80 percent of the total production. It has been learned that they have increased their agricultural productivity by 60 percent by setting up improved storage facilities and transport means and by other measures to prevent waste. Several other examples can be mentioned testifying to the concrete and economic nature of such a strategy.

To bring about such a change in our country, every peasant, every peasants' association, every production district must launch a special work campaign in this context. To make the campaign a success, every peasant must have a work plan to fulfill. From now on, we must lay down in our plans when a peasant can rest, plow, weed, mow and harvest. We must at least make assessments of how much additional produce could be acquired from every peasant. Like all basic plans, every section must assess the peasants' plan implementation and devise a system under which the successful could be awarded and the negligent questioned.

As we have tried to point out on various occasions, this is one of the situations that doubles the responsibilities of this generation. All of us [word indistinct] that our country gets rid of backwardness at once and [word indistinct] from this revolutionary generation and particularly the educated Ethiopians. But unless we are prepared to fully shoulder responsibility we are charged with by virtue of our country's stage of development, we will be in a serious state of contradiction or it will be only [word indistinct].

I take this opportunity to strongly appeal that we struggle to free ourselves and our people from these problems. [applause] Based on this understanding, the provision of strong extension services constitutes the primary [word indistinct] being considered for the implementation of the food self-sufficiency action plan. Under present conditions, 2,500 peasants are served by one agricultural development worker. Under such circumstances it is difficult to achieve the kind of productivity changes mentioned earlier. We have therefore planned to create a situation in which one agricultural development worker will serve 800 peasants in [words indistinct] districts. Accordingly efforts made to provide one development worker for every 1,300 peasants this year cannot be ignored. For its part, the revolutionary government plans to take steps to enhance the contribution of agricultural experts in rural Ethiopia. As mentioned earlier, one of these is that promotions, pay raises and candidacy or selection for higher education will be based on contributions made to change the productivity of peasants in the area. [applause] After the necessary studies on implementation have been made the matter will be immediately implemented. [applause]

Dear comrades, in increasing agricultural produce the need for providing fertilizers, high quality seed, pesticides and modern agricultural equipment cannot be ignored. The budget allocated to provide these services during the 3-year plan is therefore very high. During this year alone, 108 million quintals of fertilizer were purchased, which, when compared with last year, shows an increase of 55 percent.

Regarding pesticides, purchases for the year 1986/87 were higher than at any other time. Regarding local harvest of high grade seed for the year 1986-87, these were higher than usual, but it has also been planned to import seed in large quantities. When so much support is being given by the government to agricultural development, it is very important to focus on and correct existing mistakes on the part of peasants and experts in making use of this support so that we can fully benefit from it.

So far, we have learned from research that due to the limited knowledge of the peasants, the expensive production equipment we have bought is not increasing production as expected. For this reason, in addition to teaching the peasants how to use this equipment, the extension workers must ensure that necessary care is taken to ensure maximum production. In order to overcome the serious shortage of production equipment suffered by the peasants, the government has formulated a wide-ranging program to provide draft oxen. However, due to our limited resources, it is clear that we cannot fully respond to the demands of the peasants. For this reason, within a short space of time, we must extend methods like plowing by horse or ox. If all this does not succeed, as it is

impossible to live without food, we must ensure that everyone works in groups using manual tools to increase food production. [applause]

In addition to this, as we have pointed out on several occasions, steps will be taken to enable the rapid growth of agricultural production, expand research institutions, lay the basic development infrastructures in rural areas and start production specialization [preceding word in English] to solve the peasants' technological problems. In particular, I do not think we can over-emphasize the need to start production specialization. As is known in the capitalist and socialist world, the development of agriculture in each region should focus on crops more suitable for the country's climate.

Initially a regional focus will enable research and agricultural development workers and the peasants themselves to concentrate on certain crops and will create a favorable situation. The selection and use of equipment will also be more economical once production specialization has begun. Following selection of areas for food supply, self-sufficiency strategies will be formulated for the implementation of production specialization. Production specialization will focus on crops with maximum yield per hectare and will enable us to solve our present food supply problems. Another issue to be considered along with efforts to increase agricultural productivity is to provide means for collecting and storing the harvest.

I cannot even say that our plan as far as this is concerned is complete. As I have tried to point out earlier, the peasants are facing serious difficulties in transporting and storing their produce. On top of this, as we are strengthening measures to increase productivity, the question of modern transport and storage will become more significant. For this reason better storage transport technologies within the peasants' means that can [word indistinct] production and that can be expanded should be identified and implemented immediately.

In order to increase agricultural productivity, next year in particular we must attend to solving the peasants' technological problems concerning plowing, harvesting and threshing. The main question in this regard is the introduction of technologies within the means of our country's peasants. Very useful results have been achieved in this respect in agricultural research centers over the years. However, none of them have reached the stage of being used on a large scale and imparted to the peasants. Our industrial sector has continued [word indistinct] to produce in terms of quality and quantity and provide the peasants with technologies that will assist them in plowing, harvesting, threshing and collecting various crops during the 3-year plan.

As this is the way that industry can support the growth of agricultural productivity, we are confident that Ethiopian workers will give special attention to the completion of projects particularly intended to support the present. As we are preparing to increase agricultural production, we should never forget the importance of extending irrigation in order to gradually free agriculture from dependence on nature. In particular, for we who have been repeatedly affected by drought. I do not think further explanations are needed on the necessity to extend irrigation. The important and basic fact we must emphasize at this stage is to appreciate the importance of extending irrigation at a very

high cost and technology as in the other services we have mentioned. Taking into account experiences in China, the DPRK, India and the early years of the USSR, the participation of peasants in the extension of irrigation is fundamental. For this reason, the strategies we follow in this regard should focus on coordinating the labor of the peasants, the use of simple manual tools, time and other factors. In line with this, if each of us considers what we can do within our area, we can expand irrigation services in the same way as we were able to gather peasants into villages within a short time. However, efforts in every area should be planned with care in a way that should not have unnecessary effects on the ecology or climate of the area. In addition, care should be taken that when peasants of a certain area dam a river, it should not cause problems to others downstream. We do not believe that these problems are out of hand or out of the control of the party and government organs and agricultural experts in various areas. [words indistinct]

Our action plan for food supply self-sufficiency will also include the development of additional land. In line with this during the plan years it is intended to develop additional land through resettlement, [word indistinct] and state farms. The majority of land [word indistinct] on both sides are found in the lowlands of the country, therefore it is clear that basic development should be expanded and strengthened.

It is known that compared to the highlands, these lands are hot. For this reason, it cannot be denied that there are some problems that are not significant in the highlands of our country. In order to satisfy our people's demand for food which is increasing every year while agricultural productivity is declining, we have to be prepared to develop the lowlands.

Dear comrades, it is clear that the problem we are facing today in the agricultural sector of the economy in a way are the result of the small size of peasant farms [words indistinct]. For this reason, to fully benefit from programs and services intended to increase productivity, peasant farms should be of an economically viable size. Programs intended to increase productivity by means of old or modern technology can never be accomplished through the efforts of scattered individual peasants, as can be seen today. Technology that increases productivity can never achieve economic results on scattered small farms. To plan the growth of agricultural productivity, to start production specialization, to expand irrigation and to provide other services that will free agriculture from backwardness, the settlement of the peasants into villages is crucial. If we consider the experience of capitalist and socialist countries, although the means and considerations are different, food production and development are the results of large-scale farms.

Therefore, the program we have formulated to fulfill our food needs and to increase agricultural production in general, together with technological change, should result in changes with regard to the structure of agricultural production or a change in production relations. The tools of production we see in the rural areas today [passage indistinct]. The producers cooperative associations we have established in [words indistinct] Harerghe and Bale are tangible proof of the economic advantages of organizing producers cooperative associations. [applause]

As shown by our practical experience, the setting up of producers cooperative associations is not too difficult. Collectivization is carried out with the total consent of the farmer. Maybe it is due to the care we have taken in this sphere, but the only problem we currently face is that we have not been able to meet the farmers wish to be collectivized.

In particular, the Rare-Chilalo producers cooperative association we visited in Harerghe region recently is one that should be cited as an ideal example. [applause] The associations' current production per hectare is 36 quintals for wheat and over 50 quintals for corn. Next year, the association plans to increase corn production to 75 quintals and wheat to 40 quintals. In addition to the capital expanded by numerous producers cooperatives and the produce they share, the annual income of individuals has risen to 4,000 birr.

In pre-revolutionary Ethiopia, over 80 percent of the peasants, those with limited strips of farm land and those farmers considered to have been earning a good income each earned an average of 150 birr. We must state here that today, no effort whatsoever is being made to supplement the income of producers cooperative associations. In other words, no special support is being given. Today, we can only pinpoint the correct direction of development, otherwise we have not reached the level where we can supplement the farmers' income, as some people think we are doing. It is a fact that associations are given priority in the provision of fertilizers and hybrids. As the provision of these utilities exceeds the demand of collectivized farmers, many other hundreds of thousands of farmers are benefitting from these technological products. Hence, the changes that we are seeing in the rise of the incomes of producers cooperative associations is the result of thorough socialist work discipline through the coordination of labor and tools, and through mutual care and support.

It must be appreciated that the plan to accelerate the growth of the agricultural sector is in general part of our coordinated rural development program to change the face of rural Ethiopia. Therefore, in order for our ongoing program to achieve self-sufficiency in food, it should be correlated with our efforts to settle the farmers in villages. The facilities necessary for the accelerated growth of agriculture can easily be provided and the farmer can lead a fulfilled life when he is collectivized. Therefore, in the coming years we must focus our attention on the program drawn up in this sphere. I have tried to explain the main [word indistinct] spheres of the program we have drawn up to free our country from the shortages of food from which our country has repeatedly suffered.

According to the content of our program, although the problems we have to overcome are difficult, I hope you have realized that we have a good chance of winning. [applause] I think all of us believe that productivity can be increased substantially by working in a disciplined and punctual manner and by controlling waste. [word indistinct] the revolutionary government will give priority to providing ample production assistance to the farmer. If the climatic conditions next year are suitable, as in the current year, there will be no reason why we cannot double agricultural production. Therefore, we must rise to the occasion. The decisive factor for the success of this plan is above all the active participation and working spirit of the farmers and agricultural experts.

For my part, I did not find it hard to ask for sacrifice in a country where the lives of thousands of people have been lost due to food shortages. Hence, in order to permanently eradicate this problem which has been with us for a long time, we cannot, comrades, shy away from this responsibility if it requires not only 8 but 10 or 12 hours of work. [applause] It is clear to all of us that we are the only ones who can eradicate the scourge of hunger, which has resulted in the death of thousands of our country's compatriots. We can get assistance from abroad. In fact, there are some forces that have assisted us in our ongoing struggle to eradicate backwardness and in our humanitarian efforts. We must join hands and rise to the occasion, since no other force can be humiliated as much as ourselves by the stain on the dignity of our country from the disaster that struck our citizens due to the shortage of food. [applause]

The banner of the party that you have received today is a symbol painted red with the blood of combatants who have been martyred to build a socialist mother Ethiopia free from exploitation, oppression, hunger, ignorance and lack of clothing and the banner rests on their bones. I hope this banner reminds you that there are still compatriots who are making the ultimate sacrifice expected of many to create a better world for our citizens. [applause] Let us all join together to make the required sacrifice in the ongoing struggle to change the current unfavorable aspects in our country. This is the aim of this banner and of those who died for it.

Comrades, death from starvation is a death uglier than all other deaths, much uglier. Above all, it is a death beyond death, leaving a legacy of dependence and begging for the coming generation. We have no alternative to fulfilling our patriotic and historic responsibility other than to work hard. So please let us work, let us work, work, work. [lengthy applause]

/8918

CSO: 3400/738

## COMMITTEE TO TACKLE DRINKING WATER SHORTAGE

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 19 Dec 86 p 1

[Text]

ASMARA (ENA) — A committee was set up here Wednesday to devise ways of alleviating and permanently solving the shortage of drinking water in Asmara, caused due to the inadequate rainfall during the rainy season.

The committee, set up during a meeting which extensively deliberated on urgent measures that should be taken to tackle the crisis, is charged with devising short and long-term plans to solve the problem, seeking ways of properly utilizing the available water and checking the sanitation of water distributed to the people by individuals, enhancing of digging water wells and speeding up the construction of a near by dam.

The committee, chaired by Comrade Tefera Wonde, member of the CC of the WPE and First Secretary of the

WPE Committee for Eritrea region Wednesday held its first meeting.

Comrade Tefera said on the occasion that the committee, comprising members from various organizations, was entrusted with properly distributing the available water to the people.

He also spoke of the role of the planning office for the northern Ethiopia in speeding up the construction work on the Adi Shaha Dam.

## SECOND GROUND STATION INSTALLED

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 28 Dec 86 pp 1, 2

[Text]

(ENA) — The second ground station of the Satellite Communication Station at Sululta which is classed as standard being installed by the Ethiopian Telecommunications Authority in its sixth development programme will become operational soon.

The first station established nine years ago works with the satellite over the Atlantic Ocean which serves 112 countries who are members of INTELSAT. The services received were, therefore, limited only to those countries who use that satellite, a statement by the Ethiopian Telecommunication Authority said, pointing out with the completion of the new satellite station, the scope of services

will be widened so as to function with the INTELSAT satellite over the Indian Ocean.

Began in accordance with the agreement signed with the Japanese N.E.C. company which won the bid on August 31, 1985, the construction of the second ground station has been 99 per cent complete and the quality of the station has been beyond what was expected.

With the new station, it would be possible to open direct links with many countries. The new station has a wide antenna and high quality equipment, the statement said.

Adding that telephone, telex, T.V. facsimile and data transmitting services will start and be expanded with many countries in the Far East and Western Europe.

/9274

CSO: 3400/740

## AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURING PLANT OPERATIONAL

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 25 Dec 86 p 6

[Text]

The establishment of an aircraft manufacturing plant here could provide the basis for the development of an aeronautical engineering in Ethiopia.

This remark was made by Comrade Col. Taddele Mekuria, Director of Agro-aircraft Manufacturing Plant, under the Ethiopian Airlines, in an interview with *the Ethiopian Herald* yesterday. The director said the main objective of the plant is to produce aircraft for agricultural purposes to satisfy domestic demand as well as sale to other countries in Africa as it is or sell farm spraying services. The manufacture of this aircraft is going to bring about a technology transfer in the field of aviation.

According to the director, the plant has already turned out its first aircraft which named it 'Eshet'. The assembling of similar aircraft is under way at the plant, which is located at Bole, headquarters of Ethiopian Airlines.

Comrade Taddele stated that the plant will be engaged in assembling 'Eshet' and will start marketing the aircraft thereafter. He said production of the aircraft will continue using imported raw materials adding that the production of parts locally is planned

to start in four to five months' time. He noted however, the plant will have to manufacture small tools in order to be able to produce detail or piece parts.

The Agro-aircraft Manufacturing Plant, which was set up at a cost of 11 million birr including its working capital, is completely relying for manpower on existing resources of Ethiopian Airlines. Now serving in the plant are highly qualified technicians, that were selected from the various specialized areas of the Ethiopian Airlines, who were also sent abroad for short-term familiarization training course.

The building housing the plant was constructed at a cost of about 2.3 million birr.

There are 18 technicians and two test pilots trained by the Ethiopian Airlines working in the plant. The director said the pilots were provided by Admas Air Services. The plant is manned and run by an all-Ethiopian personnel.

Comrade Taddele stated that the long-range aim of the plant is to build

an aircraft per month, with an eventual projection of turning out around 120 aircraft within a 10-year period.

The director stressed the production of aircraft for aerial spraying will help improve the productivity of the agricultural sector and protect crops against pests. He said this will allow the country save valuable foreign exchange earnings that would have been spent on the importation of such services and equipment.

On the basis of an agreement concluded with the design owner, Ethiopian Airlines has the exclusive right to sell and distribute the aircraft, and give heavy maintenance services within the African continent. This right equally applies to the manufacture of the aircraft as well.

