S.A.D. C.C.

1986
SA Secret Weapon — Economies of Other States

Robert Malone

Relativism

Economies of Other States

Economies of Other States

Economies of Other States
THE SA Defence Force has no quarrel with its neighbours, an SADF spokesman said yesterday.

He was reacting to reports from Nigeria that the SADF might raid SA's neighbouring countries at the end of the month.

"On the contrary, the Defence Force wishes to live in peace with every country in the region. Defence Force action is directed at ANC terrorists, wherever they may be hidden or harboured," Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency reported this week that a Western European correspondent of the Nigerian news agency learned about the planned SADF raids from authoritative sources in London and a confidential report.

The agency reported that SA forces might carry out raids on neighbouring countries, on or about July 30, after British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe had left Pretoria. — Sapa.
SADCC leaders back sanctions

LISBON — The leaders of nine Southern African countries have ended a meeting in Luanda condemning South Africa's "destabilisation" in the region and expressing support for international economic sanctions against Pretoria, according to reports received here.

The group, the Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC), stopped short of issuing its own sanctions against South Africa, noting its member states' economic dependence on the country.

After expressing "full support" for sanctions by the Commonwealth and condemning the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher's opposition to them, the communiqué avoided direct comment on any possible future sanctions by the SADCC.

"While SADCC members are vulnerable to international sanctions against South Africa, this fact should not serve as a pretext for not imposing sanctions," the SADCC leaders also agreed to focus group effort over the coming year on creating a regional agricultural policy and boosting regional trade. Earlier programmes have centered on communications and transport.

Sapa-AP
Margaret Thatcher speaks

Margaret Thatcher and the South Africans – hugging at the wheels

When people call that MOR

In the week of Sir Geoffrey Howe's abortive South Africa trip, the Guardian's HUGH YOUNG

WILL SANCTIONS SINK THE FRONTLINE STATES?

MARK NICHOL

BOTSWANA's Vice President Peter Mutharika has said that Botswana's view is that there could be economic sanctions against South Africa on the economy of the lines of those parties which support the plight of the children in South Africa.制裁者说，我们需要针对图森瓦的经济制裁，包括南非的经济制裁。

Soweto Daily, January 26, 1985

call that MORAL, I just gasp...
HARM TO BLACK STATES A MYTH

HARARE — The belief that sanctions against South Africa would cause unendurable hardships for the country's black neighbours has been exploded as "a myth", claims a front-page report in yesterday's Sunday Mail.

It quotes an independent study undertaken by a Canadian agency that SA could not inflict serious damage on the nine members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) without significant cost to itself.

The newspaper says the Canadians thought SA would try to safeguard its R4 billion a year trade with the SADCC countries, especially if a formula to help the black states' economies was evolved.

The Canadians believed the SA economy was extremely vulnerable to international economic pressure.

This, they said, explained why SA was already threatening to repatriate migrant labour, withhold strategic supplies of food, food, and vital spaces and restrict regional investment by SA firms.

Observers in Harare noted that SA was recently overtaken by Britain as Zimbabwe's main trade partner, supplying or buying 20% of its wares. The average for the other eight SADCC states was 25%.

The Canadian report echoed one done by a British expert, who predicted that severance of SA access to Western markets would increase the significance of African markets to the Republic.

The report said that would increase black states' vulnerability to SA political pressure, the Canadians believed that SA would be forced to make concessions to try to protect its African trade.

In London, a report in the Sunday Telegraph yesterday said a huge international relief operation and airlift would be needed to help frontline states in Southern Africa if Pretoria was "driven into the lager" by punitive sanctions and then retaliated.

SA could close its ports and roads while about 350,000 migrant workers could be sent home.

The report said analyses agreed that relief from America, Britain and the rest of the West might be necessary for several years and entail an operation much bigger than the Berlin airlift of 1948. — Sapa-Reuters.
Blockade of Southern Africa black states fears rising

Own Correspondent

LONDON — A huge international relief operation and airlift would be needed to help Frontline states if SA was “driven into the laager” by sanctions and retaliated, a Sunday Telegraph report says.

SA could be expected to close seaports with rail routes and roads to the black states, cutting drastically their imports, exports and food supplies. About 350,000 “migrant workers” now sending home R340m a year would be sent home.

Analysts say relief from the West might be necessary for several years. An airlift much bigger than the Berlin operation of 1948 would be needed to ferry supplies to landlocked areas.

During 1984-5, SA handled 4 million tons of traffic to and from seven neighbouring countries. More than 2.4 million tons were SA exports. 1.6 million tons were goods sold to Pretoria and the remaining 2 million were the neighbouring states’ overseas trade.

SA is a leading buyer of produce and minerals from the region, selling “in exchange manufactured goods, maize and grains.”
and Extensions &

The SAHP has announced the construction of a new fence on its border with Mozambique. The fence, which is electrified, is intended to block the entry of illegal migrants and drug traffickers. The Mozambican government has expressed concern over the new fence, saying it will disrupt the free movement of people and goods between the two countries. However, the SAHP argues that the fence is necessary to prevent the influx of refugees and other illegal immigrants. The fence is expected to be completed within six months.
Don’t expect help, Frontline states warned

Cabinet supports

Thatcher on SA

LONDON — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher dug in yesterday for a head-on confrontation with the Commonwealth over sanctions amid signs of a rift between her and Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Britain has meanwhile warned Frontline states that if sanctions are imposed, they should not expect help in the event of Pretoria retaliation.

Soon after Thatcher won support yesterday from the cabinet for her hardline opposition to sanctions, Foreign Office Minister of State Baroness Young warned such countries as Zambia and Zimbabwe they should not expect British economic aid if President P W Botha’s government turned on them.

The Foreign Office and Thatcher’s Downing Street office were putting sharply contrasting interpretations on yesterday’s crucial cabinet meeting to prepare strategy for the seven-nation Commonwealth summit in London on Sunday.

But a Foreign Office spokesman denied Sir Geoffrey was about to resign as Foreign Secretary.

The cabinet, after voicing deep dismay over Botha’s “discourteous” speech, reaffirmed its quest for a negotiated settlement in SA.

Thatcher is thought to have been encouraged to go for a no-stick stand against sanctions by a mid-week opinion poll.

The poll reflected a dramatic leap forward for the Tories, bringing them to within one point of the Labour Party after trailing for months by six or seven points.

The poll has been interpreted by some analysts as electoral support for the tough stand against Commonwealth efforts to bludgeon Britain into tougher sanctions.

Westminster was abuzz with rumours last night that Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey were in open conflict after his proposal that Britain should make some conces-

Thatcher refuses to budge

BBC television reported that several of her ministers had private reservations about her stand and were losing patience with her dogged rejection of even limited measures.

A Downing Street spokesman would neither confirm nor deny that Sir Geoffrey had formally recommended sanctions to the cabinet.

Sources close to Thatcher said she had not conceded anything on the sanctions issue and did not regard the unity of the Commonwealth as sacrosanct.

“The Commonwealth is almost irrelevant when it comes to sanctions. We are not in the business of sanctions and nobody — apart from some in the media — takes the break-up of the Commonwealth seriously,” a Downing Street source said.

A Foreign Office spokesman dissociated Sir Geoffrey from these remarks, but endorsed other comments attributed to a Thatcher spokesman.

It is believed cabinet consensus was reached on a vote of thanks for Sir Geoffrey for the dignified and persuasive way in which he had put the case to Botha for a peaceful solution in SA.

Baroness Young, deputy Foreign Secretary, made a bland statement about Sir Geoffrey’s mission in the House of Lords yesterday, shedding little new light on his ill-fated mission.

She said Sir Geoffrey’s personal standing had in no way been affected by the behaviour of the SA government.
THE SADF has confirmed the switch was thrown on a lethal 25km electrified fence last Friday to block a terrorist route from Mozambique into SA.

The electrified barrier is inside a signposted, double line of 2.5m fences, said a Defence Force spokesman.

"There is no intention of stopping refugees. This is on a well-known terrorist route and the primary concern is to stop terrorists coming through."

Tens of thousands of Mozambican refugees fleeing famine and a bush war between rebels and the Maputo government have crossed over the border during the last two years. Many crossed the strip — now partly fenced — at Mozambique's southern tip.

The spokesman said an electrified fence erected in the Northern Transvaal had deterred terrorists without causing civilian casualties.

The new fence, carrying current strong enough to kill, was "not intended for ordinary people", he said. "There are many notices in all possible languages so no person is likely to cross that fence without cutting it or doing some very silly things," he said.
After a series of sanctions by its southern neighbours are being enforced, the economic situation in South Africa is becoming increasingly difficult. The sanctions have been imposed due to South Africa's policies towards Namibia and its support of apartheid. The sanctions include trade restrictions, economic boycotts, and diplomatic孤立.

The economic situation in South Africa is being negatively affected by the sanctions. The country has been losing access to key markets and is facing difficulties in obtaining essential goods and services. The sanctions have also led to increased inflation and poverty among the South African population.

To counteract the effects of the sanctions, the South African government has been implementing economic reforms and diversifying the economy. The government has been focusing on developing the country's infrastructure and attracting foreign investment. However, the sanctions continue to pose a significant challenge to the South African economy.

The situation remains tense, and the international community continues to monitor the situation closely. The sanctions may remain in place until South Africa addresses the concerns of the international community and implements meaningful reforms towards democracy and human rights.
Looking at a Club break-up

By Geoffrey Smith of The Times, London

Would it really matter if this week's meeting led to the break-up of the Commonwealth?

One of the consequences of the bitter dispute over sanctions against South Africa is that, for the first time, a significant section of opinion has developed in Britain that would positively welcome such an outcome.

The Commonwealth is seen as diverting British energies and distorting British priorities. Is this the new realism?

Thirty or 40 years ago it was fashionable to speak of Britain's international relations in terms of the three interlocking circles of Western Europe, the United States and the Commonwealth. The art of foreign policy was to keep these circles in balance.

When Britain first applied to join the European Economic Community in 1961, the Commonwealth circle was already smaller than the other two.

One might not have supposed so to judge from the rhetoric of the debate at that time. Much of the opposition was couched in terms of the incompatibility of Community membership with Commonwealth obligations.

But it has always seemed to me that the critical tension was between Britain's Atlantic and European connections. That was where General De Gaulle put the emphasis in his historic press conference rejecting Britain's case when he portrayed Britain as America's Trojan horse.

Priorities

Since then the Commonwealth has slipped still further in Britain's order of priorities. It has suffered, in particular, from the analogy of a family which has encouraged false expectations and a mistaken understanding of its true nature.

One can see the appeal of this comparison with its overtones of sentiment and its emphasis on the ties of blood.

Membership of the Commonwealth is based not upon any shared view of the world, but simply upon the common experience of living once been ruled by Britain. If it did not exist it would be impossible to invent it.

This experience has left behind both emotional bonds and psychological hang-ups which are central to the Commonwealth of today.

But the family analogy can be misleading for two reasons.

In most families a mother's love can be taken for granted. As the children grow up they usually know that their parents are even more anxious than they are to maintain the contact.

The other members have frequently behaved, especially over Rhodesia and South Africa, as if Britain's attachment to the Commonwealth could be taken for granted. They seem to imagine that they hurt Britain most by threatening to leave the Commonwealth.

Appreciation

But Britain has no such psychological dependence these days. By exaggerating British affection, by using the Commonwealth as an instrument for pressurising Britain, they have in fact reduced British appreciation of the Commonwealth.

For Britain it provides a broader dimension to its international policy, a range of contacts around the world which could not otherwise have the same intimacy. This is no longer a top priority, but it is a valuable asset. Britain would be the poorer without it.

But would most Britons feel the poorer? What would be the political consequences for Mrs Thatcher of the collapse of the Commonwealth?

For Mrs Thatcher to be seen to be standing up to pressure from the rest of the Commonwealth is, in all probability, a political advantage to her.

But I believe it would be a different matter if the Commonwealth were actually to break up.

That would be seen not as a deliberate act of policy but as one more thing that had gone wrong. How did it happen? That is the question one would be asking, and the answers might not be flattering to Mrs Thatcher.
Frontline states lay plans for possible ban on SA landing

AIRLINES in Frontline states are making contingency plans to circumvent possible landing rights bans on SA. At least one airline yesterday admitted such plans – which would include the use of Frontline state airports – were being considered.

Two airports are being rebuilt to gear up for greater traffic – one in Gaborone and the other in Mauritius. But spokesmen for Botswana and Mauritius airlines yesterday denied the work was in any way related to the possibility of curbs on SA air travel.

SAA spokesman Francois Louw yesterday refused to comment on the existence of any contingency plans, saying: "Until sanctions are imposed, everything is speculative."

He denied reports that SAA had sold several of its Boeing 747s to foreign banks in lease-back deals in preparation for sanctions and a ban on overseas landing rights.

It is believed airlines, that fear sanctions may force links to be cut with SA, are considering the use of traffic rights in neighbouring states, possibly Botswana, Swaziland or Lesotho, as a gateway to SA.

Air Zimbabwe's (AZ) representative Tony O'Brien said last night the airline had been working on plans that met with the Zimbabwe government's approval.

"We are looking at neighbouring states for alternative traffic rights, which will suit SA traffic and hopefully provide connections to SA from states like Swaziland and Botswana," he said.

Royal Swazi National Airways' regional manager Van Morrison said any comment at present would be speculative.

Air Zimbabwe's Loot Dundas said he was not aware of any contingency plans that would affect Zimbabwe.

A travel industry source said LAM Mozambique Airlines had recently considered Maputo as a gateway if flights between New York and Johannesburg were stopped.

"Nothing came of it. I suppose it would be subject to votes and the decision of the governments involved," he said.

Air Botswana GM in Gaborone Charles Pollock said the airline was not at this stage involved in any lease-back deal with SAA.

But he admitted there had been a rise in the number of inquiries for landing rights in Botswana.
CIA could find itself in front line

SIMON BARBER

IN AN effort to maintain intelligence links with SA, the US Senate is expected to ask the CIA to give Frontline states early warning of possible SADF cross-border strikes.

The apparent paradox is the result of legislation introduced by Senator Edward Kennedy which states: "No funds may be obligated for cooperation, directly or indirectly, with the armed forces of intelligence services of the government of SA."

Kennedy's move, which was triggered by a New York Times report that US and British intelligence communities had been providing their SA counterpart with information on the ANC, prompted the Senate Intelligence Committee, with the CIA's tacit backing, to draft a compromise proposal.
Pik warns of counter-steps against frontline states
FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha warned yesterday that government would have to consider stricter border controls, import licences and levies on neighbouring states when sanctions became a reality.

At an international Press conference in Pretoria, Botha invited Zimbabwe and Zambia to impose total and comprehensive sanctions against SA immediately.

Asked about contingency plans made in anticipation of sanctions, Botha replied: "We are not going to take this lying down. There are ways and means of circumventing sanctions. But we are prepared to accept a lowering of our standards of living. We are prepared to make sacrifices for what we believe in."

He warned that until this "hysterical stampede" was brought to a halt, the cycle of sanctions would continue.

Botha said it was clear that at least six of the seven Commonwealth leaders were not interested in the sharing of power, the extension of democracy or the upliftment of blacks. Their actions would lead to the suffering of millions of blacks.
Counter-moves by SA against the front line states could come at a great cost.
LUANDA — Leaders of the nine Southern Africa Development and Co-ordination Conference states will meet in the Angolan capital later this month, it was announced here this week.

The summit, to be preceded by meetings of Ministers and experts of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, will analyse the completion of several projects under way.

It will also study problems of project implementation due to guerrilla activity which the SADCC says is part of South Africa’s destabilising activities.

The meeting is also to draw up the guidelines to speed up the implementation of all projects.

PRESIDENT Botha... not invited.
SATS accused of tariff war on Frontline states

The iron grip of the South African Transport Services (SATS) on South Africa's neighbours has come under fire with accusations of a "tariff war" against Maputo.

The SATS is also accused of being part of Pretoria's policy of making the Frontline states even more dependent on South Africa's ports.

In Johannesburg an African affairs expert accused the SATS of "being told by Pretoria" how it should operate its transport network "to the North".

The SATS's Chief Director Commercial Mr Koos Meyer yesterday denied these accusations: "We even go so far as to supply Maputo with the name, telex and telephone number of any firm, be it in Zaire or Zambia or Malawi, we sign a contract with, as well as the special tariff charged."

A senior research officer at the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mr Bryan Bench, however, says the SATS is waging what could be called a "tariff war" against Maputo.

He is backed by Mr Francisco Diniz, director of Maputo harbour, who accuses South Africa of "commercial aggression" against Mozambique. According to Mr Diniz the SATS's lower tariffs are politically motivated and also harm the port of Beira.

The example of coffee exports is cited. Mr Diniz says the SATS's tariffs make it cheaper to ship a container of coffee from Mutare to Durban, nearly 2,000 km away, than to send it 300 km to Beira.
That is not to say, however, that foreign workers (specifically those from the neighbouring states) have nothing to fear. Rising unemployment is a major concern, and foreigners working here illegally have become a prime target for repatriation. Depending on the effects of unemployment and sanctions, it is possible that even the jobs of legally employed foreigners could be threatened.

Despite the current uncertainty about the position of workers from the independent homelands, they are, at present, exempt from the provisions of the Aliens Act. Their future status rests on the outcome of talks on citizenship between their governments and Pretoria (Current affairs August 8).

Government's attitude to foreign workers was clearly spelt out by Manpower Minister, Pietie du Plessis, earlier this month. Du Plessis said illegal foreigners are depriving South African workers of their livelihood and warned that they and their employers "must expect strong action to be taken against them." He said legal foreigners should also appreciate "that South African workers must receive preference in the filling of vacancies."

Du Plessis' threat to illegal foreign workers suggests that a major campaign against them is in the offing. A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs, which is responsible for repatriations, insists, however, that no special steps are being considered.

"Repatriation has been an ongoing process in the last few years. Should the presence of illegals come to our attention in the course of normal inquiries, they will be repatriated," he says.

There is, of course, a great deal of controversy about how many illegal workers are in SA. Du Plessis has said there are more than 1.3m. Natal University researcher Alan Whiteside believes, however, that there are no more than 700 000 legal and illegal foreign workers in SA.

At any rate, it would seem unlikely that the authorities will be able to root out all illegals. Rather, attention will perhaps increasingly be focused on legal workers. What are their prospects?

Manpower Director General, Piet van der Merwe, says the key factors that will influence them are: unemployment in SA; the skills they possess; the price at which they are prepared to sell their labour; how responsibly they act in SA (participants in illegal strikes can expect the chop); whether they comply with South African laws, and their governments' attitude and policies towards SA.

The last criterion is clearly intended as a political tool that may be used against workers from outspokenly pro-sanctions countries.

The number of legal foreign workers employed in SA increased from 343 817 in 1984 to 371 009 in 1985. Figures for 1986 are not available; but Whiteside says it is likely that they have increased slightly. Lesotho (139 827) is the major supplier, followed by Mozambique (68 665), Malawi (30 144), Botswana (27 814), and Swaziland (22 255). The number from Zimbabwe (7 428), Zambia (833), and Angola (44) is much lower.

Given the state of regional diplomacy, it is unlikely that workers from any of the major suppliers face real threats. Pretoria's relations with Lesotho and Swaziland are especially cordial — they have signed security pacts with SA, as has Mozambique. Botswana has refused, although it has kept a low, sullen, profile on sanctions. It would, therefore, seem that workers from Zimbabwe and Botswana are the most likely targets for repatriation.
Explosive tool set for major snags

Frontline states:

Hope of the frontline states that they will do
WASHINGTON — The White House, a week before it must finally decide on SA sanctions, has reached a tentative agreement with South Africa's majority leader Robert Dole.

This is to expand President Ronald Reagan's executive order while offering new aid to the Frontline states.

Some of Reagan's top advisers remain determined, however, to block any new sanctions by suggesting the real showdown will be inside the administration rather than with Congress.

There is already a bitter political feud developing within the State Department and the White House over whether Secretary of State George Shultz should have talks with ANC president Oliver Tambo during his planned tour of the Continent next month.

Under the Dole agreement, according to Senate sources, Reagan would implement under his own, rather than Congress's, authority:
- Termination, after a 12-month notice, of SA's US landing rights;
- Restriction of new US investment to companies either black-owned or operating under a Sullivan-type code of employment conduct;
- A prohibition on imports, except minerals deemed strategic by the President, from SA parasitical corporations;
- A ban on uranium and coal imports not covered above.

These are the salient features of the bill reported out of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last July before it was stiffened on the Senate floor. Chiefly absent are the final version's bans on textiles, sugar, agricultural products and privately-produced steel.

The State Department has also prepared a major new aid programme for Frontline states.

The deal remains fragile for two reasons.
- First, Foreign Relations Committee chairman Richard Lugar has parted company with Dole on the issue and remains adamant that the President must sign the sanctions bill; Second, White House communications director Patrick Buchanan, who views himself as Reagan's conservative conscience, is determined to fight any new sanctions even, according to some sources, if it means having to resign.

In a fiery New York Times article, Buchanan wrote: "comes now the Congress of the US to counsel us that social justice will be advanced on this bleeding piece of earth if only the President will join hands in choking off the last industrial engine operating on the African continent."

He added: "The answer is no. As President Reagan told the world weeks ago, we Americans will not be a party to something like that."

Sanlam chief says...
SA neighbours to discuss sanctions they can't escape

The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — The leaders of nine Southern African states arrive here tomorrow for a meeting of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) that will almost certainly be dominated by the effects on the region of sanctions.

As major Western countries prepare for intensified sanctions against South Africa, it is not yet clear what effect these will have on neighbouring states or on the counter-measures South Africa will take.

Although an official spokesman for SADCC would say only that the summit meeting on Thursday would "review progress in the implementation of our regional programme of action", SADCC can not escape the sanctions issue.

Three member states — Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana — are part of the Southern African Customs Union and have economies which are heavily dependent on the South African economy.

Zambia and Zimbabwe trade extensively with South Africa, and depend on the South African transport infrastructure.

Tanzania has no links with South Africa.
Difficult to source elsewhere

Zambian appeals to negotiate an end to the economic war.

With South Africa

For economic war

Zambia prepares

Machiel

McPhee

The Star's Africa

Summit meeting

Calls for Angola

Leaders in

Sanctions talks

South Africa's

PM

APTORO

President

Kamuzu

Finally, a joint African decision on the

Sanctions against the leaders of the

South African government

President Jomo Kenyatta

Mugabe

Nelson Mandela

The proposed sanctions

 targeted at South Africa's

President, and the leaders of the
government in South Africa,

would require a concerted effort

among African leaders. The

proposed sanctions include:

1. Economic sanctions:

   - A boycott of South African
     products
   - A ban on new investments
     in South Africa
   - A restriction on travel to
     South Africa

2. Political sanctions:

   - A call for South Africa to
     withdraw its troops from
     Namibia
   - A call for the release of all
     political prisoners in South
     Africa

3. Diplomatic sanctions:

   - A withdrawal of diplomatic
     recognition
   - A boycott of South African
     diplomatic missions

The proposed sanctions would

require the support of all

African leaders. The

leaders of South Africa have

refused to engage in any

negotiations with the

African leaders. The

proposed sanctions would

be effective only if all

African leaders agree to

implement them.

Source: The Star's Africa

PM.
Summit will have one eye on Pretoria

LUANDA — Leaders of nine Southern African states meet in Luanda today to discuss regional co-operation.

No agenda for the one-day Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference summit has been issued, but delegates said it was unlikely leaders would decide to implement sanctions against Pretoria.

The political as well as economic importance of the meeting is underlined by the fact that the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Congo Brazzaville President Denis Sassou-Nguesso, is expected to attend.

Apart from Angola and Tanzania, the SADCC countries — Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe — all trade with SA and most depend on its economic lifeline.

SADCC estimates SA economic, military and political destabilisation has cost its members $10bn since 1990.

SADCC has drawn up plans to improve regional transport ties to avoid SA ports. — Sapa. Reuter.
SADCC reduces info links with SA

HARARE — Most Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) member countries had managed to reduce their dependence on SA telecommunications services, its executive secretary, Simba Makoni, said yesterday.

After arriving back in Harare from the SADCC summit in Luanda, Angola, Makoni said that when the organisation was formed about six years ago, almost all member countries, with the exception of Tanzania and Angola, had to transmit their information through SA.

However, through the SADCC de-linking programme, most member countries, except Lesotho, had set up communications systems independent of SA.

The SADCC was now focusing its energies on the development of the transport system, which was still heavily dependent on SA routes. That sector was considered to be of such vital importance that 60% to 65% of the organisation’s resources had been earmarked for its development.

Makoni said that was being done through the development of the Beira corridor, rehabilitation of major harbours in Mozambique and upgrading of the Tazara railway line.

He said if SA routes were to be lost, much would depend on how fast alternative transport systems could be mobilised.

— Sapa.
LUANDA — The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) summit has decided that some nations are in no position to impose sanctions because of their dependence on SA.

But a statement said "SADCC member states' vulnerability should not be used as an excuse by others for not imposing sanctions."

It said Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe would stand for sanctions.

- Sapa-Reuter

nonsungma movement had a duty to go beyond sanctions against South Africa.

Addressing delegates to a seminar on Namibia held in Harare in preparation for the summit, he said: "The movement should impose sanctions against these "patrons" of South Africa to make clear its total disapproval of the policies of these countries."

The summit, which according to reliable estimates will cost in excess of $30 million Zimbabwe dollars, "is expected to provide benefits substantially." In the words of many delegates to the glittering occasion, the movement's thrust of the summit will be

Mr. Oliver Tambo of ANC attending summit, press Zimbabwean businessmen and industrialists with a much-needed boost.

**Budget**

With more than half of the total budget being spent in Zimbabwe, the local economy is expected to benefit substantially.

Mr. Robert Mugabe, who is to take over the chairmanship from Indian prime minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has made it clear that he intends using the summit as a platform to "tighten the screws and bring added pressure to bear against South Africa."

While deeply concerned about such issues as nuclear disarmament, the looming debt crisis in the world and a new world economic and social order that will give people power, non-

Savelan (279A)

25/8/88
The Opposition says the Minister of Transport:

The Minister of Transport is conducting an exercise to identify areas of the country where the national transport network is deficient or where improvements are needed. The exercise is being conducted in consultation with the Department of Transportation and other relevant authorities. The results of the exercise will be used to identify potential areas for development and expansion of the transport network.

The Opposition has expressed concern over the lack of consultation with the affected communities and the potential impact on their livelihoods. They have called for a more inclusive approach to the exercise and for the interests of the affected communities to be taken into account.

The Minister of Transport has defended the exercise, stating that it is necessary to ensure that the transport network is adequate to meet the needs of the country. They have assured the Opposition that their concerns will be taken into account and that efforts will be made to minimize any potential impact on the affected communities.

The issue has been referred to the Department of Transportation for further investigation and action.
Tanzania railway to deliver goods will find it hard to deliver goods
Kaunda’s summit call
US is noncommittal

By Neil Larssen
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — United States Government officials are non-committal about a reported invitation announced by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda to President Reagan to hold an urgent summit meeting on South Africa with Frontline states.

But analysis says it is extremely unlikely that President Reagan would fly to Africa for such a meeting — which they describe as an attempt to “dramatise” the situation.

