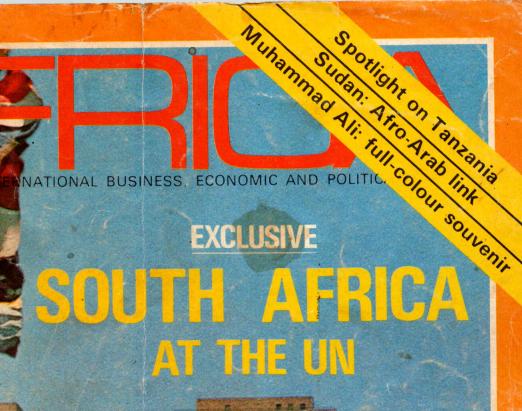
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South Africa escaped expulsion from the United Nations because three of the five permanent members of the Council exercised their right of veto. For the first time in the history of the UN, the Council was asked to expel a UN member. It was also the first time that the Western Powers simultaneously exercised their right of veto. This issue makes a comprehensive survey of South Africa before world opinion. Pages 9, 16-25.





President Idi Amin of Uganda and the British Government have clashed again. The apparent cause of their quarrel was a British newspaper report, but the battle was waged over diplomatic representations in Kampala and London respectively. With 1,500 Britons still in Uganda facing the threat of expulsion in the aftermath of the row, Peter Enahoro reports that relations were in fact beginning to improve between the two Commonwealth members. Page 29

Promoters of African unity say that the Sahara Desert is not a dividing belt but a bridge linking the Arab-speaking north with the Black states of the south. The country which represents the bridgehead of the link both geographically and in its ethnic composition is the Sudan. It is no surprise therefore that the Sudan is launching a diplomatic initiative to hold a Summit meeting of Arab and African heads of State. Page 33





The Ali/Forman fight in Kinshasa recently reconfirmed Ali's name among the immortals in boxing and, as a result, no tribute is too much to be paid to him. AFRICA this month adds Special Souvenir pages in colour as a befitting tribute to this colourful boxer, who, at the ripe age of 32, is the second heavyweight to win back the world championship, but the first to do so at that age. Page 50

"What the African novelist has attempted to do," the Kenyan novelist Ngugi wa Thiong'o says, "is to restore the African character to its history." South African writer Lewis Nkosi adds: 'The new poets, novelists and dramatists have had to begin by hacking away at the thick undergrowth of European legend, popular misconception and distortion." Nevertheless, there is a thread of realism in African writing, which rejects window-dressing idealizing the past. Page 60



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# EDWIN OGBU

Nigeria's Permanent Representative at the U.N. and Chairman of the U.N. Committee on Apartheid

## INTERVIEWS

The last OAU Summit in Mogadishu called for the intensification of African efforts to isolate South Africa internationally. As a result, the 29th. session of the UN General Assembly saw a concerted move to expel South Africa from the world body. Although that expulsion was thwarted by the first triple veto in UN history - exercised by Britain, France and the United States - apartheid was put on a rigorous trial and received unprecedented exposure. Raph Uwechue, AFRICA's Editor-in-Chief, was at the UN headquarters in New York where he interviewed three key men: Chairman of the UN Committee on Apartheid, Nigeria's Edwin Ogbu; South Africa's Permanent Representative to the UN, Rudolf Botha; and the current Chairman of both the UN Committee on Decolonization and the African Group at the UN, Tanzania's Salim Salim.

■ AFRICA: Mr. Ambassador, the UN Committee on Apartheid of which you are the Chairman was established in 1962. Since then, we have heard lots of criticisms regarding its ineffectiveness. It appears now there is the hope of a change. Pressure is mounting against the South African regime and especially for its expulsion from the United Nations. Can you tell us exactly what role your Committee has played so far in the anti-apartheid struggle?