The director said 'Eshet' is a one-seat aircraft and carries 1,500 litres of spray chemicals. The engine is a Pratt and Whitney turbo-prop and is highly suited for Ethiopia's high and hot environment. The Ethiopian Airlines has signed another agreement with Pratt and Whitney-Canada, to ensure a continuous supply of engines, which are regarded as the latest products in engine technology. In professional terms it is known as 'state of the art product', the director explained.

Comrade Col. Taddele expressed the hope that Ethiopian Airlines could be in a very competitive position and be able to sell the aircraft in many parts of Africa. He said this is because there are two factors working in its favour, namely, low labour and having the best product.

ETHIOPIA

BRIEFS

ACCORD WITH DPRK NEWS AGENCY--A 2-year agreement was signed today between the Ethiopian News Agency and the DPRK News Agency. The agreement will enable the two sides to exchange information and experiences, promote closer cooperation, and collaborate in training to produce competent media personnel.  
[Summary] [Addis Ababa in Amharic to Neighboring Countries 1600 GMT 29 Dec 86  
EA] /8918

CSO: 3400/738

GHANA

BRIEFS

TRAVELERS WARNED ON LIBYAN, CANADIAN ENTRY--The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has advised all prospective Ghanaian travelers to Libya to ensure that they fulfill every condition for entry into that country. In a statement, the ministry said the Libyan authorities have expressed concern about the high rate of illegal entry into Libya by nationals of neighboring countries and Ghana. Another statement from the ministry said Canadian immigration authorities have included Ghana in the list of countries whose citizens require a visitor's visa pass through Canada. It asked all Ghanaian travelers wishing to pass through Canada for other destinations to obtain transit visas which are issued by the Canadian mission in Accra at no cost. [Text] [Accra Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 3 Jan 87] /9599

CSO: 3400/732

SOVIET AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES AID

Conakry HOROYA in French 12 Nov 86 p 8

[Interview with Vladimir Raevsky, Soviet Ambassador to Guinea, on 7 November 1986, on the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the Socialist revolution of October, by HOROYA reporter Mamadou Saliou Balde; place not given; questions in French, answers in French]

[Excerpts] On Friday, 7 November 1986, the Soviet people celebrated the 69th anniversary of the Socialist revolution of October.

On the occasion of this historic event, our reporter Mamadou Saliou Balde met with His Excellency Vladimir Raevsky, the ambassador of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics to Guinea, who granted him the interview published below.

[Question] Mr Ambassador, would you give us a brief overview of Soviet-Guinean cooperation since the accession of the Second Republic?

[Answer] Since the accession of the Second Republic, the Soviet Union has granted (1984-1985) 141 million roubles as government credits, for Guinean national economic development. These credits will be used to prospect for natural resources, begin geological research, implement some rural projects and develop fishing, construction and housing. The Soviet Union is also supplying Guinea with free aid through the delivery of food products, by financing the work of the scientific center at Rogbane and the microbiology laboratory at Kindia. Operating costs for the telex link between Conakry and Moscow, deliveries of machines, tools, teaching materials and laboratory equipment are also provided free of charge.

Soviet-Guinean cooperation in education is being carried on fruitfully. Each year, the Soviet Union grants from 120 to 150 scholarships to Guinean citizens for apprenticeships and advanced training in the institutes and technical schools of the USSR. The Soviet Union provides assistance for training of professionals in Guinea by sending vocational and technical experts.

The volume of Soviet-Guinean trade has doubled in the last 3 years and in 1985, it was over 140 million U.S. dollars. Between 1984 and 1986, we sent Guinea 2,500 vehicles, including the Zil, Gaz and Maz trucks and the Uaz, Niva and Lada cars. They have a good reputation because of their excellent technical and money saving features.

9479

CSO: 3419/24

ECONOMIC SITUATION SURVEYED

Paris LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE in French Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Nabi Toure, economist at the Credit Lyonnais in Paris]

[Text] Mr Nabi Toure, an economist with the Credit Lyonnais in Paris, expressed an opposing view to the article by Amadou Ouri Bah, "The National Consensus is Crumbling in Guinea," [Paris LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE July 1986].

[...] Despite formidable difficulties, the government assisted by the IMF has been implementing a new economic policy since late 1985. The major goal is to restructure the economy for healthy, long-term growth.

This restructuring centers around the following strategic policies:

To reduce the enormous budget deficit of 12.3 billion GF [Guinean francs], the government is applying pressure two ways: first, it is reducing expenses by abolishing subsidies and reducing 30 percent of the 84,000 civil service jobs; moreover, it is increasing revenues by expanding the tax base. Taxes must be paid in order to vote and that is part of the plan. Growth will do the rest.

In addition, price controls have been lifted to reflect more accurately the balance between supply and demand for goods and services;

In monetary matters, the innovative option centers around a strong, healthy currency. The syli, the symbol of incompetent, irresponsible management, was steeply devalued (93 percent) and replaced by the Guinean franc (1 Guinean franc equals 1 CFA franc or .02 French francs)(..). There is a new currency to support a new economic strategy. What is more logical?

There is a major movement to privatize government-owned enterprises which will lead to partial or total disinvestment by the government(...).

Although inadequate, the observable results are, on the whole, satisfying. A rational approach is being introduced into budget management. Procedures are being drawn up for legible accounting of government accounts. Who will object to this? As a result of the brutal abolition of subsidies and devaluation, prices increased an average of 50 percent (automobile fuel and public transportation, notably): this is the price to pay to regulate public finances. Nevertheless, the negative impact of this shock treatment has been largely blunted. Indeed, wages were raised 80 percent at one time. Real buying power then increased an average of 30 percent. Of course, this is inadequate, given the average wage level. However, increases are planned. They are part of a timetable to avoid setting off an inflationary spiral which would undermine the preliminary results of the monetary policy. What caution! The new monetary policy is showing remarkable vitality. The stability of the posted exchange rate during the adjudications is an efficient indicator (...).

Industry and trade are also being revitalized, encouraged by a strong incentive investment code. Already, the enterprises in these sectors are being streamlined. Some 58 deficit companies were suspended or liquidated; they were real epicenters of corruption and waste. Some have been turned over to foreign investors (Audimard, Cocoa-Cola) which give every guarantee of technological know-how and financial reliability. Others are awaiting potential buyers (...).

In short, these first signs are encouraging. Barring adverse circumstances and at the cost of strict discipline, we can be optimistic about the future. Indeed, this optimism explains why the traditional rescue workers of international finance, the IMF and IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] have agreed to grant Guinea the financial means to the extent of its economic ambitions: first, a stand-by loan of 33 million SDR [special drawing rights] and, second, a first adjustment credit of 42 million dollars in 1986. This assistance will be backed up by 76 million dollars in cofinancing approved by a group of countries under France's leadership (...).

Although there are still no precise statistics, the following major strategies still remain valid after 2 years. Through the combined effects of consumption and investment, the gross national product should increase at an annual rate somewhere around 20 to 25 percent (catch up effect).

Increased tax revenues will result and the budget deficit will drop sharply from 135 percent of the total revenues to around 13 percent. The inflation rate will continue at a moderate level of 15 percent (...).

This evaluation and the outlook show that economic recovery is well underway. However, the program set up has some weaknesses. This

policy of economic recovery has not been presented clearly to the Guineans, nor dynamically represented in international financial circles (...).

The industrial sector, the key to employment and investment, does not have a credible plan or coherent structures. Currently, decisions are made on the spot without a guiding framework. They are short-term decisions. On the whole, the atmosphere is marked with political interference in bad taste. The so-called "associates," these genuises in corruption, act to support shady deals. The ministry is not showing the necessary firmness when confronted with these larcenous imposters. Will national interest be defended against these individual appetites? We wonder. For this reason, we can wonder about the accuracy of evaluations of enterprises that have been turned over or are for sale. Moreover, there is no bank for economic development whose mission would be to oversee the government's financial participation in the new industrial, trade and agricultural enterprises. Such an organization would be an effective instrument for the corrective intervention of government and be a brake on the zigzags of free enterprise.

Farm products have not been promoted in foreign markets at a time when the country has great need of foreign currency (...).

9479

CSO: 3419/24

TRANSPORT WORKERS STRIKE

Dakar AFRIQUE NOUVELLE in French 5 Nov 86 pp 6-7

[Article by Sory Balde: "A Change in Tone"]

[Text] "Do not mistake our indulgence for weakness."  
When he spoke these words, now repeated by all Guineans, did Major Kerfalla Camara, the number two man in government, announce a change in his government's tone?

On 3 October 1986, the workers of SOGETRAG [Guinean Transportation Company], a parastatal company linking the Guinean Government with a French group in Renault management, went on strike. This was the first under the Conakry government. It was also the first in a company set up after the military took power.

The reason for the strike was an appeal to company management for "improved working conditions and higher wages because of the high cost of living in Conakry." The answer of SOGETRAG officials was "You conductors and bus drivers earn more than doctors and any other high ranking government officials." The reply of SOGETRAG employees was, "We work while everyone knows that they do nothing."

The matter was turned over to the state secretariat for transportation which informed the presidential cabinet. A first mediation effort was attempted and failed. The government, which did not understand the workers' grievances, sent commandos to take over the company's headquarters where it had convened all personnel. The government delegation, headed by Maj Kerfalla Camara and included Minister of Information and Culture Zainoul A. Sanoussi who, it seems, likes to be called the "black marabout of Conte" and State Secretary for Transportation Babacar N'Diaye arrived with the verdict.

"We will not allow such things to occur again in our country.... We have too many problems to solve....Do not mistake our indulgence for weakness....As of today, you are no longer employees of SOGETRAG.

The government has decided to fire you and strip you of all your rights as Guinean citizens....Since you did not want to work, others will take your place."

Thus, the 26 bus drivers and conductors of SOGETRAG were sacked and, moreover, deprived of all their rights as Guinean citizens. The government, according to its spokesman during this meeting, wanted "this matter to be a lesson to all those tempted to protest." Guinea, he continued, "is a government of law, where one may not oppose the authorities just any way. If you want to protest, inform us so that we can give you orders."

The SOGETRAG matter would have certainly ended happily if it had not coincided with a political matter. For the past few weeks now, in Conakry and the major cities of the country, a race against the clock has been going on to arrest "the people who presented the CMRN [Military Committee for National Redressment] and the government with a request to set up a communist party."

It is widely rumored that the latter are members of an "apolitical" movement, the MND [National Democratic Movement] which, with its newspaper (LE PATRIOTE, banned for more than a year) and brochures printed in France, had won over many Guineans.

Moreover, a little over a year ago, this movement reportedly met with Lieutenant Baga Zoumanigui, state secretary for fishing, a principal architect of the military's seizure of power on 3 April 1984, to ask him "to do something to end the many contentions which hinder national recovery." Many officials, the military especially, were contacted for this purpose. Even the entourage of the head of state General Lansana Conte was solicited on this movement's behalf.

The many clans fighting for power in Conakry are putting obstacles in the MND's path. These clans too reportedly have connections with the very passive, indeed nonexistent, Guinean opposition abroad. That is where one finds the reasons for all the impediments to the country's recovery. More and more, we realize that ethnocentricity is gaining ground, just from the fact that all cultural and social associations, in which people talk only of politics, are none other than regional and ethnic groupings. It was decided that the situation had to end.

Major Barrou Diallo, minister of the interior and decentralization, meeting in late October 1986 with administrative and tribal officials of Conakry, took the opportunity to ban "all associations of natives of, of residents of, for progress, etc". These organizations, according to the Guinean minister of the interior, "have no objectives which are compatible with the concerns of the government and the CMRN."

The banned organizations did not conceal their surprise and disappointment. The reason was that "if all groups and organizations are banned, there is nothing left of the Committee to Support President Conte."

#### Firmness is not Repression or Hardening of Position

Lansana Conte knows this well. In fact, the man in the street often equates the current government with "Soussou power". The key posts (Army, Information, Natural Resources, Plans and Cooperation, which is in fact a super ministry of economy, finances and diplomacy) are in Soussou hands. In each of these ministries, high ranking positions are held by members of this tribe.

To complete the picture, the other ministers, the Peuls, the Malinkes and the "forest people" do the same thing. These ministers have quite simply chosen their primary associates among members of their ethnic group, when it is not simply members of their family.

That certainly explains why the essence of President Conte's message to the nation on 2 October 1986 on the 28th anniversary of the country's independence dealt with national unity. On this matter, the general-president stressed that he would not "support any ethnic group against another."

He also refuted all charges that "all favors are reserved for the Soussous."

If nothing happened on 2 October 1986 "despite all the divergences among the highest ranking leaders of the country," it is quite simply because no one person really seems to be steering the Guinean ship. The principal planners of the 3 April coup d'etat are Majors Mamadou Balde and Facinet Toure, removed from office on 22 December 1985 "because they worried President Conte," today they embarrass the latter who realizes he cannot do without these two individuals who are centers of movements like the "Committee for the Support of President Conte."

The machinery has broken down in Conakry. Dismissals in the civil service are under way. Inflation is increasing. The army, in power, has decided to harden its tone to repress any revolt or protest. In Conakry, people think that the Moroccan horses have not, as the wise men have said, erased the memory of the elephant of Sekou Toure. Will a hard-line era follow the "liberal" government of Guinea which some nostalgic individuals compare to the iniquitous, dictatorial government of the late President Sekou Toure?

Now that the CMRN has decided to take a hard line, we must hope that the Conakry leaders do not confuse firmness and repression. After 26 years of this "time to be forgotten," there must not be a return to square one. There must be dialogue everywhere.

GUINEA

BRIEFS

DPRK PROJECT--(AGP) A 50-kilowatt hydroelectric power plant was inaugurated last week at the "Kim Il Sung" farming research center of Kilissi (Kindia), located 147 km from Conakry. This power plant is the second and is added to a 63-kilowatt power plant which has been in operation since November 1985. In addition to the electrification of the center, these power plants will irrigate strips of land and supply residential areas with drinking water. The engineering projects were done by Guinean and Korean experts. Captain Thiana Diallo, state secretary for water and forests, and Mr Alhassane Conde, state secretary for decentralization, presided over the ceremony. [Text] [Conakry HOROYA in French 12 Nov 86 p 4] 9479

CSO: 3419/24

SUCCESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN MULTI-PARTY ALLIANCE QUESTIONED

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 11 Nov 86 p 5

[Editorial: "Alliances"]

[Text] The announcement by the leader of the NRP [New Republic Party], Mr Bill Sutton, that a multi-party alliance is going to be established in South Africa, sounds at first hearing like a welcome renewal in a political condition which has stagnated in violence.

The announcement by the NRP followed a meeting of its federal council. Accordingly, contact will be made with leaders in all segments of the populace who advocate the preservation of parliamentary democracy on the basis of free enterprise. The NRP sees in the alliance an alternative to the general government crisis and national paralysis in the RSA. In the process of alliance formation there will also be attempts made to bridge the petty differences between the moderate parties.

Thus far the announcement.

The first danger signal which flashes is that the NRP has begun at the final goal of such a political dispensation without the spadework having been done in this difficult area. For a meaningful alliance is not inundated with parties merely because of its announcement.

Indeed long before the possibility of an alliance appears on the political horizon, an extended process of groundwork-laying must be done. It consists of reciprocal liasing among parties to eventually arrive at a broad consensus of thought. When this has been done first, the announcement of an alliance is the end of one process and the beginning of a succeeding one. And with the proper preliminary work, the ultimate announcement is not much more than a mere formality.

To first announce an alliance and afterwards to begin recruiting in the public square, can be a futile exercise. It is like beginning construction with the roof.

--In the formation of such an alliance there cannot be such a thing as first- and second-class parties. In the politics of SWA/Namibia, fronts have disappeared when a single, strong political party wanted to determine the rules of the game. At the same time an alliance bloomed here when there was an equality of authority among the participants.

This progress also results from logical consensus politics, and not from formulas and plans which, together with many a newly-founded party, have landed on the political ash heap.