They say it is much more realistic to speculate that he would agree to see Frontline leaders in Washington — together or individually.

According to reports, President Kaunda announced the joint invitation at the weekend to mark the visit to the region by the Rev Jesse Jackson.

He is reported to have said: “The situation in Southern Africa has reached boiling point. We are close to an explosion.”

“History should not find us guilty that, realising this, we did not go to the one man who could have done something about it.”

White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said: “We share the concerns of the Frontline state leaders about the dangerous conditions prevailing in the region.”

Southern Africa’s problems could not be resolved without a commitment by all regional leaders to restraint and with negotiated settlements, he said.

“Sanctions imposed on South Africa would have a very strong ripple effect throughout Southern Africa (and) would be very harmful to the Frontline states.”

“It is interesting to note that Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania have not imposed sanctions — as well as other neighbouring states. Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi have not proposed sanctions.

“Only Zimbabwe and Zambia have participated to some extent in the sanctions.

“But we do know that it is extremely harmful to the economy of those nations if we should place sanctions against South Africa.”
HARARE - When the heads of the Non-Aligned countries convene in Harare next week, they will not be in the Zimbabwe capital as leaders of neutral countries.

Namibia as a neutral block is among the most frequently supported misconceptions about the 101 nation movement.

This misrepresentation of the movement and concept had been 34 years ago. When Namibia's independence from South Africa was acknowledged in the Cold War era of the 1950s.

First, the movement was dubbed as one-sided neutrality. With the proven fallacy of that contention, the neutrality bloc passed off as a neutral and ineffective bloc.

But Namibia claims neither neutrality, nor a partiality for bloc politics, nor to be a bloc of its own. Its concept negates these positions.

As conceptualised by Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Namibia constitutes an informal collection of nations sharing certain common principles and objectives.

The objectives are the development, equality and sovereignty.

Such a stance, therefore, compels Namibia to reject colonialism, imperialism, exploitation and super power military alliances.

Instead, the stance allows a nation to make independent judgements on these and other issues and act, unfettered, on its judgment.

Nehru described this thinking before the birth of Namibia at the Asian Relations Conference in 1947.

"For too long we Asians have been pawns, in European courts and chancelleries. That status must belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and to co-operate with all others, who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not want to be the playthings of others.

Namibia too, do not want to be the playthings of South Africa and the latter's allies. Rather, Africans want to exercise freedom of judgment and to live in peace.

To do that Africans must first rid the continent of the colonialism and imperialism that occupies and plunders Namibia and continues to use, misuse and abuse Africans in the so-called South African Republic.

In other parts of Africa, the continent must confront and not be neutral with the imperialism which conducts smear campaigns against Ethiopia, has bombed Libyan civilians and threatens to do it again, trains and arms dissidents from Zambian, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho and Angolita and which employs asphyxiating economic policies against the rest of the continent.

In Angola, for example, US South African backed Unita renegades mine footpaths leading to farmers' fields as a terrorist tactic to reduce food production in Angola.

The US and South Africa invaded Claymore anti-personnel mines used for the "job" have so far maimed 27,000 Angolans, mostly farmers.

Under the list of acts of aggression, no nation can possibly be neutral in judgment. Even pro-South African countries which might disapprove of such acts can make public pronouncements to this effect, even if they don't act on their judgments.

In so doing, the US has acted only against Namibia, but also in defiance of the 1971 UN Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The island, as presently occupied, is a danger to Mauritius and other Namibian states of the Indian Ocean.

Namibia, specifically its African members, cannot possibly be neutral over the continued French occupation of the Comoros island of Mayotte or over the claim to sovereignty laid on other African islands by some powers.

Elsewhere, imperialism supports those who have caused the Palestinian diaspora, introduced terrorism in Nicaragua and itself invaded Grenada while coercing weaker-minded nations to its sphere of influence.

Clearly, under such widely different conditions, judgments must be made, but no judgment would be considered a Namibian position which supported the Vietnam war for national liberation, as it does similarly in the apartheid war in Africa today.

Switzerland, the best known neutral state, has acted in the opposite direction of the US - and even of the Soviet Union - by upholding banking "ethics" which provide a safe haven for legal and illicitly obtained funds.

In these examples, two-neutral countries have clearly demonstrated the fragility of neutrality and shown that nations act in self interest and therefore cannot be neutral.
Bid for sanctions pact fails

By EVELYN HOLZHAUSEN in London and PATRICIA CHENEY in Washington

SOUTHERN AFRICAN countries are in disarray over their sanctions initiative — even as the United States moves towards a tougher line against South Africa.

The leaders of the nine southern African countries cannot coordinate their sanctions package because, they admit, some are less able than others to bear the economic fall-out.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda are reportedly “disappointed” at the failure to reach agreement on the issue.

The nine nations, all members of the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference, met this week in Luanda. They re-affirmed their commitment to sanctions, but delayed announcing when they would implement them. The problem, apparently, is the vulnerability of the BLS countries to economic retaliation by South Africa.

The middle line thrashed out by the nine is that they will support all international sanctions action against South Africa while stopping short of immediately imposing sanctions themselves.

No such hesitancy apparently characterises US lobbying now pushing the administration for a firmer line against Pretoria.

President Reagan is heading for a showdown with the US Congress over the South Africa sanctions issue — and both sides are predicting a tough battle that could lead to one of the President’s most damaging political defeats.

With just three weeks to go before Mr Reagan has to renew his executive order invoking mild sanctions against Pretoria, there is little indication that the White House is willing to toughen up the order enough to satisfy the sanctions-minded Congress.

“Congress wants to get on record in this election year,” a White House source told Associated Press. “They are taking a very hard position. It would be difficult to dissuade them from that course.”

In an interview earlier this week, White House chief-of-staff Mr Donald Regan said the President “will never be reconciled” to the sanctions bill passed last week by the Senate.

“If what emerges from the Congress is something that, in the judgment of the President would not be productive, would not be helpful, then I don’t think he will accept it,” Mr Regan said.

But it is unlikely that the final outcome of the sanctions legislation — a compromise between the Senate bill and the more sweeping House bill — will be any milder than the package passed overwhelmingly last week by the Republican-controlled Senate.
About 50 heads of state expected

Non-aligned nations prepare for summit

HARARE — Non-Aligned Movement officials began preparations yesterday for next week's summit meeting of the 101-member group. Under the chairmanship of the Indian ambassador to the UN, Natarajan Krishnan, they will prepare conference documents, beginning with a draft agenda for the summit.

These will go before a meeting of foreign ministers in Harare on September 1 to 6.

With the conference focusing on the southern African situation, notably Pretoria's racial policies, security in the city and conference centre is tight.

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, outgoing chairman, will open the summit on Monday before handing over to Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. No details have been released of which other leaders are attending.

The international airport will be closed to traffic on Saturday for the arrival of about 50 expected heads of state.

The main part of the conference will be devoted to two lengthy reports expressing a Third World view of the world political and economic situation.

Differences seem certain to emerge over issues such as Namibia's request to head the movement after Zimbabwe and the Iran-Iraq war, which forced the last summit three years ago to be switched from Baghdad to New Delhi and prompted an Iranian walk-out when it was discussed there.

Israel and Western Sahara are among other subjects in the political report. Third World debt and Africa's economic crisis are major topics in the economic report.

Addressing officials before their meeting yesterday, Zimbabwean cabinet secretary Charles Utete, who shared the rostrum with Krishnan, said: "Our diversity of cultures, languages, religions and ideological postures cannot be denied. Yet these do not constitute insurmountable barriers to our unity." — Sapa-Reuter
by the West as an excuse for failing to impose economic sanctions. Predictably, also, the summit called for an increase in volume of international aid to help the nine countries speed up their long-term programme for reduced dependence on the white south.

All but two of the nine SADCC states — Angola and Tanzania — have extensive trade, migrant labour or transport links with Pretoria. And Simba Makoni, the organisation’s secretary general, admitted that it is simply impossible to sever economic ties in the short term: a very different interpretation from that given in the recently-published Canadian study of the impact of economic sanctions on the region (Current Affairs August 22).

Asked whether SADCC has a contingency plan for the sanctions campaign against SA, Makoni explained that the entire regional strategy was based on reducing economic and transport dependence on SA, but this could not be achieved overnight.

SADCC has a five-port transport diversification strategy, encompassing the rehabilitation of Beira, Maputo and Nacala in Mozambique, Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania and Lobito in Angola. But four of the five ports are threatened by civil war and political unrest in Angola and Mozambique.

SADCC’s reluctance to engage in economic warfare against SA is understandable not only because of its dependence on Pretor-
On Monday the non-aligned nations of the world meet in Harare to discuss the one issue they have agreed on for 25 years: apartheid

By HOWARD BARRELL in Harare

The struggle against apartheid is expected to dominate proceedings at the summit of heads of state and government of the Non-Aligned Movement which begins here on Monday.

Although other conflicts will get a hearing — such as those between Iran and Iraq, between Israel and the Arab states, and between Nicaragua and the United States — South Africa, Namibia and the war of destabilisation in this region will be the major focus.

This concentration was one of the major reasons for the choice of Zimbabwe as the venue and this country's assumption as the host. It is in the context of the chairmanship of the Movement from India for the next three years.

But the venue also represents the "arrival" as a major figure on the international stage of Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and a recognition of Zimbabwe's economic, military and possibly also political leadership of the Frontline states.

A man of fierce independence and strong views, often pragmatic in action, Mugabe will be the first major African leader to represent his nation for the next three years.

The struggle against apartheid — in fact the whole process of decolonisation — has been a central concern of the Non-Aligned Movement since its formation 35 years ago.

Its founding fathers — Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, Ghana's leader Kwame Nkrumah, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito and Indonesian President Sukarno — became champions of the right to self-determination of nations. Non-alignment — a refusal to be forced into alliances by either of the two international power blocs, Nato and the Warsaw Pact — was, for them, a prudential preservation of national self-determination and, indeed, international peace.

Hence, the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement, now with 101 full members, 29 of them states, the remaining two the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). It was largely through the work of the Movement that SWAPO was recognised by many international bodies as the "sole and authentic representative" of their people.

The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) each have observer status only. Both have sent large delegations to the summit, the ANC apparently trying to bolster its growing image in Africa and the developing world as a genuine future government of South Africa, and the PAC to try to reverse the westward momentum it has lost over the years through islanding and inactivity.

The ANC delegation, led by its president, Oliver Tambo, includes National Executive Committee members Mawu Mpho, Geraldine Shange, Jacob Zuma, Joe Slovo and Anthony Mongane; as well as its United Nations representative, Neo Mmamela, and Zimbabwe representative, Becky Mamanha.

The PAC delegation, led by its new chairman of one year, Johnson Mthembu, includes, among others, delegates, Administrative Secretary Joe Mkwandisi, Information Chief Edwin Malela.

The draft political declaration, which runs to 125 pages, calls for:

- The immediate imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid government in South Africa.
- Other concrete measures against the internal "state terrorism" of the South African government and for help to be given to the governments of Angola, Mozambique and other Frontline states to combat direct South African military attacks as well as the activities of proxy forces like Unita and the NMB.
- South Africa to pay adequate compensation to Angola and neighbouring states for the economic and other damage sustained as a result of military invasions.
- The immediate granting of independence and national self-determination to the Namibian Secretary for Defence Sabelo Phama, and United Nations representative, Dr. Edelmann.
- The two accredited South African liberation movements to be heading for increased support from the Non-Aligned Movement countries. The possibility being mooted in the formation by the Movement of a body along the lines of the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee. This OAU committee controls a fund from which allocations are made to SWAPO, the ANC and the PAC, and seeks to ease relations between the liberation movements and African countries.

The Frontline states will be calling for, and will certainly get, strong theoretical support from the Non-Aligned Movement in their confrontation with apartheid and South African military and economic measures against them.

As poor as most of the non-aligned states are, it seems unlikely that they will be able to offer a great deal in the form of concrete assistance. Previously, however, that the Harare summit may come to bear on the two parallel front lines to which they have been committed in the past.

Focus on the Non-Aligned Movement (1)

The Frontline states will be calling for, and will certainly get, strong theoretical support from the Non-Aligned Movement in their confrontation with apartheid and South African military and economic measures against them. As poor as most of the non-aligned states are, it seems unlikely that they will be able to offer a great deal in the form of concrete assistance. Previously, however, that the Harare summit may come to bear on the two parallel front lines to which they have been committed in the past.
new leader of the movement, while Zimbabwe soldiers guard the Heroes' Acre national monument.

The non-aligned movement was set up in 1961 by a group of countries that were not aligned with either the Western or Eastern blocs during the Cold War. The movement aimed to promote peace and independence, and to support the decolonization process in Africa. The movement has since expanded to include a diverse range of countries from all continents, and it continues to promote cooperation and dialogue among its members.

The non-aligned movement has faced challenges over the years, including the end of the Cold War, which has reduced the need for such a movement. However, the movement continues to exist and to play a role in international affairs, particularly in promoting dialogue and cooperation among countries with different political and economic systems.

The non-aligned movement summit was held in South Africa in 2002, and the next summit is scheduled to take place in 2024 in India. The movement continues to evolve and adapt to changing global circumstances.

The non-aligned movement's commitment to peace, cooperation, and dialogue is an important contribution to the global community, and it serves as a reminder of the importance of international solidarity and mutual understanding.
TROOPS from about 100 countries would defend frontline states against attack from South Africa if an Indian plan is adopted at next week's non-aligned movement summit, senior conference sources said this week.

They said Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, head of the 101-nation organisation, would propose the plan when he arrived next week.

"If the idea of a security force is found acceptable to non-aligned members, it is possible some Commonwealth countries outside the movement may also send troops to bolster the proposed force," the source said.

Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, about to succeed Gandhi as leader of the non-aligned movement, told reporters he would accept US economic aid, but would not accept US troops in his country's confrontation with South Africa.

Mugabe has said he believes this summit will be a "Southern African one." - Sapa.
SA sanctions retaliation feared

NAM states to start fund for Frontline renewal

HARARE — Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) countries intend establishing a fund to help Frontline states' counter possible retaliatory measures from SA once sanctions are imposed, according to a draft approved over the weekend by NAM foreign ministers.

They also intend calling on new NAM chairman and Zimbabwe PM Robert Mugabe to convey "personally" the organisation's determination to see the SA/Namibian problem resolved as speedily as possible at the forthcoming special UN General Assembly session, semi-official news agency Ziana reported.

According to a draft special declaration approved by NAM foreign ministers in Harare for consideration by heads of state and government of the 102-member movement, the fund would alleviate economic hardships likely to be faced by the Frontline States when sanctions proposed in the declaration were imposed by NAM countries against SA.

The draft declaration proposed, among other things:

- Prohibition of transfer of technology to SA;
- Cessation of exports;
- Cessation of further investments;
- An end to support for trade;
- Prohibition of the sale of Kruger-rands;
- Prohibition of imports of SA agricultural products, coal, uranium, iron and steel;
- Termination of any visa-free entry privileges; and
- A ban on government contracts with SA companies.

The draft declaration also proposed measures to force government to put into effect United Nations Resolution 435 for SA/Namibian independence.

It called for the establishment of "a solidarity fund for Southern Africa" to enable countries to withstand the effects of possible retaliatory sanctions by SA.

ZIMBABWEAN Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said in Harare he was unaware of the renewal of a trade pact with SA at the time of the Commonwealth mini-summit.

And he reiterated that his commitment to sanctions took precedence over the agreement.

Mugabe said the trade agreement — whose renewal has been subject to a news blackout in Zimbabwe — was "based in the context of historical relations."

He said: "It was a routine matter. I wasn't even aware that negotiations for its renewal were under way."

When the pact expired, it was renegotiated in the usual bilateral way and that was before — perhaps only a day or two — sanctions were agreed to in London.

Mugabe said: "The decision to implement sanctions will override that agreement."

Diplomatic sources said Mugabe's statement stopped short of a declaration that the trade agreement had been abrogated.

In Pretoria, a Department of Trade and Industry spokesman said he had no comment to make on Mugabe's statement. But other sources said the fact that Zimbabwe had signalled the amendments was taken as a reaffirmation that it intended to continue to honour the agreement.

Minor amendments to the trade agreement were published in Friday's Government Gazette.

It had been amended to exclude vexes, and men's and boys' underpants.

The trade agreement dates back to December 1994 when it was signed by Rhodesian and SA government representatives.

When the Mugabe government took over in 1980 it agreed to honour the trade pact.

Genscher hits out at SA

WIESBADERN — SA was accused yesterday by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of threatening German journalists who reported truthfully on racial violence.

The West German ZDF TV network quoted Genscher as saying: "The federal government treats such intimidation as an action against the entire Federal Republic (West Germany)."

Genscher also said SA's "increasingly confrontational course" against West Germany.

He said: "SA wrongly describes itself as a member of the free world."
‘Evils of apartheid’ top summit talks

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The evils of apartheid and the South African Government’s regional aggression will dominate the rhetoric of the eighth Non-Aligned Movement summit which opens in Harare today.

The “situation in Southern Africa” takes up 22 pages of the 112-page draft political declaration which will be one of the two main documents to be considered by the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) during the week-long summit.

In contrast, only two short paragraphs are devoted to the six-year-old war between NAM members Iraq and Iran — despite the fact that more than 250 000 have died in the conflict.

Discussion at the conference will be structured around two declarations: one political, the other economic.

Preliminary versions of both declarations were hammered out last week, first by officials and then by NAM Foreign Ministers.

The resulting draft versions will be placed before the NAM heads of state, heads of government or their representatives this week.

In addition, a special declaration on South Africa has been prepared which will be presented to the summit this afternoon at a special ceremony to mark the 25th anniversary of the founding of the movement in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in 1981.

What NAM nations want from SA

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — What would the South African Government have to do to satisfy the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), now holding its eighth summit here?

The details are spelt out in a draft declaration which will be considered by almost 100 nations this week. They involve the:

- Immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and Zaphania Mothopeng.
- Holding the ban on the African National Congress, the Pan-African Congress and all other political parties.
- Repeal of the Internal Security Act and all other “draconian” measures.
- Removal of the “racist troops” from townships.
- Unimpeded return of all political exiles and freedom fighters “in order to establish a climate conducive to a meaningful dialogue between the regime and the authentic leaders of the oppressed people”.
- Beginning of negotiations with the “genuine representatives of the oppressed people for the purposes of establishing a democratic basis for the governance of the country”.

The draft special declaration on Southern Africa, which was endorsed “by acclamation” on Friday evening, proposed an anti-South African sanctions package and the establishment of a special “Solidarity Fund for Southern Africa”.

The aim of the fund is to alleviate the hardships the Frontline states would face when they implemented sanctions on South Africa, and increased aid for the “liberation movements”.

It also urged the United Nations to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions on South Africa in accordance with Chapter 7 of the UN Charter as the only peaceful option that might compel the “racist Pretoria regime” to abandon apartheid.

The main summit discussion on Southern Africa will take place within the framework of total condemnation of apartheid, which the draft declaration said was the root cause of the conflict in the region.

‘Obnoxious system’

It said this conflict had already jeopardised the peace and security of the sub-continent and now posed a grave threat to international peace and security.

The draft declaration said: “The perpetration of genocide at home and the practice of aggression and terrorism abroad are inherent in the system of apartheid. There can be no peace, stability or security in Southern Africa until the obnoxious system is completely eradicated.”

It called for comprehensive mandatory UN sanctions to prevent the escalation of the conflict in South Africa and welcomed the “intensification of the armed struggle by the heroic people of South Africa”.

It is clear that the Frontline states and the “liberation movements” are determined to use the conference to get as much material assistance as possible from the NAM nations, and to use the decisions taken at the conference to increase international sanctions pressure on South Africa.
A challenge to SA

HARARE — In a defiant gesture to South Africa, Third World leaders gathered yesterday in Harare to mark the 25th birthday of the non-Aligned Movement.

Today's anniversary will be observed on the first day of a week-long summit with a special declaration reaffirming the group's founding principles of a peaceful international middle order opposed to bloc diplomacy.

Non-alignment's opposition to any form of representation and domination led to Zimbabwalk's selection as chairman of the group for the next three years and hosts for its eighth triennial summit, bringing leaders from around the world to South Africa's doorstep to express their abhorrence of apartheid.

About 40 leaders of the 103 member movement, from distant Indonesia to neighboring Zambia, had arrived or were due later yesterday amid tight security for the largest international gathering to date in one of the black-rulled states that border South Africa.

Founded principally by Egypt, India and Yugoslavia as international underdogs united in their opposition to Soviet and American spheres of influence, the movement's anniversary declaration declares: "The non-aligned countries today represent nearly two-thirds of humanity, linked together by a shared world vision and perspective that transcend the differences in their political, economic and social systems."

But preparations for today's summit have been dogged by the vast differences within the diverse group to such an extent that Zimbabwe's best-selling daily newspaper commented yesterday: "The Non-Aligned Movement is about problems and the list is almost endless."

Foreign Ministers have not finished after three days working on draft political and economic reports to be adopted by the heads of state, divided over paragraphs which attack policy in Central America, condemn South Africa and call for an end to the Iran-Iraq war.

But the key to the next three days at the summit may rest with the all-out support for the South African cause from the United Nations, whose Secretary-General,-chance to the South African cause from the United Nations, whose Secretary-General,
STANLEY (LON)

LONDON — The US would not bail out the Frontline states economically if they became embroiled in a sanctions war with SA, a senior American official said yesterday.

He said, "There is no great upside for the US to bail out the Frontline states from the folly of sanctions."

Although the international community should co-ordinate its thinking on selective sanctions and represent a "joint analysis", there would not necessarily be common action by individual countries.

The requirement was for a "harm of approach."

The official seemed to be signalling the US might not necessarily take the same action on sanctions against SA as the European Community (EC).

He also indicated the Japanese government would probably follow the West's example in applying sanctions against SA.

He made it clear that as far as the Reagan Administration was concerned, the Senate's tough sanctions resolution was unacceptable.

He said although the US administration would not mount a rescue operation for the Frontline states against sanctions, it would nevertheless continue to give long-term aid so as to reduce the existing unnatural distorted dependence of those states on SA — such as in the transport field.
NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT SUMMIT

Poor nations admit debt is unbearable

HARARE - Non-Aligned nations agree unanimously on one thing: being hard-up is no fun.

The summit in Harare has agreed, sources said yesterday, on a declaration that the Third World debt burden is unbearable. It stops short of calling for non-repayment.

An economic commission, on which all 101 members of the movement are represented, finished drafting the declaration yesterday. It now goes to heads of government for approval.

The draft says the $302bn foreign debt of developing countries is unbearable and admits that some countries cannot repay in the present circumstances.

It calls for a new economic order to give developing countries a better deal, but it asserts the obligation of these states to recognise their financial commitments, the sources added.

The commission rejected a Cuban amendment which subtly insinuated that the debt should be repudiated.

SA blamed for 100 000 deaths...

HARARE - SA was blamed yesterday for the deaths of 100 000 people in the past six years.

Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe added that 250 000 others in Southern Africa were displaced.

He told the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Harare that military attacks and economic sabotage had cost its neighbours $10bn in the past five years.

Moshoeshoe accused Pretoria of creating chaos in the region to show black rule did not work and that apartheid was preferable.

He said that in January SA imposed a crippling blockade on Lesotho which culminated in the toppling by-right-wing military officers of the anti-apartheid civilian government.

Madagascar's President Didier Ratsiraka attacked the 101-nation movement for not putting resolutions into effect. — Sapa-Reuters.

Call for support for Frontline

HARARE - The Frontline states ability to withstand the full impact of economic sanctions against SA will depend on support from the international community, particularly in the transport and communication sectors.

Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi told the NAM summit in Harare yesterday that although the Frontline states were taking measures to reduce the effects of sanctions on their economies, there was need for increased external support in the transport sector.

He said transport routes among the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) countries were the main targets of attack by UNITA and MNR.

"The non-aligned countries have a moral obligation to provide concrete assistance to enable SADCC member-countries to effectively protect and fully utilise the existing transport and communications system in the region," he declared.

Mwinyi said although the SADCC countries could use the Dar es Salaam harbour, assistance was needed to improve the quality of its handling equipment.

Mwinyi said the NAM had an important role to play in increasing pressure on SA, hence the need to intensify support to the liberation movements and the campaign to isolate SA. — Sapa.
A little more than rhetoric

The arrival at the Non-Aligned Movement’s (NAM) Harare summit of Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi and Argentina’s President Alfonsin on Monday diverted at least some attention away from SA, though apartheid has clearly been the summit’s dominant topic.

Gaddafi’s call for stringent condemnation of the US was acceptable to most of the 101 delegations attending the meeting which had other reasons for wanting to criticise the US — nuclear disarmament, Israel, Nicaragua and, of course, SA. Alfonsin’s participation seems likely to strengthen the summit’s final stance on Third World debt, which will also divert some attention from SA.

The summit, described sardonically by Britain’s Guardian newspaper as “a talking shop of the world’s have-nots,” is bound to adopt strongly condemnatory resolutions about Pretoria. Just what teeth these will have is another matter.

Relatively few of the NAM countries — with the important exceptions of the Frontline States — have meaningful economic relations with SA. Accordingly, the commitment to comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against SA is unlikely to mean very much, given the inability of some of the

Frontliners to implement such resolutions.

On the economic sanctions front, the best the summit can hope to achieve is a “demonstration effect” designed to shame the West into taking effective economic measures.

The Indian proposal for NAM to establish a military force to defend the Frontline States against South African incursions could have more substantial effect, though there would seem to be enormous financial and logistical obstacles.

Understandably, the NAM delegations were anxious to disguise their many internal disagreements. Even as delegates got down to serious business behind closed doors this week, Iran was stepping up its naval offensive against Iraq in the Gulf war, while the relatively poor turnout of top Arab leaders — Gaddafi and Yassar Arafat excluded — suggests that Middle East leaders have more pressing concerns on their minds: the Gulf war, the oil market, Israel and the Lebanon.

Outgoing chairman Rajiv Gandhi’s statement that the success of the eighth NAM summit will be judged by the extent to which it hastens South African liberation was a sharp reminder to delegates of the danger of allowing rhetoric to dominate the meeting.

While the movement may not have much contribution to make in solving SA’s problems, or indeed those of nuclear disarmament, it will be judged as a failure if no concrete and realistic proposals are forthcoming to end the Gulf war or revive the economies of the Non-Aligned States.

Yet there is little evidence of economic realism. The industrialised countries and the international banks are blamed for the debt crisis. The World Bank-IMF view, that domestic economic policy adjustments are required to revitalise Third World economies, is largely rejected in the draft economic declaration.

In its place are calls for a new international economic order. The NAM countries are seemingly oblivious of the fact that the growing dominance of the Pacific Basin countries is, in fact, the real new economic order as far as developing economies are concerned.
A GREEDY, GOBBLING BEAST CALLED DEBT

A "VORACIOUS..."..."BEAST CALLED DEBT"

THE OTHER MAJOR ISSUE: THE THIRD WORLD'S DEBT CRISIS

The major issue for the Third World has been the debt crisis. The Third World countries have been burdened with unprecedented levels of debt, which has crippled their economies. The debt crisis has been exacerbated by the collapse of commodity prices, especially for oil and raw materials, which were the primary exports of many Third World countries. This has led to a significant decline in the government's ability to pay back the debt. The result has been a series of defaults and restructurings, which have further destabilized the global economy.