• OGBU: No doubt the Committee, as you said, was set up by a resolution of the General Assembly in 1962 but it actually started its work in 1963. At the beginning the Committee followed very strictly the mandate of the General Assembly and that has been generally to keep in view the policy of apartheid as practised by the South African Government and to report from time to time to the General Assembly and to the Security Council what the South African regime is doing by way of its policy of apartheid. However, at a certain point, I can't say precisely when, the Committee decided that there should be more pressure brought to bear on the friends of South Africa, mainly her major trading partners, to see if they could bring about a change in the policies of apartheid. We know that the system has survived because a lot of western and, I emphasise western, multinational companies are reaping unimaginably huge benefits out of the situation in South Africa where African labour is employed for little or nothing.

AFRICA: Has your pressure had any effect?

• OGBU: The Committee decided in the last two years since I have been chairman, that, perhaps, instead of having a confrontation, we might seek the strategy of cooperation, seeking the cooperation of the governments and the Companies mostly in Western Europe who are cooperating with South Africa. In this regard, we have succeeded in getting resolutions in the United Nations General Assembly appealing to western powers to desist from cooperating with the regime in South Africa in terms of diplomatic, military and economic relations. We cannot claim that we have succeeded entirely but, recently, in the last twelve months, the Committee has embarked upon quite a bit of travelling and holding consultations with the different governments, agencies, corporations and companies.

■ AFRICA: Which countries did you visit and with what specific results?

• OGBU: In this case, we did not only call on the

countries and governments that have relations with South Africa but also on governments who have tried on their own to fight apartheid and sever relations with South Africa. This included the Government of Ireland where we held a session for about three days and had consultations with the anti-apartheid movement in Dublin; the GDR, East Berlin, where the government is totally committed to the eradication of apartheid and has assisted many of the victims of apartheid. We also visited Hungary which is strongly antiapartheid. In Geneva, we held sessions with a number of anti-apartheid movements in Europe, who wanted guidance in terms of what possible and practical pressures could be applied to supporters of apartheid in Europe. In Rome, we were received in audience by the Pope, who made a statement in total commitment against racism.

■ AFRICA: From which country does the South African regime get the most support?

• OGBU: There is an office in Rome and also another one in Genoa, I am told, where the South African Government is actively recruiting Italians to migrate to South Africa. And we also know of some Italian firms which have very big businesses and are manufacturing cars and all other things in South Africa, taking advantage of the low cost of labour and then reaping very high benefits. Japan is one and about the third greatest partner of South Africa after the United Kingdom and the United States. France is not far behind. Western Germany has also a very high rating in this regard. We visited Western Germany last year before she became a full member of the UN and it is interesting to know that the first resolution that Western Germany co-sponsored on becoming a full member of the United Nations was the resolution against South Africa keeping political prisoners. Now, in Japan, the government was very sympathetic to our approach to the problem and they have undertaken to re-examine their policies about trade with South Africa in terms of seeking alternatives in black Africa and elsewhere. We made a very strong point about a Japanese bank based in London that had arranged some million dollar loans to South Africa. The Government at first tried to say that although it was a Japanese bank that it had no influence on it. But as a result of our visit or perhaps as a result of prior anti-apartheid movement pressures that bank has now, at its Board of Directors' meeting held in September, decided not to give any more loans to South Africa. In New Zealand we attacked from the sports angle. As you probably know, the New Zealanders take rugby very seriously. So it was a very bold step taken by the late Prime Minister Norman Kirk when he said that the South African rugby team, as long as it remains segregated, would not be allowed into New Zealand; neither would he allow any New Zealand rugby team to go to play in South Africa as long as apartheid is still practised. His successor assured me when I was there that he has no intention of changing that policy that his party and his government had taken. South Africa's trade with New Zealand is not important as such. But she attaches great importance to sporting activities and considers it essential to keep her relations with New Zealand at the utmost because she wants to know that she still has connections with the outside world even though we in the UN are trying to stop these contacts.

■ AFRICA: The attempt at expelling South Africa from the UN has just failed. Have you any comments?