--Least of all can such an alliance also be a life preserver or lifeboat for a party or parties which find themselves in political stormy waters. If a party is in trouble, it must extricate itself from it and then contribute to an alliance. It cannot join an alliance in order to be rescued from the embarrassment of its own disunity.

It must consequently be an honest and genuine attempt.

--Whenever such a course of alliance is undertaken, the participants must prepare themselves for salvos of criticism from the left and from the right. The extreme poles have already demonstrated in the politics of SWA/Namibia that they do not fire at each other from the opposing lines, but both make the stronger middle group their target.

In the politics of SWA/Namibia it is the absolute exception when the NP [National Party] of SWA and SWAPO pitch into one another.

--The cries of mutual respect as a prerequisite for such cooperation are hollow. It is good, but if absolute equality of participants is not added to it, then the attempt can be prematurely terminated. No party wants to eat out of another party's hand with mutual respect.

The mentality of the fat slave no longer will do in contemporary politics.

If the NRP has done its preliminary work well, we trust that it will succeed. South Africa's politics needs a success.

13238/8309  
CSO: 3401/68

PERSONNEL SHUFFLE INDICATIVE OF DISUNITY WITHIN NATIONAL PARTY

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 12 Nov 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by Des Erasmus: "Jannie de Wet to Cabinet"]

[Text] Mr Jannie de Wet is going to replace Counsel Eben van Zijl as the NP-SWA [National Party of SWA] minister in the Transitional Government. The leader, Mr Kosie Pretorius, will join the Constitutional Council [CC], and Mr Frans van Zyl will leave the CC and again be assigned duties in the White EC [Executive Committee].

The NP-SWA's ultra-conservative coup had already come to light yesterday evening in Windhoek after it had been announced officially earlier in the day that Counsel van Zijl was relieved of his duties as NP-SWA minister and negotiator in the Transitional Government. It was a foregone conclusion yesterday evening that the NP-SWA was through with the Van Zijl/Zyl brothers at the central government level--with the one as minister and with the other as CC member.

The fact that Counsel van Zijl was cited by name in yesterday's statement by party head Mr Kosie Pretorius indicates as urgency in the matter of announcing his replacement. With painful precision Mr Pretorius categorically denied yesterday evening that the other decisions had been made. His precision was evident when he referred to confirmation by the party executive committee which is necessary for such a thing--something which was apparently not necessary in the case of Counsel van Zijl.

In his statement, Mr Pretorius only referred to the position of the NP-SWA's negotiating team which is being looked at. This could result in the reconstitution of the NP-SWA's team in the CC, the Transitional Government, and the White EC. An announcement will be made about this in time.

In response to a question, Mr Pretorius told DIE REPUBLIKEIN yesterday evening that the differences alluded to in his statement concerned, among other things, education. "If it were in the public interest to name the other differences, I would have included them in my statement."

When it was pointed out to him that there was an admission of differences but that Counsel van Zijl could remain minister until the end of January, Mr Pretorius said the differences would be able to be accommodated. "We have integrity and mutual trust in the National Party--although you would not understand that."

But the chasm of disunity within the NP-SWA apparently goes much deeper.

When it was pointed out to Mr Pretorius that Counsel van Zijl is surrounded in the National Assembly by a group of like-minded persons within the NP-SWA, he said it is precisely that which is probably the most important point. "If I were the newspaperman, that would have been my first question."

13238/8309

CSO: 3401/68

SWAPO-D REJECTS PROFESSOR'S STUDY, CLAIMS GROWING SUPPORT

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 10 Nov 86 p 3

[Unattributed article: "SWAPO-D Disgusted With This Prof"]

[Text] Professor J.S. Malan of the University of the North is "an Afrikaner liberalist who just crawled out of the apartheid cocoon."

It is SWAPO-D [SWAPO-Democrat] that regards him as such in reference to his article "Contemporary Politics in Ovamboland" in a paper of the Africa Institute. Professor Malan maintains in the paper that SWAPO-D's support is only 0.3 percent of the people of Ovamboland. This amounts to 1,800 people.

Phil ya Nangoloh, SWAPO-D's secretary of information and publicity, declares in this regard that statements like that are only calculated to improve the image of homeland proponents such as Peter Kalangula of Ovamboland.

Nangoloh maintains that SWAPO-D enjoys support throughout the entire territory and that its membership has grown from 50,000 in 1980 to 100,000 in 1986. Of these, virtually 80 percent are in turn from Ovamboland.

SWAPO-D explains that support for Mr Kalangula is support for AG 8, and that proclamation is in turn nothing more than a breeding ground of racism.

SWAPO-D maintains further that Professor Malan intentionally did not speak with parties within the Transitional Government. This was allegedly done to extend the system of ethnicity and racism. It also maintains that he only spoke with persons favorably inclined to SWAPO to lend credibility to his article. SWAPO-D says about SWAPO that that organization is militarily crippled and has been caught in its hiding places in Angola and Zambia in flagrant violations of human rights.

In addition, SWAPO-D asks why Professor Malan has not instituted an investigation in his own country, where stones are being thrown and people are openly being executed. He is characterized as a kind of researcher which SWA/Namibia does not need here.

13238/8309  
CSO: 3401/68

## BRIEFS

OWN BORDER POSTS FOR SWA SOUGHT--Mariental--The Transitional Government wants its own control posts established on the borders in view of the fact that this country cannot afford a kind of "Wild West situation" where every Tom, Dick and Harry enters and leaves the country as he wishes, Mr Andrew Matjila, minister of National Education and the Central Personnel Institute, said in Mariental. This was one of the topics which the minister dealt with on Friday in Mariental during the unveiling of the name-plate for the Dr H. Vedder Primary School. Other topics were the Transitional Government's desire to have its own spokesman for foreign affairs as well as to organize the SWA Territorial Force in such a way that the people of the territory can have greater control over it. In an address which was primarily dedicated to the thorny education question in order to take a stand against the confusion which is being stoked by certain circles in the country, Mr Matjila said the Transitional Government is not only paying attention to education matters. "We also want to have our own spokesman for foreign affairs, our own national defense force that is organized in such a way that the people of SWA-Namibia will be in control, and of course our own border control posts on our borders," he said. Mr Matjila said the country cannot afford to have every Tom, Dick and Harry merrily coming and going over the border as in a kind of "Wild West" without having any questions asked of them. These statements come after reports were received in which people in the territory expressed their concern at the entry of people from the Republic of South Africa who want to make Namibia a kind of "robbers' nest." [Text] [Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 11 Nov 86 pp 1, 3] 13238/8309

CSO: 3401/68

## TRADE SURPLUS RECORDED WITH BELGIUM

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 8 Dec 86 p 16

[Article by Ted Odogwu]

[Text]

**V**OLUME of Trade between Nigeria and Belgium for the first half of this year (January to June 1986) reflected a trade deficit of \$1,617,156 million in favour of Nigeria, investigations by the Business Times have revealed.

Facts and figures sourced from the Belgium Embassy's commercial attache, Mr. Walter J. H. Stevens indicated that the trade situation is in favour of Nigeria as could be seen on the table.

Nigeria's imports from Belgium consisting mainly of semi processed and sometimes wholly processed paper making materials, articles of stones, of cement and of glass have gradually been declining over the last six years.

For example, Nigeria's imports from Belgium in 1980 amounted to 17,678,191 Belgium francs which further declined to 16,956,850 Belgium francs in 1981

representing a decrease of 4.08 per cent.

In this manner, goods imported from Belgium dramatically declined from 17,678,191 Belgium francs in 1980 to 8,543,360 Belgium francs in 1985, representing a further decrease of 4.39 per cent.

The policy of gradual de-emphasis of importation of goods from abroad is in line with the Federal Government backward integration programme aimed at achieving technological excellence and self sufficiency in food production.

From 1980 to 1985, Belgium imports from Nigeria, consisting mainly of crude oil and other agricultural products, amounted to 154,655.85 Belgium francs.

The imports volume increased from 12,715,705 Belgium francs in 1980 to 39,107,129 Belgium francs in 1985 representing an increase of 4.67 per cent when compared with 37,361,468 B/F worth of goods imported in 1984 from Nigeria.

In January 1986, however, Belgium imports from Nigeria hit an all time figure of 23,377,965 Belgium francs but steadily declined to 12,082,579 Belgium francs in June this year representing a decrease of 48.3 per cent.

As at June this year, the trade deficit is still in favour of Nigeria as could be noticed on the table below reflecting the Belgium-Nigerian trade figures covering the period from January to June 1986.

In another development, the Nigeria-Belgium chamber of commerce celebrated its 4th anniversary last week at Louis Solomon close Victoria Island Lagos under the distinguished chairmanship of Major-General D. A. Ejoor (rtd).

As part of activities to mark the occasion, a paper on "Investment Opportunities in Small and medium scale petrochemical industries in Nigeria" was presented by Dr. P. C. O. Nzelu of the Business and Industrial Department, NNPC Petrochemical Sector, Port-Harcourt.

## BELGIUM — NIGERIA TRADE FIGURES

period: Jan. — June 1986 (6 months)

Jan. — June 1985 (BF X 1,000)	Jan. — June (1986) (BF X 1,000)	Evolution (%) (%)
IMPORTS: 23.377.965	12.082.579	-48,3
EXPORTS: 4.150.534	4.805.376	+15,7
<b>TRADE DEFICIT 19.227.431 BLEU</b>	<b>7.277.203</b>	<b>-62,2</b>

1 US DOLLARS + 40-45 BF \$  
BF: BELGIAN FRANCS  
1 US \$ = 3

### TRENDS IN BELGO-NIGERIAN TRADE

BLEU IMPORTS FROM NIGERIA	BF X 1,000	EVOLUTION IN %
1980	12.715.705	—
1981	11.272.563	-11.34
1982	23.861.830	+111.68
1983	30.337.260	+27.13
1984	37.361.468	+23.15
1985	39.107.129	+4.67
BELGIUM EXPORTS TO NIGERIA	BF X 1,000	EVOLUTION IN %
1980	17.678.191	—
1981	16.956.850	-4.08
1982	13.625.532	-19.65
1983	12.185.843	10.57
1984	8.936.288	-26.67
1985	8.543.360	-4.39

SOURCE: Belgium Embassy, Commercial section  
1 US \$ = + 45 BF

/13046  
CSO: 3400/711

CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR ON ANTI-INFLATIONARY MEASURES

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 13 Dec 86 p 16

[Article by Resline Umesif]

[Text]

**C**ENTRAL Bank Governor Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed has enumerated the measures so far taken to curb inflation in the country.

He said the CBN in August and October called on all commercial and merchant banks to surrender to it all naira deposits with them in respect of their customers foreign exchange applications awaiting foreign exchange allocation.

This sort of money or deposits on which the banks paid no interest had been a major source of liquidity to the banks, he asserted.

Also in October, the CBN credit guidelines for the year were revised and a permissible rate of credit expansion was reduced from 10 to eight per cent.

These policies, he said were designed to reduce liquidity but led some banks, industrialists, traders professionals and others to complain about the credit and liquidity squeeze in the economy.

Alhaji Ahmed said that the allegation that the liquidity of the banking system had been reduced to an undesirably low level was untrue.

He said some banks even had liquidity ratio of more than 60 per cent, whereas the minimum liquidity ratio stipulated by the bank was 25 per cent.

He said this state of affairs made it possible for the money in circulation at the end of September to be N5.5 billion.

Alhaji Ahmed said that the introduction of credit squeeze could be made "as government's structural adjustment programme (SAP) was a temporary measure, adding that a gradual relaxation of the squeeze could be made "as soon as the economy begins to respond positively to growth measures adopted"

He asserted that the liquidity squeeze was already yielding fruit because many banks are now aggressively hunting for deposits which they refused a few months ago.

/13046  
CSO: 3400/711

NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE CAPITALIZED, STATUS UPGRADED

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 11 Dec 86 p 13

[Text]

THE share capital of the Nigerian National Shipping Line (NNSL) has been increased from N4 million to N100 million.

The company has also been upgraded to a "Category A" parastatal.

Reliable sources at the Federal Ministry of Transport and Aviation, told the Daily Times that government delayed announcing these developments to allow the company pay off its foreign debts.

The sources maintained that "if the government went ahead to announce the company's increased share capital, it would have opened a new floodgate of arrests of NNSL vessels abroad since the company was still indebted to many overseas creditors.

The government, therefore, dolled out N37 million to the NNSL last month to enable it settle

all its overseas debts and the Central Bank is handling the payment of the debts right now."

When contacted the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Transport and Aviation, Mr. Theodore Anumudu said that "proposals aimed at improving the working capital position of the NNSL had been put before the government.

"The company would be reorganised so that it could be run more profitably. The reorganisation would also help the company in its quest for expansion," he said.

Mr. Anumudu also told the Daily Times that government would assist the NNSL "to improve its chances of diversification of its investment as well as helping in its much needed manpower development programme."

/13046  
CSO: 3400/711

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

FORMER CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF RETIRED--The former chief of General Staff, Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, has been retired from the Nigerian Navy. According to the NEWS AGENCY OF NIGERIA, the chief of Naval Staff, Rear Admiral Patrick Koshoni, confirmed the retirement of Commodore Ukiwe. Rear Adm Koshoni said that the former chief of General Staff would be paid his full benefits. Commodore Ukiwe joined the Nigerian Navy in 1961 and has held various command and staff appointments. He also served as a one-time governor of Niger State and military administrator of Lagos State. Commodore Ukiwe was removed as chief of General Staff in October last year. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 1500 GMT 3 Jan 87] /9599

CSO: 3400/732

## FRENCH AID IN 1986 OUTLINED

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 13 Oct 86 p 2

[Text] Cooperation between France and Senegal, operating through various accords both general and specific, resulted in 73 billion CFA francs worth of aid in 1985, it is stated in a French embassy document provided to the APS [Senegalese Press Agency].

Assistance in the form of personnel took up a large share, at a cost of 15 billion CFA francs for 970 assistants and 788 teachers, the report states, emphasizing that its assessment does not include the "60 French Volunteers for Progress" or the contribution of non-governmental organizations.

About 300 engineers, researchers and technicians sent by the French government continue to provide services toward Senegal's economic development and the functioning of its research institutions or international bodies, the report adds.

Special budgetary assistance made available in several forms totals 25.6 billion CFA francs. It involves a discounting on structural adjustment loans and aspects relating to Paris Club debt rescheduling.

For its part, in 1985, the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation released 16.6 billion concerning the period 1981-85 and disbursed 100 billion, for the most part relating to development and economic infrastructure projects.

Funding from the Aid and Cooperation Fund totals 5.23 billion CFA francs. This sum includes a 2.23 billion package for the completion of regional projects in progress.

Under this heading, 20 new projects concerning a variety of fields came into being: improvement of pastoral livestock raising in Ferlo, support for training programs at Dakar's polytechnic secondary school, assistance to the railway administration, equipping of the maternity ward and the blood bank at the Ziguinchor hospital and lastly, a grant to ASECNA [Agency for Air Navigation and Safety in Africa and Madagascar] and to the construction of the Diama dam.

The "various activities" category is broken down as follows: 715 million CFA francs for 450 scholarship recipients (including 189 on university scholarships in France), 255 million in financial assistance to the university for the

hiring of 209 teachers, 1.71 billion for cultural programs (various scholarships and training internships), 3.4 billion in support of science and technology research and finally, 10,000 metric tons of wheat in 1984 and 2,000 metric tons of corn in 1985 in the category of food aid.

For the current year, France's aid activities cannot yet be accurately totaled, but the figures will most likely be comparable to the 1985 level, the document concludes. APS [Senegalese Press Agency].

12413/12859  
CSO: 3419/13

GAMBIA'S ATTITUDE TO SENE-GAMBIA REVIEWED

Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French 31 Oct 86 pp 1, 6

[Article by Moctar Diop]

[Text] An AFP (AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE) dispatch dated 23 October informs us, sadly enough, that Gambian Minister of Justice Hassan Jallow has reportedly told the Gambian Parliament that a new defense protocol between Senegal and his country has just been adopted (?) [sic].