The debt crisis has also had a significant impact on the lives of ordinary people. The high interest rates charged on the debt have meant that a large portion of a country's export earnings must be used to make payments to foreign creditors. This has left less money available for investment in social services, infrastructure, and education. As a result, many Third World countries have been unable to provide basic services to their citizens, such as healthcare and education.

In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the need to address the debt crisis. Many countries have made efforts to negotiate with their creditors, and some have achieved significant reductions in their debt. However, the debt crisis remains a significant challenge, and there is a need for continued efforts to find solutions to this complex problem.
IN HARARE, IT'S APART

VIVIENNE WALT reports from the HOP

fund, aimed at taking the pressure off the
Porurgeon states through maternal and financial aid
 tho, when South Africa begins to hit back with
counter-sanctions.

It is here that the details will have to go beyond the
static, static, short-term situation in the
conference hall. And behind the scenes, one of the
very few true leaders here this week is still the one in Box
Norton, secretary general of the Preferential
Trade Agreement (PTA), an economic alignment of
eastern and southern African countries, and a shift away
from South-Afrikan trade.
The foundation of the PTA in 1984 came as a jump

The charge: Riffling through papers in Harare during a week when I was in east

The Weekly Mail's PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK
and PAT SIDLEY found themselves on the wrong end of the news headlines this week, when they were expelled from the Harare police cell, accused of 'slepping' for South Africa. Here's their own version of their escapades with officials.

ساها، الوهتمن الهمجي

They came in, they were
and they were..."The

They had been hounded into a taxi...with the
Zimbabwean friend...and taken to another police
station. They did not have any telephones. But it
didn't have a man with a name. The first official to
identify himself: Detective Inspector Mikonara. Or

There is no crime here," he assured, Poice

Walt-while they

"The charge: Riffing through papers in Harare during a week when I was in East

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NAF establishes Fund to counter SA retaliation

The Star, Thursday, 10 August 1984
Summit backs chaos in SA

HARARE In its final declaration, the summit meeting of the 101-member Non-Aligned Movement which ended here at the weekend backs measures to make South Africa ungovernable.

The declaration states: "The heads of state or government hail the courage and fortitude of the South African people and express support for the intensification of the campaign through mass united action for the complete elimination of apartheid by rendering it unworkable, and making South Africa ungovernable."

It claims there is a daily toll of innocent lives in South Africa reaching genocidal proportions.

It describes apartheid as the root cause of all violence and says "only the complete elimination of the abominable and criminal system and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in a unitary South Africa can constitute a sound basis for a just, lasting and universally acceptable solution."

It notes with satisfaction that selective sanctions by several governments have been imposed, and backed the view that comprehensive mandatory sanctions would be the most effective and peaceful means available to the international community for the elimination of apartheid.

It says a programme of mandatory sanctions under Chapter Seven of the United Nations Charter must be the central element.

The declaration demands that Britain and the United States stop using their veto in the Security Council against the wishes of the majority of the world's people.
HARARE — President Banda was expected to come under heavy pressure to loosen Malawi's ties with South Africa at a meeting in the Malawian capital today with the leaders of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique.

The talks in Lilongwe between President Banda, Prime Minister Mugabe of Zimbabwe, President Kaunda of Zambia, and President Machel of Mozambique were believed to be centred on sanctions. They were understood also to be discussing possible ways of overcoming the cutting of Zambian, Zimbabwean and Malawian trade routes to the sea by the MNR rebels in Mozambique.

The three countries are in a strong bargaining position because Malawi is totally dependent on trade routes through their territory.

Before leaving Lusaka, President Kaunda said the meeting was aimed at persuading President Banda to diversify trade routes away from South Africa.

— The Star's Africa News Service
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— The Star's Africa News Service.
Frontline Warns Banda to Stop Aid to MNR Rebels

Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique have threatened to close their borders to Malawi if it does not stop aiding Mozambique rebels. President Simore Machel of Mozambique has also threatened to support the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) movement.

President Machel, in his first suggestion that his government should start a military operation in the border region of Mozambique, said that the Malawian government has been acting as the main supplier of arms to the Malawian rebels. He said that Machel's government has been supporting the rebels for some time and that it is time for the Malawian government to stop this support.

Machel also said that his government has been providing arms to the rebels in the border region of Mozambique and that it is time for the Malawian government to stop this support. He said that the Malawian government has been acting as the main supplier of arms to the Malawian rebels.

President Machel also said that his government has been providing arms to the rebels in the border region of Mozambique and that it is time for the Malawian government to stop this support. He said that the Malawian government has been acting as the main supplier of arms to the Malawian rebels.
‘Disruption policy may be SA’s biggest drawback’

The Star Bureau

LONDON - The very success of South Africa’s policy of destabilisation may well be its greatest drawback, according to a new report from the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

The report “South Africa and its Neighbours: The Dynamics of Regional Conflict” by Robert S Jaster, warns that the hard line of the State President, Mr P W Botha, appears to have been justified, and South Africa’s leaders thus given “a dangerous overconfidence in the potential effectiveness of the policy”.

It describes as “exaggerated” President Botha’s assessment of military action as an effective tool for bringing about the solutions he seeks.

The attack on Gaborone, together with the abortive mission apparently against United States oil installations in Angola, infuriated Washington and “nailed shut the coffin lid on America’s policy of constructive engagement”.

UNPRECEDENTED

But, in a wider sense, the destabilisation policy has failed, the report says.

“Its military success blinded the Botha leadership to the unprecedented opportunity it had to move towards regional detente early in 1984. The chance to achieve a possible dramatic turnaround in its relations with the region came with the Nkomati Accord.

“But instead of seizing the opportunity to do so, South Africa shrank from carrying out the terms of the accord.”

Whether this was the South African military playing a lone, covert hand, or whether President Botha gave them a nod-and-a-wink to go ahead, the result was the South African refusal to let go of MNR.

Indeed, since no heads have yet rolled over the deliberate undermining of the Nkomati Accord, it may be that President Botha approved the military’s continued support of MNR, says the report.

“A final assessment of it will have to wait, but South Africa’s political influence in the region commensurate with its military and economic power may be in jeopardy.”
SA pressure could be counter-productive

SA's response to sanctions from abroad by imposing counter-sanctions on neighbouring countries could result in the West imposing more comprehensive sanctions on SA, says Richard Welfelder, professor of political science at Toledo University, Ohio.

He told an SA Institute of International Affairs meeting at Witswatersrand University that SA's systematic destabilisation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) states had cost them $10bn. However, despite that destabilisation, the SADCC had developed relationships with countries and international financial institutions which made them collectively more resilient to SA pressure.

Welfelder said SA's efforts to respond to sanctions pressure by exerting military or economic pressure on its neighbours would fuel the demand for comprehensive sanctions. Further, the effects of counter-sanctions, including economic, dislocation and increased insurgency, would inevitably spill over into SA which, in turn, could be faced with consequences such as a refugee problem.
The Star's Africa News Service
HARARE: Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Shridath Ramaphosa says Western countries, not Frontline states, must shoulder the burden of sanctions against South Africa.

In Harare for a world environment conference, Sir Shridath said the Frontline states had a part to play within the wider international framework.

"They are 'counting their pennies' and 'profits' and trying to get the best of both worlds by denouncing both 'apartheid and sanctions'," he said.

He said Western countries were putting commercial values above human values as shown by the way in which they were trying to protect their financial stake in South Africa.

"By implying that Frontline states had to take substantial action, but were dragging their feet," he said. "It was in Brussels and Washington that major decisions had to be taken."

He accused the Western media of distortion in their media's role in the wider international arena.\end{document}
Reagan responds to SA sanctions with Frontrline aid package

ASSISTING US and allied economic aid programs, the Rhodesian regime turned to South Africa to aid the Rhodesian economy. Sanctions imposed by the United States have taken a heavy toll on the economy. The United States was a leading supplier of petroleum products, machinery, and manufactured goods.

In response, South Africa increased its economic support to Rhodesia, providing financial assistance and importing additional goods. This move was seen as a strategic move to maintain influence and economic stability in the region.

The United States retaliated with further sanctions, aiming to isolate Rhodesia and pressure the regime to comply with international laws and human rights standards. This tense situation highlighted the complex dynamics of regional power dynamics and economic interdependencies.

The economic strategy employed by South Africa became a focal point of international political debates, with differing opinions on whether it was an effective means to counter sanctions or a further destabilizing factor in the region.
Reagan plans alternative to SA sanctions

US weighs $500-m aid for black states

The Star Bureau

Washington

The United States is considering a $500-million (R1 100-million) injection into Southern Africa's black states, in a major new initiative in the region aimed at boosting their economies and transport systems.

Countries benefiting from the new aid would include members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), but possibly exclude Angola and Zimbabwe, with which the Reagan Administration now has frosty relations.

The announcement of a five-year aid package is expected shortly, coinciding with President Reagan's move by midnight on Friday against a Bill approved by Congress ordering severe economic sanctions against South Africa.

The expected aid package was welcomed with enthusiasm by Pretoria today.

Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Ron Miller objected to the coupling of aid and anti-South African sanctions, but said the reported plan to spend $500 million mainly on reactivating the Beira corridor would be of great benefit to the prosperity and stability of the region.

The scheme would only marginally affect the interdependence of South Africa and its neighbours.

Observers in Washington believe a spectacular aid grant to black Southern African states would better arm Mr. Reagan when he says, "no," to the sanctions Bill in the face of an overwhelming vote in Congress for support against South Africa. It may sway the votes of some lawmakers.

Shultz's trip

The aid package may also help Secretary of State Mr. George Shultz on his forthcoming trip to Africa and its southern region to argue against sanctions and to explain the Reagan Administration's stance against them.

It would further, in conjunction with a meeting inLusaka between Mr. Shultz and African National Congress leader Mr. Oliver Tambo, send clear signals to black Africa and South African blacks that the Reagan Administration is not in cahoots with Pretoria on apartheid through its policy of "constructive engagement."

The aid would be earmarked especially for roads and ports, including work on Tanzania's port of Dar es-Salam. Rapid work would also be funded on the northern Mozambican ports of Beira and Nacala.

Priority would be given to the development and repair of transport lines from those ports to inland markets, including the strategic Beira Corridor, the oil pipeline, road and railway track between Zimbabwe and the Mozambican port.
R500m aid plan seen as falling short

Beira lifeline no big help for states

THE Beira Corridor lifeline proposed by the Reagan administration will not solve the 'Frontline' states' problems should sanctions be imposed against SA.

Political observers doubt that the "Marshall Plan" — thought to be about $500m — will reactivate the beleaguered corridor and significantly improve other transport links in the Frontline states.

A reliable source with close links to Washington said yesterday a joint aid-and-sanctions announcement was unlikely to be made as part of Reagan's formal response this week to Congress's anti-SA sanctions Bill.

Signs are Reagan will use his presidential veto by Friday and not amend his Executive Order to block the Bill.

"Aid to Frontline states and other measures, such as Secretary of State George Shultz's trip to the region, are expected to be put as a positive alternative to sanctions," he said.

Describing the level of aid as a "drop in the ocean", SA Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) programme director Leon Kok said yesterday at least $2bn would be needed to clear the Beira Corridor alone.

Broadly, about $2bn would be needed to improve the rail link from Zimbabwe and the same amount needed to upgrade harbour facilities at Beira.

"Put in perspective, the package is no more than a springboard to development — however welcome it is," Kok said.

Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Ron Miller said aid of $500m appeared to tally with a Southern African Development and Co-ordination Conference study completed last year — estimating the cost of modernising Beira and repairing the rail link from Zimbabwe.

"And this did not include the cost of maintaining security in the area."

Miller said he was not surprised by the SAIIA's sharply increased estimate, after two years of inflation and deterioration in the territory.

World Bank figures show traffic at Mozambique's three Indian Ocean ports fell by about 70% from 13.4-million tons in 1974 to 3.6-million tons in 1983. At least 45% of the imports and exports of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Zaire are channelled through SA.

Reports say US aid had also been earmarked for clearing the log-jam at the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam.

A US Embassy spokesman in Pretoria was unable to confirm reports that the package would be phased in over the next five years.
$500-m aid plan for 'ungrateful' black states seems doomed

WASHINGTON — An American plan to pump $500 million into Southern Africa's black states is dying even before it has had a chance to be launched.

The scheme is part of the Reagan Administration's uphill struggle to win congressional support for a presidential veto of an anti-South Africa economic sanctions Bill.

However, with President Reagan yet to announce the scheme officially, Republican senators in Congress are moving fast to strangle it at birth. Indications are that they will succeed.

'I don't see how anybody in his right mind can ask for half-a-billion dollars in the current fiscal environment,' a well-placed Senate source said.

We are having difficulty getting $200 million for the Philippines, where we have important strategic interests — and we like them,' the source added.

'Now we are talking about half-a-billion dollars for people who routinely kick us in the 

He was referring to the fact that much of the money would have to be spent on developing transport facilities in Mozambique and Zimbabwe — in an apparent effort to weaken the South African stranglehold on 'Frontline States' economies.

However, Zimbabwe's relations with America are ice cold and a powerful coalition of American conservatives is as strongly opposed to any support for the communist government of Mozambique.

A State Department official, Mr. Charles Redman, has emphasized that none of the money would go to Angola. He added that the plan would include economic reforms and activities in the private sector. A reassurance to opponents that the money would not be spent on communist programs.

However, that has not dissuaded Republican senators Mr. William Roth and Mr. Mitch McConnell. They are leading the campaign to kill the scheme.

In a letter to their Senate colleagues, both of whom voted for the sanctions Bill, they pointed out this week that if the 'Frontline States' now had the sanctions they wanted and American taxpayers could not be expected to pick up the pieces.
Mugabe steps nimbly on the world stage

ZIMBABWE Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has emerged from last week's summit of non-aligned nations in Havana as a distinctly enhanced figure, with many delegates saying that his accomplished handling of the proceedings added greatly to his standing.

Mugabe's triumph lies not just in his overall tactical and policy achievements. He also made many tactical and policy improvements in the conference hall. He was himself his own chief delegate, taking a lead role in the negotiations with the seven countries most likely to have abstained or voted against him. Mugabe also benefited from Israel's absence, which gave him the opportunity to make his case in a more open forum.

The former guerrilla leader addressed the issues of the four million people displaced by the war, and the need to promote democratic reforms. He also called for an end to sanctions against Zimbabwe, which he said were causing economic hardship.

Mugabe's success in the Havana summit is another indication of his growing influence on the world stage. He now stands as a major player in the international community, with a powerful voice on the world stage.

No, it's not much of a picture, but it says a lot about the world's politics

VIVIENNE WALT reports on the Great Pact Crisis

At every summit, there is an official photograph, a memory frozen on office walls after the flags have been lowered, that conference hall has been abandoned and silenced, and the private laughs have whirled away the dignities.

At the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Havana last week, the official photograph captured 102. The World, out of focus and blurred, was the great majority of the countries present, and the flowers in front of the photographers, the regaling of the setting sun provided a backdrop to the state of the world, 1985.

As the critical political step, the greatest problem for the Zimbabwean leaders is to secure the support of the 102. The problem is that the 102 is not a cohesive group. It is a collection of countries with different interests and priorities.

For a Zimbabwean leader to be successful in the Havana summit, he must be able to maintain the support of the 102. This is not an easy task, as the 102 consists of countries with different interests and priorities. The Zimbabwean leader must be able to maintain the support of the 102, which is not an easy task, as the 102 consists of countries with different interests and priorities.

The world summit will be remembered as a black, slightly out of focus with some leaders having to be shifted around in deference to the laws of alphabetical order. For reasons of diplomacy, long legs and personal habits are impossible.

Now the summit will be remembered as a blunder, slightly out of focus with some leaders having to be shifted around in deference to the laws of alphabetical order. For reasons of diplomacy, long legs and personal habits are impossible.

In an interview with the Zimbabwean magazine, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, who is in the middle of the meeting's new administration, "It's easy to make mistakes, but it's difficult to correct them." He said the leader's position is "to get going to make a living, young men." But suddenly, 102 leaders, their entourages, organizations, observers and guests had to be suitably located and cater for the "most important" achievement of the summit.

A team of 102 member states from Algeria, Argentina, Congo, Egypt, India, Pakistan and Zimbabwe is to visit Western industrialized states to promote a non-aligned allies package for a freeze freezes on change.

In this sense, the summit succeeded in giving voice to more international concerns - the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. The hope that it would do so was one of the major reasons the summit was held in Zimbabwe.

Mugabe told journalists he favors the establishment of a World Forum which would make for tighter administration of the bilateral highly sophisticated movement as one of a number of "modest and moderate reforms." The current coordinating bureau of nations and officials would include the head of the summit, the "most important" achievement of the summit.

But Mugabe's success in the Havana summit is another indication of his growing influence on the world stage. He now stands as a major player in the international community, with a powerful voice on the world stage.
Commonwealth seeks R11,8 bn for Frontline

CASTRIES (St Lucia) — Commonwealth Finance Ministers have ended a two-day meeting here with a plea for R11,8 billion in international aid for the black African Frontline states hit by what they called, South African aggression.

"There was unanimity among Ministers that the negative flow of funds to developing countries is jeopardising their efforts to achieve growth," Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Shridath Ramphal told a news conference yesterday after the meeting.

Sir Shridath said there was no agreement on increases for Commonwealth aid to African states.

The organisation is holding talks with the nine-nation Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) on aid to counter damage caused in conflict with South Africa.

Opening the two-day meeting, Sir Shridath estimated losses to the six black African Frontline states at $5 billion to $5.5 billion (about R8 billion to R11 billion) a year and called for $5.5 billion (about R11.8 billion) in international aid for them.

A communique issued by the 45 Commonwealth countries attending did not mention economic sanctions against Pretoria to press for the end of its apartheid policies.

"We ... are awaiting the results of the sanctions Bill in the United States before deciding the Commonwealth's exact response," Sir Shridath said.

The Ministers expressed "grave concern" at the flow of capital from the developing world to industrial nations.

INCOME DECLINE

"The move back of financial flows to industrial countries comes at a time when the developing world is crying out for capital, with some nations paying more in interest than they receive in new loans," St Lucia Prime Minister and conference chairman Mr John Compton said.

The communique said most developing countries had suffered a decline in per capita incomes in the last few years, and a prolonged depression in commodity prices had adversely affected many countries.

In particular, the Ministers said, industrial nations with balance of payments surpluses should play a larger role in channelling resources to developing countries.

While supporting the World Bank's target of $50 billion dollars (about R111 billion) in lending over the next three years, the communique said $12 billion dollars (about R26 billion) voted to replenish the bank's soft-loan arm, the International Development Agency (IDA), was insufficient.

The Ministers welcomed a US initiative to increase lending to debtor countries but said the World Bank should look at new ways to generate flows from official channels. — Sapa-Reuters.

New steps to neutralise Europe's terrorists

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Home Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd has announced important steps for improving co-operation within the European Community to help seek out and "disrupt" the terrorist organisations of Europe.

After the emergency meeting of the Trevi Group of EC Interior Ministers in London, Mr Hurd and his European counterparts expressed optimism that the measures agreed would produce more speedy and effective action against the terrorists.

In particular, the 12 Ministers have agreed that all the European police forces must share a new communications system for alerting one another on the movement and activities of known terrorist groups.

Officials said this would mean the introduction of a special classified coded system to which only police and security officials would have access.

There would also be new arrangements within the Trevi Group for regular up-to-date assessments of terrorist threats and to target the main leaders and organisations.

Mr Hurd, who chaired the conference, made it clear that the police forces in Europe would select from the "thousands of suspects" a small number identified as "really dangerous and significant." Those suspects' would be given priority treatment by the police throughout the EC.
HARARE — The imposition of sanctions on South Africa will have disastrous effects on the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) region as a whole, an economics lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe said here yesterday.

Speaking at the SADCC trade union seminar on industrial relations, safety and health in industry, Mr Rob Davies said the people of the region and South Africa would have to accept that sanctions could produce contradictory as well as positive results.

"It is to be expected that the cost of sanctions will be imposed on the working class and, in this case, it is blacks who will suffer but if they are prepared to suffer to attain independence then the pain will not be so strenuous," he said.

Mr Davies urged trade unions in the region to pressure governments to check profiteering during the period of sanctions because "sanctions create a situation in which business people can hardly make profits." — Sapa
Pik’s wheat warning may signal it's time to 'gloves off'.
African bark without bite

DHIREN BHAGAT explains why the Frontline states will not impose sanctions against South Africa

MUGABE ... in favour with Fikile Ntsikelelo

Publicly, of course, the government abuses SA and is allowed to do so by the clumsy South Africans. Sometimes Pretoria gets annoyed, more to the point, it seems as if it is annoyed with the rhetoric and creeps a whip. This happened in July 1983, when the preferential tariff agreement had to be renewed.

Initially, Pretoria refused to sign the deal. Initially, Pretoria claimed that it was a non-binding agreement and that it was in breach of the SADC treaty. However, Pretoria was forced to sign the deal after being warned of the consequences of non-compliance.

In the context of the current economic situation in South Africa, the imposition of sanctions is unlikely to have a significant impact on the country's economy. Sanctions would likely lead to a decrease in trade and investment, which would further worsen South Africa's already struggling economy.

In conclusion, while the imposition of sanctions is a common tool used by the international community to exert pressure on countries that violate international law, the current economic situation in South Africa suggests that the imposition of sanctions is unlikely to be effective in achieving the desired outcome.

What is more, the imposition of sanctions is likely to have negative consequences for the South African people, who are already experiencing economic hardship. A more effective approach to addressing the issues in South Africa would be to focus on promoting economic development and improving the living standards of the South African people.
Black states may apply sanctions soon

The Star’s Africa News Service

HARARE — November is the month when Zimbabwe and Zambia could apply sanctions against South Africa.

Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe, speaking on his return from New York and London, said the Commonwealth Secretary-General “has mooted November as the possible time that will provide a starting point for all of us”.

Mr Mugabe said sanctions by Zambia and Zimbabwe would only add to the effect of the overall programme — “alone they would be meaningless”.

He said a Zimbabwe-Zambia sanctions package would operate within the Commonwealth package.

Commenting on relations with the United States which crashed over Zimbabwe’s critical stance towards Washington, Mr Mugabe said Zimbabwe had done no wrong.

He said the United States’ policies in Southern Africa had been dishonest and offensive to the people of the region.

He cited examples US support for the Unita rebels in Angola, and the MNR in Mozambique.
SADCC nine to talk strategy

MBARANE — Agriculture Ministers from Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference countries start a two-day meeting in Swaziland today.

The meeting, to be opened by Swazi Agriculture Minister Penyane Mamba, will consider a strategy on food, agriculture and natural resources of the organisation's nine member states.

The meeting will also receive reports on agricultural projects approved under the Lome III convention agreement.

Sanctions against South Africa and their effects on SADCC states, although not a specific item on the agenda, will no doubt be discussed. — Sapa.
MBABANE — Swaziland’s Minister of Commerce yesterday appealed to black African countries who have food to share it with others who do not.

Mr Derek von Wissell was speaking here during a meeting of agriculture Ministers from the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination conference.

The members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

Mr von Wissell said: “We will have to look to each other for support to minimise and manage the effect that sanctions are going to have on our economies.”
US Plans Boost for Frontline States

WASHINGTON — The United States is preparing to send more military aid to South Africa, which is facing economic difficulties and political unrest. The aid, which includes funds for military equipment and training, is aimed at strengthening South African defense capabilities.

The assistance will be provided as part of a broader effort to support South Africa in its struggle against apartheid and to promote democratic transition. The United States has long been a strong advocate for democracy and human rights in South Africa.

The increased aid is expected to be welcomed by South African authorities, who have been seeking international support in their efforts to end apartheid. The aid will also be seen as a sign of the United States' commitment to promoting stability and security in the region.

The announcement comes at a time when South Africa is facing a number of challenges, including economic difficulties and political unrest. The country has been struggling with high unemployment, poverty, and inequality, and has been grappling with the fallout from the recent elections.

The United States has long been a strong advocate for democracy and human rights in South Africa and has provided significant support to the country's transition to democracy. The increased aid is expected to be welcomed by South African authorities, who have been seeking international support in their efforts to end apartheid.
Buthelezi calls for challenge on SACC

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called on women yesterday to challenge churches affiliated to the South African Council of Churches (SACC) over what he claimed was “callousness” about violence against black people.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was addressing an Inkatha Women’s Brigade rally.

He claimed he had evidence of how the SACC had urged European churches to admit African National Congress representatives to their organisations and to encourage the ANC and, he maintained, what church leaders called the “closely related” United Democratic Front.

This was despite ANC support for necklacing, Chief Buthelezi said.

It was strange SACC churches encouraged the escalation of black poverty by supporting sanctions and at the same time expected people to contribute towards church funds.

He quoted from a document in which Dutch churches were advised what to do to help in the freedom struggle.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha knew no black organisation could ever make up for the deficiencies of the “terrible failure” of the government.

Black health, education and employment were the state’s responsibility.

“But we, as a suffering people, know that even one child saved from the terrible effects of malnutrition is a South African saved and preserved for the future.

“One family that produces more food than it needs is a family that is not going to become a victim of sanctions (and is) making a contribution to the alleviation of poverty,” he said.

He said such aid was often grabbed by political organisations which had increased black suffering by advocating sanctions in the first place — but they wanted it not for humanitarian but for political purposes, so they could continue their devastating work.

Inkatha had to gear itself for partnership with these governments offering humanitarian aid so it would be meaningful to those who were suffering from sanctions, — Sapa
Maputo summit on security

MAPUTO — Southern African Frontline states met in the Mozambican capital yesterday to discuss regional security — as the host country's armed forces went on alert in case of an attack by SA.

The Frontline states — Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Botswana — were also expected to discuss at their one-day summit SA’s decision last week to clamp down on the employment of Mozambican workers.

President Michel’s government said at the weekend it had learned of a planned attack by SA aircraft and commandos, and spoke of a plot by SA to set up a puppet government in Mozambique.

A spokesman for the SADF in Pretoria dismissed the charge as "no more than speculation and a sign of a severe attack of nerves".

He added Mozambique was "obviously in deep waters" because of what he called its support for the banned ANC.

SA has accused Mozambique of allowing ANC guerrillas to plant a landmine near the border which injured six SA soldiers last Monday.

Maputo accused Pretoria of having planted the mine as a "pretext" to attack Mozambique.

"As far as the KAngwane-landmine is concerned, the Defence Force is not prepared to comment on such blatant nonsense," the SADF's spokesman said.

Sapa
Call to world governments

Frontline states say SA is set for war

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Leaders of the six Southern Africa Frontline states yesterday accused South Africa of preparing for war and of concentrating troops on its borders.

A statement issued after a meeting in Maputo, convened by Mozambique, called on "all the peoples and governments of the world to block South Africa's race towards a generalized war." The summit was attended by the leaders of Mozambique, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola and Tanzania.

In their statement, the Frontline states accused Malawi of allowing its territory to be used by Mozambican anti-government rebels. "This takes Malawi into a conflict that is damaging to the interests of its own people, to the peoples of Southern Africa and to peace in the region," the statement said.