• OGBU: In the light of the frequent violations by South Africa of UN resolutions and of fundamental human rights, and as a result of the concerted pressure of the Africa Group and the anti-apartheid Committee, the majority of member States at the UN have come to agree that apartheid is wrong and must be eliminated. This was exemplified in the voting at the opening of the current General Assembly, when the

credentials of South Africa were rejected by an overwhelming vote. At the Security Council debate where the question of her expulsion was debated and voted upon, South Africa has managed to survive thanks to the veto of Britain, France and the United States. 10 members voted for expulsion, 2 abstained. But the debate has brought out clearly the issue of apartheid to more people and more countries than has hitherto been the case. Although the bid to expel her from the UN has been halted for the time being, the Security Council resolution has given very strong warning to South Africa, that her survival as a member of the UN depends on her ability to show good cause and good faith that she intends to change. Disappointed, although not surprised, at the way the voting went regarding expulsion, my Committee intends to continue to struggle along the lines of bringing more and more pressure to bear on South Africa as long as she continues to practise apartheid.

■ AFRICA: Apart from the threat of expulsion what other weapon have you in hand at the moment?

● OGBU: As I presume you are aware, apartheid was declared a crime against humanity at the 25th session of the General Assembly; that was in 1970. Subsequently we have had a convention adopted seeking the punishment of apartheid as a crime. We need 20 ratifications to make that convention corporative. So far we have had some 13 signatures and hope for more within a reasonably short time. That would mean that the crime of apartheid becomes punishable by law and recognised by international law. In other words, if a person who has perpetuated the crime of apartheid runs from one country to another he becomes eligible to be tried and punished by the other country also.

actually practised by a Government and obviously Governments do not run from one country to the other. How does this affect the South African Government?

• OGBU: Well, the Government is made up of people and I would expect that if Vorster for instance, the Prime Minister of South Africa, who is the archbishop of apartheid, should find himself in a place like Nigeria, Kenya or Senegal for example, and these countries have ratified the term, he would be seized and tried on the spot for his crimes in South Africa.

■ AFRICA: With your experience at the UN and an awareness of the vested interests supporting apartheid, would you say really that debates and appeals have any chance of getting South Africa to alter direction in government as early as Africans would want to see this happen?

• OGBU: It may not be as early as Africans would want it to happen because as I can sense it, Africans would wish that it ended yesterday. But the realities of the case are that there are some possibilities and I feel encouraged in my optimism in talking with representatives of other countries. Yes, there are signs, I would say, of the possibility of her main trading partners bringing pressure to bear on South Africa. I think I should stress here that an important obstacle had been the wrong impression that many of the friends of South Africa had. They have been encouraged to think that Africans are asking the white South Africans to quit South Africa and leave the country for the blacks. This is completely incorrect. African Heads of State and the black leaders in South Africa have emphasized over and over again that what they are asking for is equal justice for all people in South Africa including the white South Africans. If the main trading partners of South Africa, who are also the backers of apartheid, are currently trading with black independent sovereign states, there is no reason for them to be afraid that their trade cannot continue fruitfully in South Africa, if eventually, blacks take charge of that country through the democratic process of majority rule.



South African Premier John Vorster and Rhodesia's Ian Smith: time running out – Camera Press

■ AFRICA: Your speech at the Security Council regarding the problem of apartheid in your country has been regarded as marking some change in tone, and possibly, in the attitude of your Government. What comment have you on this assessment of that speech?

• BOTHA: My first comment is that it was indeed intended as a conciliatory statement; that it was in the first place addressed to Africa, because after all, being an African state ourselves, our destiny lies in Africa and we are aware of the need to come to an understanding with Africa and with the Black Africans living in South Africa.

■ AFRICA: Mr Ambassador, a speech is a speech, action speaks louder than words. Are we to understand that your Government intends to take concrete steps within South Africa to begin seriously to resolve the racial problem of apartheid, or is this speech intended only to mollify opinion at the UN level, because your Government is currently under considerable pressure?