The new protocol stems from negotiations conducted from early 1985 to August 1986 by Gambian and Senegalese experts, the Gambian source reports.

However, there is a curious element in this new protocol: Henceforth, the general mobilization of the Armed Forces, the proclamation of the state of emergency and the possibility of requisitioning come jointly under the two confederated chiefs of state.

Formerly, only the Senegalese chief of state and president of the confederation was empowered to take such measures, in accordance with the first defense and integration pact of the confederal Armed Forces signed in Kaur in 1983.

One should recall that it was following the abortive coup of Kukoy Samba Sagna, thwarted by the Senegalese Army in 1981, that the Sene-Gambian Confederation was born.

The question that must be asked is the reason for the retreat, for there have apparently never been any problems in this domain.

The integration of the Gambian Armed Forces has been the first step toward a de facto Sene-Gambia, but the stumbling block remains economic and monetary integration. One has the impression that anything can be used to delay this integration, which would make the confederation a reality.

Is this one more maneuver to postpone the happening? Let there be no mistake about it; many things stand in the way of this new situation.

Despite the relative security brought about by the integrated forces, Gambia has always sought other alliances, first of all, Great Britain, with whom it has agreements, the Nigerian "big brother," with which agreements are but a sham. There has even been talk of Pakistan, and so on.

It is obvious that if Gambia is taking so many precautions, it is because it does not believe in Sene-Gambia, or else there are internal problems that escape all of us. It is easy to understand that the local oligarchies, tied in with wide-ranging fraud, do not look kindly upon economic and monetary integration. They will oppose it with all their strength, allying themselves with the devil himself.

However, if it turns out that this questioning of a precious accomplishment is well-grounded, both sides will have to find a new approach to the very concept of "confederation."

All the Sene-Gambian people must mobilize to hasten the integration of these two countries that should be united by everything: geography, economics, history, even the colonial past. The time is ripe for homogeneous, viable units. If only for their people and their very survival, Senegal and Gambia owe it to themselves to speed up the wheel of history before it is too late.

11,464

CSO: 3419/28

SENEGAL

DISPUTES ABOUT SOVIET SCHOLARSHIPS

Dakar LE DEVOIR in French Nov 86 p 12

[Editorial: "The Good Choice and the Bad Example"]

[Text] For the year 1986-87, the USSR granted Senegal 40 study and training scholarships actually assigned under the responsibility of the state (12) and public organizations. And everyone was satisfied, all the more since everything had been carefully studied (red area obliges) and everything was apparently going perfectly well. But only in appearance, as the sequence of events will demonstrate.

A first contingent of 19 scholarship holders left this August without problems or difficulties. On the other hand, on the date of the departure of the second group (21 scholarship holders), things began to deteriorate.

"One" (who?) reportedly indicated to our good people that they could not leave the national territory because they did not have a return ticket. The first pretext aimed, in fact, to stop the process after the first departure which included, for the most part, scholarship holders appointed by the Senegalese State.

Worse: This pretext was without foundation.

In fact, the USSR to assure itself that the scholarships which it grants are assigned to deserving persons, "pawns" the return ticket of the beneficiary.

If the stay of the scholarship holder confirms a good choice of a good student in the field of studies, then the USSR issues him his return ticket. On the other hand, if the facts prove that the choice was directed by other standards revealed by the poor academic performances of the party concerned, then it is up to the state or the organization responsible for the selection of the student to pay for the ticket. It is simple and clever at the same time to prevent an overabundance of "students" educated in the Soviet Union when their initial level was of the lowest, but which one may have selected on the basis of considerations which it is not necessary to discuss here.

This clause, logical, acceptable and accepted on all sides, consequently nullifies or rather makes illegal the attitude of the Senegal authorities at the time of the departure of the second contingent.

Nevertheless, here again, the USSR shows an astonishing goodwill.

Before such an attitude and to show, in fact, its flexibility, the USSR alters this restrictive clause unilaterally and voluntarily, providing a statement under whose terms, regardless of the nature of the choice of the candidate, the Soviet party would issue him a return ticket on leaving Moscow.

But surprise once again: the Ministry of National Education advanced another specious argument: the scholarships granted to public organizations disturb educational planning; consequently the beneficiaries are not authorized to leave.

It seemed a little late to invoke this second pretext, no?

But then why in the study of planning not to take into account the factors of dispersal and social mobility, all the more so, after all, when the scholarship holders chosen, under the circumstances, were already known by the Senegalese state?

And then, moreover, does the state always plan the departure of citizens and since when?

One can certainly not like the Soviets ideologically, why not tell it to them more simply?

In any case, the facts reported above are sufficiently serious and awkward in their consequences if they turn out to be true. They would be a giant step toward questioning the citizen's fundamental rights.

We also intend to return to this soon.

8490

CSO: 3419/29

PARTY HISTORIES, ORIENTATIONS REVIEWED

Youngest Party: Senegalese Democratic Union

Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French 27 Oct 86 p 7

[Article by A. Wahab Diene: "The Senegalese Democratic Union-Renewal"]

[Text] The Senegalese Democratic Union-Renewal (UDS) is currently the youngest opposition party in Senegal, having been formed on 25 May 1985 in Dakar.

First of all, one must bring up an important event relating to its earliest beginnings, the author of which is one of the founders: Mamadou Fall, the "Puritan" and a former Senegalese deputy under the banner of the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] during the previous legislature.

It was on the occasion of his farewell speech to his colleagues in the National Assembly, on the eve of the first elections under Habdou.

One might excerpt the following passages, which were quite significant in the birth of the UDS-Renewal: "I would like to thank the government for the respect and solicitude it has constantly demonstrated in its relations with the people's representatives, an attitude that has contributed to the healthy climate guaranteeing the success of our two missions. As I have stated and repeated in my speeches, I am actually more a trade unionist than a politician. It is therefore obvious that my role may differ from that of most of you. Having quickly become the only independent deputy in this Assembly because of the course of history, I have continued to enjoy the sympathy and brotherhood of everyone, a precious commodity I am anxious to preserve in order better to continue my action aimed at achieving national unity among my people, unity without which I sincerely believe it will be difficult to envisage our national destiny correctly.

"That is why I am now solemnly announcing that I have chosen not to return to this Assembly during the next term, deciding not to belong to any political party and therefore, not to participate in the coming election campaign that will elect deputies to serve in this Assembly.

"I have decided to sacrifice the advantages and honors inherent in the post of deputy so as better to serve my future role in seeking national unity."

It must be noted that before the end of the legislative session in question, "Puritan" had been kicked out of the PDS in 1980, taken back in as the result of pressure from members and kicked out for good in 1982 for, it is said, his lack of discipline, generally confused with intellectual independence and initiative in political organizations! But first of all, who is Puritan?

According to one of his closest traveling companions, Puritan Fall is, as his nickname indicates, a nonconformist, austere, not one to be led around. An intransigent militant on what he regards to be the truth, one can also say that Puritan is obsessed by his freedom.

He was born in Rufisque in 1920. A post office employee by trade, he very quickly became interested in the trade union struggle, working successively within the CGT (General Confederation of Labor) in the local French section, UGTAN (General Union of Workers of Black Africa), the orthodox UGTAN, the UST [Senegalese Labor Union], the CST [Senegalese Labor Confederation] and the UNTS (National Union of Workers of Senegal). He refused to join the CNTS [National Confederation of Senegalese Workers], which he considered to be a confederation practicing class collaboration aimed at neutralizing the working class.

This led him to form the UTLS (Union of Free Workers of Senegal) in 1975. Consequently, his political notoriety is not foreign to his trade union activities.

But Puritan also has a rich political background that successively led him to the Senegalese Democratic Union of the great RDA [African Democratic Rally] (UDS-RDA), for which the acronym of his own party reflects a certain nostalgia; to the BPS in 1955; the UPS [Senegalese Progressive Union] for a brief time; the Senegal PRA [African Regroupment Party], which he had to leave in 1965 to protest its absorption into the UPS; and finally, the PDS. We have already mentioned his tumultuous period in that party.

This is the man whose ideas have greatly influenced the UDS-Renewal that is defined in its doctrinary principles as follows: "The UDS-Renewal follows the principle of the secular nature of the state, democratic interplay in all organs, responsibility and authority of the member and elected leader, the republican form of government and freedom of the citizen within the framework of a pluralist democracy, with respect for laws and institutions.

"The UDS unreservedly adheres to the principle of the defense of African unity and the achievement of the United States of Africa as the final objective. The UDS-Renewal pledges to respect all decisions made democratically in the subregional, regional and continental bodies and reserves the right to maintain friendly relations with brother African parties in particular and all progressive parties of the world in general.

"The UDS-Renewal is for the total independence of trade unions from political parties and the political determination of workers in the party of their choice."

Finally, the UDS-Renewal proposes the elimination of all inequalities based on race, color and religion. It recommends the use of the country's resources in the service of the Senegalese people and the consolidation of Senegal's independence in order to ensure its economic and social development through the reunification and mobilization of all national potential without exclusion around a minimum common program and a government of national unity.

#### Union for People's Democracy

Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French 31 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by A. Wahab Diene: "The Union for a People's Democracy (UDP)"]

[Text] The Union for a People's Democracy received its acknowledgment within the framework of the multiparty system on 20 July 1981.

However, one must note that this organization had existed underground for a long time, following the example of several so-called "leftist" parties.

It is therefore desirable to make a brief historical review of the internal and external conditions surrounding its formation.

Actually, the events of May 1968 in France did not spare Senegalese students in France or Senegal. The academic milieu was the detonator that set off the powder keg, sending all of society up in flames.

In France, the MEPAI (Student Movement of the Original African Independence Party), which up to that time had included most politicized Senegalese students, was being challenged and was no longer considered as a crucible for forming and promoting a new revolutionary current that could meet the demands of the times, such as political training, responsibility for immigrant workers, and so on.

It was within this context that there occurred simultaneously in France and Senegal, the emergence, starting in 1970, of study clubs organized as groups for reflection and training looking to the formation of a new Patriotic Revolutionary Movement.

The Union for a People's Democracy sprang from these structures in 1972 in Dakar, with the coming together of Senegalese revolutionary groups (GR) in France, which constituted the cores of CEPAC (Political Studies and Cultural Action Club).

One can therefore say that the UDP has had a long history following the AND-JEF [AND-JEF Revolutionary Movement for a New Democracy], which emerged from those same structures. The fact that its initials only became known when it was legalized can be explained, according to its leaders, by the conditions of the underground struggle prevailing in Senegal.

This brief retrospective also enables one to show that the UDP was not born of a split in the AND-JEF, as has often been hinted, and that its existence even precedes the latter.

The Union for a People's Democracy, intended as a patriotic movement, defines its ideological and political orientation as follows: The Union for the People's Democracy (UDP), a patriotic, revolutionary organization of workers, herders, farmers, fishermen and intellectuals that is opening its doors to bourgeois patriots, democrats and Senegalese patriotic religious figures, is fighting for the advent of a people's democratic society in Senegal that will make it possible (according to its program):

- 1) to liquidate French imperialism and the local reactionary classes;
- 2) to build an independent and prosperous national economy serving the people;
- 3) to develop an anti-imperialist, antifeudal, scientific and people's culture;
- and 5) to practice internationally a policy of national sovereignty, peace, nonalignment and support for revolutionary, democratic, national liberation and socialist forces.

However, in order to achieve such objectives, the Union for a People's Democracy recognizes that only an alliance of the broadest nature grouping all patriotic forces could be successful.

It has therefore successively participated in COSU (Coordination of the United Senegalese Opposition) from 1978 to 1981, uniting the MDP [People's Democratic Movement for Self-Management Socialism], the LDMPT [Democratic League-Movement for the Labor Party], the PIT [Party for Independence and Labor] and AND-JEF, within the framework of unified anti-imperialist election action in February 1983, supporting the candidacy of Mamadou in the presidential elections, within the framework of the unified action of 11 opposition parties (the RND [Democratic National Rally], the AJ [AND-JEF], the LDMPT, the PPS [? Party of Progress and Socialism], the PAI [African Independence Party], the LCT [Communist Workers League], the MRS [Senegalese Republican Movement] and the PDS, following the February 1983 elections, so as to draw the lessons making it possible to move down the path of unity, and in the CUA-PC in 1983-1984 (framework for the unified action of opposition parties) grouping the MDP, the LDMPT, the AJ, the PPS and the LCT.

Finally, since 1985, the Union for a People's Democracy has worked within the framework of the ADS (Senegalese Democratic Alliance), which now includes the AJ, the PDS, the LDMPT and the CST.

The Union for a People's Democracy has as its secretary general Hamedine Racine Guisse.

#### Communist Workers League

Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French 11 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by A. Wahab Diene: "The Communist Workers League-LCT"]

[Text] The LCT, which celebrated its 10th anniversary in October and which just held its third congress on 2 November, stands out from the other so-called leftist parties by virtue of the fact that it defines itself as a Trotskyite organization.

However, to understand the origins of the party, which was legalized within the framework of an all-embracing multiparty system, one must first have a brief review.

Actually, as in the case of other leftist parties in Senegal, the events of May 1968 and their repercussions on student and teacher movements were decisive in the process of their formation.

Thus it is that part of the GOR (Revolutionary Workers Group), created after May 1968 -- four students and one teacher with an average age of 22 -- joined together in October 1976 and formed the LCT.

However, other underground leftist organizations existed at the time.

Nevertheless, for the founders of the LCT, none of those parties responded to the criteria they had for membership, to wit: 1) making the interests of the workers and peasants their main concern, which means that defending such interests was to guide their daily action; 2) requiring that the immediate goal of the struggle be the establishment of a government of workers and peasants; 3) taking up the battle to see that the organizations protecting workers and peasants would see the light with, as their basic trait, their independence from the government and all political parties; and 4) reaffirming their independence vis-a-vis French and American imperialism as well as Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies.

These are the four criteria that would distinguish them from other political organizations and which they make the foundation of their political line and program.

The LCT believes the Senegalese worker as he is today must be respected. This means that beyond the ideological divergencies, one must be able to rally city and rural workers in a single party, the Workers Party.

In this party, workers will choose between the different programs proposed to them, with the right to be mistaken.

That is why the LCT proposes a Common Political Bureau bringing together all trade union leaders and parties claiming to represent the workers so that they may call a national conference for the creation of the Workers Party. According to the LCT, this possibility exists if one trusts the workers. Consequently, it already considers itself as one element in that party.

The LCT believes that the working class can manage the destiny of the country because it has experience and the ability to do so. It considers city and rural workers to be the main creators of national wealth. To achieve such objectives, the Workers Party and the establishment of a government of the workers, the LCT also proposes that the following principles be respected:

1 -- No one has the right to tell the workers of Senegal that they are not aware because they do not know Marxism.

2 -- No one has the right to divide youth and the workers into different factions, each claiming to embody Marxism, for this could result in a division in the ranks of the working class. It therefore recommends the reunification of the Senegalese trade union movement removed from any ideological priority, the creation of a broad patriotic front and, on the international level, the holding of a conference grouping parties and unions against the IMF, the World Bank and the payment of debts.

Unlike other political organizations, the LCT has no secretary general. Its leadership organs between congresses are: a national council of 100 members, a national committee with 33 members, including 22 workers, an 11-member political committee and finally, a political secretariat of 5 members making up a leadership group.

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CSO: 3419/28

EDITORIAL DEPLORES WEAK POLITICAL OPPOSITION

Dakar LE POLITICIEN in French 29 Sep 86 pp 1-2

[Editorial by Mam Less Dia: "National Inertia"]

[Text] Just as the Socialist Party is stalled, the opposition in our country has become inert. It has changed into an election-minded opposition, obediently waiting for the starting signal of the campaign to shake off its torpor, speak up and stir a bit. Since the incident of 22 August 1985, the famous march against apartheid concocted by the masterminds at ADS to mark their entry into history, our brave soldiers of change are no longer trying to be seen.