The Frontline states' accusations against South Africa and Malawi followed a statement issued on Saturday by the Mozambican Government in which it accused South Africa of preparing a "direct attack against the city of Maputo with the aim of overthrowing the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique." The statement said the landmine incident on the South African border with Mozambique, in which six South African soldiers were wounded, was "under the South African military." It added that South African planes had recently flown fresh arms supplies to Mozambique National Resistance rebels.

During the weekend the official Radio Mozambique quoted a spokesman for the ANC as saying that the movement had no military bases in any Southern African country. ANC operations were planned and carried out totally inside South Africa, the spokesman said.

Pretoria severely condemned

In the post-meeting communique, Pretoria came in for severe condemnation for its threat of a "generalised war" in the region. The Frontline states' leaders appealed to the international community to "take necessary measures against South Africa to safeguard peace in the region."

They said that the South African Government had already embarked on the road of fascism and war. Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia had been attacked and parts of Angolan territory had been occupied by South African forces.

The four-page communique stated: "The Lusaka Understanding, between South Africa and Angola, and the Nkomati Accord have been grossly and systematically violated by the Pretoria authorities."

"Over the last few days Pretoria has unleashed an unprecedented campaign of accusations and threats against the people of Mozambique.

"South African forces are concentrated along the borders with Mozambique and Zimbabwe and commando units have been infiltrated to carry out acts of terrorism in Mozambique."

The communique added that South Africa blamed Mozambique and other Frontline states for the growing opposition to apartheid by the South African people. South Africa, wanting revenge for the unanimous international condemnation it suffered at the attempt to impose sanctions against its neighbours, should be made to suffer in consequence. Pretoria would no longer be able to "try to impose its way of life on the Southern African people."

Claims of imminent war rejected by SADF

Pretoria Bureau

The South African Defence Force (SADF) has rejected claims that it is poised for war with Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

An SADF spokesman said in Pretoria today that the allegations, contained in the declaration issued by Frontline states after a one-day summit at the weekend, are "typical of what the SADF has to face..." because of its bilateral agreements with its neighbours.

"But the SADF is also in a position to win a war against our neighbours if necessary," the spokesman said.

Political and military leaders from six Southern African countries last night issued a declaration in Maputo alleging that South African forces were concentrated along the Mozambique and Zimbabwean borders and that commando units had already been infiltrated to carry out acts of terrorism.

The SADF spokesman said: "South Africa and the Defence Forces are on record at the highest levels in this country that they do not intend to invade their neighbours."

"But the SADF is also in a position to win a war against our neighbours if necessary."

A declaration was issued in Pretoria yesterday by the ANC, the Nationalist Party and the PAC, which accused South Africa of "siding with a number of foreign powers against the Frontline states."

The ANC said: "We strongly condemn the SADF's aggressive adventurism and the warlike preparations against the Frontline states."

The Nationalist Party said: "We are prepared to fight in self-defence and for the sake of South Africa."

The PAC said: "We would like to state that we do not accept the claims of the SADF."

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A Frontline wrist-slap for Zaire's Mobutu

THREE Frontline state leaders are due to meet President Mobutu Sese Seko at the weekend to warn him against continued Zairian support for UNITA forces operating against the MPLA government in Angola.

The meeting is to take place in Lusaka on Sunday, according to Frontline state diplomatic sources. Presidents José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Samora Machel of Mozambique will warn Mobutu that failure to end support for UNITA have come to nothing, according to these diplomatic sources, and Zaire has continued to provide transit for UNITA fighters, as well as American and South African aid to Jonas Savimbi.

Sunday's meeting represents a further attempt by the Frontline states to force renegade black African states into line in preparation for what is viewed as an impending major confrontation with Pretoria.

In mid-September, Kaunda, Machel and Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe visited Malawi to read the riot act to President Kaunda. Banda has given continued support for the South African-backed Mozambique national resistance forces (Renamo) fighting Mozambique's Frelimo government.

They threatened a trade blockade of landlocked Malawi, much of whose trade with South Africa is transported by road through Zimbabwe and northwestern Mozambique, and 'Machel' directly threatened war. Rehabilitation of the railway line to the northern Mozambican port of Nacala, which ironically serves mainly Malawi, was one of the objectives behind this meeting. A second was to improve the security of the vital Mutare-Bela corridor, which carries road, rail and fuel pipeline facilities between Zimbabwe and the Mozambican port.

This Sunday's meeting between the three Frontline leaders and Mobutu will be designed to create conditions in which the Benguela railway line, which has been badly affected by UNITA and South African military action, can be rehabilitated and brought back into full operation. The line starts at the Zambian copperbelt, passes through southern Zaire and emerges at the Angolan port of Benguela, just south of Lobito. It will be another of the Frontline states' vital transport arteries in what is viewed by those countries as an inexcusable sanctions and trade war with South Africa.
SA curbs drive Zaire closer to Frontline fold

ABIDJAN — SA's response to Western sanctions is obliging Zaire to forge closer links with ideological foes among Southern Africa's Frontline states, say diplomatic sources in Abidjan.

Relations between the vast, mineral-rich nation and the Frontline group have in the past been strained by allegations that pro-Western Zaire supported rebels fighting neighbouring Angola's Marxist government.

Zaire has consistently denied the charge, but black African suspicions of President Mobutu Sese Seko have been compounded by his maverick foreign policy initiatives that are out of step with much of the continent.

The prospect of Pretoria making it uneconomic for central and southern African nations to use its ports to export and import goods is causing all countries in the region to put past differences behind and find a means of guaranteeing economic survival.

Mobutu meets Frontline leaders in Zambia on Sunday and is expected to discuss how to ensure a flow of goods after SA's decision to impose tighter controls on trade with black southern African states.

Zaire and Zambia are crucially dependent on SA ports to export copper, their main revenue earner.

Zaire exported about 200 000 tons of metals through Durban and East London last year.

About 274 000 tons passed through the Zairean port of Matadi and about 60 000 tons through Tanzania's seaside capital Dar es Salaam.

With Matadi only able to handle about 300 000 tons annually, Zaire badly needs to reduce dependence on the increasingly costly and unpredictable SA export route.

In one of a series of diplomatic initiatives aimed at forging regional unity, Mobutu recently discussed economic affairs and border security with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in the northern Zairean town of Gbadolite. — Sapa-Reuter.
Harare: fears about Mübique security

PRESIDENT Simon Mabhede's unexplained death on Sunday has thrust the front line states and the southern African Development Conference (SADC) into a political crisis. The effect of Mabhede's death has been to cast doubts on the stability of Mabhede's state and, hence, the security of crucial non-South African trade routes.

The timing and uncertain circumstances of the death have also raised serious questions over the impact on the SADC's political and economic integration and the stability of the region.

The official cause of death is listed as a result of a heart attack. However, there are reports of suspicious circumstances surrounding the death, including allegations of foul play.

Mabhede's state has been described as a transit point for illicit trade and as a key player in the region's political landscape. His death is expected to have significant implications for the region's stability and economic development.

The SADC, which includes South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia, is a regional economic community that was formed to promote regional integration and cooperation.

The death of Mabhede is expected to trigger a political crisis and could lead to a power struggle for control of the state. The SADC is expected to play a key role in resolving the crisis and ensuring the smooth transition of power.

It is important to monitor the developments closely to ensure that the region remains stable and that the people's interests are protected.
Crackdown on 22 000 foreigners

ABOUT 22 000 illegal workers have been repatriated from SA to Frontline states since January.

A crackdown has begun on the 1.3 million illegals believed still to be in the country.

The crackdown began in July after President Nelson Mandela signed a new Aliens Act. The act makes it easier to deport workers who enter the country illegally.

A Home Affairs Department official said that about 22 000 workers had been deported to Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia.

There would be no enforcement of the Aliens Act as it applied to citizens of independent homelands (the TBVC states) until negotiations on dual citizenship had been concluded.

A search begun for the 1.3 million illegals the Ministry of Manpower estimated are still in SA. This includes an estimated 65 000 Mozambican mineworkers who are to be phased out if the political and economic situation remains unchanged.

But, said Van Zyl, the department was not "cracking down" on the granting of residence and employment rights in SA. In fact, earlier this year the racial provi

DIANNA GAMES

sion in the Act had been withdrawn allowing people of any race to apply on an equal basis.

"But of course in this economic climate one has to be more selective," he said.

More than 190 000 employers were last month sent circulars from the department spelling out the Aliens Act's provisions, which now applies to foreign black workers since the abolition of influx control.

The circular, which has had a low-key response from employers, asked for full details of their foreign employees and reminded them that a contravention of the Act carried a R5 000 fine or two years' jail.

Meanwhile, 1.5 million applications had been received for new identity books, of which 175 000 had been issued, Van Zyl said. Another 750 000 were awaiting collection.

About 13.5 million ID documents — of which 7.5 million had been prepared before the rush of applications — could be prepared from existing pass book records.

Crackdown on 22 000

Frontline 'legals'

cords, with new information checked against the old and a photograph added.

The Department of Home Affairs has 20 million fingerprints on file dating back to 1956. The figure included fingerprints of several million TBVC citizens, many of whom are not eligible for SA citizenship in terms of the new provisions.

Old sets of fingerprints were destroyed

as applicants submitted fresh sets. He said applications and fingerprinting presently numbered 90 000 a month, including 160 000 white, Indian and coloured people.

Van Zyl said the police did not have access to the fingerprints except to match a set they had themselves.
Malan warns black states

SA knew what was planned against it in Southern Africa, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said in Pietersburg yesterday.

"At a flag ceremony at 89 Combat Flying School, Malan called on hostile states in the region to cease their revolutionary actions against SA. "Halt before the sub-continent and its people are subjected to more misery."

Malan said Southern African states had repeatedly rejected offers from SA to stabilise the region.

"It is important that government's standpoint be clearly stated with Zimbabwe, Zambia and the others. We seek peace, co-operation and progress."

Southern African leaders were playing a dangerous game which had gone too far. He said he had made it clear that SA was not involved in air-crash that killed President Samora Machel but the accusations and insinuations had continued.

It had been insinuated that SA had lured the aircraft off course to the SA side of the border. On the report that Machel had lived for four hours after the accident and SA would not help him, Malan said: "This allegation is too crazy, too absurd to react to. The man had to be identified by his teeth, he was so mutilated."
The (war) game is on

In a further step towards reducing Frontline state dependence on the South African transport system, an international donors’ conference organised by the European Economic Community last week raised a total of US$180m. According to the Beira Corridor Authority, this is some 90% of the targeted $200m needed for the next three years.

The Beira Corridor Programme involves rehabilitating road, rail, oil pipeline links and port facilities.

At present, the line to Beira from the Zimbabwe border town of Mutare can handle only two trains a day — one in each direction. Because of the security situation, the trains run only in daylight and further attacks on the rail link by the MNR seem probable. The National Railways of Zimbabwe says it is moving some 10,000 t of export traffic a day, of which about 70% are Zimbabwean exports and the balance from other Southern African Development Coordination Council (SADCC) states. When rehabilitation is complete, it should be possible to move almost all Zimbabwe’s export and import traffic through Beira — that is about 1.8 Mt of exports and about 1.2 Mt of imports annually.

There is also the poor state of the port of Beira itself, which observers say is in no position to handle the required 3 Mt-4 Mt of traffic annually. If all Zimbabwean traffic were to go through Beira, then other SADCC states would be left out in the cold to some extent.

Another snag is the fact that the port does not have facilities to handle bulk volume traffic like maize, sugar, steel, ferrochrome and cotton. This bulk traffic accounts for some 0.9 Mt a year and if it cannot be moved because of inadequate port capacity, the SADCC states in general and Zimbabwe in particular will continue to rely on SA.

The major imponderable concerns the security position. As one Western diplomat puts it: “Can you imagine SA and MNR allowing the Frontline states to escape through the Beira corridor?” What this means is a further military commitment by Zimbabwe or other African states to protect the line. At the weekend, Zimbabwe Premier Robert Mugabe went some way towards offering such assistance: “We will never, ever, allow MNR to take over Mozambique,” he told cheering supporters in Harare.
HARARE — The nine-nation Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) plans to upgrade the Tazara railway line linking Zambia with Tanzania as well as rehabilitate Angola’s Benguela track, Zimbabwean President Canaan Banana here said yesterday.

Most SADCC members — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — are dependent on South Africa’s transport network at present.

President Banana told the opening of a United Nations-sponsored conference in Harare that the SADCC was committed to improving Mozambique’s Beira port, the main trade outlet for the group formed in 1980, and would upgrade Tazara to carry more goods than at present.

The SADCC would also examine using the Benguela railway line, which has been virtually crippled in recent years by intermittent rebel attacks and which provides an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean, he added.

The five-day conference, attended by more than 200 delegates from Eastern and Western Europe, Asia, the United States and Canada, has been called to raise one billion dollars in investment for the SADCC’s industries. — Reuter
SADCC plan to upgrade rail links

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HARARE — Nine Southern African states, seeking to cut their dependence on SA, yesterday launched a bid for $1bn in foreign investment.

Zimbabwean President Canaan Banana told about 200 prospective investors and financiers from Europe, the Americas and Asia that the five-day Investment Promotion Conference he was opening came "at a critical time in the history of Southern Africa, with the issue of sanctions against SA looming."

The nine countries seeking funding for industrial projects are members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), set up in 1980 to reduce dependence on SA, the industrial giant of the region.

The countries are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

This week's meeting was organised by the SADCC in conjunction with the UN Industrial Development Organisation (Unido), and financed by the UN Development Programme.

Banana told delegates any money they put into the 162 proposed projects would "not only be a simple business investment, but an investment with moral force, as it would put the investor on the side of those struggling for justice."

He added it should be "clear to all that the South African racist regime is not about to seek any real accommodation with its neighbours in the light of the escalating violence in that country." — AP
Harare talks on new rail links

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The five-day conference, attended by more than 200 delegates from Eastern and Western Europe, Asia, the United States and Canada, has been called to raise money in investment for the conference’s industries. (Sapa-Reuters)
The travail continues

With the onset of sanctions against SA, Pretoria is intent on driving home the message of the region's dependence on it. This is an old strategy — but the repercussions could be enormous.

will be adhered to — but it is too soon to say whether he can do much about the ANC; or whether SA will agree that enough has been done. Regional instability could take a turn for the worse.

The Frontline states continue to charge Pretoria with responsibility for "destablising" the region. It was first heard soon after the official launch of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) in Maputo in 1980, following the independence of Zimbabwe. SADCC's main objective was to strive to reduce the dependence of its member states — Angola, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, and Swaziland — on SA.

At around the same time, P W Botha, then
PM, sketched out his own grand dream of a Constellation of Southern African States (Cossas), naturally orbiting around the region's powerhouse, SA. Foreign policy stressed that the route to SA's international acceptance lay through Africa. However, Cossas never looked like a club most neighbouring governments would willingly join — if not out of repugnance for SA's race policies, then because of Organisation of African Unity (OAU) opposition.

In reply, SA developed a policy — allegedly the brainchild of the South African military, more precisely the Department of Military Intelligence — whose main thrust seemed to consist of denying SADC members the use of the Benguala railway line in Angola, as well as the Nacala, Beira and Chicualacuala-Maputo railway lines in Mozambique. The aim was to keep Pretoria's neighbours reliant on Sats for their imports and exports. The existence of rebel opposition groups in the key alternative port countries of Angola and Mozambique helped to ensure this objective. Backed by Pretoria, Unita in Angola and the MNR in Mozambique deftly began sabotaging SADC's alternative lines to the sea. Of course, the extent of South African involvement in these "dirty tricks" is stoutly disputed by Pretoria.

Pivotal role

In the sanctions era, international affairs observers say, SA would like to keep neighbouring states dependent on it — and, moreover, demonstrate to the world the fact of this dependency.

In the first place, this means that Pretoria will co-operate with its neighbouring states along the lines of the security accord secretly clinched with Swaziland, or the Highlands Water Project with Lesotho. Alternatively, Pretoria will push its recalcitrant neighbours into an accommodative relationship with it. Initially, of course, this may take the form of non-aggression pacts essentially aimed at denying the ANC insurgency staging posts. Later, it is hoped, these could be expanded to include economic cooperation pacts and more — going far beyond existing, historic ones such as the Customs Union Agreement with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland; and the Preferential Trade Agreement with Zimbabwe.

But whereas SA's thrusting and assertive role in the region has to date been predicated on its pivotal stature in the subcontinent, and on the region's relative isolation, all this could be set for a change. As the superpowers compete for influence here, says Rhodes University's Peter Vale, ways will be found (as indeed they already have been) of countering Pretoria's assertiveness and dominance. Greater militarisation thus seems to be on the cards. The West, including America and Britain, share certain concerns with the increasingly threatened Frontline states. And whether therefore be made to strengthen them economically. In short, there are limits to SA's counter-pressures on the Frontline states.

President Chissano ... all eyes on the Beira Corridor

The sanctions campaign against SA is likely to intensify this month with at least two of the Frontline states — Zimbabwe and Zambia — expected to impose at least some sanctions during November.

Zimbabwe continues to sound the most strident note in demanding international sanctions, while Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, whose economy is reeling from the stagnant copper market and an 80% currency devaluation over the past year, has backed away from the tough line he supported at the Commonwealth mini-summit last August.

Some Harare-watchers believe they detect the first signs of a similar back-tracking by PM Robert Mugabe, but there is no concrete evidence to support this. According to diplomatic and airline sources, Zimbabwe is likely to impose the full Commonwealth sanctions package before the end of November.

The thesis that Mugabe will stick to a hardline approach is supported by last week's announcement that a top-level Zimbabwian ministerial team, led by deputy premier Simon Muzenda, and including Defence Minister Kadungure and Security Minister Mungagwa, has been holding talks in Moscow, presumably about military hardware for Zimbabwe.

The clear implication is that Zimbabwe anticipates a worsening of military and security tensions in the region. It also raises the possibility that, following Mugabe's pledge to block an MNR victory in Mozambique, Harare is considering stepping up its military involvement in the war. The rest of the Frontline states are unlikely to take any further actions against SA at this stage.

Malawi, under bitter attack from all its neighbours for its alleged support of the MNR, is preoccupied with ensuring that its trade routes remain open. Much of its traffic is being routed by road through Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and accordingly President Hastings Banda's government is vulnerable to economic pressures imposed either by Zimbabwe or SA.

Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have all made it clear that they are not going to become embroiled in economic sanctions against Pretoria — a stance which has given rise to concern in the Commonwealth, and in other Frontline states, that their economies will be used to circumvent sanctions.

Angola and Tanzania have no economic relations with SA, and Mozambique, whose economy is in shreds, is battling for survival. The major impediment is just how Pretoria will react as and when the Commonwealth sanctions are applied.

One scenario has SA keeping its cool and meeting limited sanctions with limited responses. Thus, if Zimbabwe were to sever air links, Pretoria would respond by banning aviation transit to Harare. If Zimbabwe banned imports of South African coal and steel, Pretoria then refuses to transport imports of such products from other suppliers, or imposes such heavy freight surcharges as to partially compensate for lost exports.

The Frontline states could, in all probability, find alternative sources of supply, but these are likely to be significantly more expensive than SA; have far longer lead times; and allow Pretoria to disrupt supplies using its transport stranglehold.

Essential lifeline

All of which highlights the role of the Beira Corridor as an alternative transport lifeline — especially for Zambia and Zimbabwe. All the evidence suggests that the Corridor is not a viable proposition as long as the MNR is able to attack the railway, the road and the oil pipeline. Even with total security along the corridor, the Frontline states would still face slow economic strangulation unless they could route a growing proportion of traffic through the closed Maputo line (direct from Zimbabwe), Nacala and Dar-es-Salam.

The compelling conclusion is that peace and stability in Mozambique is a prerequisite for effective sanctions against SA by the Frontline states. This raises, in turn, the question of whether a military response is on the cards. If the Mozambican talks have focused on increased military involvement in Mozambique (by Zimbabwe, Zambia and Tanzania), this might be seen as one way of tightening the screws on SA.

Whatever the process by which Mozambique moves towards eventual peace and stability, it seems obvious that a future Maputo government — be it Frelimo, the MNR, or a coalition — would want all the transit traffic its ports and railways could handle. Thus, in the medium term the government can confidently look to Beira, Nacala and Maputo as their natural, most economic outlet to the sea. But in the interim — and it could be a lengthy interim — economic sanctions are both a double-edged and open-ended instrument. Double-edged because all parties are bound to suffer, albeit to differing degrees, and open-ended because action will beget counter-action. Then the danger is that economic warfare will escalate into the real thing on a wider scale.

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The voters trim those Reagan coat-tails

JOHN MATISON reports on what the US elections mean for South Africa

AMERICAN voters this week put an end to Republican control of the Senate, denying that President Ronald Reagan's party has the 51 seats it needed to block legislation as far as the White House had hoped.

The implications for policy— including South Africa policy—are significant.

It will be days before the final results of all the national and local races are confirmed, but the Republicans have certainly lost 53-47 majority to a 55-45 majority. That means the Republicans will have to pull many of the United States policy on South Africa.

The most important for southern Africa is the foreign relations committee. Claiborne Pell (known in the Senate as "well-born" Pell because of his aristocratic Rhode Island origins) is in line to be the next chairman. He represents conservative Richard Lugar, who surprised many by proving an effective operator in bringing sanctions against South Africa and championing the rights of the African people.

Ironically, Pell himself does not inspire much hope for enlightenment. He has been an extremely laid-back member of the Democratic minority on the committee.

Furthermore, until two years ago when the South African issue suddenly blew up in the United States, both Republican and Democratic chairpersons of the Africa subcommittee avoided holding hearings on southern Africa because they found the topic too explosive politically.

But times are different. Southern Africa is on the agenda. And that means inevitably a lynch-bait will be pressed by the leadership of the Republican Party, not to mention its black voters, to take up the southern Africa issue with something approximating enthusiasm.

A new chairperson of the Africa subcommittee will be found. A likely choice is Senator John Kerry, who would be Pretoria's last choice. As a student, Kerry was an anti-Vietnam war activist who testified against the war before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Since getting onto that committee himself, he has been an active opponent of Reagan's policy of supporting rebels fighting the leftist Ugandan government (aka the "contra"). Kerry also fought for sanctions against Pretoria.

If he gets the chairmanship, the Africa subcommittee is likely to become much more activist. But any of the other likely choices can also be expected to react strongly against Pretoria—provided Pretoria provides the usual fuel in the form of human rights violations.

A Democratic Senate is likely to look at new sanctions against South Africa in the medium term, or when South Africa next makes the front pages in the United States.

More immediately, the effect of the Democratic victory will be to put pressure on Reagan's provisions of arms to UNITA in Angola.

It was around Kasane, as Republican chairperson of the Africa subcommittee, who piloted the repeat of the Clark Amendment through the Senate, paving the way for Reagan's resumption of gun supplies to Jonas Savimbi.

The key issue in Washington concerning southern Africa is probably whether most legislators consider sanctions against South Africa and aid to UNITA—and even, perhaps, Renamo—regionally consistent.

That regional inconsistency will increasingly come under the spotlight, especially in a Democratic Senate. Aid to UNITA is a possible casualty.

In 1980, when Jimmy Carter lost his bid for re-election, several old-style liberals were ousted from the Senate, including George McGovern and Frank Church.

This week, four first-term incumbent Republicans appear to have lost. Best-known of these in South Africa is Jeremiah Denton of Alabama, who tried to revive a kind of McCarthy committee.
Frontline states 'war psychosis' alleged

The Star Bureau

LONDON - The Frontline states are in the grip of something close to a war psychosis. The Times says in a leader today.

It has been produced by the pro-sanctions rhetoric of Zambia and Zimbabwe ("both of which face starvation, should they match their words with deeds") and Pretoria's "predictably hostile, if still relatively low-key response."

A symptom of that psychosis was the hysteria which erupted after President Machel's death and the document, "apparently genuine," which purported to reveal a Mozambican-Zimbabwean plot to overthrow President Banda of Malawi.

IRRATIONAL?

The Times says:

"If the 'plot' was genuine and had it been successful, it would have destroyed one of the continent's few stable and marginally successful countries, and the irrational pursuit of sanctions would have claimed its first casualty."

"As it is, the fear and hysteria engendered by sanctions, and fuelled by conspiracy talk, could yet produce the match for which the tinderbox of southern Africa is waiting."
SA 'needs neighbours'

This package required a "programme of monetary and fiscal restraint", as well as "a minimum of direct government intervention in the economy" and a redirection of government spending towards emphasis on the needs of the less advantaged, Brand said.

He said if SA maintained this course it could concentrate on maximising the possibilities for mutually beneficial, intra-regional trade, and co-operating on the planning and provision of infrastructural networks.

In addition, SA could exchange technology and management skills with neighbouring countries, and act as a "clearing house" to mobilise financial resources from abroad for the region.

Finance Director-General Chris Stals said budget policy for the next five years assumed that government loan funds should be used only to finance capital projects, and that the deficit before borrowing should be funded in a non-inflationary way.

Stals said current government expenditure should be covered by current revenue. In addition, he said, government should not borrow from the banking sector.

Stals reaffirmed government's intention to "restrict" the increase in total government expenditure, accounting for inflation and the state of the economy, and to limit the deficit before borrowing to no more than 3% of gross domestic product.
ent places recently, saying that traffic continued to move normally along the railway to the Mozambique port, which is increasingly seen as Zimbabwe’s lifeline in the event of transport sanctions by SA against Harare. While both Zimbabwe and Mozambique have flatly denied SA’s charge that the two governments held secret meetings in Maputo to plan the overthrow of Malawi’s President Kamuzu Banda, it is clear that the Malawians themselves take the South African accusation seriously. (This was made by Foreign Minister Pik Botha on November 6 when he revealed the alleged plot contained in documents found in the wreckage of the Machete aircraft.)

Zimbabwe sources believe the MNR’s new offensive is largely explained by Malawi’s expulsion of large numbers of the rebels following the warning that Zimbabwe and Mozambique would impose their own transport sanctions on Lilongwe (Leaders August 28). But Western diplomats say that if Zimbabwe banned the movement of Malawian goods through its territory, it would run the risk of provoking a similar ban on its own trade through SA.

Just how far Zimbabwe is prepared to go in the sanctions war remains unclear. While Prime Minister Robert Mugabe is publicly committed to the full Commonwealth sanctions package — which would include the severing of air links, a ban on imports of fresh fruit, steel and coal from SA, and a ban on both trade and tourist promotion — there are some in his Cabinet urging restraint.

While Harare’s own calculations suggest that the economy would be hard hit by the severance of air links and a ban on coke and coal imports (used in the steel and ferrochrome industries), the economic impact of these measures could be absorbed without undue difficulty. However, these calculations ignore Pretoria’s response. It is widely acknowledged that Zimbabwe is likely to suffer far more from Pretoria’s response than from any self-inflicted economic damage caused by the implementation of the Commonwealth sanctions package.

Increased military involvement in Mozambique and the purchase of expensive military hardware are also seen as moves likely to have far-reaching economic implications. It seems clear that Harare’s commitment to reducing its budget deficit substantially in 1987 is incompatible with such a military strategy.
Frontline states urged: Hold fire on sanctions

By HOWARD BARRELL, Harare

ZIMBABWE and Zambia are being urged by their Commonwealth and African partners to hold back on any plans to impose sanctions against South Africa until a compromise economic embargo resolution has been hammered out in New York and presented to the United Nations Security Council.

Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Shridath Rampal is leading efforts to reach a compromise sanctions resolution, which is expected to go before the Security Council before the end of the year.

Diplomatic sources say the resolution is likely to comprise three basic elements: a statement that comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa are the ultimate objective; that, as an interim measure, economic sanctions along the lines recently voted into law by the US congress should be adopted by all UN member states; and that states' compliance with these interim sanctions would be voluntary.

These sources say Rampal and others in the Commonwealth and African groups believe the Reagan administration would be very hard-pressed to exercise its Security Council veto against such a resolution.

A resolution along these lines would also threaten Britain's Thatcher government with increased isolation if it chose to veto it.

The Commonwealth and African lobby believes it will have less of a problem with France, and it can rely on the Soviet Union and China to back the resolution.

The lobby has told Zimbabwe and Zambia of its efforts, and advised these two countries against trying to "take the lead" on sanctions. The lobby is arguing that the passage of such a resolution through the Security Council would create conditions in which Zimbabwe and Zambia could better expect economic aid from Western countries to offset some of the worst effects of South African countermeasures.

Meanwhile both Zimbabwe's and Zambia's exact intentions on sanctions remain unclear.

Both Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda have made ambiguous statements. These have apparently indicated sanctions are forthcoming this month. But in both cases, a loophole has been left, indicating the two are prepared to impose sanctions against South Africa only if Pretoria's major trading partners have already done so.

The Zimbabwean capital has been abuzz with rumours this week of the imminent closure of Zimbabwean airports — and airspace — to direct flights from South Africa, and of the closure of the SA Trade Mission. But well-informed observers have discounted the talk as "just rumours" in a society full of them.
Frontline states to present UN with new sanctions plan

The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE - The United Nations Security Council will soon be faced with a new sanctions initiative from the Frontline states which could be far more damaging to South Africa than anything the Commonwealth could achieve on its own.

Diplomats in Harare believe the proposals stand a strong chance of avoiding the United States' veto, which has dogged any advance of the African states' demands.

If the initiative, chiefly from Zimbabwe and Zambia, succeeds, it will force Britain and West Germany into taking the sort of measures that have been side-stepped in the Commonwealth and the European Economic Community.

The way for the initiative has been cleared by the US Congress's decision in October to impose tougher restrictions on US trade with South Africa.

An agreement within the Security Council is likely to contain a ban on air links with South Africa, and a halt to imports of its coal.

The Frontline strategy was spelled out by Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, the Danish Foreign Minister, whose country is a member of the Security Council.

He made the announcement after lengthy meetings with the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

The Frontline states have a close ally in Denmark, which has unilaterally banned all trade dealings with South Africa.
 Talks on aid for black states

ADDIS ABABA — Leaders from 14 Eastern and Southern African countries yesterday discussed ways of helping Frontline states likely to suffer if economic sanctions were imposed on SA.

The countries are members of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), a regional organisation set up in 1982 to stimulate trade between African states and wean them from traditional trading partners in the developed world.

A plan circulated at the summit suggested that military units protect vital installations such as airports, railways and power plants from possible SA attack.
De-industrialising

The southern African region is undergoing a process of relative and absolute de-industrialisation. SA’s neighbours no longer compete with the homeland decentralisation zones for industries, nor, as was the case 18 months ago, are they losing industries to them. However, with a few exceptions they are not succeeding in attracting new industries.

These were a few of the sobering observations that emerged from a workshop on industrialisation in southern Africa held in Swaziland during the first week of November, writes Alan Whiteside of Natal University’s Economic Research Unit (ERU).

The workshop was organised by the ERU and jointly hosted by it and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung of West Germany. It was the culmination of a year’s study on investment incentives and industrial policies throughout the region. The workshop was attended by delegates from most of the countries and it provided an opportunity for a frank exchange of views.

The main point to emerge was that southern Africa is de-industrialising. There has been a net decrease in the level of industrial activity in SA and Mozambique. The industrial sectors of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi are relatively stagnant; Lesotho and Botswana are growing slowly, and Swaziland is the only country experiencing rapid growth in this sector. Not only is the region lagging behind the rest of the developing world in attracting foreign investment, but the consequence may be industrial backsliding for the foreseeable future.

All the southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC) countries want to attract industry and it will be news to South African businessmen to learn that virtually all have no prejudice against South African capital. It is evident that as long as businessmen are prepared to obey local laws and accept local aspirations they will be as welcome as any foreign investor. Most of the southern African countries also have attractive incentive packages and are actively trying to improve the business climate. It may also come as a surprise to discover that in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique the business environment is considerably less restricted than it is in over-regulated SA, and there are not the political and other problems.

The question of sanctions busting was also discussed. The Frontline states are not going to allow labelling, transiting or other activities that would not comply with international regulations. The recent decision by Finnish dockworkers not to handle Swazi goods was cited as an example of how easily reputations may be tarnished. Nonetheless, it was clear that there is considerable potential for investors. In most cases a 25% value added in the country of origin, in this case a Frontline state, will mean that the company can legitimately retain access to old export markets, and in addition will have access to many new markets.

It was concluded that Pretoria’s intransigence and destabilisation in the region has resulted in the loss of potential development, and this will continue until there is an acceptable political settlement in SA. Nonetheless, it should be recognised that times of change are also times of opportunity. The South African businessman, with his knowledge of the African markets and business environment, would do well to look beyond the borders of SA for investment opportunities. This is especially true if he is committed to the development of the region and has the foresight to look beyond apartheid.
HARARE — A private grief appears temporarily to have belied wider international issues in Southern Africa when news of the death of President Kenneth Kaunda’s fifth son, Masumbo, interrupted a crucial meeting of the six Frontline leaders on the imposition of sanctions against Pretoria.

It now appears unlikely any public announcement on the Frontline states’ commitment to implement sanctions will be made until well into the new year.

The question of the extent to which SA’s black neighbours could allow themselves to become embroiled in a confrontation was the major item on the agenda at Sunday’s one-day summit in Lusaka.

Kaunda and Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe were at the forefront of the calls for comprehensive sanctions against SA earlier this year. But some diplomatic observers here believe Kaunda would have announced a subtle retreat from the brink of open economic warfare by Zambia and Zimbabwe had the Lusaka summit gone as planned.

Own Correspondent
HARARE — Amid the seasonal expressions of goodwill, a recurrent question being asked in Zimbabwe as 1986 draws to a close is: “What has happened to sanctions?”

For weeks, there has been a guessing game about when Prime Minister Robert Mugabe will back anti-apartheid rhetoric with concrete action.

Last week, diplomats and regional analysts confidently predicted that Sunday’s summit of the Frontline states in Lusaka would see at least the unveiling of nominal moves.

But the summit was disrupted by the death of a son of President Kenneth Kaunda, causing the early departure of the group’s leader, and ended unusually without a communiqué or news conference.

Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe returned to Harare from a Commonwealth mini-summit in London in August vowing that a newly-adopted sanctions package would be implemented to the full by the end of the year.

**Imminent action**

The Commonwealth package, which was not agreed to by Britain, calls for the cutting of air links, withdrawal of most consular facilities and a ban on imports of SA goods such as steel and vegetables.

But most of southern Africa depends economically on the region’s white superpower and the ardour for sanctions has cooled noticeably since August as cold statistics are assessed.

Mugabe, and some of his ministers, have since repeated the end-of-year target, raising expectations of imminent action.

But even at the August news conference, the Zimbabwean leader noted that his country acting alone would have little effect — for sanctions to be meaningful they had to be coordinated.

Other Frontline states such as Mozambique and Botswana say they are in no position to act, a situation accepted by the group, but Zambia as well as Zimbabwe has publicly committed itself to the Commonwealth sanctions pack-

**OBSERVERS** in Harare are beginning to wonder when and if Robert Mugabe will be able to fulfil his promise to apply sanctions against SA. Despite efforts to reduce dependence, some 90% of Zimbabwe’s imports and exports still pass through SA.

After Sunday’s meeting, diplomats and regional affairs experts here have been asking: “What happened?”

One development noted by some of the analysts is this month’s food price riots which rocked Zambia, forcing it to briefly close its borders and leaving several dead.

Kaunda quickly reversed the increases, part of an austerity programme designed to right the country’s battered economy which included doubling the retail cost of staple maize meal.

“The riots showed just how brittle Zambia’s economy is,” a European diplomat said.

The major stumbling block for Zimbabwe is its dependence on SA for trade routes.

Diplomatic sources said Mugabe and Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende had told recent visitors that rapid progress was being made to reduce this dependence and that as much as 40% of Zimbabwe’s trade was now being routed through Mozambique.

But economists and businessmen question that figure, saying it is more like 10%, and that about 90% of imports and exports pass through SA.

Cutting steel imports would badly hurt Zimbabwe’s domestic steel industry and the loss of the lucrative Johannesburg-Harare route would plunge loss-making national carrier Air Zimbabwe further into the red, they add.

Meanwhile, speculation now centres on whether Mugabe will say something about sanctions in his traditional New Year message. — Sapa-Reuters.
Balking at sanctions

The Frontline states' sanctions package against SA, due to be announced by the new year, now seems likely to be less comprehensive than the Commonwealth package agreed last August. Two recent events have underlined the irony of the whole sanctions programme.

First was the Zimbabwean request for 34,000 t of fuel from SA, which served to underscore yet again Zimbabwe's dependence on Pretoria and the very real limitations to its capacity to impose effective sanctions.

The fuel request was apparently made because the National Railways of Zimbabwe, with an estimated 33% of its locomotive fleet off the rails due to a shortage of spares, is simply unable to move petrol, diesel and gas from Ferula near the Mozambique border to the west of the country.

Direct imports from SA by road and rail via Beit Bridge or Botswana would ease the domestic transport problem considerably.

The second and more dramatic development was this month's serious food riots on the Zambian copperbelt, which brought home to Lusaka policymakers just how little room they have for manoeuvre. President Kenneth Kaunda's decision to rescind the steep increase in food prices will give him no more than a temporary respite, since his creditors and lenders will want to know how he proposes to finance the huge subsidies that will now be necessary.

While Kaunda, along with Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende, has continued to press publicly for a tough sanctions package, Western diplomats say that economic ministers in both countries are pleading for a more pragmatic and cautious stance.

The compromise solution may yet turn out to be the severing of air links — a highly visible act which will attract widespread international publicity — along with selective sanctions on items such as fruit (a very minor import), while leaving the bulk of trade between SA and its Frontline neighbours largely unaffected.

The big question is what form Pretoria's retaliation against such selective sanctions might take. Those preaching moderation argue that SA might ignore selective sanctions on the grounds that it earns valuable foreign exchange from its transactions with Zambia and Zimbabwe — two key actors in the Frontline sanctions campaign. Others predict that selective sanctions will generate a selective response from Pretoria. Once this happens the door would open to sanctions escalation as each side adopts a tit-for-tat strategy.

On the more positive side, this month’s summit meeting of Preferential Trade Area (PTA) ministers highlighted the need for those states with close trading ties to Pretoria to diversify into increased intra-regional trade.

PTA Secretary General Bax Nombvete says his organisation will help the Frontline states to find alternative sources of supply to replace SA, while also making transport facilities available. Just how practical such transport assistance is likely to be is questionable, while the only PTA suppliers likely to be able to replace SA to any significant extent are Kenya and Zimbabwe. And even these two countries cannot provide much in the way of capital and producer goods.

Nonetheless, it is possible that sanctions will have a positive impact on trade between the Frontline states and other PTA member countries.
Frontline curbs: not much room to move

JOHANNESBURG
The sanctions package against South Africa due to be detailed by the frontline states before the new year seems likely to be a pale reflection of the Commonwealth package agreed last August.

Observers say two recent events have underlined the irony of the whole sanctions situation.

First and most dramatic, has been this month's serious food riots in Zambia. This has forced Lusaka policymakers to face the truth that however much they may have for manoeuvre,

President Kenneth Kaunda's decision to restrict the steep increase in food prices will give him no more temporary reprieve, say commentators.

His creditors and lenders will want to know how he proposes to finance the huge subsidies that will now be necessary.

Next, there is the Zimbabwan request for fuel from SA, which serves to underscore yet again how dependent Zimbabwe remains on Pretoria and the "very real limitations to its capacity to impose effective sanctions," according to sources close to Pretoria's planners.

The fuel request was seemingly made, it is said, by the National Railways of Zimbabwe, with some 34 percent of its locomotive fleet off rails because of a shortage of spares, is unable to move petrol, diesel and gas from Prucka, near the Mozambique border to the west of the country.

Direct imports from South Africa by road and rail via Beit Bridge or Botswana will provide much relief to the domestic transport problem.

While Mr. Kaunda, together with the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe, and his Foreign Minister, Mr. Witness Mangwende, has continued to press for a tough sanctions package, Western diplomats say that economic ministers in both countries are seeking a "more pragmatic and cautious" approach.

A report this week said the severing of air links - a highly visible move which will attract widespread international publicity - may yet turn out to be the compromise solution, along with selective sanctions on items like fruit (a very minor import), while leaving the bulk of trade between South Africa and its frontline neighbours largely untouched.

A big question is what form Pretoria's retaliation against such selective sanctions might take. Those pressing for moderation argue that South Africa might ignore selective sanctions on the grounds that it earns valuable foreign exchange from its business with Zambia and Zimbabwe - the two key factors in the frontline campaign.

Others predict that selective sanctions will bring a selective response from Pretoria.

If this happens, the door will be open to an escalation of sanctions as both sides adopt a "tit-for-tat" strategy.

More positively, this month's summit meeting of Preferential Trade Area (PTA) ministers underscored the need for close trading ties with South Africa to diversify into increased intra-regional trade.

The PTA secretary general, Mr. Bax Nolwete, says the organization will help the frontline states to find alternative sources of supply to replace South African goods, while also making transport facilities available.

But, how workable such transport assistance is likely to be remains questionable. The only PTA suppliers likely to be able to displace South Africa to any significant extent are Kenya and Zimbabwe. And even these two countries cannot provide much by way of capital and producer goods.

President Kaunda (inset)

However, it is still possible that sanctions against South Africa will have a positive impact on trade between the frontline states and other PTA member countries, say Pretoria sources. - Sapa
The irony of sanctions

The sanctions package against South Africa due to be detailed by the Frontline states before the New Year now seems likely to be a pale reflection of the Commonwealth package agreed last August.

Observers say two recent events have underlined the irony of the whole sanctions situation.

First and most dramatic has been this month’s serious food riots in Zambia.

This has forced Lusaka politicians to face the truth of just how little room they have for manoeuvre.

But President Kenneth Kaunda’s decision to rescind the steep increases in food prices will give him no more than temporary reprieve, say commentators.

His creditors will want to know how he proposes to finance the huge subsidies that will now be necessary.

Then there is the Zimbabwean request for 94,000 tons of fuel from South Africa, which serves to underscore yet again how dependent Zimbabwe remains on Pretoria and the very real limitations of its capacity to impose effective sanctions, according to sources close to Pretoria’s contingency planners.

The fuel request, was seemingly made, it is said, because the National Railways of Zimbabwe, with about 30 percent of its locomotive fleet off the rails because of a shortage of spares, is unable to move petrol, diesel and gas from Fruta near the Mozambique border to the west of the country.

Imports from SA would provide relief

Direct imports from South Africa by road and rail via Beit Bridge would provide much relief to Zimbabwe’s domestic transport problem.

While Mr. Kaunda, the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe, and the Zimbabwean Foreign Minister, Mr. Witness Mangwende, have continued to publicly press for a tough sanctions package, Western diplomats say that Economic Ministers in both countries are playing for “a more pragmatic and cautious stance’’.

A report this week said the severing of all links — a highly visible move that would attract widespread international publicity — might still turn out to be the compromise solution, along with selective sanctions on items like fruit (a very minor import), while leaving the bulk of trade between South Africa and its Frontline neighbours largely untouched.

A big question is what form Pretoria’s retaliation against such selective sanctions might take.

There is growing, however, among the Frontline states, the impression that Pretoria might ignore selective sanctions on the grounds that it earns valuable foreign exchange from its business with Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Others predict that selective sanctions will bring a selective response from Pretoria.

If this happens, the poor will be the ones to bear the brunt of sanctions as both sides adopt a tit-for-tat strategy.

Moreover, the Frontline states are now realising the need for it to diversify the trade so as to find alternative sources of supply to replace South Africa, while also making transport facilities available.

Just how workable such transport assistance is likely to be remains questionable.

The only PTA suppliers likely to be able to displace South Africa to any significant extent are Kenya and Zimbabwe.

And even these two countries cannot provide much by way of capital and producer goods.

However, it is still possible that sanctions against South Africa will have a positive impact on trade between the Frontline states and other PTA member countries, say Pretoria sources. — South Pix.
S.A. D. C.C.

1987

January - September
Black on white

Tension between the Black North and the White South is unlikely to ease next year. And if sanctions against SA intensify, it will probably turn the screw on its black neighbours.

1987 is likely to be a difficult year for sub-Saharan Africa in general and for the nine Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC) states in particular, warns Tony Hawkins, professor of business studies and dean of the faculty of commerce and law at the University of Zimbabwe.

Just how difficult it will be for SADCC (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) will depend to a great extent on the evolution of the sanctions confrontation in the region.

At the time of writing it is unclear whether some of the SADCC states — notably Zimbabwe and Zambia — will seek to act in concert or whether Zimbabwe, which is likely to impose the most far-reaching sanctions, will follow a more independent and somewhat harder line.

It is a safe bet that the tougher Harare's measures, the sharper will be Pretoria's reaction and the wider the ramifications for most countries in the region, even including Zaire, which is not a member of SADCC.

But until sanctions and countermeasures are announced, there is little to be gained from speculating on their possible effects. Suffice it to say that however limited sanctions and countermeasures, they are bound to have adverse effects on the already brittle SADCC economies — as Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe himself has emphasised in recent weeks.

To make matters worse, neither the SADCC states nor their northern neighbours have a strong economic hand to play. The IMF's revised projections for the world economy suggest that after falling for seven consecutive years until 1984, real per capita incomes in sub-Saharan Africa have risen 1% in the last two years and might gain a further 3% some 75 higher than growth of no more than 2%.

Much will depend on the rains over the next three months and on Zimbabwe's sanctions strategy.

After averaging 4% in 1983-1984, Malawi's real growth rate has since fallen to below 2%. The virtual closure of its transport routes through Mozambique has intensified costly reliance on SA. One-third of planned investment in 1987-1988 will be targeted on transport projects, including the northern route to Dar es Salaam which has top priority.

Although the development plan calls for growth of 3.7%, dependence on agriculture, the serious BoP constraint and the difficult transport situation make this unlikely.

On a regional level, SADCC itself is aiming during 1987 to foster intra-regional trade, which currently accounts for less than 5% of total trade. Sanctions against SA should boost such trade with Zimbabwean exporters in particular displacing South African suppliers to such countries as Botswana and Zambia.

Following the recent industrial investment conference in Harare, member-states will be working to translate some of the many projects discussed at the meeting into the new investment the region so desperately needs if a chronic unemployment crisis is to be averted.

In summary, SADCC is facing a year in which, for the region as a whole, per capita incomes are likely to fall once again. Botswana is the most likely exception to this, while with good rains and limited sanctions, economic expansion in Zimbabwe might just manage to keep pace with population growth.

But real incomes are likely to continue their decline in Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia. Recovery in the two former Portuguese territories is dependent on a major de-escalation in the wars in those countries and, in Angola's case, higher oil prices.

In Zambia, living standards will have to fall further before recovery takes over, and in the absence of a sharply higher copper price (which is highly unlikely, Lusaka faces another grim year, though the steep deprecia-

on the world, downside risks seem likely to predominate especially if, as is all too possible, its sanctions confrontation not just within the region but between SA and the industrialised economies escalates.
SA on Frontline agenda – again

THE leaders of Zambia and Zimbabwe, spearheading international efforts to force South Africa to abandon apartheid, met this week in the northern Zimbabwe resort town of Kariba to discuss regional issues, officials said.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe began their meeting, but officials accompanying them would not disclose specifically what they would discuss.

The talks followed a summit of the so-called Frontline states in Lusaka on December 21.

Kaunda, one of Africa's elder statesmen, is chairman of the Frontline bloc which comprises Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The Frontline states are at the forefront of international efforts to force South Africa into making radical political reforms.

Zambia and Zimbabwe have announced they will impose economic sanctions against South Africa, a major trading partner and gateway for most of their trade, in tandem with the 51-member British Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth, the 12-nation European economic community and the US have imposed limited sanctions against South Africa.

The meeting follows another in the Zambian capital on December 21 by leaders of Southern Africa's six-nation Frontline group, which includes Zimbabwe and Zambia, to discuss the situation in the region.

Analysts said the issue of sanctions had apparently been on the agenda of that conference, which broke up abruptly and without any statement after Kaunda's 30-year-old Musambo, died at a hospital in Lusaka after being ill.

Both Zambia and Zimbabwe, as fellow Frontline members, Botswana and Mozambique, are heavily dependent on trade with South Africa as well as on its transport routes.

Sam
LONDON — Britain is stepping up its efforts to help wean the Frontline states away from economic dependence on SA.

This has emerged during a six-day visit to Nigeria by Lynda Chalker, Junior Minister of State in the Foreign Office, where she has been having talks with the Nigerian Head of State, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida.

It was believed Chalker was informed of Nigeria's plans to assemble an international defence force to guard the Beira corridor — Zimbabwe's most viable alternative trade route to the sea.

Foreign Office sources yesterday confirmed that foreign policy in the region was "switching to a broader approach" and that the Frontline states would be "the focus in the future".

They said British foreign policy was "developing as circumstances changed" but it was "unlikely" Britain would take part in an international defence force at this stage.

Britain has increased aid to the Frontline states through the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) as well as stepping up its military aid to Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

As well, Britain is considering the sale of more sophisticated weaponry to Zimbabwe but strictly on a commercial basis.

JOHN BATTERSBY

Britain has already sold arms to Mozambique and financial aid has been allocated to the training of crack troops to guard Mozambique's rail links against sabotage attacks by the MNR.

The sources said the shift in British foreign policy was part of a long-term game-plan which began with the normalisation of relations between the British government and the ANC.

While Britain intends to maintain its opposition to economic sanctions against SA, it is also determined to show the Frontline states that it supports their efforts to find an alternative to reliance on SA transport systems and markets.

The Commonwealth is playing a key behind-the-scenes role in this process and British strategy could be spelled out at the Commonwealth heads of government summit in Vancouver later this year.

Chalker's six-day visit to Nigeria is seen as part of wider thrust by Britain to strengthen its trade and diplomatic links with black Africa as its links with SA weaken.
UK in bid to help front-line states go it alone

London Bureau

BRITAIN is stepping up its efforts to help wean the front-line states away from economic dependence on South Africa.

This has emerged during a six-day visit to Nigeria by Mrs Lynda Chalker, British Minister of State in the Foreign Office. She has been holding discussions with the Nigerian Head of State, Maj-Gen Ibrahim Babangida.

Although details of the talks were not disclosed, it is reliably understood that Mrs Chalker was told of Nigeria's plans to assemble an international defence force to guard the Beira Corridor — Zimbabwe's most viable alternative trade route to the sea.

British Foreign Office sources confirmed yesterday that foreign policy in the region was 'switching to a broader approach' and that the front-line states would be 'the focus in the future'.

The sources conceded that British foreign policy was 'developing as circumstances change' but said it was 'unlikely' that Britain would participate in an international defence force at this stage.

The Government sources pointed out, however, that Britain had increased aid to the front-line states through the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference and had stepped up military aid to Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

It is understood that Britain is considering the sale of more sophisticated weaponry, including ammunition and bombs, to Zimbabwe.

**Training**

Britain has already sold guns and ammunition to Mozambique, and British financial aid has been allocated to the training of crack troops to guard Mozambique's rail links against sabotage attacks by Renamo.

British military advisers have been training Zimbabwean and Mozambican officers in Zimbabwe.

Sources said the shift in British foreign policy was part of a long-term game plan which began with the normalisation of relations between the British Government and the African National Congress.

Although Britain intends to maintain its opposition to economic sanctions against South Africa, it is also determined to show the front-line states that it supports their efforts to find an alternative to reliance on South Africa's transport and markets.
Britain to boost aid to frontline states

Dispatch Bureau

LONDON - Britain is stepping up its efforts to help the frontline states in Southern Africa to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa.

This has emerged during a six-day visit to Nigeria by the British Minister of State in the Foreign Office, Mrs Lynda Chalker, who has been holding discussions with the Nigerian head of state, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida.

It is understood Mrs Chalker was informed of Nigeria's plans to assemble an international defence force to guard the Beira corridor - Zambia's most viable alternative trade route to the sea.

British Foreign Office sources have confirmed that foreign policy in the region was 'switching to a broader approach', and that the 'frontline states would be the focus in the future'.

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The government sources pointed out, however, that Britain had increased aid to the African states through the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) as well as stepping up its military aid to both Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

It is understood that Britain is considering the sale of more sophisticated weaponry — including ammunition and bombs — to Zimbabwe but strictly on a commercial basis.

Britain has already sold guns and ammunition to Mozambique and British financial aid has been allocated to the training of crack troops to guard Mozambique's vital rail links against sabotage attacks by the Renamo rebels.

British military advisers have also been training Zimbabweans and Mozambicans officers at its base in Zimbabwe.

Sources said the shift in British foreign policy was part of a long term plan which began with the normalisation of relations between the British Government and the African National Congress (ANC).

While Britain intends to maintain its opposition to economic sanctions against South Africa it is also determined to show the African states that it supports their efforts to find an alternative to reliance on South Africa's transport systems and markets.

It is understood that the Commonwealth is playing a key behind-the-scenes role in this process and that the British strategy could be spelled out at the Commonwealth heads of government summit in Vancouver later this year.

Mrs Chalker's six-day visit to Nigeria is seen as part of a wider thrust by Britain to strengthen its trade and diplomatic links with black Africa as its links with South Africa weaken.

There is a growing belief in Whitehall that the time is fast approaching when British commercial interests in South Africa may have to be downgraded, in the short-term, to ensure their long-term survival.

The shift marks a dramatic break with the approach of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG) initiative which Britain supported.

The goal of the EPG was to broker a negotiated settlement between the Pretoria government and the ANC.

Britain now believes that this is not possible in the short-term and that a longer-term policy of stabilising the black states neighbouring South Africa, so that they could play a supportive role in the reconstruction of a post-apartheid society, is emerging.

Britain also believes that it is crucial to support Mozambique, which has embarked on a turn towards the West to avoid further Soviet and Eastern bloc intervention in Southern Africa.

Mrs Chalker told a press conference in Lagos that Britain was 'completely and absolutely' opposed to the 'evil system' of apartheid but differed with Nigeria on the means of changing the system.

Mrs Chalker has committed Britain to opening up new credit lines to rehabilitate Nigeria's neglected agricultural sector.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr Geoffrey Howe, has met his United States counterpart, the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, in Bermuda with the situation in South Africa high on the agenda.
Dollar in worldwide slump

ON - The dollar fell sharply in the European trading yesterday at the weekend realignment of currencies in the European Monetary System (EMS). The gold price shot up to over $40.