• BOTHA: I think I must draw your attention to the fact that my Prime Minister spoke the day before my own speech, in the South African Senate when he came out strongly with what was called a crossroad speech, saying that we in Southern Africa had the choice between escalating confrontation or taking the road to peaceful development. He renewed his offer of friendship to Africa and his willingness to talk with Africa. It is of extreme importance in my opinion, that we must first start talking, we must first get together and we must be given an opportunity to put our point of view to Africa and Africa will put her point of view to us and surely then we can start sorting out the differences; surely then we can get a very clear picture of the African view. You see to begin with, we are being urged, we are being told, you've got to change. Well if you insist, if you simply insist that the changes we must make are changes which will almost certainly lead to our destruction, theI must be frank with you, we can't make those changes.

If on the other hand, you tell me, look it's no good beating about the bush, you have discriminatory practices in your country, there are incidents of an unsavoury nature, in which a black man is humiliated, then I say to you yes, they do occur, but then I say to you in the same breath, we are painfully aware of the need to change that and we are going to try to change them as fast as possible.

■ AFRICA: Mr Ambassador, there are certain basic questions which do not need special explanation to be understood. The basic principle that we are opposed to in your country is that of apartheid. This is defined most clearly in a system which, although it claims to be a democracy excludes the vast majority of the population from exercising the right to vote. And this because of the colour of their skin. Don't you feel that this particular aspect of the issue is so obvious that you have to tackle such problems before anyone with self-respect on the other side will be prepared to listen to you?

What is your Government prepared to do to convince Africans within South Africa of its change of heart which you now preach, in relation to the Pass Laws, for example, and the denial of trade union rights to the majority of the people just because they are black or coloured?

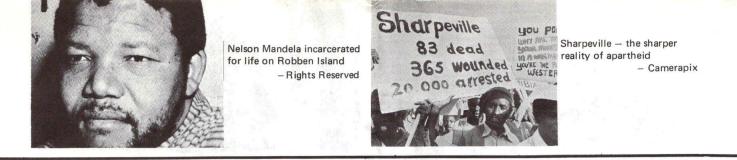
• BOTHA You see, I am very glad you mentioned this;



# RUDOLF

South Africa's Permanent Representative at the UN

AFRICA No 40 DECEMBER 1974



you have just now proved to me all over again the prejudice I am talking about. You have just made a sweeping statement about Pass Laws. Pass Laws simply mean controlling the coming of individuals to certain areas in order to stabilise living conditions. There are negative aspects about the Pass Laws, let me be frank with you, I can't deny them. But, you see, never does anyone try to ask what would be the effect of completely putting them aside and allowing un-controlled migration of workers throughout the country. What will happen to the protection and security that the average worker white or black receives from a regulation of the flow of the labour force? There is this very positive and real aspect attached to it. Talking about Trade Union rights, it is alleged that the black African in South Africa have no means whatsoever to bring his views to management and to bargain with management. That is not the case at all.

■ AFRICA: Well Mr. Ambassador, you have said that the Pass Laws have some element of protection even for the Africans themselves. Do you have the same laws for the White section of the population?

• BOTHA: Yes, very much the same. A White man must carry an identity card.

AFRICA: And is he generally treated exactly in the same way as coloured people as far as the Pass Law goes?

• BOTHA: No, let me be frank with you, these rules are not applied in the same way, in what we call the "White" area, but a White man visiting a Black area must also have a special permit, there is a similarity.

■ AFRICA: Well, again on the question of change of tone and possible reconciliation, you are aware that quite a number of innocent Africans are languishing in jail in Robben Island, people like Mandela and Sobukwe. Is there any move to release them? Is there any intention to allow the leading black political groups such as the ANC and the PAC for example, to begin normal political activities in your country. Have you any such plans, even if they are distant? , BOTHA: Se, may I at this stage, without trying to avoid your question, just make one thing very clear, that the problems about discussing South African affairs is basically this; that unless we start from what I would call a 'broad historical and factual basis' then many of these individual matters which I can understand, give you considerable anxiety, become very difficult to explain.