It is as though they are paralyzed by the violence of the repression that befell the ADS demonstrators that day. Battered and humiliated by this first test of strength against Dioufism, the most militant fringe of the opposition opted for a change of camp:

--Wade chose exile.

--Bathily, the renowned leader of the LD/MPT [Democratic League/Movement for the Labor Party], dealt a blow to marxist principles by formally decreeing that the main enemies of the forces of change are the renegades and that their defeat is an indispensable condition for victory by the people over the neo-colonial regime (see FAGARU of 19 September). In other words, an alliance with the neo-colonial regime to crush the renegades is, for the LD/MPT's chief theoretician, a perfectly revolutionary tactic in the present historic situation.

In short, as surprising as this deviationist line may seem, the LD/MPT has in fact remained true to its thinking: Its greatest revolutionary victory--the LD/MPT itself exalts in it, in the party organ FAGARU--was awarded to it by the Senegalese judiciary in its crusade, described as "historic," against LE POLITICIEN.

With that, the notion of "class justice" disappears from the LD/MPT's thinking. This is marxism, Bathily style.

In sum, the political opposition as a whole is unable to outline a form of action that would create the conditions for a radical upheaval of the

established order. It no longer knows which way to turn and is letting things go their own course.

Barricaded behind a wall of rulings, the Dioufist government, for its part, is arranging for its own longevity by limiting the range of activity all others may have, including the Socialist Party and the religious feodalities, by relying strictly on class justice (part and parcel of the state apparatus) ...despite the LD/MPT which maintains that Senegalese justice serves the oppressed masses and persecuted revolutionaries. This is a new approach to marxist theory that maoist comrades define as a 180-degree turnaround.

The Senegalese must not take each other for children. The exercise of democracy is a difficult task that requires loyalty to oneself, above all.

As long as the regime is impervious to the ideals of the alternation of political parties in power, as long as a certain high-level state officials continue to imagine that Senegal is not ready for democracy, we will never cross the necessary stage without which our all-out plural-party system will be no more than a fool's game.

To discover one's own esthetic flaws, it takes the courage to look oneself in the face.

Senegal, today, needs this courage more than ever.

12413/12859  
CSO: 3419/13

LETTER DISPUTES TRADITIONAL CHIEF APPOINTMENT

Dakar LE DEMOCRATE in French Oct 86 p 2

[Letter to the editor by Idrisa Paye, Quakam]

[Text] He then dared! The Lebu notables, who like myself had bet that the president of the republic would never dare to sign a decree making official the enthroning by some dignitaries irrespective of the charter and Lebu traditions of Bassirou Diagne Marieme DIOP, these Lebu notables have then lost their bet.

It is a coup d'Etat. Since the accession of Dial-Diop in 1790 until that of Momar Mareme Diop, Serigne NDakaaru has always been chosen among the Diop family which expressed itself this time in favor of Mame Youssou Diop Ibrahima. Bassirou Diagne does not have a direct ascendant descended from Dial Diop. It is sad, but I think that Abdou Diouf preferred to recognize the one who only swears by him, preferring to take the risk of alienating the overwhelming majority of the Lebu people. For from Thieurigne in Hokk de Kaye--Findiv in Diecko, from Yoff in Yene by way of Yeumbeul, the Lebu people, loyal in that to traditions which soon will be 2 centuries old, selected Mame Youssou Diop in respect of its charter.

The (Pinthies) have expressed their wish which was scorned and ignored.

At the meeting which was held at the place of "Serigne NDakaaru" Mame Youssou Diop Ibrahim, I had thought that someone would have dared to state the problem clearly. Unfortunately "li woon deumb, dootul" tradition was betrayed. In the past, the colonial authorities or Senghor came to meet our representatives (Serigne NDakaaru, Ndeye-ji Reew, Ndeye Ndiambours, Diaraf when they needed them. Today it is our representatives who go to request audiences with Abdou Diouf.

I had publicly sworn that Bassirou Diagne would never be officially recognized Serigne NDakaaru. Now I have been made a perjurer. My shame is great...

In February 1988, in the secrecy of the voting booth, alone with my conscience, I would be able to express my disapproval of what happened. Meanwhile, I have decided not to go any longer to the meetings of this party whose representatives at the head of the state interfere in what does not concern the constitution, but unwritten Lebu law. Long live the Lebu republic.

NEW INDUSTRIAL POLICY MEETS BETTER ACCEPTANCE

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 7 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by Amadou Fall: "The Most Reasonable Option"]

[Text] The hostile reactions and alarm roused recently by the New Industrial Policy are dying down thanks to the continuing dialogue which the government and its social partners are maintaining on this delicate question involving the country's economic fate. Concerted action therefore continues and the workshop begun at the International Trade Center yesterday fits into this framework.

Along with Serigrie Lamine Diop, head of the New Industrial Policy, one finds reason for satisfaction in the mutual understanding achieved and in the fact that a crucial phase has been passed during which serious tension could have occurred, this because management and the trade unions overestimated the disadvantages of the new system as envisaged and announced by the government.

The New Industrial Policy has gone over better with the government's social partners because, as the minister of industrial development has said, "the criticisms formulated were taken into consideration when the departments of government began to reflect upon mechanisms and institutional reforms. They were most useful."

Henceforth perceived as "the most reasonable option under the current circumstances," the New Industrial Policy is no longer viewed by its backers and protagonists solely in terms of limitations. Reflections deal more with the means of its implementation and the pace at which the underlying measures will be applied.

These basic measures, whose correct implementation should breathe new life into local industries are: a revision of taxes on consumable expenditures, the lower cost of certain technical production factors, including electricity, and the indexing of the export bonus on the national added value.

They are already in effect and should in principle enable local manufacturers to produce at a lower cost, to be competitive, both on the domestic and international markets. In exchange, the government is asking this concession: "to sell at a reasonable cost."

According to Lamine Diop, the government "owes it to itself to create the conditions for expansion, while ensuring consumer purchasing power. This philosophy underlies our economic policy and it is along the same line of ideas that it was decided to gradually increase the protection enjoyed by most industrial companies."

They now find themselves in a situation of open competition, a "working climate compatible with the need for profitability that alone ensures the durability of production units, without questioning the social gains of workers."

To do so, the government and its partners must play by the rules. The workshop underway since yesterday is propitious for making decisions and reaching agreements. The contribution of the three committees set up yesterday to take up the production-marketing-employment question must be "constructive and realistic," all within the perspective of consolidating the concept of the New Industrial Policy and safeguarding the interests of all parties.

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CSO: 3419/27

SENEGAL

NEW INDUSTRIAL POLICY CRITICIZED

Dakar FAGARU in French 20 Nov 86 pp 12, 13

[Article by Mamadou Ndiaye: "NPI [New Industrial Policy] What Attitude for the Workers?"]

[Text] The NPI like the other new policies is a medium selected by the government to try and get out of the mess in which its disastrous performance of 25 years has plunged the country.

It has been seeking ways to apply it for a long time and even today. All means are desirable, such as breaking up the trade unions because of the failure to control them; constant attacks against the opposition parties and misleading public opinion by presenting the NPI as a way of salvation. If the government was not disturbed, would it resort to so many maneuvers? The threat is indeed serious!

A Bitter Pill

The government is so conditioned that it has been obliged to confront its social partners--the employers and the CNTS [National Confederation of Senegalese Workers] with a fait accompli, even if it tries to make amends by speaking about workshops. A work which only consists in seeking means to apply decisions conceived elsewhere.

But, at the same time, one sets up PS enterprise committees, one revives or renews tendencies in the CNTS, and one even tries to divide the workers by granting those in the private sector a raise of 3,000 francs to the detriment of the mixed and private sectors. It is as if one feared the workers would overcome their apathy, an essential condition for the application of the NPI. And there is reason, for it will be a bitter pill to swallow.

In LE SOLEIL of last 28 August, the government itself recognized that the number of discharged workers will amount to 4,750 civil servants, 75 percent of whom are heads of families. This figure can be doubled or even tripled without exaggeration, when one knows the tendency of the government to minimize the effects of its measures and if you take into account the disguised discharges in the form of "voluntary retirements."

Consequently the lines have been drawn up and this is why it is necessary to note with a great deal of reserve declarations eager that the measures be applied without "major problems." For there will be problems.

#### Inconsistency

The confederation committee of the CNTS in its declaration of 31 August calls for mobilization for crucial opposition against the discharges and observes, among other things, that this situation cannot "develop without threatening social peace in enterprises." In view of such declarations, consistent action is necessary. That is why, one does not understand the analysis contained in this declaration, which makes the labor inspectors responsible for these reductions.

Is the confederation committee in the process of whitewashing Abdou Diouf and his government to sell out the workers future? What inconsistency! For the measures envisaged, the flexibility of employment, the temporary nature of the jobs, the introduction of excessive piecework threaten the existence of the unions, consequently of the politically oriented trade unionists. Therefore it is necessary to seek a compromise with the government on this question.

As for the workers, they answered no and no on 1 May 1986.

The watchword is the same everywhere: it will be necessary "to walk over our dead bodies before applying your NPI."

But an organization is also necessary to respond in proportion to the dangers.

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CSO: 3419/29

ROAD INFRASTRUCTURES IMPROVES ACCESS TO CASAMANCE

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 31.Oct-2 Nov 86 p 11

[Article by Moussa Sadio: "Giant Steps"]

[Text] The Casamance region is not easily accessible. The isolation of this southern part of the country has always presented difficulties in communications with the outside, particularly due to the impracticability of the interior road networks.

Regarding its road infrastructure, in 1960, at the time of independence, Casamance had only the very narrow Trans-Gambian as its one paved artery linking Ziguinchor and Kaolack. The rest of the system was comprised of undeveloped trails, interrupted by ferries to cross the Casamance River.

At the time, there were seven ferries in operation: Ziguinchor, Niambalang, Essoukoudiack, Baila, Diouloulou, Marsassoum and Sedhiou. Most of the ferries were equipped with winches rather than motors.

The Gambia River, which practically encircles the Casamance region, has only three crossings, including two ferries (Banjul and Balinghor) and Gouloumbou Point. The nature of the mangrove swamps and the abundant rainfall in Casamance made road transportation particularly trying, if not actually dangerous.

Problems maintaining a system with such rudimentary technical features were made all the more arduous because the means and methods of intervention were lacking in reliability.

Users of the roads and ferries were haunted by the spectre of travel because of their poor condition. Actually, many remember entire nights spent on the ferries, interruptions of traffic and total uncertainty. However, since that time, the government has undertaken to open up the Casamance region. This political decision has been manifested in the successive economic and social development plans.

Roads were therefore designed and built on stabilized land with definitive geometric layouts: the southern road (Ziguinchor-Velingara), the Sedhiou and Oussouye access roads. This vast program was supported by the completion of engineering structures on other routes (Baila-Diouloulou bridge).

This process of opening up isolated regions was accelerated beginning in 1970, with major projects under the Fifth Economic and Social Development Plan.

### Asphalting

The development of north-south and particularly heavy traffic quickly revealed the limitations of the Gambia ferry, whose reliability was sorely tested by the long waits of users and costly stopovers of trucks.

To avoid the uncertainties of the Farafenie ferry, it was decided to go around the Gambia by paving the Malem Hoddar-Tambacounda-Velingara-Kolda-Ziguinchor road.

Casamance has therefore been a privileged region for road construction and engineering works under the Fifth Plan. Over 300 kilometers have been paved and major bridges have been completed.

Among the roads are: the Kolda-Velingara (127 km); the Velingara-Tambacounda (90 km); the Bignona-Diouloulou (60 km); the Ziguinchor-Oussouye-Cap Skirring (70 km); and the Tobor roadway (7 km).

Regarding the bridges, two were built at Ziguinchor and three smaller bridges were built over streams on the Cap Skirring road, at Niambalant, Katakalousse and Diakene.

With the completion of these bridges, Casamance now has a fine infrastructure of paved roads running through the region lengthwise (Cap Skirring-Gouloumbou).

Along with this considerable effort made by the government to pave the main arteries, programs to develop secondary roads have been carried out by production trail crews and UNSO (United Nations).

Actually, the trail and reballasting crews have built over 200 kilometers of lateritic roads, while the UNSO crew has opened up 310 kilometers on stabilized land in the Departments of Bignona, Sedhiou and Ziguinchor. It should be pointed out that in addition to these projects, there are many rural community trails.

Accomplishments in the area of road construction need no further commentary. The development of road infrastructures has already improved internal communication and created fruitful exchanges between the other regions of Senegal. Without a doubt, this effort to open up the Casamance region will be continued and intensified by the government.

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CSO: 3419/27

## BRIEFS

REHIRING OF PARAPUBLIC WORKERS--Minister of Planning and Cooperation Cheikh Amidou Kane yesterday presided over the first meeting of the management committee of the special fund set up to aid the rehiring of parapublic workers who lost their jobs with the transfer from the public domain. This fund, being set up with the backing of Senegal's financial partners, now has 420 million francs, representing the initial participation of the World Bank. The money is to enable the first workers affected by the deflation movement: those from SONAR [National Oilworks Supply Company], the STN and SOMIVAC, to execute projects for their own relocation. Those subsequently laid off will not be abandoned. As Hamidou Kane said yesterday, "the government will make every effort to mobilize the resources needed for their reintegration into active life." Promising contacts have been made with the African Development Bank, the World Bank for additional aid and the OPEC Fund in particular. For constant followup, the management committee will meet every 3 months for the purpose of examining dossiers submitted for its review by the SOFISEDIT [Senegalese Financial Company for the Development of Industry and Tourism] secretariat. SOFISEDIT will also manage the reintegration fund. [Text] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 19 Nov 86 p 3] 11,464

CSO: 3419/27

## SIAD ADDRESSES PARTY CONGRESS ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 23 Dec 86 pp 1, 5

[Report given by President Mohamed Siad Barre to 3rd Party Congress; date and place not given]

[Text]

"JAALLAYAAL,

We believe it is not necessary to go indepth as we have elucidated them afore now at different times and places; we have also clearly defined our stand in relation to these factors at the recently held 4th ordinary Session of the Central Committee of the S.R.-S.P. We are aware that the world is going through crises, problems, misunderstandings and permanent instability.

In the recent summit between the two super powers, the misunderstanding of issues discussed resulted in the increase of existing fear, tension and instability. The two super-powers have special obligations and responsibility towards securing world peace and stability and as such we hope that the next

summit would contribute to their understanding of each other and helping world peace, stability and tranquility.

"Aside from those problems whose dimensional scope are enormous, there are other spots where political tensions and armed conflicts can easily bring about great calamity. These areas include the Horn of Africa, South Africa, the Middle East, the Gulf, Central and Latin America and other places.

"The policy of the Somali Democratic Republic concerning these issues have been pronounced to the world on different occasions and is based on:-

1. To secure world peace and stability for which the main responsibility with the great powers;

2. To adhere to and implement resolutions of international organizations on these matters;

3. Recognition of the right of self determination of peoples as enshrined in the United Nations Charter;

4. Resolving of misunderstandings and disputes between nations by peaceful means on the basis of just negotiations;

5. Redressing the imbalance of economic relations between advanced and developing countries on the basis of equality and justice;

Reducing nuclear arms race, which endangers the survival of the human race, and the rechanneling of the enormous wealth spent on them for the betterment of the various aspects of human life.

The above mentioned points reaffirm the posi-

tion of the S.D.R. on current international issues and are based on the fundamental pillars of the foreign policy of S.D.R. which are:

1. Adhering to the principle of positive non-alignment;

2. Respect for the principle of peaceful co-existence among nations and peoples of the world.

3. Cooperation and collaboration among the states and nations of the world based on equality. Non-interference in the internal affairs of Others and respect for the sovereignty, independence and political policy of each country.