In Frankfurt, said the monetary realignment after a week of intense speculation had helped to stabilize the market and allow it to focus on the fundamental lack of the dollar.

German Finance Minister Gerhard Schröder did not believe the dollar change would stabilize until the economy showed signs of improvement.

Analysts said the dollar had realigned in the past week to maintain market marks against other currencies in the eight-nation EMS. With the realignment, dealers said, this help no longer needed.

In New York, there was little money market reaction to the Federal Reserve Board's expected purchase of 100bn of bills for customer accounts. The bill purchase is seen as reflecting the resignation of the central bank intervention in support of the dollar. The Bank of Japan has reportedly also bought dollars.

In London, the pound and gold and silver prices rose against the weaker dollar. Gold surged above $110 a barrel for the first time in almost a year.
SADCC members 'are committed to sanctions'

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — South Africa's majority-ruled neighbours have reaffirmed their commitment to the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions, regardless of the consequences to themselves, according to the head of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, Dr Simba Makoni.

Dr Makoni claims that these countries have adopted the attitude that any suffering that may flow from sanctions or any punitive countermeasures on the part of South Africa would be worthwhile if it assured the elimination of apartheid and brought long-term peace and stability to Southern Africa.

Dr Makoni underlined this position at a media briefing session after the third day of secret deliberations at the African-American Institute conference in Gaborone.

His remarks conflict with the attitude taken by the governments of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, which have said they would not welcome sanctions because of the severe damage to their economies. Only Zimbabwe has strongly supported sanctions regardless of the consequences.

Dr Makoni said that the economic vulnerability of SADCC member states, which is recognised and acknowledged, should not be used as an excuse for those who are in a position to impose sanctions on South Africa not to impose them.

He dismissed the South African Government's view that sanctions would hurt blacks in the country and the neighbouring states more than South Africa itself.

Dr Makoni left no doubt that the SADCC was gearing itself for sanctions but scoffed at the assertion that the organisation could not be viable without South Africa.

Strategies to counter any South African punitive action will most certainly top the agenda when the nine SADCC members — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — meet again in Gaborone on February 7.

Resources 'squandered' by apartheid

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Apartheid regards economic growth not only in South Africa but in all African countries, delegates at the African-American Institute were told by Ambassador Peter Afolabi, director general of international economic co-operation in the Nigerian Ministry of External Affairs.

He said enormous capital and vast resources that could go a long way to sustain the survival of Africa were being squandered by South Africa to keep apartheid alive.

The damage and losses sustained by the Frontline States as a result of 'acts of destabilisation continually committed by South Africa', were a major reason for the stunted growth and development of southern Africa. In spite of Africa's abundant natural resources, it was the least developed of all the continents.

"The prospects for recovery, growth and development appear rather dim unless the efforts currently underway in African countries are fully supported by the international community," he warned.

Africa suffers from the loss of revenue due to adverse trading terms and "a huge erosion of its loan resources."

A root cause of Africa's economic situation was bad state management, he said. Another problem has been pervasive political instability.
FOCUS ON SANCTIONS

SA’s neighbours differ

GABORONE – South Africa’s black-routed neighbours have reaffirmed their commitment to the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against this country, regardless of the consequences to themselves, according to the head of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference.

Dr Simba Mabonzi, executive secretary of the SADCC, claims these countries adopt the attitude that any suffering from sanctions or South African counter-measures will be worth it if it is clear that the elimination of apartheid and long-term peace and stability in Southern Africa.

He made this claim at a news briefing at the African-American Institute conference.

Conflict

His remarks contradict, however, the positions staked by the governments of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, who have been critical of the sanctions because of the severe damage that could be done to their economies.

Only Zimbabwe, among South Africa’s immediate neighbours, has unreservedly supported sanctions.

The 17th African-American Institute conference ended in Botswana today. More than 150 business, political, community, church, media, and labour representatives have attended the week-long hiatus. Nkopane Makobane and Sejanoutho Polamu report.

SOWETAN Africa News Service

**SOME of the delegates at the conference were (from left): Mrs Reabotse Achakale of the Botswana Government, Mrs Scholastique Khanya of the United Nations Children’s Fund (Unicef), Mrs Kopeliso Mabonzi, a housewife, and Mrs Pheleka Mahlo of the British High Commission’s office in Gaborone.**

Survive

Dr Mabonzi said his government would not support sanctions of 19 years, or the 20th anniversary of the sanctions. The sanctions were imposed in 1989 to reduce the economic dependence of the member on sanctions on South Africa.

Dr Mabonzi said in a media briefing that he had in mind a group of four nations that would not support sanctions of 19 years, or the 20th anniversary of the sanctions. The sanctions were imposed in 1989 to reduce the economic dependence of the member on sanctions on South Africa.

Mr Steve Tenwete, former President of the United Democratic Front, addresses the conference. He represents the ANC.

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SA's neighbours differ

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Dr Simba Makoni, executive secretary of the SACDC, claimed these countries adopt the attitude that any suffering from sanctions or South African counter-measures will be worth it if the pain ensures the elimination of apartheid and long-term peace and stability in Southern Africa.

He made the claim at a news briefing at the African-American Institute conference here.

Conflict

His remarks conflict, however, with the positions stated by the governments of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland who have made it clear they would not welcome sanctions because of the severe damage that could be done to their economies.

Only Zimbabwe, among South Africa's immediate neighbours, has unreservedly supported sanctions.

Said Dr Makoni: "The economic vulnerability of SACDC member states, which is recognised and acknowledged, should not be used as an excuse for those who are in a position to impose sanctions against South Africa and then impose them."

He dismissed the South African Government view that sanctions would hurt blacks in the country and the neighbouring states more than South Africa itself.

The economies of Southern Africa were interdependent and the SACDC countries and black South Africans were already suffering, he said. Any "irrational actions threatened or already taken by South Africa" to counter sanctions would cost the country dearly, he added.

Dr Makoni left no doubt that SACDC was gearing itself for such counter-measures but scoffed at the assertion that "SACDC cannot be viable without South Africa."

Strategies to counter any South African punitive action will most certainly top the agenda when the nine SACDC members meet here next month.

The members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The conference was formed in 1980 to reduce the economic dependence of the member nations on South Africa.

Survive

Dr Makoni said with more aid to SACDC from the United States, presently at a disappointingly low level, and close co-operation among the members, SACDC would survive any counter-action from South Africa.

Participants at the closed sessions also "deplored" US aid to Jonas Savimi's Unita and expressed strong concern about the plight of South African journalists, particularly the blacks who were characterised as "underemployed, undertrained and overlooked."

THE 17th African-American Institute conference ends in Botswana today. More than 100 business, political, community, church, media, and labour representatives have attended the week-long Indaba. NKOPANE MAKOBANE and SEJAMOTHIOPO MOTAU report.

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16/1/1989

PRESIDENT of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Mofantsa (right) with Mr Elias Ntloediboe, a member of the 'Pan Africanist Congress' mission in exile.

Pictures: By LEN KUMALO

BOTSWANA's president Dr Quett Masire, with American Congressmen Mr Mickey Leyland. The African-American Institute conference was opened by Dr Masire in Gaborone this week. The Indaba ends today.

Mr STEVE Tshweu, former Border president of the United Democratic Front, addresses the conference. He represented the ANC.
SA - outside and inside,
Screws are Tightening on
SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE
Curbs delay explained by Mugabe

HARARE—Sanctions against South Africa by southern African nations had deliberately been postponed because of the need for co-operation among some of the front-line states, Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said in an interview released yesterday.

Ziana, the semi-official news agency, reports that the sanctions package, largely engineered by Zimbabwe and Zambia, was due to come into effect to ward off the end of last year.

Mozambique, was also highly influential in seeking front-line states' unity and it was on returning home from one such mission in Zambia that President Samora Machel died in a plane crash last year.

"We have had to postpone them deliberately in order for us to consult with the other front-line states because some of the sanctions require their co-operation," said Mr. Mugabe.

"But they are coming and coming very soon, that is, from our side..."

"Sanctions, yes, are necessary against South Africa and they need the co-operation of all of us," he said.

The interview was released cordially after Mr. Mugabe left on a visit to China, Korea, and India. (Sap.)
Western shifts

The doubling of British military aid to Mozambique and US Secretary of State George Schultz’s African tour, to be followed by his controversial meeting with the African National Congress, are not unconnected. They highlight an important shift in emphasis in the relationship between SA and its major Western allies.

On his safari through five west African states and Kenya, Schultz said that although the US was continuing to engage SA, “hopefully constructively,” the time was not right for “any new initiative.” Britain apparently shares that perception.

It is shifting its southern Africa policy more towards shoring up the economies of the Frontline states than it is trying to facilitate dialogue within SA. Britain is training Mozambican army officers in Zimbabwe and selling the Chissano government military hardware. More significant is that the UK is becoming a key player in moves to resuscitate alternative transport networks north of the Limpopo — specifically the strategic Beira corridor.

What the political power brokers in the region seem to have embarked upon is a delicate game of political brinkmanship. It has the potential to put SA on a path of dangerous confrontation with the West. And, of all the potential flashpoints, the most likely is the Beira Corridor.

Destabilisation threat

Natal University professor Gavin Maasdorp, who made a study of the region, is convinced that Western policy shifts pose a threat for SA.

The reason: if SA’s hand is thought to be behind any alleged destabilisation in Mozambique, and the Beira rail link in particular, it can only lead to a deterioration in the already frigid relationship with SA’s part-

ners,” he warns.

Moreover, he says talk of introducing additional troops, including British personnel, to protect the Beira corridor would serve to heighten the potential for wider military conflict in the region.

Some observers believe, however, that the rebel MNR could sustain its attacks on the Beira corridor even if an international or Pan-African force is sent to guard it. This possibility, and that of any alleged SA backing for the MNR, remains conjectural. It is sufficient to note that the US and UK will not take kindly to seeing their investment in the Beira project go up in smoke.

Britain may not have given up entirely on a negotiated settlement in SA, speculates Michael Spicer, who heads Anglo American’s public affairs advisory division. But the retrogressive events of 1986 and the failure of the Eminent Persons Group mission to SA in particular were a major setback, says Spicer.

Consequently, “there has been a need to start shifting to worst-case scenarios and to get into the business of damage limitation.” In essence, he says, Britain is hedging its bets — as is the US, by its goodwill mission through sub-Saharan Africa and by opening discussions with ANC leader Oliver Tambo in Washington this week.

Spicer believes Britain still remains fundamentally opposed to sanctions. As a counter to its own soft line on sanctions within the Commonwealth and the European Community, Spicer says, Britain has shown that it is prepared to turn on the aid tap to the Frontline States. At the same time, however, it has made it clear that it is not going to bail out of the consequences of any over-hasty decisions on the sanctions issue.

America and Europe have committed around R350m to the initial rehabilitation of the Mutare-Beira rail link and the port of Beira. The obvious, if long-term, corollary is that an effective alternative route to the coast will reduce Frontier State dependency on SA’s transport system, and give them more room for manoeuvre in the anti-SA sanctions era.

Moreover, it would enable them better to withstand counter-sanctions which Pretoria could yet impose. But whether establishing an improved rail link to the sea via Beira will be sufficient to allow the Frontier States the confidence to act independently remains to be seen.
Frontline states: Berlin airlift

A $700m plan to protect frontline states from possible SA retaliation after the imposition of economic sanctions has been disclosed by the news agency Ziana.

The plan includes measures to stockpile and airlift emergency food supplies, build up transport corridors to divert trade traffic from SA ports, set up a Frontline regional task force, support liberation movements and create a group of eminent people to monitor the Southern African crisis.

The plan lays down urgent measures needed to meet shortages of essential goods in the frontline states should SA retaliate after anti-apartheid sanctions are imposed. Berlin-style airlifting might be needed because of transportation bottlenecks.

The Plan of Action for Africa Fund was adopted by last week's New Delhi summit of the seven heads of state of member countries of the Action for Resisting Invasions, Colonialism and Apartheid: Fund: Committee of the Non-Aligned Movement, which was launched in Harare last year.
Sizing up the cost of destabilisation

WITH the spotlight on pan-African issues, from Western press coverage to an apparent unwillingness by First World countries to honour financial pledges, delegates to the 'African American Institute conference' in Gaborone this week still found time to focus on South Africa.

Sessions were closed to the press. But observers said panel and general discussions ranged from the price of sanctions vs the cost of destabilisation (the latter, it was held, was more costly to frontline states than the former) to the role of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in a post-apartheid society.

The nine-nation SADCC was established in 1984 to help members lessen their economic dependence on South Africa.

Delegates agreed that in a post-apartheid southern Africa, the SADCC would not be dissolved. It would instead be extended to include South Africa as "one of the more powerful groups in the region".

Delegates recognised the "mutual dependence" of South Africa and member states, which include Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

More than 100 delegates from the US, most African countries and Britain have been participating since Monday in the conference, held annually to focus on African developmental needs. Delegates include senior government officials — most at ministerial level — from African countries, African and western businessmen, foundation representatives and delegates from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Bankers and diplomats from the region are also attending the conference, which ends this evening.

The conference has attracted a number of influential American politicians, including Atlanta mayor Andrew Young, and congressmen Howard Wolpe and Walter Fauntroy.

The South African portion of the conference — two sessions yesterday and one today — has drawn delegates from the ANC, including information secretary Thabo Mbeki and anniversary celebrations chairman Steve Tshwete. The PAC delegation has been headed by its chairman, Johnson Mamba.

Expected from South Africa were, inter alia, Barclays Bank MD Chris Ball and SA Perm MD Robert Tucker; Dr Nhato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association; Premier chairman Tony Bloom and Dr Johan C van Zyl, chief executive of the Federated Chamber of Industries.

Earlier in the week, delegates charged that although Western countries had agreed under United Nations auspices to supply the continent with $1.1-billion (about R25-billion) a year for five years for an economic recovery programme, only $8.3-billion (about R19-billion) had so far been pledged. "Promises have already been broken," said one delegate, and the international public sector was not pulling its weight.

But although Western financial commitments were found wanting, Western press coverage was not.
HARARE — As Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney arrived here yesterday for a four-day solidarity visit, the Frontline States published a $46bn strategy for a full-scale confrontation with apartheid.

Leaders of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe are due to attend a summit with Mulroney at Victoria Falls tomorrow, but questions are already being asked about the financial practicability of the strategy which, as yet, has no announced backers.

After countless previous false alarms, there is renewed speculation that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe will use the Victoria Falls venue to announce how far they intend to implement the Commonwealth sanctions package.

Canadian diplomatic sources are not optimistic about the Frontline States’ chances of gaining extra support from Mulroney for their strategy.

The support they have received so far is from Britain which is sending more instructors to train the troops defending the vital oil, rail and oil pipeline routes to Beira.

Last year, the two leaders set one deadline after another for joining in the international measures against SA but each was allowed to expire as pressuring internal economic problems made immediate enforcement of sanctions impossible. Botswana has unequivocally opted out of sanctions because of its geographical position.

A plan for the first joint limiting task force for a defence against SADF incursions is included in the strategy.

It also includes spending $46m to create a 150 000-ton grain reserve to relieve the Frontline States of ever having to import food from SA again.

Transvaal NRP joins pact

NRP Transvaal leader Martin Stephens has been persuaded by the party’s federal executive to take part in the electoral pact with the PFP.

Stephens said yesterday the NRP had also agreed not to oppose the NP in seats where such opposition would benefit the right wing.

Defending the decision not to oppose the NP in certain seats, Stephens said: “I don’t want to be part of a ‘gang-up’ against the NP when there are a lot of mutual interests that the NRP has with the NP.”

Initially against the agreement with the PFP, he now sees it as “muster[ing] the forces of moderation”.

He said it was one facet in the overall strategy of the NRP, which was to bring about an alliance of political moderates across party, religious and colour lines.

The seats the NRP will fight for in the Transvaal will be made known after a

AN UNDERTAKING by the NRP for industrial shares, with no 4% source.
Southern Africa brimming with profit prospects

SOUTHERN African states were offering SA businessmen such enormous incentives that it would be difficult for investors not to make a profit in those countries, Alan Whiteside, research fellow at the Economic Research Unit, Natal University, said yesterday.

Whiteside, a former economist in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Botswana, was addressing a meeting of the South African Institute of International Affairs in Pretoria.

He said SA was entering an unprecedented period of turmoil and instability.

With the build-up of sanctions, SA would find it increasingly difficult to trade with traditional partners.

Therefore, industrialists should consider investing in the Frontline states because that would not only provide insurance through diversification, but might also provide many business opportunities.

Whiteside spoke of the existing conflict between the Foreign Affairs Department of SA — involved in trying to establish good relations with neighbours — and the military which "destroyed" these relations by raiding the countries.

He said continued raids would result in Zimbabwe and Zambia closing their borders to SA businessmen.

Current decisions of government and business communities would set the pattern of SA's development or lack of it under a post-apartheid government.

Describing the positive factors of investment in Southern Africa, Whiteside said the region had mineral wealth, rich agricultural land and good power and water supplies.

All countries in the region faced worsening unemployment and were keen to attract industry.

All of them — apart from Zimbabwe and Malawi — had devised packages of incentives to attract investors.

Whiteside rated Swaziland as having the best investment incentives and business climate, followed by Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
Productivity aim for SADCC
Botswana to host SADCC

Gaborone — Hundreds of delegates from Southern African countries are expected in Gaborone next month for a consultative conference of the Southern Africa Development and Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

Botswana Government officials say the conference, due to start on February 3, will be the biggest gathering of foreign dignitaries in Gaborone since Botswana’s 20th anniversary last year.

About 500 delegates are expected in Gaborone and all hotels in the city are fully booked.

Apart from the nine SADCC countries, 34 governments and 17 international organisations will be represented at the conference.
RELIANCE ON SA
REDUCE, THE
SADC AIMS TO

SPOTLIGHT FALLS ON CABELOANE

REVELATION

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NEXT WEEK'S EDITION OF THE

SPOTLIGHT FALLS ON CABELOANE

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NEXT WEEK'S EDITION OF THE
GABORONE -- Plans for a trade boycott of SA and protection against possible retaliation are on the agenda of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference meeting here this week.

When sanctions are imposed, the SADCC expects SA to strike back at its neighbours by cutting or restricting food supplies.

Prime news agency reports a $200m fund is to be set up after the meeting for SADCC member states to buy grain.

A four-man food security team is preparing an appeal to overseas donors to contribute to the grain reserve fund.

It is estimated more than $58m is needed for food reserves for Lesotho alone.

In 1984-85 Frontline states, making up the majority of SADCC members, got 878 000 tons of grain through food aid programmes and imported 901 000 tons commercially. About 15% of the commercial imports were from SA.

Strategic food reserves of 150 000 tons, some of which might have to be airlifted, would cut Frontline dependence on SA for one year at a cost of $200m.

Frontline states plan to build 16 10 000-ton silos at a cost of $270m.

The SADCC meeting is also expected to adopt a new plan of breaking trade ties with SA by mobilising technical, managerial and financial support from local and foreign investors. Sapa.
US to reveal big aid plan for Africa

By Joao Santa Rita,
The Star's Africa News Service

The United States will announce a major aid programme for Southern Africa when the nine Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) countries meet in Gaborone later this week.

Mr John McPherson, director of USAID which co-ordinates United States aid programmes, is expected to make the announcement on the first day of the meeting on Thursday.

Although no details have been announced, a United States Information Services spokesman said from Gaborone that it would be "a major announcement".

"The announcement will cover US aid for the whole of Africa, including, of course, the SADCC countries," the spokesman said.

The announcement will follow recent American diplomatic efforts to strengthen its ties with the six Frontline states, all of which belong to the SADCC, following the apparent decision to abandon "constructive engagement" with South Africa.

American government officials have openly declared their desire to expand their relations with Southern Africa.

TOP BRITISH DELEGATE

At the same time, Britain, which has also been strengthening its ties with the Frontline states, including Marxist Mozambique, is expected to send a top-level government representative to the meeting.

A British High Commission spokesman said that Mr Christopher Patten, Minister for Overseas Development, would be attending the conference.

"Mr Patten will certainly reaffirm Britain's commitment to the SADCC," the spokesman said.

The conference will take place on Thursday and Friday and besides the nine member countries: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, will involve countries which have committed aid to SADCC projects, mostly Scandinavian countries.

The theme of the conference is "SADCC: Investment in Production" and analysts say the SADCC countries are now trying to get private enterprise to become more involved in the development projects aimed at reducing their economic dependence on South Africa.

An SADCC statement on the conference confirmed this trend, saying that because the infrastructure programmes had reached a certain level, the nine member countries had to embark on a new phase of co-operation to increase "the levels of material production and stimulate intra-trade".

"To achieve these objectives the SADCC must mobilise technical, managerial and financial support from the business community both inside and outside the region," the statement said.

RELIED ON PUBLIC SECTOR

Up to now, emphasis has been on developing the region's physical infrastructure which meant that the bulk of the SADCC programmes were in the public sector and relied almost exclusively on public sector investments and official development assistance.

It is understood that, in its efforts to attract foreign private investment, the SADCC is considering the formation of joint ventures and what has been officially described as "reciprocal cross-border capital movements".

Significantly, the conference will be preceded by a seminar of businessmen on Wednesday. They will discuss strategies aimed at involving the public and private sectors "in enhancing production and inter-regional trade".

Sources said the conference would be followed by a review meeting with a delegation from the European Economic Community, EEC.

South Africa is expected to come under fire from the several hundred delegates attending the conference for its "destabilisation policies". The war being fought in Mozambique by rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance movement will probably also be discussed.

The MNR activities are threatening the RML-Bela-Bela corridor which the SADCC wants to strengthen as an alternative to South Africa's transport routes to the sea.
SA is basis of top talks

Black dependence on

Gaborone — South

CABOTONE — South

Shake off their economic

States, struggle to

600 senior delegates

Key talks with Western

Africanjomorrow open

South Africa's black

hands over the region

and its aid donor

Bolivia, Angola, Mozambique,

Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland,

Zambia, Zimbabwe and

Sanctions imposed against

Reagan is proposing a S2.9

Billion (R4.4 Billion)

President Ronald

Thenhall the poeet's

pledged funds for more

development projects

SADC has drawn up a

neighbours

sanctions to its weaker

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Elyon added recently as

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SADC's efforts to break

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Nearly all depend

Bakkers boycotted by aid

Conference (SADC)

support as the

Development

of the Southern

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and Zambia, Swaziland.

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Conference (SADC)

support as the
SADCC to talk of more aid

PREPARATORY meetings for the crucial annual consultative conference of the Southern African Development Co-operation Conference (SADCC) opened in Gaborone yesterday.

"The conference, which will be held next week, will be in four parts: meetings by technical experts, a special meeting between SADCC officials and ministers from the Nordic countries, the first meeting between businesspeople and SADCC officials, and the usual yearly meeting with the ten donor countries on February 5 and 6.

This year's discussion will be important for several reasons. Last year, Western donors were still caught up in a debate over whether or not to impose sanctions against South Africa. Now, each one has taken some measure—however trivial.

Thus the focus has shifted to what sort of assistance they are willing to offer the frontline states to help them in the hard times ahead. The Nordic countries—staunchest backers of SADCC—have said they will increase support, and there are indications that even the US will unveil plans for increased regional assistance.

In terms of the seven-year-old SADCC itself, the 1987 conference is its first attempt to involve the private sector, as it involves this year's theme: "Investment in production."

The SADCC has argued in the past that there is no point in focusing on trade and production, unless the infrastructure is in place.

Although SADCC's priority sector—transport and communication—has been severely hampered by South African destabilisation, the nine-member group states that there is "sufficient momentum" in this sector now to start moving on.

And they're hoping that companies divesting from South Africa will look to the region instead. —IPC
Nordic deal will improve SADCC network

By Michael Tissous
The Star’s Africa News Service

GABORONE — Norway and Sweden will this week jointly sign two agreements with the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries regarding telecommunications and hydropower development.

SADCC and Nordic representatives also announced that another agreement would be signed before the end of this month regarding the rehabilitation of the port of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. The telecommunications project is the third in this field.

The previous ones were the microwave links among Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia and between Malawi and Tanzania.

The project will provide telecommunication facilities for connecting the existing network in Malawi and Zimbabwe with the Mozambican port of Beira. It will also serve to improve the international telecommunications service for other countries in the region.

PROJECT

The total cost of the project is approximately R25 million and it is scheduled to be completed by early 1989.

The Corumana hydropower project will provide electricity for southern Mozambique with possible transmission lines to Swaziland. Corumana is located on the Sabie River in the north-west of Maputo. By increasing energy production in this part of the country, Mozambique will be less dependent on the electricity supply from South Africa, which is presently the sole source of electricity to Maputo. The hydropower station will be equipped with two generating units of 8.3 MW each.

Eletricidade de Mozambique will be responsible for the execution of the project with some technical assistance from Norway. The total cost of the project is approximately R25 million and the estimated construction period is two years.
Call for world action.

Sanctions.

As aid chief hits sanctions

R200m pledge to SADC

Master attacks

Syrian policy
Zimbabwe and Zambia cannot afford to gamble that South Africa will accept a twist of its tail without snapping back, writes Robin Drew in Harare.

Frontline sanctions
da fading prospect

The belief is hardening in the wake of the visit to Zimbabwe by the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr Brian Mulroney, that sanctions on South Africa by Frontline states will remain a talking point rather than a subject for action.

Zimbabwe and Zambia had planned to introduce the selective measures, including a ban on air links, drawn up at the Commonwealth mini-summit in August and to do so before the end of last year.

Three weeks after that deadline had passed, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe promised action "very soon".

However, at the end of his visit to Harare last week, Mr Mulroney, who is on extremely good terms with Mr Mugabe, came back to the point that it was not for the Frontline states to endanger their fragile economies and risk devastation by pressing on with sanctions, but for the industrialised world to tighten its economic pressure on South Africa.

It was during Mr Mulroney's visit that Zimbabwe's main newspaper, The Herald, said it was becoming clear that Zimbabwe and its allies were not going to go blindly into uncharted territory but were closely studying possible repercussions and counter-measures which could follow sanctions.

In private conversation, many Zimbabweans will agree that little is to be gained from a token dose of sanctions by the Frontline states.

And no one in any position of responsibility is suggesting that Zimbabwe is anywhere near contemplating sweeping sanctions, however much this may have been talked about as the right way for the world to bring Pretoria to its senses.

The fact remains that South Africa is still the chief single supplier of goods for Zimbabwe, that it takes about one fifth of its exports and transports up to 90 percent of its traffic.

On paper, plans exist to reduce this dependency. Millions of rands and some years will have to be spent translating the blueprint into reality.

But for the present, Zimbabwe and Zambia cannot afford to gamble that South Africa will accept a twist of its tail without snapping back.

There is a view, however, that Mr Mugabe has gone too far down the road of promising action and that he will insist on an air link cut, if nothing else.

The cynical hypothesis is that as the Zimbabwean economy is heading for its most critical years, with savage foreign exchange allocation cuts biting into commerce and industry, the blame for closures and unemployment could be shifted somewhat if Zimbabwe were to apply some sanctions and South Africa were to retaliate.

The same argument could well be applied to Zambia, whose pressing economic difficulties are even more obvious.