■ AFRICA: Well, Mr. Ambassador, if we talk of history, you'll acknowledge that the White settlers who came to South Africa have been there only for some 300 years. Africans were there before they arrived; the land was not empty. History is one thing, the political realities of today is another. Our concern is about the fact that in South Africa the black population is not getting what it merits as a majority, politically and economically. We are only interested now in finding out whether your Government really wants a change and we are looking for indications that it does.

• BOTHA: Change is inherent, I say to you change is inherent in what we do, and want to do. We acknowledge that change will come. And I can say to you, my Government will work towards change; no question about it. We feel it is in our own interests. Certainly it's in the interest of everyone in Africa, that we should come to an understanding.

■ AFRICA: You talk about change but you take action to reinforce apartheid. Is it not a fact that your Government has launched a massive campaign to bring White settlers and attract white labour to your country? The South African government has an office in Genoa, Italy for example, recruiting Italians to go and settle in South Africa?

• BOTHA: I can't comment on that, I have no information.

■ AFRICA: Fine, but the point is that I have information that you are recruiting Italians to go to settle in South Africa.

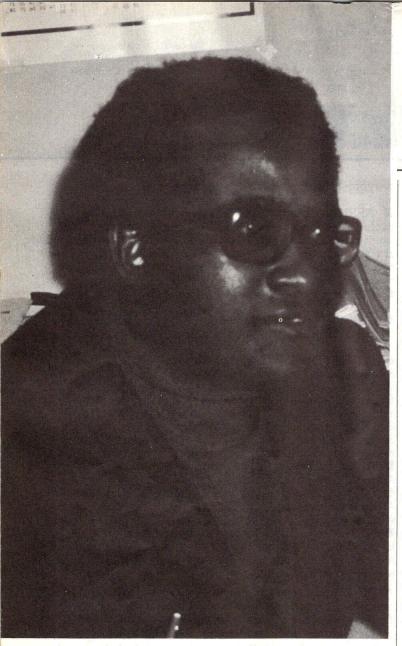
• BOTHA: There are immigrants who are coming to South Africa true, not only Italians; whether they are coming specifically from this area, I have no specific information. But certainly I do not deny that we receive immigrants from a number of European countries. It's a selective progress; just like other African countries developing, we also need skills in certain respects and we are trying to be very selective about recruiting those skills which we need in certain industries.

■ AFRICA: Would you recruit Africans or Black Americans with the same skills?

• BOTHA: Well, I would put it like this, that in South Africa there are many Africans who can be trained on the spot, the majority should be trained now....

AFRICA: Mr. Ambassador, on many points you have talked about the intention of your government to change the situation in South Africa. But there is dismally little action to match your nice words.

• BOTHA: I do not agree; I think you should look at the whole picture, there are very important developments pointing towards change. Apart from changes in the day to day contact between Black and White which is becoming better, goodwill is becoming more evident among our people. There are important appeals by my Prime Minister to the public to treat each other in a dignified manner irrespective of the colour of a man's skin. There was my government's attitude vis-a-vis the events in Mozambique. My Prime Minister is saying we are not interested in the colour of the government in Mozambique, saying and acknowledging that they have big problems there but that we wish them well and we hope for their sake it will be a stable government. We are just now in the process of repealing the the Master and Servant Legislation which contained matters which Black Africans found obnoxious and humiliating. In the field of sport, very important changes have been announced very recently. In this respect my Minister of Sport can clearly say that we will remove apartheid in sport in South Africa. Now these are very important changes. There are signs of change and we expect more to come certainly, as further progress is made in creating goodwill among our people. But our main problem is this, if I may be frank with you; Can we never receive also a little bit of encouragement from Africa. Are we always to be slapped in the face or are the changes that are occurring simply to be suppressed. Does Africa not want to take notice of them; Can Africa not give us credit where we have indeed introduced changes? This will help all of us, it will help all of us to move faster.