4. Respect for the right of self-determination for the peoples of the world.

«Somalia in its practical implementation of this policy made great effort to have good relations with the rest of the world and this is embodied with success. Today the S.D.R. has diplomatic relations, cooperation and collaboration with many countries. Somalia has made special efforts to have good relations with neighbouring countries, a relation which is based on peace and coo-

peration among neighbouring countries.

«Our relations with the Republic of Djibouti is very good, with many sides, and is based on brotherly ties and getting more firm daily.

On the other hand, the relation of the S.D.R. with Kenya is good. Somalia on its part will continue its effort to enhance the already existing economical cooperation, trade, art and culture, in order to strengthen the policy of cooperation and good neighbourliness between the two countries.

«At present talks are underway between Somalia and Ethiopia aimed to find means to secure peace between the two neighbouring countries; to enable them to reach cooperation, collaboration and good neighbourliness between the two countries and peoples.

«Primarily, it is imperative to create an atmosphere that will remove doubts and suspicions. The atmosphere that will create trust and confidence, then pass on to the nucleus of the problem and find a justified and lasting solution. So-

malia once again reminds Ethiopia and the world its good will and intentions and expects reciprocal from Ethiopia.

Jaallayaa!,

I urge the Somali people wherever they may be to strive hard to preserve their sovereignty and dignity, strengthen the spirit of nationalism and the unity of the people, guarantee the nation's defence, peace and stability, be the reliable support as was customary, to their valiant and courageous armed forces and be prepared to increase production and economic development.

Jaallayaa!;

«During 17 revolutionary years, governments, organizations and individual personalities have supported us, and gave us a hand in our long struggle to improve our standard of living.

«I extend to them, in the name of the Somali people our thanks and sincere gratitude.

«Once more I extend my congratulations and felicitations to the Somali people, wishing them a happy celebration.»

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CSO, 3400/739

MEDICAL COOPERATION WITH DPRK SIGNED

Kampala NEW VISION in English 14 Nov 86 p 12

[Article by Ben Ochan]

[Text]

UGANDA and South Korea have formally agreed on medical co-operation.

The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Health Mr. Kebba M. Kinani signed for Uganda and Ambassador Bo Young Chung for South Korea.

South Korea undertakes to provide Uganda with two medical doctors. It will meet their travelling costs to and from Uganda and pay their salaries during their two year service beginning November 11 this year.

Uganda and South Korea have been in an informally medically co-operation since April 14 1982.

Under the new agreement, Uganda will deploy the two Korean doctors in any hospital within the country

and provide medical supplies and instruments as may be required. They will be exempted from Income tax import or export custom or other duties on personal and household effects, new or used in the first six months of service.

The doctors will also be accorded repatriation facilities in time of crisis as are accorded diplomatic officials in addition to other privileges.

The two years agreement will automatically extend service unless either party provides a written notification on abrogation of the agreement six months before the term expires.

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CSO: 3400/733

## OBOTE ENTOURAGE IN ZAMBIA DESCRIBED

Kampala NEW VISION in English 9 Dec 86 p 1

[Text]

MILTON Obote's entourage in Zambia consists of 108 people including several former cabinet ministers and his chief of staff, Uganda's High Commissioner in Lusaka, Professor Mwene Mushanga, has said.

They include former Chief of Staff, Smith Opon - Acak, former Minister of Internal Affairs, Luwuliza - Kirunda, former Minister of Information, Dr David Anyoti, and former Minister of State for Defence Peter Otai who Professor Mushanga says is now "their sort of international relations officer" as he shuttles between London, Geneva, Addis Ababa, Khartoum and New York.

Obote originally left the country with 120 people but since then 12 of them have voluntarily returned to Uganda. More than half the original group were soldiers.

Following allegations in the *Star* newspaper and the BBC, Zambian Foreign Minister Luke Mwananshiku "assured us that there was no truth in these allegations that people were being trained in Zambia or that Obote supporters were being given training facilities. Obote was told on his arrival that he should not engage in that kind of activity or he would be asked to leave", said the high commissioner.

However the situation has been confused by the fact that 50 of the Obote group are being housed in the National Service camp at Kafue. The National Service is the Zambian equivalent of the Kenyan General Service Unit or the former Ugandan Special Force. The Zambian explanation is that it is cheaper to find food and accommodation for a large group in such a camp.

Another four Obote supporters are staying in Mayiba camp in north - west province which may be a camp where the ANC and Swapo are trained.

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CSO: 3400/733

## RETURNING REFUGEES TO BE SETTLED IN WEST NILE

Kampala NEW VISION in English 28 Nov 86 p 1

## [Excerpt ]

A TOTAL of 176,000 Ugandan refugees living in the Sudan and Zaire will be resettled in West Nile by February next year.

About 17,000 of the estimated 200,000 refugees in southern Sudan and 6,000 in Zaire have indicated their readiness to return home. But many of them are waiting for the end of the harvest next January.

The representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Kampala, Mr Willie Young, said this in Kampala yesterday.

Mr Young said 80-85 per cent of the Ugandan refugees in the Sudan want to return home, and the UNHCR office in Arua, Zaire is expected to be closed down by next February.

"We have been informed that 6,000 Ugandan refugees are there and are willing to return home", he said.

But, Mr Young hastened to add: "UNHCR will not close down any refugee camp unless there are reasons to make us believe that there is no need for the refugees to continue getting our protection and assistance."

In a separate interview with the Arua district Administrator, Mr Agondua-Tee this week, he said

some refugees had sent back family members to build houses in Aringa, Koboko, Maracha, Terego, Madi and Arua town. "We have been receiving 700-1500 returnees daily.

"We have formed a committee comprising of 13 departments to handle the influx of returnees. We are further encouraged by the fact that those who returned earlier have got enough food, and are now vying for expansion of their farms", Mr Tee said.

He added there was only one county, Aringa, and possibly Koboko where the food situation was still in the balance.

Mr Tee anticipates that if the exercise of resettling returnees is accomplished by February, food will be in sufficient supply by April next year.

And, the Arua District Administrator, Mr Agondua-Tee, who was in Kampala this week also said that the district was beefing up its staffing position to provide artisanal manpower which is required in rebuilding the social infrastructures damaged in wars that escalated in the area for long.

On the on-going resettlement exercise, Mr Young said that ever since the May 1986 attack on the West Bank of the Nile in the Sudan, a total of 108,000 refugees have returned and are properly resettled.

Mr Young who has visited West Nile for five times confidently said: "There will not be any major problems in resettling the in-coming returnees. The 108,000 returnees so far resettled are picking on well .... they have grown food, built houses and are happily settled".

He said many of the returnees were in Moyo District and had been provided with food, seeds, agricultural implements, fishnets. Health infrastructural services are also

being rehabilitated to equip the area with the capacity to handle the returnees.

The resettlement programme is projected to accommodate about 100,000 people. "This is the planning figure we are using in providing logistical requirements. But we will be able to adjust our planning in case more than the estimated number return".

Mr Young added that last Monday 502 refugees returned from southern Sudan at 6.00 pm and "we are in the process of registering them, provide them with food and then give them transport back to their home areas.

"We have four reception centres - three are in Arua, while another one is in Moyo District. Our aim is to ensure that returnees do not spend more than 24 hours in reception centres", he said.

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CSO: 3400/733

UGANDA

AIRSTRIP IN MBARARA TO REOPEN

Kampala NEW VISION in English 2 Dec 86 p 3

[Text] **NYAKISHARARA** Airstrip in Mbarara district will resume normal flights within two weeks time. A team of technical staff from Kampala, has already started work on the airfield and it is expected to last about 10 days says the leader of the team, Robert Bihaiya. The team is working in conjunction with the department of Works and the security personnel of Mbarara. The work mainly involves clearing the field of landmines which were left behind by the UNLA soldiers during the war.

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CSO: 3400/733

## MILITARY TRIBUNAL ESTABLISHED TO TRY CRIMES

Kampala NEW VISION in English 28 Nov 86 p 14

[Article by Fred Bananura]

[Text] A MILITARY tribunal has been set up to try officers, men and women in the NRA ranks who committed crimes before and after the NRM came to power.

The first chairman of the tribunal, Commander Ivan Koreta said that these military personnel who committed crimes have been kept in military prisons and will be tried by the martial court. The NRA is quickly processing their cases so that the offenders are either acquitted or sentenced accordingly.

Crimes to be tried by this tribunal range from robberies to manslaughter, from indiscipline to absconding and violation of NRA code of conduct.

Koreta said the tribunal is entirely military but civilians can give witness. The hearing is also open to public. It will be sitting frequently. Each tribunal session will be three months and for the next session other officers are appointed to avoid bias.

"This is to ensure just jurisdiction. This is why we shall have a substantial

number of officers on the tribunal", he said. In reply to a question on the unpopularity of military tribunals during Amin's regime Commander Koreta explained that the officers who set on those tribunals were notorious and themselves criminals such that people already had their own misgivings to these officers. They also deliberated in closed doors. But NRA tribunals are similar to any other court except that it does not accept defence lawyers.

Asked about civilians who are kept in military barracks, he said, "We have got to be strict with serious criminals. We cannot afford to easily release them to courts which soon release these criminals on bail of several thousand shillings which bail the criminals who jump and disappear", he reiterated.

He said several escape incidents from other prisons have cautioned NRA to keep these serious criminals in such prisons until tried.

He said military intelligence is investigating human rights abuses and the aspect of civilians in military barracks is also to be covered.

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CSO: 3400/733

## BRIEFS

**TRANSPORT REHABILITATION PLANS--Kampala--Uganda Sunday announced a 150 million dollar plan to rehabilitate its railway system and steamer links with neighbouring Kenya and Tanzania on Lake Victoria. The Managing Director of the Uganda railway corporation, Charles Karamaji, said half this money would be spent on relaying the 200-mile (320 km) railway line from Kampala to Kasese in western Uganda. This line was originally built in the 1950s to carry copper ore from the mines at Kasese to a smelter at Jinja in central Uganda, but traffic on it has since doubled. Karamaji said the rest of the money would be spent on acquiring new rolling stock and improving steamer services on Lake Victoria. He did not say how the transport rehabilitation scheme would be funded, but government officials said earlier that several western countries, which they did not name, had offered to finance the project.**

[Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 2 Dec 86 p 6] /9274

CSO: 3400/739

ZAMBIA

BRIEFS

CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT KAUNDA--The party Secretary General, Comrade Grey Zulu, has disclosed that there is a campaign by some quarters in the country to discredit President Kaunda and the rest of the leadership. Speaking at a New Year party for student house workers [as heard] at Menaco House, Comrade Zulu urged the nation to ignore these rantings and remain united under the leadership of President Kaunda. The party chief warned that the campaign to discredit the president and the leadership constitutes a threat to national unity and should not be encouraged by peace-loving Zambians. [Text] [Lusaka Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 31 Dec 86 MB] /12913

CSO: 3400/735

SCHLEBUSCH PUT FORWARD AS POSSIBLE SUCCESSOR TO BOTHA

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 12 Nov 86 pp 1, 13

[Article by "MIVR": "Schlebusch To Succeed PW"]

[Text] Mr Alwyn Schlebusch has been brought back into the cabinet as successor to Mr P. W. Botha.

That is how rightwing circles in Pretoria interpret the reshuffling and new appointments in the cabinet announced by the state president in the past week.

A further important consequence of the changes in the cabinet and among deputy ministers is that the government's ideological center of gravity has shifted significantly to the left. Two members of the right wing of the National Party (NP), Mr Louis le Grange and Mr Hendrik Schoeman, are leaving the cabinet, while the appointment of two former United Party (UP) members of Parliament strengthens the ranks of former UP members in the cabinet and among the deputy ministers.

But it is the appointment of Mr Schlebusch that is receiving most of the attention in political circles. The unprecedented step of taking Mr Schlebusch back into the cabinet clearly springs from the perception on the part of Mr P. W. Botha that he has no reliable successor among the present members of his cabinet. This state of affairs has been openly discussed by NP members of Parliament for some time.

Mr Schlebusch's appointment is above all an indication of a lack of confidence in the minister of political development and planning and Cape leader of the NP, Mr Chris Heunis. Apparently Mr Botha now realizes that the very uncharismatic Mr Heunis is an improbable successor.

For all practical purposes, Mr Schlebusch will be vice state president, although his official portfolio will be that of minister in the Office of the State President responsible for the Administration Commission and the South African Broadcasting Corporation. He will also handle ceremonial duties.

Mr P. W. Botha and Mr Schlebusch have been connected for many years. During the election of the premier in 1978, for example, Mr Schlebusch took the unprecedented step of openly calling on NP members of Parliament to vote for Mr Botha. For this he was rewarded with various senior posts, including that of vice state president.

Those in the know say that if Mr Schlebusch is chosen to succeed Mr Botha, he will be a sort of transition figure before the advent of power sharing with Blacks and a predominantly black government, according to indications already given by the Broederbond.

The cabinet and the ranks of the deputy ministers are now swarming with former UP politicians. The appointment of Mr George Bartlett and Mr Myburgh Streicher as deputy ministers increases the group to five. The others are Mr John Wiley (who in addition receives the Water Affairs portfolio), Mr Ron Miller and Mr Ken Durr. Mr Bartlett was a New Republic Party member of Parliament until 2 years ago, while Mr Streicher is a former leader of the UP in the Cape.

The large number of former UP members among the leadership, in the context of the stepping down of the two most conservative members of the cabinet, will definitely have an influence on future government decisions, political observers say.

12906/12379  
CSO: 3401/69

TUCSA DECLINE CITED AS PROOF OF MULTIRACIALISM FAILURE

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 19 Nov 86 p 4

["Perspective" by "Gawie": "TUCSA Testimony to Failure of Multiracialism"]

[Text] The once giant Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) has come to the end of the road. As recently as 1982 this multiracial federation of trade unions was the biggest in South Africa, with almost 432,000 members and 57 affiliated trade unions. TUCSA was still expanding--in 1980 it had only 283,000 members, which increased to 361,000 in 1981.

The first storm clouds appeared in 1983, when the SA Boilermakers Union announced that it was withdrawing from TUCSA. The Boilermakers Union, which had extremely close ties with rising black trade unions, decided to withdraw shortly after TUCSA's annual congress. The reason was TUCSA's call for a law prohibiting unregistered trade unions, as well as the federation's opposition to a proposal that workers be permitted to join the trade union of their choice.

At that time it was said in liberal circles that the Boilermakers' decision would further damage TUCSA's credibility among black trade unions.

These were clearly prophetic words. As the black trade union movement found its feet, TUCSA apparently enjoyed less and less credibility, probably because it continued to try to play the traditional role of a trade union movement. This was simply not possible in the context of the increasing political involvement of black trade unions.

Thus TUCSA's decline went hand-in-hand with a substantial increase in the membership of black trade unions. That membership grew, for example, from 220,000 in 1980 to 670,000 in 1983, an increase of 200 percent.

Blacks clearly joined black trade unions because of their political role. While trade unions traditionally focused on the wages and working conditions of workers, the new black trade unions also recruited their members for political purposes. Many of the black trade unions also affiliated themselves with the internal front of The African National Congress (ANC), the Union for the Defense of the Republic (UDF). Naturally TUCSA could not compete with a black trade union such as the Confederation of South African Congress (COSATU), which

in May this year announced in a pamphlet: "Comrades unite--we will look out for your interests! Marxism-Socialism serves you!"

TUCSA's decline was the direct result of the government's present labor policy, which served to accelerate the rise of the black trade union movement. Without this, TUCSA would never have succumbed, because the trade union movement would never have been radicalized to the extent that is now the case.

No multiracial trade union is in a position to bring together and speak for the interests of its disparate membership. When politics also enters into the game, this becomes an impossible task. No wonder, then, that we are living at a time when the trade union movement is characterized by giant black trade unions on the one side and growing white trade unions on the other. The leftwing ideal of a multiracial trade union movement in South Africa lies in ruins. Those who still find themselves in the middle will gravitate to one side or the other in the coming 2 or 3 years, or go under like TUCSA.