But it seems more likely that both countries will appreciate the need to strengthen their own positions and to see a substantial inflow of money into the Africa Fund, set up to cushion the after-effects of sanctions, before taking action.

Safe transport routes to the coast and sufficiency in food and fuel are the minimum requirements demanded to deal with possible retaliation.

Plans exist for building silos to store grain and Zimbabwe has said it intends to increase its fuel storage capacity.
SADEC wants aid in going it alone

Colleen Lowe Moran

Frontline States

Plea: Help the Commonwealthish

we can send 10 million dollars over 12 months in return for an annual 5 percent take-down of SADEC's share of the revenue from the sale of uranium.

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Frontline States

Plea: Help the Commonwealthish
US warned of refugee crisis in Southern Africa

By Neil Lussern
The Star's Foreign News Service

WASHINGTON — The refugee crisis has led to a grave humanitarian tragedy in the dozen countries of Southern Africa, Mr. Michael Armacost, America's top professional diplomat, has told the United States Congress.

Of the continent's 2.3 million refugees, 30 percent were in Southern Africa, he said.

Millions more in Southern Africa were displaced or at risk within their own countries, mostly in Mozambique and Angola, Mr. Armacost told a congressional committee investigating the situation.

Events in South Africa have already generated 20,000 to 30,000 refugees and the destructive cycle of repression and violence could ultimately induce many times that number to flee.

"The US, and many other countries around the world, have historically offered asylum to South African refugees. This option must continue to be available in appropriate cases," said Mr. Armacost.

"However, the crisis in South Africa must be solved through a real political dialogue in which all the people of that country are free to participate."

"Our contacts with South Africans of all races and across the entire political spectrum are designed to challenge them to get on with this task.

"We continue to underscore our readiness to be helpful when South Africans themselves recognize that negotiations and an accommodation of interests are the only way out of their national dilemma."

Mr. Armacost said that in December, he had seen at first hand the plight of the region's refugees and the efforts of hard-pressed governments to help them.

"In Malawi, where more than 70,000 Mozambicans have sought refuge, I visited a camp on the Mozambique-Malawi border."

"Several thousand refugees, most in makeshift shelters permeable to the heavy tropical rains, depended on the generosity of the Malawian Government and the Red Cross."

Threat of disease

"Local officials and doctors told me of the increasing burden the refugees are placing on Malawi's limited resources and the real threat of disease in the camp."

"The situation was most acute in Mozambique, where the insurgency and a long-term economic crisis had produced more than 300,000 refugees," Mr. Armacost said.

"Offensives by the South African-supported insurgent movements Renamo and Government counterattacks have devastated Mozambique's economic infrastructure, transportation system, health centers and schools."

"Almost two million people have been displaced," he testified.

Almost 400,000 Angolans had fled to Zaire and more than 200,000 were displaced within Angola itself.

Mr. Armacost said that providing asylum to refugees had often subjected the host countries to attacks from South Africa and insurgent movements. It was sometimes difficult for countries to acknowledge the presence of refugees and this could limit the ability of international organizations to provide protection and lead to delays on providing help.

Appealing to the Congress to support the administration's relief efforts in the region, Mr. Armacost said the US wanted to see Southern Africa develop its vast economic potential, secure in its ties with the West and free of Soviet and Cuban military intervention.

"We are not just against apartheid, we are for a new, democratic South Africa whose people would enjoy equal political, economic and social rights," he said.

Mr. Roger Winter, director of the US Committee for Refugees, gave the committee much higher refugee figures than those quoted by Mr. Armacost. He said close to seven million were internally displaced in Southern Africa.

Inside South Africa, the number of people displaced through violence of because of apartheid policies approached four million.

The region now had the potential for a "humanitarian emergency of biblical proportions," he warned.
"I think the reason it's not moving is back there."

Efforts at economic independence of the Southern African countries were being sabotaged by military destabilisation by South Africa, speakers noted at the SADCC conference. MICHAEL TISSONG, Argus Africa News Service, reports from Gaborone.

**SADCC condemns SA destablising policies**

**Main concern**

The main concern of the conference was investment in projects outlined by the SADCC secretariat in the nine SADCC countries. However, speakers noted that efforts to promote economic independence of the Southern African countries were being sabotaged by military destabilisation by South Africa.

South Africa has denied any destabilisation charges but Frontline states have said the charges are proven by the capture of a South African soldier near Angola's Cabinda oil installations and the killing of South African soldiers carrying mine near a railway line in Southern Zimbabwe.

In addition, South African military units have attacked what they said were ANC targets in seven SADCC countries — Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Western and Eastern countries, international bodies, and donor agencies poured millions of rand into the SADCC projects aimed at economic independence of South Africa.

The countries, banks and agencies pressured their aid and loans with calls for sanctions against South Africa, but representatives of the SADCC countries said they were silent concerning their own involvement in sanctions.

Mr. Peter McPherson, the director of America's US Agency for International Development (USAID), cautioned SADCC members that it would be counter-productive to consider implementing sanctions now because it would damage the economies of the SADCC countries. Counter-sanctions by South Africa would cripple them further.

Lesotho, landlocked by South Africa, Swaziland and Botswana, would suffer most while Gabon and Maputo were totally dependent on South Africa for electricity.

Western and Eastern countries imposed sanctions because they were lost to South Africa.

Sanctions were mostly infrastructural. They included the building of roads, railways networks, the rehabilitation of harbours and the creation of hydro-electric power plans. They also included technical training.

While the rich Western countries, including America, Britain and the Nordic countries were willing to flash high-figure cheques to fund the projects, the Eastern block countries consented reluctantly to part with their cash.

This reluctant attitude contrasted with the eagerness with which the Eastern block countries gave weapons to guerrillas during their liberation wars.

Now that the guerrillas have taken over the reins of government, the Eastern block countries seem prepared to hand them to their own devices.

**Eight apartheid**

The eager attitude of the Western countries has also been constrained as an effort to compensate for the way they grossly exploited the African countries during the years of colonial domination.

One of the speakers told the SADCC representatives that the country's dreams could not be achieved from the West if it could not be constructed, and that the SADCC countries during the international fight against apartheid.

Chairman of the SADCC Council of Ministers and Botswana president, Mr. Festus Mogae, said the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the oppressed people of South Africa wanted sanctions against the country.

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SA denies threatening Botswana over ANC

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha "pointed out" to the Botswana government the serious view SA took of ANC delegates at the SADC conference in Gaborone, but denied threatening the country.

A statement from the Botswana President’s office on Saturday said SA had threatened to "take whatever measures they considered necessary" because the country had allegedly permitted entry of two ANC members, Jacob Zuma and Lambert Moloi.

The ANC was represented at the conference by its secretary general Alfred Nzo and Botswana had no knowledge of the two men, the statement said. (AM)

Media spokesman Brian Badenhorst later issued a statement on behalf of Botha denying SA had threatened Botswana. — Sapa.
LONDON — The British government is aiming to help the frontline states break out of SA's economic stranglehold within 10 years.

This was confirmed yesterday by British Foreign Office sources as Overseas Development Minister Christopher Patten handed out more than R80m in development aid to the frontline states.

The new British aid package includes R31.5m in development aid to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), a further R31.5m in development aid to Zimbabwe and R21m to Mozambique.

Patten's current trip has served to assess the shift in British foreign policy towards Southern Africa, which involves normalising relations with the ANC and forging closer ties with frontline states.

During the past five years Britain has allocated R1.7bn in bilateral aid to the nine SADCC countries as well as R110m in direct aid.

Last night Minister of State Lynda Chalker said in an interview on BBC Newsnight that there was no justification for SA attacks on sovereign neighbouring states.

She said the goal of British foreign policy was to work towards a peaceful and "prosperous Southern Africa."

Chalker made clear that Mozambique, although not a Commonwealth country, was receiving special attention because of its important trading routes and because Mozambique had turned to Britain for help.
to free, front-line states
Britain's 10-year target
Britain’s 10-year target to ‘free’ front-line states

London Bureau

The British Government is aiming to help the front-line states break out of South Africa’s economic stranglehold within 10 years.

This was confirmed yesterday by British Foreign Office sources as Mr. Christopher Patten, Minister for Overseas Development, handed out an additional £30 million in development aid to the front-line states.

The new British aid package includes £31.5 million in development aid to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), a further £12.5 million in development aid to Zimbabwe and £21 million to Mozambique - £16 million to be spent on long-term development and technical assistance and £3.000,000 on emergency famine aid.

British aid to Mozambique has quadrupled in three years and - in the past 12 months - has included modest military aid and training programmes.

Mr. Patten’s current trip has served to emphasise the marked shift in British foreign policy towards southern Africa which involves normalising relations with the African National Congress (ANC) and forging closer links with the front-line states.

During the past five years Britain has allocated £7.7 billion in bilateral aid to the nine SADCC countries as well as £100 million in direct aid to SADCC.

Last night Minister of State Lynda Chalker said in an interview on BBC Newsnight that there was no justification for South African attacks on sovereign neighbouring states.

She said the goal of British foreign policy was to work towards a peaceful and prosperous southern Africa.

Mrs. Chalker made clear that Mozambique, although not a Commonwealth country, was receiving special attention because of its important trading routes and because Mozambique had turned to Britain for help.

Mrs. Chalker claimed that no one had done more by way of sanctions against South Africa than Britain.

On his tour of front-line states Mr. Patten has said that he believes Britain is correct to have concentrated its aid efforts on the upgrading of the Limpopo River between Maputo and Harare rather than the shorter Beira-Harare line.

A British Foreign Office spokesman said the Limpopo line was in better condition, easier to defend and that Maputo harbour had a much better capacity than Beira.

But he said the upgrading of the Limpopo line was not an alternative to similar projects already under way on the Beira and Nacala lines.
Rail crisis: crucial meeting today

TOP officials from South Africa and Botswana are today to meet in a bid to find a long-term solution to a dispute which threatens to halt the flow of railway traffic between South Africa and the neighbouring states of Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe.

At the core of the dispute is a conflict of will between Pretoria's nominally independent and economically linked eastern state of Bophuthatswana and the internationally-recognised states of Botswana and Zimbabwe.

But for the intervention of the South African Transport Services (SATS), which is committed to the free flow of rail traffic, the crisis might have been brought to a halt already, in the disadvantage of all.

Bophuthatswana's geographic position gives it a relevance far beyond the petty status conferred on it by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

One of the seven blocks of territory which make up Bophuthatswana runs almost along the border with Botswana. It is through that piece of territory that the railway line linking South Africa with Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia passes.

At the beginning of the year, Bophuthatswana's rail authorities were in talks over the Zimbabwe Rail administration and the portion of the line which runs through it. That train's railway staff were to have taken trains into Botswana, the border, and into Bophuthatswana, and onto Mafikeng, where SATS staff would assume responsibility.

Bophuthatswana, however, demanded that Botswana's union drivers and railway staff apply for visas before bringing the trains across.

Botswana, fearing that Bophuthatswana's demand was a stratagem to force it to recognise Bophuthatswana's independence, moved to block any excursion of Zimbabwe Rail rather than consider de facto recognition on Bophuthatswana's demands.

But then-Bophuthatswana raised the stakes by demanding visas from Zimbabwe Rail staff. Zimbabwe, too, became at the thought of applying for visas and giving Bophuthatswana recognition on the matter.

The prospect of a major breakdown in the flow of goods between South Africa and its black neighbouring states seemed conjuring visions of material piling up on the Botswana side of the border by hundreds. At least one train with 15 to 20 trucks crosses the border each day.

According to Leon Els of SATS, Botswana is interested in a two-party solution to the dispute.

Tutu ‘anti-Jew’ claims a smear says Goldberg

By FRAN BUNTMAN

THIS week’s reports of anti-Semitic statements allegedly made by Archbishop Tutu and lines emanating from a source characterised as “highly suspect” by Alec Goldberg, executive director of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies.

The source — credited by the Boston Jewish Times, which ran the story in November last year — is the Israel News Bureau. The story is distanced Judaism.

According to the Boston newspaper, Tutu delivered a speech two years ago at a closed meeting of the Board of Deputies in which he “shocked his audience by declaring that “The Jews are the biggest exploiters of the blacks, so they must suffer... there will be no sympathy for the Jews when the blacks take over.”

The Boston newspaper article added that the Board had “decided not to publish its remarks out of fear that Tutu would be angry and would represent even more anti-Semitism.”

The identical “quotes” appeared this week in South African newspapers.

However, while the Boston paper gave its source as the NJB, the Johannesburg paper cited a newsletter, which in turn credited a Washington embassy as its source.

Tutu has denied saying such a thing, and Goldberg this week called the Boston report “total lies”. Tutu had met with the Board only once, last year, and there had been “a cordial relationship”.

Goldberg said he had tried to investigate the NJB, and discovered “the Israel News Bureau for the Israel Press Office had never heard of it. It was identified, he said, only by a post-box number. He has written to the Boston paper denying the report.

Meanwhile as American journalists also investigated the NJB and “implicated connections between the paper and Rabbi Meir Kahane, an ultranational political leader who emigrated from the US several years ago. A number of ultra-national groups have expressed an interest in underwriting the newspaper to undermine Jewish support for the internationally-recognised, both in South Africa and internationally.

A young boy mourns for a relative allegedly killed by Inkatha Freedom. In Grahamstown’s Tantyl township. The funeral of four victims was held last weekend.

PHOTO: STEVE HILTON BARBER
Warning shot for Mugabe

Whatever the intention, Bophuthatswana’s attempt to wring recognition from Zimbabwe and Botswana by forcing them to seek visas for train crews entering the homeland should serve as a sharp lesson to Zimbabwe’s President Robert Mugabe of the dangers of sanctions against SA.

Sats stepped in at the last minute this week to avert a major transport crisis for the region which would have cut a major rail outlet to the sea for Zaire, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

Temporarily at least, SAR crews will move trains from Mafikeng into Botswana, obviating the need for Zimbabwe and Botswana to seek visas for their train crews.

The warning to Zimbabwe and to a lesser extent to Zambia is timely. A series of meetings have been held recently between leaders of the two countries to map out a sanctions strategy. Despite the setbacks, mainly a shortfall of foreign aid, there are persistent rumours in Harare that the Zimbabwe sanctions package is imminent.

But now industrialists in Harare and Bulawayo, having faced the crunch, are saying closure of the rail line through Botswana would have a devastating impact on Zimbabwe. Official sources say that about 54% of Zimbabwe’s export-import rail traffic uses the Botswana line while about 40% goes along the direct line to SA at Beit Bridge and the balance along the Beira line. Not all the rail traffic goes to South African ports, because some is sent via SA to Maputo.

At the same time, well over 50% of Zaire’s imports are carried on the Botswana line, and about 70% of Zambia’s imports and 40% of its exports move through SA.

The railway line through Botswana has been operated by Rhodesia Railways and subsequently the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ). But this was scheduled to change from January 1 when Botswana was supposed to have taken over the operation of the line after purchasing the fixed assets from NRZ.

The takeover was postponed at the last minute because of Bophuthatswana’s insistence that Botswana recognise its administration. The same demand for visas was due to come into effect for Zimbabwe crews on Monday.

Despite Sats’ rescue of the link, Harare officials are convinced the crisis was a put-up job designed to demonstrate to Zimbabwe and Zambia the risks they run in imposing economic sanctions against Pretoria. Zimbabwean officials do not believe that Bophuthatswana — described in the media as a South African “puppet regime” — initiated these moves but is acting as a proxy for Pretoria.

If the border were to be effectively closed as a result of Harare’s refusal to seek visas, then Zimbabwe would try to reroute as much traffic as it could through Beit Bridge, pending the hoped-for development of the alternative Beira link.

Meanwhile, the Beira project has advanced a stage with the announcement by Standard Merchant Bank in Harare that the Beira Corridor Group’s (BCG) Z$1m debenture issue has been oversubscribed. The funds have been raised from corporate subscribers in Zimbabwe — many of which are externally-controlled — as part of the programme to rehabilitate and improve transport links by road and rail between Zimbabwe and the country’s natural port of Beira.

The sum raised, of course, is nominal. But it does show that the private sector is demonstrating its commitment to and support for the programme to reduce transport dependence on SA. An estimated 250 applications were received for the 200 Z$5 000 BCG debentures on offer.
Sanctions climb down

PLANS for easing economic sanctions against South Africa have been quietly dropped by the frontline states.

This is despite the fact that new calls for a blockade of Pretoria are expected at the UN and from the Commonwealth.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has conceded to Western diplomats that the measures he has threatened against Pretoria could endanger his own beleagured regime.

It is not clear whether or not he has now privately supported sanctions.

And, according to a report in today's London Sunday Telegraph, Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, who warned his European counterparts to prepare for drastic cuts in South Africa's economic aid to the African nation, has also been reported to have privately expressed concern over the clampdown on Rhodesia.

A correspondent for the Sunday Telegraph, Sir Robert Marquand, reported that the European Commission was preparing to offer South Africa a package of measures, including a new loan of £200 million, to help the country's economy.

In addition, a spokesman for the European Commission said that the commission was considering a package of measures to help South Africa's economy, including a new loan of £200 million, to help the country's economy.

Defiance

South Africa has refused to join the sanctions imposed by the United Nations and the Commonwealth against Pretoria.

But as for his broadcasts, he has already been accused of using anti-white rhetoric to divide the white community.

Western diplomats report that Mr. Mugabe's speech, which he delivered to a packed audience at the University of South Africa, was in fact his last public appearance.

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Defiance

But as for his broadcasts, he has already been accused of using anti-white rhetoric to divide the white community.

Western diplomats report that Mr. Mugabe's speech, which he delivered to a packed audience at the University of South Africa, was in fact his last public appearance.

They have accused the Zimbabwean leader of using his broadcasts to divide the black community and create a sense of fear and mistrust.
Botswana scores in rail row

BOTSWANA has won the first round in the rail row between Bophuthatswana and its northern neighbours.

But a permanent solution to the crisis that threatens severely to disrupt the flow of rail traffic between Frontline states and SA is nowhere in sight.

Sats last Friday started collecting south-bound rolling stock from the Botswana border town of Rakhuna instead of Ramatlabama in Bophuthatswana.

On the same day the Department of Foreign Affairs mediated at talks in Gaborone to bring the two sides to settlement over Mmabatho's visa demands for Botswanaans and Zimbabweans.

No details of the meeting emerged and a Foreign Affairs spokesman would only say that talks were continuing at a "technical level".

Pretoria, however, is caught between honouring its commitments to Botswana in terms of the Customs Union Agreement and recognising the sovereignty of Bophuthatswana.

Under a previous agreement scheduled to last until mid-May, Sats was to use Ramatlabama as the collecting point after Botswana and Zimbabwe said they would no longer use Mafikeng in protest over the visa demand.
America wants to recolonise Southern Africa

SIMON BARBER in Washington

[Image: Coleman, dis tended from using the word "civilised"]

The SACSA report drives by a sense of good, old-fashioned "mission civilisatrice" — one of France's more high-minded excursions into empire. The panel's co-chairman, W. H. Bullman, who leads the South African administration's top apportionment team, tells caustically about "our" obligations as part of the civilised world to fight against the "hunger, poverty, despair and destitution" of SA.

To achieve this, says the report, "...we must be thankful, largely by further economic sanctions, and black South African leaders have an obligation to work with the world community to achieve this end by working to replace another category."

"The recommendations are the result of years of careful study and thought, and are based on the principles of human rights and social justice. They aim to address the root causes of economic and social inequality in South Africa, and to promote a more just and equitable society."

The report calls for a ban on all forms of investment in South Africa, and for the divestment of assets held by South African companies abroad. It also calls for an end to all forms of diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa, and for the imposition of sanctions against the South African government.

In terms of direct action, the report calls for an end to all forms of investment in South Africa, and for the divestment of assets held by South African companies abroad. It also calls for an end to all forms of diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa, and for the imposition of sanctions against the South African government.

The report concludes that the only way to achieve a just and equitable society is through a comprehensive programme of political, economic, and social reform.
SADCC in agreement this time

By COLLEEN LOWE-MORNA
Gaborone

WITH the exception of a few notes of discord, donors and officials of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) found themselves far more in tune at this year's annual consultation — much to the "South African government's disappointment.

"There is now greater consensus among our friends in the international community than there has been in the past," beamed Botswana Vice-President Peter Mmusi — chairman of the SADCC Council of Ministers — at the close of the two-day meeting.

"No one in this room doubts that apartheid is a danger to peace and security, let alone to development in this region," Zimbabwe Minister of Mines Richard Hove added. "The world seems to appreciate the intensity and depth of the problems we are facing..."

This time last year, Western countries remained divided on whether or not to impose sanctions against South Africa. Now, to the satisfaction of the nine-member group which seeks to loosen the South African government's economic grip on the region, each one of its "cooperating partners" has taken some sort of punitive measure.

In return, the SADCC's decision to open the door to the private sector went down well with "donors. Although officials maintain that the concentration on 'investment' and production in 1987 is 'part of the group's natural evolution, it enhanced the congenial atmosphere in the talks..."

The United States — which normally takes a backseat at SADCC meetings and has come in for some tongue-lashing over its Southern Africa policy — this year requested its second slot in the speakers' list.

US aid chief Peter McPherson, one of the highest-ranking US officials to address an SADCC conference, announced mind great fanfare that the US plans to "spend an extra $97 million (about R200 million) in assistance to the region over the next 18 months.

There were some snags: he later conceded at a press conference. Two-thirds of the money would go into a private-sector-oriented reform programme and the facilitation of trade, with a view to keeping SADCC on the "free enterprise road..."

The other third would go towards transport — a key SADCC sector — "but countries such as Angola, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe, with which the US has no bilateral aid programmes, could not be direct recipients..."

To the disappointment of those who hoped for a strong anti-Pretoria statement to back the "new initiative", McPherson made his point in a second speech, to say, that it was not meant to 'compensate for the negative effects of further sanctions of counter-sanctions..."

Privately, SADCC officials complained about the US's divisive tactics, and continued resistance to climb down from the fence-dividing the SADCC and South Africa.

Background SADCC papers noted earlier that the group should start seeing power in Washington as diffuse, with Congress a genuine ally..."
Frontline States’ dependence on SA to continue

FRONTLINE states plans to free themselves from dependence on SA’s harbours and transport systems were likely to run aground, RAU transport economics senior lecturer Jackie Walters said yesterday.

He told a conference attended by more than 30 World Media Association members that about 70% of Southern Africa’s imports and exports flowed through SA’s ports due to the inadequate nature of other ports in the region.

Walters said rail links in Southern Africa were also inadequate to handle large tonnages and were adversely affected by military activity.

It was estimated that about 57% of Zaire’s imports were carried from SA via Botswana.

About 70% of Zambia’s imports came via SA’s harbour and railway network, and 40% of the country’s exports were transported through SA.

Zimbabwe was even more dependent on SA with up to 80% of its imports and up to 90% of its exports transported via the SA transport network.

Walters listed these reasons for the dependence:

□ The rail line from Zimbabwe to Maputo was virtually inoperative due to guerrilla activity by Mozambiquan rebels.

□ The Tazara line from Zambia to Dar es Salaam and the port itself could handle only about 45% of Zambia’s freight traffic.

□ The Benguela line from Zaire to the Angolan coast had been virtually closed by Unita rebels.

□ Namibia, University’s Department of Economics chief G L de Wet said SA

produced up to 70% of Southern Africa’s maize crop as well as 90% of the region’s wheat crop.

□ The delegation was addressed on Sunday night by Sweto Civic Association chairman Dr Nthato Motlana.

□ Yesterday they met representatives from the American Chamber of Commerce.

Among those they are scheduled to meet are President P W Botha, several newspaper editors, Swapo representatives and Minister of Defence Magnus Malan.

Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu and the Congress of South African Trade Unions had turned down requests to meet members of the delegation, association executive director Larry Moffit said yesterday.

The delegation arrived in SA on Sunday on a fact-finding tour of Southern Africa which will end on March 8.

More strikers than ever last year

A RECORD number of 233 058 workers were involved in strikes last year, and another 100 532 in work stoppages.

The government figures are far higher than those for 1985.

Department of Manpower director-general Piet van der Merwe said the increase was mainly the result of more strikes in large organisations such as the OK Bazaars and GNA.

There were a total of 643 strikes and 150 work stoppages last year.

Manhours lost through strikes totalled 1 161 064, while stoppages accounted for

OK strike settlement is in sight

STRIKING OK Bazaars workers will gather at meetings around the country today to hear reports on the draft settlement reached with management at two lengthy mediation sessions on Saturday and Sunday.

It is expected the agreement will be signed tomorrow, the 70th day of the strike.

Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers’ Union president Makhulu Ledwaba said while certain details of the proposed settlement fell below the union’s mandate from members, these were not in vital areas.

Ledwaba — who returned from a fund-raising trip to Europe late last week — would not supply details of the draft settlement. However, according to a weekend report, one aspect is a R100 across-the-board increase to be implemented in two steps.

A method of resolving the position of scores of workers dismissed for alleged contraventions of OK’s disciplinary rules is also likely to form part of the settlement.

Ledwaba said the union had decided to file applications for the release of OK workers still in emergency detention.
Southern Africa aid plan cut heavily

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON — United States congressmen have cut heavily into a $700-million (about R1 400-million) plan to boost the economies of South Africa's black neighbouring countries, but even the reduced amount of R500-million is headed for serious trouble.

The plan, proposed by Congressman Bill Gray, chairman of the House of Representatives budget committee, was to pump R1 400-million into Southern Africa over five years to help the region escape South Africa's economic grip.

It got some help from the State Department which told a congressional sub-committee the money would help draw Zimbabwe and Mozambique away from Soviet influence.

BEIRA CORRIDOR

But when the proposal went to "mark up" yesterday, a procedure for putting the Bill into a form that can go to other committees, the amount had been reduced to R100-million for each of the five years, roughly half to be spent on transportation, specifically on improvements to the Beira corridor.

In this form it will go to the Foreign Affairs Committee next week and probably to the floor of the House in April. There is a fair chance it will be approved by the House.

But sources say it will hit serious snags in the Senate which is wrestling with the US budget deficit. Officials there ask where the money is supposed to come from.

"If we agree to send all that money to Southern Africa, other parts of the African continent, with their own pressing needs, are going to be that amount short. It's as simple as that," one Senate official said.

Apart from the budgetary problems, conservatives are unhappy about sending huge amounts of American dollars to countries that follow Marxist policies.

One of them, Republican Congressman Dan Burton, said that for the US to help governments that received military aid from the Soviet Union "was like pouring money down a rat hole."
A boycott buster bound for Beira

EDDIE CROSS was once chief economist of the Agricultural Marketing Authority. As such, he helped Ian Smith's pre-independence government bust sanctions — particularly in terms of tobacco, the country's biggest foreign exchange earner.

Now he is the first managing director of the Beira Corridor Group (BCG) — a company representing the interests of the private sector in securing and developing the main trade route from Zimbabwe through central Mozambique to the port of Beira. It opens offices in Harare on April 1.

The corridor, under threat from Renamo in Mozambique and protected by Zimbabwean troops, is vital to Southern African countries trying to reduce their dependence on South African ports.

It is the shortest route to the sea that does not pass through South Africa, and includes a road, railway and oil pipeline.