# SALIM SALIM

Tanzania's Permanent Representative at the UN and current Chairman of the UN Committee on Decolonization and the Africa Group at the UN Flashback to 1966: Late Frelimo President Eduardo Mondlane (right) and Marcelino dos Santos testify to the Committee of 24 — Keystone

■ AFRICA: Mr. Ambassador, you are Chairman of the Committee on Decolonisation, better known as the Committee of 24 and also the current Chairman of the Africa Group at the UN. What has your Committee done so far vis-a-vis decolonisation in general and how would you assess the impact of the Africa Group in pushing decolonisation at the UN level?

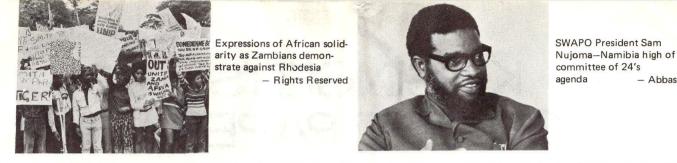
• SALIM: I think it is important to bear in mind the origin and character of the Committee of 24. It was created in 1961 after the adoption of the famous Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in 1960. It serves, as it were, as a watchdog on the implementation by the administering powers or the governing powers of the obligations and responsibilities under the United Nations Charter. But we have gradually transformed it into a Committee essentially to support the efforts of the liberation movements. To begin with, it is important to have one thing clear; the independence of a country can only be won by the people of that country. What the United Nations can do, on the basis of present day realities, is to exert pressure on the colonial powers and to support the efforts of the people concerned. Thus to the extent that the Committee made efforts on behalf of the liberation movements in the UN, its achievements have been remarkable. Since the Committee was created, a number of countries have attained independence; the Committee can claim to have contributed in this respect.

■ AFRICA: What has been your specific contribution to the contemporary liberation struggles in Africa?

• SALIM: I think we first have to understand that in the 'Seventies we are faced in particular with a different type of situation. Hitherto we were dealing with administering authorities or colonial powers which accepted some responsibility towards their colonies; therefore you could talk to them. They may not have agreed with what the Committee was doing, but a premise for dialogue existed. However, with Southern Africa you are faced with a situation where we had to start from the position of a complete non-cooperation from the colonial and minority regimes. Therefore the only alternative left to the Committee was to support the liberation movements; this we have done. For example, there was a visit to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau in 1972 under the aegis of the Committee at a time when it was considered inconceivable for the United Nations to be so identified with liberation movements. And earlier in 1964 we recognised the legitimacy of armed struggle. These developments may indicate that the UN is now strongly identified with people who are fighting for their independence. To that extent I think the Committee has played an important catalystic role.

■ AFRICA: What special problems have you encountered and what support have you received outside the Africa Group?

• SALIM: We have had the committed support of most Asian and Socialist countries. However, we have had problems with some western European and Latin American countries in our attempts to internationalise the struggle and gain support for it. However, I would say that within the limits placed by the right of veto enjoyed by the permanent



members of the Security Council, we have been able to make the struggle for freedom respectable not only in the United Nations but also among the 20m black people in the United States.

AFRICA: The UN has special responsibility on the specific issue of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. What is the Africa Group and the Committee doing to see that the UN exercises its responsibility in the territory?

SALIM: First we must admit that the United Nations has not lived sufficiently up to its responsibilities. After the revocation of the mandate of South Africa in 1966, one would have expected that the international community would exert effective pressure on South Africa to vacate Namibia. I can really understand the exasperation and indignation of our people, and particularly of our brothers in the Namibian liberation movements at the UN's failure to act effectively on the implementation of its own resolution with respect to the territory.