Events in the trade union movement reflect what is happening in South African society as a whole. The polarization that has taken place since the adoption of the present constitution is most sharply visible in the trade unions because they are the only field in which large black, mixed, and white organizations exist alongside one another and compete with one another.

The failure of multiracialism is, however, also clearly visible in the political arena. One good example of this is the failure of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) to become a genuinely multiracial party. Although the party announced with great fanfare that it would also sign non-whites as members, precious little has come of this. This party of rich Englishmen cannot possibly compete with political movements like the ANC and the UDF for the support of blacks and other non-whites. As far as its multiracialism is concerned, the PFP will go the same way as TUCSA.

The most important quarter that should, however, take note of the TUCSA case is the government. Just as TUCSA is the result of its labor policy, so TUCSA is also a mirror in which it can see its own future--if it cares to take the trouble to learn. TUCSA was the "moderate" center in the trade union movement, with organizations like the Mine Workers Union and COSATU on either side, just like the government in the field of politics. And, like the government, TUCSA also thought it could successfully reconcile the interests of disparate power groups.

The soap bubble of multiracialism has already burst for TUCSA, but the impression nonetheless remains that the government still nourishes ideas of a multiracial National Council and other wishful thinking. Likewise, there is still the illusion in government ranks that there is a majority of "moderates" in South Africa that stands as a sort of buffer between the power aspirations of white nationalists on the one side and black nationalists on the other. This kind of utopian politics has also brought into being a whole range of familiar and less well known little parties and organizations in recent years.

However ardently it is hoped these days that the present political impasse will be overcome by some highly imaginative step or other, the truth TUCSA has so pointedly underlined cannot be evaded.

UNEMPLOYED TRAINED TO BUILD INEXPENSIVE HOUSING

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 Nov 86 p 13

[Unattributed report: "Unemployed Help Build Houses"]

[Text] "We are going to build houses for the whole of South Africa in this manner," Mr Piet du Plessis, minister of manpower, said yesterday after a visit to the training center in the Epping industrial area where unemployed people are being trained in all the skills necessary to build their own houses.

Mr du Plessis went to show the training center, as well as a construction project which has been undertaken by the trained "unemployed" in Khayelitsha, to General Magnus Malan, minister of defense.

"I see light at the end of the tunnel of our housing problems when I look at what is being done here (in Khayelitsha)," General Malan said. The houses in Khayelitsha have two bedrooms, an open living room and kitchen, a bathroom and a flush toilet--and the building material costs only about 4,000 rands.

At the training center in Epping 1,500 registered unemployed are now being trained in basic skills necessary to build a sub-economic house.

The training lasts from a week to 3 weeks and includes courses in basic wood working, concrete work, brick work, block laying, painting, plastering, plumbing, welding, and curb-stone laying.

Unemployed persons are also trained as security guards and domestic help, and are trained to obtain a driver's license.

"We make better workers out of unemployed workers," Mr Johan Greyling, head of the training center, said yesterday. As soon as the unemployed people complete their course they enter the labor market and many of them get work at, among other places, make-work projects such as the construction project in Khayelitsha.

More than 30,400 unemployed persons have been trained since the opening of the center in July of last year. Each course participant receives 2.40 rands and two meals per day. Approximately 3,500 meals are prepared each day in a kitchen at the training center. At the make-work projects an "unemployed" persons earns 4 rands and two meals per day.

Mr Greyling said the course participants are being trained to build a house which is inexpensive, labor-intensive, "easily constructible" and of good quality. "We make the bricks, window frames, door-posts and doors for the houses which are being built at the make-work project in Khayelitsha.

The Khayelitsha houses, which were developed at the training center, are built of "bricks" consisting of plastic bags which are filled with wet cement and sand. These bricks are then laid upon each other in moulds.

#### Workers Trained Without Cost

From now on farmers can have their agricultural workers trained, without cost, to build sub-economic houses on their farms.

Mr John Greyling, head of the Western Cape training center in Epping, told DIE BURGER yesterday that the course, which will be offered on private farms, lasts 5 weeks.

An instructor from the training center will be made available to the farmer, without cost, to train his workers in all the skills necessary to build sub-economic houses.

All it will cost the farmer is the building material as well as room and board for the instructor. The farmer will also have to continue to compensate his workers.

The course will only be able to be offered to groups of 10 or more workers at a time.

13238/8309  
CSO: 3401/57

'POPULATION EXPLOSION', URBANIZATION TERMED CATASTROPHIC

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 12 Nov 86 p 12

[Editorial: "Like a Time Bomb"]

[Text] The population census of 1985 has once again focused the spotlight brightly on one of the greatest--possibly even the single greatest--future problem which is facing South Africa: its population explosion. All possible political and economic plans for the future are in danger of being for naught if this question, which is built in like a time bomb, is not tackled in a timely and effective manner.

Above all, three phenomena in the census reports give rise to serious concern: the too-high overall birthrate, the unhealthy demographic distribution of the populace, and the low percentage of the populace which has attained a degree--and from which most decision-makers ought to come.

It is clear that if the urbanization process continues at its present rate, millions more colored people will move, which could place irresistible pressure upon the natural resources and infrastructure of the metropolitan areas.

Some years ago the President's Council warned of the danger of just such overpopulation and excessive urbanization. It inevitably creates friction, which even bears the danger of revolution within itself.

One of the potentially most important counterbalances to excessive urbanization, decentralization, has not yet had the desired effect. It will have to be looked at again.

For that very reason the government is continuing its population development strategy with greater purposefulness, such as with the recent establishment of the Council for Population Development.

Such a strategy depends, of course, to a great extent upon success in raising the population groups' standard of living. This includes, among other things, the expansion of family planning programs, and, because it is a sensitive matter, the depoliticizing of them.

Yesterday evening, Mr Willie van Niekerk again stressed the urgency of the problem. He warned that the present generation is the last one which will be able to do something about it. If it fails, the future holds a disaster in store similar to that in Ethiopia and other starving African countries. It will, at the same time, sound the death knell for all other well-intentioned development programs.

Those who, on top of it all, propagate violence, boycotts, and sanctions, are simply enhancing the possibility of a catastrophe.

13238/8309

CSO: 3401/57

COLIN EGLIN, INTERNAL TENSIONS IN PFP VIEWED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 17 Nov 86 p 8

[Editorial: "The PFP's Young Radicals"]

[Text] The deep division within the Progressive Federal Party [PFP] will probably be in the spotlight once again next week at its national convention in Johannesburg when the young Progs' radical proposals come up for discussion.

One of their most controversial points is the proposal that the party should actively support the application of sanctions against governmental and military institutions. They even come to the conclusion that sanctions "will not be harmful to the South African populace or economy as a whole."

And this while militant black labor unions are now becoming alarmed at the results of sanctions and disinvestment, and Mr Colin Eglin just spoke out against sanctions abroad. As residents of the wealthy white areas, however, they will probably feel the effect of sanctions less than other people.

The boycott mentality is also still present in the PFP because the young Progs want the party to withdraw from the President's Council and to boycott the regional service councils.

The wild proposals can also be viewed as an attempt by the young Progs to make the party more attractive to radical young blacks, who still act towards the party with great suspicion and distrust. For many, the PFP remains pre-eminently the party of "white capitalism."

Just as his predecessor, Mr Eglin will have the job of maintaining the appearance of peace and unity and of glossing over the differences. Not only does the danger exist of a serious collision between the young men and the party leadership, but also between the traditional right and left wings of the party. It is this kind of internal tension which has so crippled the PFP that it no longer is an effective factor in South African politics.

13238/8309

CSO: 3401/57

SOUTH AFRICA

SOVIETS SEND ANC ANNIVERSARY CONGRATULATIONS

PM091459 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 87 First Edition p 1

[CPSU Greetings to African National Congress on 75th Anniversary]

[Text] To the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress  
[ANC] of South Africa

Dear comrades!

We send you cordial congratulations on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the creation of the ANC of South Africa.

Through its years-long courageous and selfless struggle against the racist regime the ANC has deservedly earned recognition as the genuine spokesman and defender of the South African people's interests.

People in the Soviet Union, just as all honest people on earth, fully understand and support the ANC's determination to create a united, democratic state in South Africa where there will be no room for racism and which will guarantee the equal rights of all citizens regardless of the color of their skin.

The struggle by South Africa's patriotic forces has now entered a new and responsible stage. The mass political demonstrations, the strike movement, and the armed operations by ANC fighters are fusing into a single stream of the people's anger, which will inevitably overthrow the inhuman regime of apartheid.

Today, on the day of the ANC's 75th anniversary, we express combat solidarity with Nelson Mandela and other leaders and activist members of the Congress who are languishing in racist jails. Soviet people are convinced that the cause of the fighters for South Africa's freedom will triumph.

The CPSU Central Committee

/9599

CSO: 3400/737

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

ANC DELEGATION RECEIVED IN MOSCOW--On 8 January A. A. Moku, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received a delegation from the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa, headed by J. M. Makatini, member of the ANC National Executive Committee. Speaking of the situation which has emerged in southern Africa, the head of the delegation stressed the great significance of the Soviet Union's solidarity with the South African people in their struggle against apartheid. During the conversation it was noted that the ANC has rightly won recognition as the true voice and defender of the South African people's interests. It was stressed that in the Soviet Union there is complete understanding and support for the ANC's determination to put an end to the ignominious apartheid system and create a united, democratic state in South Africa. [Text] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 4] /9599

ANC OPENS OFFICE IN MOSCOW--Moscow, 8 Jan (TASS)--The decision to open a permanent mission of the African National Congress [ANC] in the USSR this year has great political importance for the further intensification of our struggle to abolish the system of apartheid, said Johnny Makatini, a member of the ANC National Executive Committee. At a press conference here today, he expressed great appreciation for the Soviet Union's unfailing support of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. The ANC, Johnny Makatini said, is marking its 75th jubilee at a time when the struggle against apartheid has entered a decisive stage. It has brought about a profound crisis for the white minority regime, and the initiative has passed to the progressive forces. In their attempt to preserve the system of racial oppression, the authorities in Pretoria have pinned their faith on total terror within the country and aggression against neighboring independent countries. In such a situation, the ANC representative noted, our organization advocates unity of action by all the progressive forces of southern Africa with the aim of destroying the racist regime and creating a free and democratic society based upon the principles of equality and justice. The growing support and solidarity of all people of goodwill, and above all, of the socialist and nonaligned countries, is of enormous importance for us. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1648 GMT 8 Jan 87] /9599

CSO: 3400/737

## DRAFT BILL DETAILS PROPOSALS TO REVAMP COUNTRY'S LABOR LAWS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Dec 86 p 13

[Article by Kym Hamilton]

[Text] Proposals to revamp South Africa's labour laws are detailed in a draft Bill published in the Government Gazette today.

Far-reaching changes to the judicial machinery governing labour relations, definitions of unfair labour practices and dismissals, and the settlement of disputes are envisaged.

Yesterday, at a Press conference in Pretoria, the Director-General of the Department of Manpower, Dr Piet van der Merwe, said he hoped the Bill represented a measure of consensus of the divergent views of participants in the labour scene.

### Due date for comments

He said comment would be welcome from all interested parties, and the Bill was not by any means the final form of amendments to the Labour Relations Act.

Comment must be submitted to the department by February 6.

He added that it was hoped the Bill could be put before Parliament during the 1987 session.

The additions to the Labour Relations Act were aimed at streamlining the dispute settlement process, he said.

The contents of the draft Bill come from the National Manpower Commission, his department, and various employer and employee organisations.

The major amendments relate to the establishment of a second tier in the judicial process — a special labour court which will be part of the Supreme Court of South Africa.

Its officers will be judges, and it will fall under the control of the Minister of Justice.

The court will be empowered to hear appeals against Industrial Court decisions, and go some way to alleviate the workload at the Industrial Court.

Since the establishment of the Industrial Court in 1979, the number of cases submitted has risen dramatically, Dr van der Merwe pointed out.

In 1974 there were four, in 1980 15 — and 801 last year. Projections for this year are more than 2 000.

The Bill also provides for a right to apply for leave to appeal to the Appellate Division, and gives the court the power to award costs.

A second major aspect is the redefinition of the term "unfair labour practice". This follows much criticism that the present definition is too wide.

Labour practices which will be "unfair" include:

- The use by a trade union or employer organisation of unconstitutional, unfair or misleading methods to canvass members.

- The replacement of one employee by another on less favourable employment conditions.

- The indirect or direct support or participation in a boycott by an employee, trade union or federation not involved in a dispute with the relevant employer.

## **Exclusions**

● Discrimination on the grounds of race, sex or religion.

● An employer who unreasonably fails to negotiate on an industrial council or with a representative trade union or group of employees.

● A trade union which hinders an employer's negotiations with employees not represented by the union.

● The failure by an employer or trade union to comply with an agreement, or acts without authorisation of its members.

● Any labour practice which has the effect of jeopardising or prejudicing the employment opportunities or work security of an employee, unfairly disrupting the business of an em-

ployer, promoting or creating labour unrest and detrimentally affecting the relationship between an employer and employee.

Certain labour practices have been excluded from the definition.

These are the dismissal of illegal strikers and the selective re-employment of dismissed workers, provided objective criteria are used.

What constitutes "objective criteria" will have to be determined by the Industrial Court.

The draft Bill also provides for the insertion of a definition of an "unfair dismissal".

The definition will make it necessary for retrenchments to be negotiated, and will give employees the right to be heard.

/13046

CSO: 3400/724

## NEW STRATEGY OF OPPRESSION AGAINST BLACK ACTIVISTS NOTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Dec 86 p 20

[Article by Alister Sparks in "My View" column]

[Text] South Africa's drastic new Press restrictions are much more than just an attempt to muzzle the newspapers and put an end to unfavourable publicity.

They are part of a massive operation aimed at crushing the emergent black political opposition in the townships that has brought the official administrative system there to its knees over the past two years and stalled implementation of the Government's neo-apartheid reforms at the regional and national levels.

They are also a declaration of defiance to the world in response to sanctions. Like a kid in a temper tantrum, Pretoria is saying to hell with the world, we no longer care what you think of us and now we are going to do what we damned well like.

Thirdly, they are a demonstration of *kragdadigheid* in preparation for a laager election next April in which President Botha wants to outflank the far-rightists with a display of toughness and chauvinism.

An extensive network of community organisations has sprung up in the townships in recent years — action committees, street committees, civic associations and student groups.

Backed by the trade unions and co-ordinated by national political organisations such as the United Democratic Front and Azapo, they have developed into a shadow civic administration in the black areas.

As they have grown in strength they have begun to challenge the

authority of the official administration, making major inroads in some areas. That has been the thrust of the black rebellion of the last two years.

With the declared intention of making the townships "ungovernable", black activists have waged a campaign against the official administrative system there.

The township councils, elected under the apartheid system in heavily boycotted polls, have come under attack. Many of the councillors, discredited as "collaborators", have been killed or forced to flee. Others have resigned.

As the administrative structures have crumbled, the "alternative" community organisations have sought to take over control.

Apart from disrupting Pretoria's system of local black administration in large parts of the country, this has also paralysed Mr Chris Heunis's efforts to implement his neo-apartheid reforms at the regional and national levels.

He has been unable to find credible black leaders willing to participate in the regional services councils and the National Council.

Since June, with the sweeping powers granted by the emergency proclamation, the Government has begun a counter-offensive aimed at crippling the "alternative" community organisations and reconstructing the official administrative system.

A series of Joint Management Committees, which are the local

limbs of an elaborate intelligence network called the National Security Management System, have sought to re-establish the legitimacy of the state authorities by identifying and redressing local grievances.

From the Government's point of view the JMCs have been successful. They believe they are winning the battle in the townships and now they are being given carte blanche to go all out and finish the job.

The news blackout is part of a total war that has been declared on the "alternative" organisations. By prohibiting the newspapers from reporting or commenting on their activities, the Government hopes to sever their means of communication with the community at large.

