

Angola young Africans consider simply as a new sort of "tool" to use against white military superiority. Kaunda and other moderate African leaders, such as Kenyatta, oppose any such intervention, as imposing a new colonialism on Africa. Kaunda's restriction of the war against Smith to Zimbabwean liberators (i.e. excluding African volunteers or troops), is one expression of this fear. But the Marxists have other ideas, and changing the regimes in Zambia and Malawi is

certainly one of their aims — perhaps a more immediate aim than making the Zimbabwe guerrillas more effective.

The policy, pursued in different ways, and often in disharmony, by Salisbury and Pretoria, of simply playing for time has, I think, more mileage than those who see the black-white confrontation in simple terms ever allow for. Postponing the inevitable, dodging the issue and confusing the scent are policies with respectable antecedents for men and states.

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## The impossible dialogue with 'white' southern Africa

### *Francophone approaches*

By Bernard Charles

Bloody outbreaks of violence have just occurred in Soweto, the black belt of Johannesburg, and in various South African towns. Police repression in these areas has already accounted for over 100 deaths. Following upon similar police action in Sharpeville in 1960, this wave of repression illustrates the continuity of the relentless policy of *apartheid*. One month earlier, on May 28, a contract had been signed for the sale of a French nuclear-power plant to South Africa. A few days before, President Houphouët Boigny of Ivory Coast, the leading advocate of dialogue with southern Africa, had made an official visit to France during which he said that he had had very close contacts with white South Africans and that patience was required to allow an assessment of attitudes. In the days that followed his visit, a conference of the heads of state of French-speaking Africa was held in France.

In the author's view, these occurrences provide an indication of the ambiguities, contradictions and obstacles encountered by the new policy of "dialogue" some of the francophone states of Africa have been pursuing for several years. Indeed, the policy of opposition and the use of force advocated by other states has long appeared powerless to alter a situation that all Africans in Angola and Mozambique, and in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, see as unacceptable. It certainly

seems that, with the disintegration of the Portuguese colonial empire, 1974 and 1975 marked an irreversible turning-point in the history of the African continent. For the second time the "winds of change", to use an expression coined by former Prime Minister Macmillan of Britain, are blowing over Africa. Indications are that these winds will be of hurricane force. In particular, the consolidation of Angolan independence under President Aghostino Neto and the MPLA is bringing about a realignment of Zambia and Mozambique to create a position of strength with respect to Africa's two remaining white powers. From now on, the advocates of "dialogue" with southern Africa will be in danger of finding themselves seriously out of step with their partners.

### **Divergences**

The term "*francophone* Africa" is a convenient one, but it can be misleading. Although the French-speaking countries of

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*Professor Charles is a member of the Department of Political Science at the University of Montreal, where he teaches on the Third World. He is a former director of the Programme des Études africaines at the University of Montreal and has broadcast frequently on television and radio on African affairs. The views expressed in this article are those of the author.*