On the initiative of some western countries, an attempt was made, and African states agreed, to resolve the Namibian question with the Vorster regime through dialogue between the Secretary-General and Mr. Vorster. In the event, the South African regime exploited this dialogue to its own advantage in order to further its Bantustan policies in Namibia. So we are back almost to square one in terms of South Africa's responsibilities with the territory. However, there are a number of options left to the United Nations. The most ideal option of course, is to ensure that the full meaning and provisions of the UN Charter are enforced; to ensure that South Africa vacates the territory. Now we know the difficulty behind this option is that even those countries which concede the illegality of South Africa's position over Namibia, for example, the United States, prevaricate when it comes to taking the measures which the situation demands. The second option is the mobilisation of international public opinion for the complete isolation of South Africa.

AFRICA: Can you explain the activities of your Committee and the Africa Group at the UN in relation to the present situation in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, particularly Angola?

SALIM: The Committee on Decolonisation believes that so far as the government of Portugal has shown positive signs that they are willing to decolonize, this is an important departure from the previous Governments. They now accept not only the right of self-determination and independence, but they have pledged to cooperate with the United Nations; they have recognised the Government of Guinea-Bissau and now I believe they will continue their negotiations to resolve the issue of the Cape Verde Islands. Now, in Mozambique there are also very positive signs of cooperation between the Government of Portugal and Frelimo. We also welcome the declaration made by the Government of Portugal in respect to the decolonisation of Angola. In this connection I must refer to the address which the Foreign Minister of Portugal made informally to the Africa Group which re-affirmed Portugal's committment to the irreversible process of decolonisation. As far as Angola is concerned there are some problems, but I think there are problems which distinguish it from the other two countries. There are several liberation

movements in Angola; then there is the problem of the settler community there which is larger than that in any of the other territories; and thirdly, there is a problem of the foreign powers involved economically in Angola. On the first of these factors we hope that the efforts which have been made so far by Presidents Kaunda, Nyerere, Mobutu and Ngouabi to forge a united front between all the liberation movements will succeed. In that event, the process of decolonisation in Angola will be smooth and peaceful. On our part we plead with our brothers in Angola to forget their differences and come out with a solid united front. Having said that, we feel that the differences among the liberation movements should not be used by anyone to equivocate on the decolonisation of Angola; we would like to believe the general intentions of the government of Portugal to work with the liberation movements for a solution which would ensure the freedom of Angola as soon as possible. To the foreign powers with economic interests in Angola, we stress that nothing should be allowed to come in the way of the independence movement in Angola.

- Abbas

AFRICA: Now, Mr Ambassador, there is the struggle in Rhodesia. What efforts are you making in this respect?

• SALIM: We believe that the changes in Portugal, the independence of Guinea-Bissau, the decolonisation of Mozambique and its inevitable independence next year, and the eventual independence of Angola provide an impetus for a radical transformation of the situation in Southern Africa. However, apart from South Africa itself and Namibia we still have the serious problem of the continuing minority rule in Rhodesia. While the activities of the liberation movement in Zimbabwe itself are positive we must complement them by combining our efforts at the UN to work for the continued total isolation of the minority regime in Rhodesia. In addition to enforcing the present economic sanctions against the regime, we must try to ensure that they are strictly adhered to by all UN member states. The Committee and the Africa Group are working to supplement the present sanctions with further measures including all those which are provided for under Article 41 of the UN Charter.

AFRICA: Both your Committee and the Africa Group have been intimately involved with the problems of national liberation in Africa, especially during the last decade in Southern Africa. What is your general assessment of the future?

SALIM: We are convinced that we are witnessing the ushering of a very important era in the history of decolonisation in southern Africa; the prospects could not be brighter for the liberation of southern Africa. However, although the situation is more hopeful, it will still require the combined efforts of the international community to achieve the desired objective. In this connection, African states must provide the essential leadership. We here at the UN through the Africa Group intend to keep the issues of liberation in those parts of the African continent still under oppression as the top priority. We shall seize every single opportunity both within and outside the context of the United Nations to mobilise international support for the liberation movements. and for material and moral contributions to the struggle in favour of decolonisation.