It will now be more difficult for them to organise and publicise their boycotts, strikes and other protest campaigns. The detention of their members cannot be reported, nor what is done to them in detention.

The security forces can crack down on them, even remove whole dissident communities, without the public attention provided by monitoring bodies such as the Black Sash and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, which have also been gagged by the Press restrictions.

Repression can be intensified in silence. While this is happening, the Joint Management Committees will press ahead with their campaign of trying to win credibility for the authorities and their black proxies in the townships by attending to material shortcomings such as poor housing and civic amenities.

If the black opposition can be put out of action and the local administrative system reconstructed, the Government believes it will then be easier to co-opt compliant blacks to get its "own affairs" constitutional reforms into operation at the regional and national levels as well.

It is a strategy of repression and co-option which is likely to form the pattern of future action by the Botha Government.

Its prospects of success I would

rate as minimal. Perhaps it will succeed in producing another temporary lull in the unrest as happened after the 1976 uprising was finally crushed, but repression inevitably deepens feelings of grievance and alienation which co-option and patronage can only assuage for a few at the expense of the many.

In the long run such a society can be maintained only by force, and I doubt whether South Africa's small mandarin class has the resources in terms of manpower, skills and money to do that indefinitely.

As for his other objective, President Botha can probably get the election victory he wants. He is going to try to beat John Vorster's electoral triumph of 1977, when Vorster followed up his repression of the Soweto uprising with a xenophobic exploitation of white resentment of the Carter Administration's critical rhetoric.

President Botha is going to try to exploit the US Congress's sanctions vote in the same way, calling on divided Afrikaners to sink their differences and come into the laager together to fight off the "total onslaught" by a vindictive, American-led Western world and black revolutionaries who are the tools of Moscow.

He will use sanctions and *kragdadigheid* to outflank the far rightists and the scare of a right-wing takeover to get Progressive Federal Party supporters to back him.

This part of the game plan could work. The ageing President may well get the big victory he seems to want so badly in the hope that history will finally account him a success. But it will be a Pyrrhic victory. History will not forgive him for what he is doing to his country to achieve it.

Mr Botha revealed in his earlier statements that he realised South Africa needed to transform its race relations if it was to survive. History, like judges, tends to hold most culpable those who do wrong when they know better.

/13046

CSO: 3400/724

## MINE-RESISTANT VEHICLES' INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 14 Dec 86 pp 1, 19

[Article by Kitt Katzin]

[Text]

AS THE landmine menace spreads across South Africa's northern borders, at least four automotive design companies are preparing to release a new range of mine-protected vehicles for use in farming, industry and the private sector.

In what is fast becoming a highly competitive industry, the new armoured and bullet-proof models — tested by the CSIR and the Bureau of Standards (SABS) — will come off production lines in different parts of the country in the next few weeks.

New conventional vehicles are being mounted with variations of CSIR-developed mine-protected capsules, and others with independently designed components. They will cost between R25 000 and R40 000.

Almost any type of pick-up truck — one to three-tonners — can be modified at a cost of R12 000.

The Sunday Star has also established details of the Government subsidy paid to farmers in designated border areas to enable them to buy mineproof trucks — thus encouraging them to stay on their lands.

It applies mainly to farmers of the northern and north-western

Transvaal, and involves a grant of R28 000 to those who qualify.

In addition, farmers will be given a loan of R12 000, repayable over five years at low interest, which means buying a R40 000 security vehicle without any capital outlay.

About 200 farmers stand to benefit, and the subsidy may soon be extended to those along the Swaziland border.

Processing the subsidy applications — not all farmers will qualify — are the departments of Commerce and Agriculture.

Meanwhile, the subsidy scheme has thrown the local automotive industry wide open, with various companies, assured of lucrative and guaranteed payments, showing keen interest in agricultural and other sectors in the public and private sectors.

On the production side, one automotive designer, Mr Ernest Korschel, who is building a one-ton anti-ambush and mine-resistant bakkie, the Cougar, has received orders for 54 units from

an agricultural concern near Komatipoort.

Mr Korschel, a former Zimbabwean, has based his design on the Rhodesian Cougar, which he also designed and developed. It was the most successful mine-protected vehicle used in the Rhodesian war.

Four models are available, for from two to eight men.

Mr Korschel is also planning to build a mine-protected vehicle based on the world-renowned Rhodesian "Pookie", which saved thousands of lives by lifting more than 300 mines in the war against Zanu and Zapu.

He hopes to have a new variant of the "Pookie" in production at his plant in Germiston next year.

A Pretoria motor company executive, Mr Koos de Wet, the creator of the Buffel transport carrier — one of the most successful of its kind in the world — and the Casspir, has designed the Krimpvark mine-resistant vehicle for the civil sector. It is being built by Afrit, of Rosslyn, Pretoria.

Also a one-tonner, but of a different design, the Krimpvark has a top speed of 140 km/h, a fuel consumption of 20l/100 km, weighs two tons, offers good all-round visibility, and is well ventilated.

It is being made available to State agencies and to the private sector. The first production model has already been delivered to a business concern in Witbank.

At least two more engineering firms are making use of a CSIR-designed capsule which they are adapting in projects of their own. A new vehicle, the Rooibok, is in production and will be marketed soon.

The CSIR developed the capsule as a guideline for the production of home-built vehicles for use in the private sector. The basic design was made available to interested parties by the Department of Commerce.

The new vehicles come at a time when South Africa faces an increasing landmine threat, as shown by incidents in the northern

Transvaal over the past year. Since November last year, 16 people, some of them members of farming families, have died in blasts in areas close to the border with Zimbabwe.

BEHIND every move in the military field lies a price... a sum of money that in the final analysis has to be recommended by the Ministry of Defence and justified by Parliament.

When the first Swapo landmine in the Caprivi was detonated by a rear wheel of an SAP vehicle on routine patrol near Katima Mulilo on May 22, 1971, killing two policemen and injuring seven, South Africa's military strategists were in no doubt as to what lay ahead.

The use of the landmine as a tactical weapon in the war zones in South West Africa had begun in deadly earnest...

SA would soon learn, as did the Rhodesians, that vast quantities of Soviet and Chinese landmines embedded along country roads, on the fringes of farming villages and towns and in other areas could play havoc with civilians and soldiers.

In fact, as was later seen in Rhodesia, and Mozambique and Angola, landmines accounted for the loss of hundreds of lives, and played a vital part in tipping the scales in favour of the black nationalist guerrillas.

In Rhodesia, where scores of locally built mine-resistant vehicles actually saved many lives, at least 632 people died and 4 410 were injured in 2 405 landmine incidents in eight years.

White Rhodesians alone, who defied the world for 15 years with their unilateral declaration of independence, suffered more casualties, in proportion to their numbers, in landmine and other war-related incidents in the final seven years of the war (1972-1979) than did Britain in World War I.

In 1979, at the height of the bush war, 5,72 landmine blasts occurred every day.

In the Portuguese Angola war against the MPLA, FNLA and Unita, 2 582 landmine incidents were recorded in 10 years. In just one year, 1972, 40 people died and 405 were wounded.

These figures, once top-secret, but disclosed now for the first time in a new book by veteran Rhodesian war author Peter Stiff, casts the spotlight harshly on the war theatres bordering SA.

They paint a grim picture of what may similarly lie ahead for South African soldiers in SWA, Angola and elsewhere, and for civilians.

Is SA prepared to meet the threat of a stepped-up landmine onslaught?

Stiff, in his book "Taming the Landmine", the first of its kind on the development of the weapon and efforts to minimise its explosive effects, reveals how SA, by learning from Rhodesia's experience, has taken the lead among Western nations in securing a highly sophisticated landmine-protection industry.

He tells the story of how it began in the 1970s, when the landmine menace spread to Zimbabwe and SWA; of the engineers and designers, working under cover, who produced the prototypes of mine-resistant vehicles which form the core of those used today in the military and commercial sectors.

He also lifts the lid on a new range of mine-protected and detection vehicles due to roll off production lines at various assembly plants early next year.

SA, he says, has come a long way since the early days of anti-landmine operations when the objective was to detonate mines rather than protect vehicles against them.

As a result of a top-priority development and research programme, which has placed SA at the forefront of worldwide technology, thousands of lives — and thousands of millions of rands — have already been saved in military and civilian terms.

Given the fact, says Stiff, that SA is at war — rightly or wrongly — and that every battle fought has its price, SADF estimates in 1975/76 of protecting the life of one combatant against mines was put at R100 000, or R1 million in 1986.

In 1975/76, when money spent on the development and production of mine-exploders and mine-protected vehicles was compared to lives saved, it was found it had cost less than R40 to protect the life of a single person.

This, says Stiff, shows the extent to which the landmine menace, even though it is likely to escalate as fresh incidents in the northern Transvaal have shown, has been contained so far in SA's on-going military conflicts.

IT all began in 1968 when officers of the SA Defence Research Unit blew a large stuffed dummy called "Harold Wilson" to smithereens.

It was South Africa's first modern research project on the explosive effects of the landmine, and came in the wake of Swapo's early forays into South West Africa from bases across the border in Zambia.

The first of these, signalling the start of the SWA bush war, was mounted by members of a dissident Swapo gang which called itself the Do Mornfitu, which in Ovambo means "Soldiers of the Bush".

They attacked the small settlement of Oshikango on the Angolan border in the early hours of September 27, 1966, but by a stroke of good fortune wounded only one person, a night watchman.

Further evidence that Swapo meant business and was hell-bent on starting a full-scale conflict with SA, came in the form of a second attack when its guerrillas attacked a white-owned farm at Maroelaboom.

However, they failed and in a police follow-up operation, three guerrillas were captured.

After this, Swapo switched its operations from Ovamboland to the Caprivi Strip, making it easier to use its rear bases in Zambia as a launch-pad for incursions into SWA.

Meanwhile, SA's Defence Research Unit (DRU), anticipating the use of landmines as a weapon as had happened in Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere, carried out some basic tests in 1968.

Although it was a modest project, it was to lay the foundation — largely through the efforts of the private sector — for what is today regarded as the most cost-effective and best-equipped landmine-protecting industry in the West.

In his new book "Taming the Landmine", Peter Stiff tells the story of how it all started on that significant day in 1968.

Officers of the DRU reinforced the firewall of an old Ford pick-up truck with conveyor belting and placed a large

stuffed dummy, nicknamed Harold Wilson — after the then British Premier who was highly unpopular in SA — in the driving seat.

The detonation of a single landmine under the front blasted the Ford to pieces, and no trace was found of "Harold Wilson".

Soon after the DRU had submitted a report on its tests, pointing out the danger of a landmine onslaught and suggesting ways of countering it, the first Swapo-laid mine was detonated by a police vehicle.

Two more SAP vehicles were blasted in a second incident, killing two policemen and wounding eight.

Then the casualties from landmine blasts in Caprivi began to escalate, and military strategists went back to the drawing boards to reassess the findings of the 1968 report.

They examined the whole question of landmine detection, deliberate detonation and the protection of vehicles against blast effect.

And so began the development of a new industry that was to change

the face of SA's war machine and have a dramatic impact on the lives and movement patterns of its troops.

The era of armoured mine-resistant vehicles had begun...

Early development saw the arrival of remote-controlled vehicles, designed by Brigadier Hennie Reynecke of the SAP, the Telefoonhokkie — developed from V-hull technology along with the prototype Camel, and later to be renamed the Hyena — and the Hotnotsgod (praying mantis) mine-exploder, built by an Armscor engineer, Fritz Eksteen.

Then came the Road Runner and Super Road Runner, a large auxiliary attached to the front of personnel-carriers, such as Buffels, and used to turn up mines and detonate them. It was developed by the DRU and Captain Jock Taljaard of the SAP.

It went through many modifications, was found to be not entirely suitable and was replaced by the Spinnekop (spider), which was hyper-protected against detonations.

Although it cost R70 000, in the 1970s, to produce one Spinnekop, repairs were inexpensive (R6 000 a detonation); 18 were built and results were good.

Along with the development of mine-exploders came the first of SA's mine-protected vehicles, the Hyena. At that point, the SAP sought advice from the DRU regarding a mine-protected troop-carrying vehicle for use in SWA and Rhodesia, where they, and not the SADF, were committed to counter-insurgency operations.

The police were equipped with Bedford trucks, and the question

was whether the work done by the DRU on the Hyena could be switched to the Bedfords.

The answer was yes, and the vehicle that resulted was the Hippo.

Later 522 Hippos were built for the SADF and were used extensively in SWA and Angola. The vehicle went to three marks, but two only of the last mark, the Mark II R-Series, were built as prototypes in 1978.

It became the forerunner of the ubiquitous Casspir.

Also developed about the same time were the Zebra, a load-carrying variant of the Hippo used by the SAP, and the Bosvark, carrying Barber plates under the cab and fitted with a V-shaped unit in the rear tray, and used by the SADF.

Meanwhile, the Swerwer (wanderer) mine-protected vehicle was put into service by the SAP in SWA, and by 1976, after the UN arms embargo, it was decided to standardise SA's military vehicles and an extensive range of mine-protected Samils was produced for every purpose.

However, since the Samils were not monocoque-constructed, mine-blast damage was gross and repair costs high. This was soon offset by the introduction of the Buffel mine-resistant troop-carrier — later to be regarded as one of the most cost-effective vehicles of its kind in the world.

It was introduced into SADF service in 1978 after a series of extensive detonation tests and thousands were used and battle-tested in SWA by the SADF and the SWA Territorial Force.

It is also no secret that the Buffel has been exported to several countries where, as in SA, it became a household name in the field of anti-insurgency and anti-landmine operations.

KOOS de Wet, credited with designing two of South Africa's most revolutionary mine-protected infantry vehicles, is a man with automotive design in his blood.

As the creator of the Buffel and the Casspir which spearhead SA's military fight for survival, he has been instrumental in saving the lives of thousands of troops in landmine blasts in the border war with Swapo, in Angola and elsewhere.

Who is Koos de Wet, who studied engineering at Stellenbosch University and is now with a motor company in Pretoria?

His inherited skills in designing top-class modern military vehicles — many of which have been exported — have been unearthed by author Peter Stiff.

He tells how an ancestor on Koos de Wet's maternal side, Phillip Brannon of Southampton, England, conceived the idea of a bombing aircraft called Aricutata and an airship he named Mars in the 1870s.

He proposed the latter be used in relieving the siege of Paris, then to assist in the search for Livingstone and final-

ly for the relief of Plevna in 1877 during the Russo-Turkish War.

Whatever the outcome, the genius of Phillip Brannon re-emerged through the ambition of a distant descendant, one Koos de Wet, who in 1973 became actively involved in his own pet hobby: the design of special all-wheel vehicles and the development of mine-protection technology.

The Buffel, recalled Koos de Wet, was born out of a conversion of the Bosvark troop-carrier, which in turn had been produced on the basis of expertise gained from development of the Hyena and the Hippo, and from information coming out of Rhodesia, where landmine incidents had reached a peak in the last years of the war.

With no access to development funds, Koos de Wet hitched up with John Davies, managing director of Busaf Border in East London, and built a prototype in wood to save costs, and later developed a more advanced version of the basic body.

They continued working with timber and plywood, producing

the Bosvark II, and presented to Armscor and the Defence Research Unit (DRU) a mild-steel prototype with drawings.

Improvements were made and the original Unimog vehicle, used as a basis for the Bosvark, became unrecognisable.

It was initially rejected by Armscor after it had been tested, and a dejected Koos de Wet ironed out the weaknesses and redesigned the vehicle.

The Army called for it again, and more explosive tests, with a baboon strapped into the seat in the driver's cab, were done.

This time Koos de Wet won the day. His vehicle survived the blast and the baboon was unharmed, except for a cut on its lip.

The Bosvark II changed its name and became the Buffel. It was commissioned by the SADF in 1978.

Similarly, Koos de Wet was able to design the Casspir, a self-contained fighting vehicle with a 1 000-km range. It is crewed by a driver and a commander/gunner, and it can carry 12 combat-ready troops.

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