Cross says: "We will have to put the ingenuity we put into breaking sanctions in the UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) era into solving regional transport problems."

Cross was always opposed to the Smith regime — he was a member of the Centre Party in those days — and when Robert Mugabe took over as Prime Minister in 1980, he was given the job of resuscitating the Dairy Marketing Board.

Having put it on its feet, he joined the Cold Storage Commission, which was in crisis over beef supplies. Now that, too, is working well again and their efforts to become more independent.

"By being so dependent on South Africa for the export of our commodities we are putting our long-term security at risk. So the motivation for those of us involved in this project is really straightforward."

Cross says that as well as securing efficient cost-effective outlets to the sea, BCG will also seek joint ventures in Mozambique — particularly in agriculture — in an attempt to stabilise the economy and ultimately the military situation there. Cross says:

"As far as I am concerned Mozambicans have a great potential. All they require is some direction and a suitable operating framework. "Once these are provided they are capable of running their infrastructure perfectly."

"If I have been working with them for the past 18 months and I am most impressed."

He admits that the war in Mozambique, and South Africa's involvement in particular, have set back that country's development since independence.

"There is overwhelming evidence that the South Africans have set about systematically destroying the Mozambican economy — and they have done a tremendous job of it, either by using direct commando attacks or using Renamo," he says.

The route to independence

"Simply by funding the bandits and building it to the stage today where it has an army of similar size to Mozambique, they have virtually destroyed any chances Mozambique had of simply rebuilding its economy."

"There has also been a fair degree of mismanagement on the part of the Mozambican government, but they have acknowledged this. They recognise they made some errors at the beginning and they now want to correct these shortcomings."

"Reforms taking place in Mozambique today are laying the foundation for what I think is a very exciting future."

Cross explained how BCG will work: "It will be financed by the private sector in the SADCC region. We have provision for $23m (about R43m)."

"BCG will be looking after the interests of companies insofar as the establishment of efficient, cost-effective outlets to the sea which are independent of South Africa. This involves providing services."

"The governments are going to be responsible for providing the infrastructure — the railways, roads, port facilities, bridges, pipelines and dredging."

"When it comes to clearing and forwarding, shipping, specialised handling facilities, car hire, translations, legal advice, the job of the BCG."

"We believe in competition between individual companies but what we will do is coordinate to make sure the problems of individual exporters and importers are adequately resolved."

Until January 1, for example, shipping companies calling in Beira charged a premium over the South African ports. "We have now agreed with the shipping lines that freight rates at Beira will be the same as Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. If anything, makes it uneconomical to use Mozambique ports, we will see to it that we negotiate the rates so that they are competitive."

Several tasks will be crucial to the new company: "One is hotel accommodation in Beira. Another is food distribution. We have to supply workers within the system with adequate food and basic necessities."

"We have to establish specialised handling facilities, particularly for cotton, tobacco, tea and coffee."

"Another urgent task is a phased build-up of traffic. If we were suddenly to push traffic down the corridor we would flood the system. We want to build up the system gradually."

"I think last year Beira was the biggest source of foreign exchange earnings for Mozambique. If we put people back to work, raise their standard of living, improve the supply of food, then we will be able to stabilise the economy and the military situation very quickly. - Gemini News Service."
Investment ranking

Sanctions aside, it seems to be business as usual for the countries of Southern Africa. Most remain keen to attract foreign investors, including those from SA, and are improving their incentive package and business climate accordingly.

This is concluded by Alan Whiteside of the Economic Research Unit of Natal University in a paper presented to the SA Institute of International Affairs recently on "Investment Opportunities in Southern Africa: The Business Climate in the SADCC States."

Whiteside argues that cross-border investments have distinct advantages for all parties. The investor helps economic growth and employment creation in the host country. At the same time he will be able to continue supplying traditional markets if, as seems likely, more sanctions are imposed against SA.

A big plus is that investors gain preferential access to new markets, such as the EEC through the Lome Convention, and many southern and eastern African countries through the Preferential Trade Area.

Whiteside argues that should the worst come to pass sanctions may limit access to new technology for SA firms, but a subsidiary in a neighbouring state would ostensibly be able to retain this access for the whole company. Relocation, he suggests, may also help by sending signals to Pretoria that the business community wants rapid and realistic reform as the current policies are not conducive to good business. Finally, by establishing in a nearby country the industrialist remains in the African environment and the region he knows best.

When it comes to attracting investors, all the countries of the region are in open competition with one another. Whiteside has produced a (subjective) score sheet which rates the fundamental business climate in each case. This puts Swaziland in the lead primarily because of its impressive incentives, the government's positive attitude and the comparative lack of bureaucratic hindrances. Botswana and Lesotho rank second. Botswana apparently has the best incentive package in the region, and is the only country to offer capital grants in certain circumstances.

Pragmatic

Malawi and Mozambique are ranked equal fourth (after SA). For all its woes Mozambique has a remarkably pragmatic attitude towards foreign investment. Its keenness to attract investors is exemplified by the passing of an Investment Act and the establishment of an office specifically for investment promotion.

Although it has a new Investment Act, passed in 1986, Zambia is ranked fifth on the list. Whiteside claims the business climate is hampered by the lack of foreign exchange, bureaucracy and the present political problems.

Last comes Zimbabwe which has no incentives, forex problems and a very poor attitude to business. It has been characterised as a country that wants the capital, but not the capitalist.

The incentives on offer vary from country to country as do the means by which they are administered. SA undoubtedly has the most comprehensive and (for the government) expensive package. All others, bar Zimbabwe, offer some form of depreciation allowance and training grants. Other incentives include tax holidays, regional incentives and, occasionally in countries where forex is a constraint, privileged access to foreign exchange.

Whiteside concludes that the business community represents one of the few positive forces in the region. Investing in SADCC not only makes sound business sense but may also ease the transition that the region must go through before SA has a government acceptable not only to its own population, but to the world at large.
Shy of sanctions?

Paul Vallely, of The Times of London, outlines the economic realities behind what he calls the frontline states’ crumbling alliance against Pretoria.

ZAMBIA’s decision last August to stop exporting its copper through South Africa was not the start of sanctions — it was simply a sensible, economic realignment, its Minister of Mines said recently.

South Africa’s response to this, and to the sanctions package agreed on by African leaders at the Commonwealth mini-summit in London, was to delay Zambia-bound traffic. This was not retaliatory, said Pretoria, merely the imposition of sensible customs regulations.

For all the rhetoric and posturing, South Africa’s black neighbors seem decidedly reluctant to impose sanctions. It is now three months since the refusal of Robert Mugabe’s deadline expired. The only word from Harare is that sanctions will be implemented “very soon.”

Mozambique out of sanctions plan

Hardliners insist that sanctions only await a strategy by the frontline states. This will depend largely on the scheduled completion in May of the first phase of rehabilitating the railway to Beira.

Other observers maintain that since the black nations worked out the actual cost of switching the freight that now goes through South Africa they have developed cold feet. What is certain is that the consensus on sanctions has crumbled.

On visits this month to Zambia and Zimbabwe, President Chinane of Mozambique told Kenneth Kaunda and Robert Mugabe that they could count Mozambique out of any sanctions plan. Botswana had long ago excused itself on the ground that its economy was inextricably enmeshed with that of its immediate white neighbor.

Angola, at war with the South African and US-backed UNITA rebels, had never been in a position to do much. Malawi, the only frontline country to maintain full diplomatic relations with Pretoria, has long been written off as a client state. Swaziland and Lesotho, like Botswana, are economically dependent on South Africa.

That leaves only Zambia and Zimbabwe.

President Chissano’s decision could hardly have surprised Kaunda and Mugabe. Mozambique, which provides the only alternative route to the sea, has for the past five years been the main transhipment point of South African destabilization and would be highly vulnerable to economic pressure.

In spite of the best endeavors of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which was set up to lessen the reliance of the black states on South Africa, four have recently increased electricity purchases.

“There is no doubt that the frontline states have played the sanctions issue rather badly,” said one European diplomat in London. “If they don’t set an example they will lose face, but it seems unlikely now that they can.”

It is generally accepted by Western observers in the region that at the Commonwealth summit in London most of the African leaders were unprepared for the decision which they sprang upon themselves.

The package of measures which the African leaders accepted was, in the event, less dramatic. Even so, the agreed boycott of South African iron, steel and coal and the severance of air links would dearly cost the black states.

Some Zambian businessmen have been exploring alternative sources for industrial components but are hampered by the chaotic state of the economy and the severe shortage of foreign exchange.

Much will depend on the timing.

Mugabe and Kaunda, however, remains firmly committed to the notion of sanctions and it may well prove impossible for them to lose face by backing down entirely. Whatever the prudence of counsels from their Cabinet colleagues and economic advisers, the severance of air links seems the most likely gesture.

If that is what sanctions boil down to then much will depend on the timing.

“If they wait until the Southern African election in May there will probably be no response at all,” said one South African businessman. “But if they do it before then Botswana might well go bang.”
Turmoil engulfs Southern Africa

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Southern Africa is being plunged into war and social turmoil.

At least six of Southern Africa’s black-ruled countries are now involved in military conflicts; while others are facing the economic consequences of wars perceived to be the result of South Africa’s destabilisation policies.

South Africa denies any involvement in the growing turmoil which is being slowly internationalised.

While up to now only Eastern European bloc countries and Cuba have had large contingents of men in Southern Africa, Western European states are slowly being drawn into the conflict.

Britain trains Zimbabwean and Mozambican soldiers in Zimbabwe and is supplying arms to both countries.

France supplies the Angolan government with helicopters and is apparently willing to sell arms to the ruling Frelimo party.

The United States is supplying sophisticated arms to the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

North Korea

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has paid an official visit to North Korea, raising fears that the Pyongyang authorities might soon increase their military presence in Angola.

The well-informed French magazine, Africa Defence Journal, says in its latest edition that there are 3,000 regular troops and 1,000 military advisers from North Korea in Angola.

The countries directly affected by the growing crisis in Southern Africa are:

Mozambique — A devastating war launched by rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) has crippled and bankrupted the country. At least four million people face starvation and more than a million have been driven from their homes. The Mozambican authorities say at least 250,000 people have fled into neighbouring countries. Schools, clinics and economic infrastructures have that it will take part in the war in Mozambique on a large scale. About 10,000 Mozambican refugees have strained the country’s meagre social services.

Zambia — An economic crisis led to riots last year which were put down with army help. Since then, President Kenneth Kaunda’s government has been facing growing discontent among the working class. Strikes have paralysed several sectors of the economy including the country’s hospital and postal services. The MNR alleges that Zambian troops are also stationed in Mozambique, but this has not been independently confirmed. Thousands of refugees from Mozambique and Angola are living in Zambia. Last year Unita threatened to take military action against Zambia if President Kaunda actively helped the Angolan government in its war efforts. Zambia accuses Unita of training Zambian dissidents, and independent reports and diplomatic sources confirm that Unita rebels are often active in Zambia’s Western Province. This week the Zambia authorities confirmed for the first time that Mozambican rebels had also violated its territory.

Zimbabwe — Zimbabwe could soon face a new military threat after successfully defeating a rebellion in Matabeleland and Zulu party dissidents. Former nationalist leader Nkomo’s MNR has launched a new organisation, the Zimbabwe Freedom Movement, which has formed an alliance with MNR rebels in Mozambique. Last week Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said that if the MNR had any contacts with the MNR leader, Afonso Dhlakama, Zimbabwe has thousands of men stationed in Mozambique actively involved in the war against the MNR. Its economy is showing signs of growing strains resulting in reduced foreign exchange allocations which have affected local industry.

Angola — A successful guerrilla war launched by Unita has transformed one of Southern Africa’s richest countries into an economic nightmare. Major transport routes have been closed and thousands of foreign troops are stationed in the country. These include about 30,000 Cuban combat troops and hundreds of advisers from the Soviet Union and other Eastern Eu
Tanzania — Faced with a growing economic crisis, Tanzania has decided to help the Fre- limo government in its war against the MNR. Tanzanian troops, thought to number 6,000, are now operating in northern Mozambique.

Malawi — In January dissidents launched an armed attack inside Malawi against a police station at Kapopo. The attack is believed to have been carried out by members of the Malawi Freedom Movement, Mafremo, an underground opposition organisation which has good relations with some of the Frontline states. A close ally of South Africa, Malawi has had its traditional routes to the sea cut by the war in Mozambique, causing severe economic hardship. After strong pressure from neighbouring countries it has decided to send troops to protect part of the Nacala railway line in northern Mozambique. But it is unlikely

european countries. The Soviet Union is said to be pouring huge quantities of arms into Angola in preparation for another offen- sive against Unita-controlled areas. The African National Congress has its major training camps in Angola. Swapo is also based in Angola and this week one of its guerrillas was killed in the Etoha game reserve south of the area where guerrillas are usually active.

Zaire — Its major link to the sea, the Benguela Railway in Angola, has been cut by Unita. Reports say the United States is using Zairean territory to supply arms to Unita which has an open presence in Zaire.

Smaller countries, like Botswana and Swaziland, are also becoming more involved in Southern Africa’s turmoil. This week a bomb blast killed three people in Gaborone, and earlier this year several people were kidnapped from Swaziland by South African agents.

486,000
refugees in
7 countries

Argus Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — There are nearly half a million refugees living in seven Southern African countries, says the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr Jean Hocke.

He said that Angola was keeping 87,000 refugees, Botswana 5,000, Lesotho 4,000, Malawi 150,000, Zimbabwe 50,000, Swaziland 20,000 and Zambia 140,000.

At a Press conference, Mr Hocke said Angola and Mozambique were keen to welcome back their nationals who had fled to neighbouring states to seek refuge from rebel activities by the Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR) and Unita in Angola.

Various schemes had been worked out to support those refugees intending to return to their countries, and support would include provision of food, seeds and medicines.
Frontline abandons sanctions against SA

By JEREMY GAVRON of the London Daily Telegraph

HARARE. — Plans to impose broad economic sanctions against South Africa have been privately abandoned by Zimbabwe and Zambia, according to Western diplomats here.

The two countries were among those who led the Commonwealth call for sanctions.

They still vocally support punitive measures against Pretoria but have belatedly realized that to cut their own links with South Africa would be economic suicide.

Neither country is prepared to admit this in public. Originally the end of 1986 was set as a deadline for imposing sanctions. The call was renewed at a meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa in February.

The Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Mugabe, says that he needs more time and more talks with other African countries.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is waiting till the other states in the frontline, such as Botswana, Mozambique and Malawi, also agree to impose sanctions against South Africa.

Zimbabwe’s own dependence on South Africa was developed during the years of Rhodesia’s isolation from the rest of the world under Mr. Ian Smith’s leadership.

All but a few percent of Zimbabwe’s trade is either with South Africa or goes through the ports of Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town and it is sometimes difficult to reconcile the flow of rhetoric in Zimbabwe directed against the racist south with the overt links at every level between the two countries.

At Harare airport, South African Airways aircraft seem as numerous as those with Air Zimbabwe written on them. SAA even advertise on Zimbabwe television.

South African tourists, banned from most African countries, still pour into Zimbabwe. Last weekend the hotels in Victoria Falls were packed with South Africans, whose Easter school holidays had just started.

Tourism at the Falls declined severely during Zimbabwe’s civil war. Zambian soldiers, firing across the border, killed two Canadian tourists in one incident. Another time, one of the hotels was hit by a heat-seeking missile.

Now South Africans make up a large proportion of the visitors to the Falls, and the game parks. They bring in much-needed foreign currency.

In downtown Harare, many of the smart shops have the names of South African retail chains, such as Edgars and OK Bazaars. Cheap music cassettes in Harare are not European imports, but are recorded from compact discs and are packaged in South Africa.

Zimbabweans’ go to off-course betting shops to wager on races in South Africa. They earn degrees from correspondence courses in South Africa.

Twenty trains a day rattle through Beit Bridge, the railway town at the border of Zimbabwe and South Africa. At any time are South African.

“South Africa can supply whatever Zimbabwe needs, cheaply,” said a diplomat. “It’s a godsend.”
abandon sanctions, Zimbabwa, Zambias

Zimbabwe, Zambias

SANCATIONS

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Malawi plays high stakes in Africa peace gamble

By DAVID WILLERS
London Director of the South Africa Foundation

The venerable 460-ton Itala creaked at her moorings as I boarded her at Nkatha Bay on the shores of Lake Malawi. There had been a foul-up with my booking — one of the two beds in my cabin was already occupied by a Malawian civil servant.

"That's OK," I said. "I don't mind sharing."

"That's not the point," the captain replied. "The question is whether he'll be prepared to share with a Mzungu (white man) like you."

A Hellenic conversion is possible at such moments. The alternative, that of spending the night in the engine room, was not compelling. Fortunately this particular Mzungu was approved of, and I shared my cabin with a charming man from the northern territory.

However, the story illustrates, in a sense, the changing mood of Malawi. There is a new assertiveness about the place.

After a week’s ranging, joining the ranks of the finger feeders in lakeside eateries, chatting to dozens of forthcoming locals, intuitively getting a feel for the places the traveller does, and finally speaking to various people in government, business and UN agencies, one comes away with a distinct, albeit subjective feeling that Malawi’s spine is being stiffened by her own people against too close an association with South Africa.

This is not to say that the wisdom of President Banda’s "business as usual approach" with Pretoria is questioned, rather that one notes an underlying African solidarity with the attitude towards South Africa adopted by Malawi’s neighbours.

Compressed on all sides by the conflicting demands of a civil war in Mozambique, troubled relations with Tanzania and Zimbabwe and the complications of SADCC membership, Malawian foreign policy is beginning to resemble the ameba-like shape of the country’s principal attraction, its 500km long lake.

And it is a great tribute to Dr Banda and his advisers that Malawi shows every sign of becoming an important player in the search for peace in the region, in spite of its puny status relative to countries like Zimbabwe.

Malawi’s leverage lies in the fact that it is a pivotal feature on any strategic map of the area, capable of aiding sanctions against South Africa or undermining them, of giving succour to dissidents, operating against Zimbabwe, Zambia or Mozambique (or operating against Zimbabwe, Zambia or Mozambique for that matter) or expelling them.

The stakes are high for Dr Banda, and getting higher by the day, a fact clearly determined neither to be ‘Finlandized’ by Pretoria, nor intimidated by his neighbours.

The change in Malawi’s posture dates from last September, when President Mufumbire flew to Blantyre to confront Dr Banda with evidence of Malawi’s support for guerrillas of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR).

The meeting with Banda may have had some effect because a month later the MNR was reported to have launched a major offensive from Malawi into Tete Province and Zambezia Province.

In the last two months the war in Mozambique has escalated dramatically as a direct result of the Blantyre meeting, but so have the forces ranged against the MNR.

The decision to commit Malawian troops to Mozambique in support of Frelimo follows an earlier agreement between Malawi and Mozambique in December that was intended, through the device of a Joint Security Commission, to ensure that rebel movements along the common border were more effectively controlled.

From being a passive regional actor then, Malawi has become an active one. Already her new posture is having momentous repercussions. With the sanctuaryless MNR warlords rampaging through the underbelly of Mozambique’s hinterland, that country now faces the cruelest test of its sovereignty.

But too much is at stake to allow Mozambique to slide into the sea and the cavalry is already racing to the rescue as it has done elsewhere in Africa so often in the past.

Several conclusions can be drawn about Malawi’s new look regional policy.

First, it has become clear that in the absence of a coherent political programme the MNR stands no chance of engaging official Malawian support towards inclusion in the central government of Mozambique. Much will depend on the success or otherwise of efforts by Afonso Dhlakama, the MNR President, to transform the MNR into a movement enjoying popular legitimacy.

Secondly, Malawi will not break with South Africa, believing that there is very little difference between the activities of trade missions (operated by its neighbours in SA) and its own embassy.

Cards falling
Banda’s way

What is likely to happen, however, is that Malawi will become more discerning in the way in which aid is received. This has obvious implications for the sort of projects SA would be willing to help Malawi with, but it is already clear to the extent that Malawi is an aid recipient she may be able to play off some donors against others and thereby obtain an extraordinary sort of reverse leverage.

Thirdly, as Malawi’s regional importance becomes more apparent to all parties, it is likely that Banda or his successor may seek to play the role of mediator not only between South Africa and her neighbours but between white and black South Africans.

All in all the cards are falling Banda’s way. The Joker in the pack is whether or not he’ll be around to see it happen.
SA explains Zambian 'incident'

LONDON — South Africa's Ambassador to London, Rae Killen, has told the British government last weekend's "incident" in Zambia underlined the need for the countries of Southern Africa to agree on ground rules for peaceful co-existence.

"In the particular case of Zambia, they have been sent a direct message warning them of the terrorist presence and what was being planned," he said.

Britain had asked Killen to call in to see Foreign Office Minister Baroness Young in connection with the matter. Killen said the SADF men in Zambia had been on a reconnaissance mission. — Sapa.
LUSAKA — The Transport Ministers of Zambia, Zaire and Angola met in Lusaka yesterday to discuss reopening the strategic Benguela Railway, closed for 12 years by civil war in Angola.

The three countries said this month they had found a formula for repairing and reopening the 1,340km line, which once carried most of Zambia and Zaire's copper exports to the Angolan port of Lobito.

Today, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola will hold a brief summit in Lusaka to officially launch the railway rehabilitation project.

The scheme will enable Zaire and landlocked Zambia and Zimbabwe to diversify their trade routes and reduce their present dependence on rail links with SA ports.

Diplomatic sources said it was still not clear who would pay for the immense cost of repairing the line which is 90% owned by the Belgian company, Societe Generale de Belgique.

Neither was it clear whether arrangements had been made with Unita to ensure it would not attack the line if it was reopened.

Last month, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi offered to let the line reopen, provided it was not used for military purposes. Diplomatic sources said the US appeared to have brokered a deal with the Angolan government to allow this to happen.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker met high-level Angolan officials in the Congolese capital, Brazzaville, this month and shortly afterwards Zambia, Zaire and Angola held a summit meeting in Luanda which decided to reopen the railway.

Technical experts held a further meeting in Brussels last week to discuss repairs to the line and how they could be financed. Their report was apparently laid before the Transport Ministers in Lusaka yesterday.

The sources said no proper inspection of the line had been carried out and it was impossible to say exactly how long repairs would take or how much they would cost. — Sapa-Reuters.
Panicky Frontline states warn SA on raids

DAVID JACKSON in Gaberone and NORMAN ELLIS in Harare.

ANTI-SOUTH AFRICAN raids yesterday swept neighbouring black countries after a series of sneak raids, allegedly by Pretoria, against targets in southern African capitals.

The paranoia reached an unprecedented pitch as:

- Zimbabwe claimed it has evidence of a planned South African raid. The statement came hours after two teenage British girls were allegedly beaten up by security officials when arrested for being "South African spies".

- Mozambique said it had arrested three people after a sneak Maputo raid on Friday night in which three people — all Mozambicans — were killed in an alleged South African raid. The SADF and Department of Foreign Affairs have denied involvement.

- Zambia withdrew the passports of more than 100 businessmen accused of "economic collaboration" with South Africa.

- Nervy Botswana this week detained 20 people, including Sunday Times staff, for being "South African spies" after they arrived in Gaberone to report on a mystery murder attempt on a South African anti-apartheid campaigner by a maid, hired to be working for British MI6.

- The SADF staged its biggest ever parade drop within five kilometres of the Botswana border — this after senior South African security officials insisted the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court bomber had flown through Botswana.

Blasts

The regional crisis follows a series of bomb blasts, assassinations and night raids on people reportedly linked to the ANC in several African capitals: Maputo, Mozambique, Bein-land and Botswana.

Security in Zimbabwe has never been tighter and in neighbouring Zambia, scores of foreigners — blacks and whites — have been detained since the Livingstone raids.

Foreign embassies routinely urge nationals not to tour Zambia because of detentions.

The new surge of cross-border tensions is likely to lead South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs to repeat the earlier warnings that South Africa should take the utmost precautions travelling in neighbouring states.

Tourists are advised to travel in recognized parties and businesspeople told to inform host countries of their arrival. All cameras and other equipment should be fully declared and care should be taken about taking photographs near government institutions or bridges.

Children

The raid on Mpopo on Friday night took roughly 50 children from the hands of their parents before dawn. The commandos apparently attacked three private residences and an ANC facility near the Pretoria Road. Killed in the raids were Antonio Pajuncua and his wife, Susan, and relatives of the armed forces chief Amuando Pajuncua.

The attackers, led by Portuguese-speaking — operated in four squads of four men each and fled afterwards by boat.

Reports indicate the attackers then locked the couple's children in a room before cold-bloodedly killing their parents.

The raids occurred while Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xiaoliang were visiting Maputo.

The United States and Frontline governments have accused South Africa of being responsible for "brutal murder" and...
FRONTLINE ECONOMIES

The lifelines fray

Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda has taken a step into the dark by announcing that he will not accept International Monetary Fund (IMF) prescriptions for his country's economic malaise. But who will he turn to? The likelihood is increasing economic turmoil, strikes, a burgeoning black market, more food riots — and the possible collapse of his regime.

Last week Kaunda announced that Zambia would find its "own way" out of the morass. Measures to be implemented include limiting repayment of foreign debt (standing at US$5 000m) to 10% of export earnings. The currency auctions — which saw the kwacha plunge from the official rate of 2,2 to the US dollar in October 1985 to 21 to the dollar — have been suspended, and the currency has been revalued (to eight to the dollar) without relation to market forces (see Current Affairs).

Zambia is not alone in sub-Saharan Africa in facing (or avoiding) gloomy economic news. There is serious drought throughout the region; Malawi and Mozambique have also had serious devaluations of their currencies; Mozambique faces a grave food crisis; debt rescheduling talks continue in Angola; and far-reaching cutbacks in foreign currency allocations in Zimbabwe all point to deep-seated economic ills. Yet even against this background, Zambia is a special case. With its economy hovering on the brink of disintegration, it continues to threaten economic sanctions against SA. The situation is absurd.

Over the past three years, Kaunda moved cautiously down the road of economic reform, reluctantly swallowing the IMF/World Bank medicine to the extent of introducing the ill-starred foreign currency auctions in October 1985, and promising major reductions in government spending, including that on food subsidies. Now he has turned his back on that path, shaken by the Copperbelt food riots last December and increasingly vociferous public criticism of the auction system. His retreat has been disorderly. After the riots, in which 15 people died, Kaunda hastily rescinded the higher food prices and at the end of January he suspended the currency auctions and fired his Finance Minister. When the auctions were briefly reinstated, the kwacha fell inexorably to 19,95 to the dollar, so he stopped them again.

In the recent Budget, new Finance Minister Kebby Musokotwane forecast that Zambia would face a US$1 billion foreign payments gap this year alone. The IMF refuses to pledge new funds to Zambia unless agreement is reached on the payment of existing arrears of some $200m owed to the fund.

Zambia's economic difficulties arose from a combination of raw bad management and the dismal failure to diversify away from dependence on copper, which still today —
as at independence 23 years ago — accounts for at least 90% of foreign currency earnings. Zambia has considerable agricultural potential and the fund/bank programmes are designed to exploit non-export opportunities, especially in agriculture. Western donors and the IMF/World Bank, in particular, are watching Zambia's deepening economic difficulties with undisguised concern. What really worries the donors is Kaunda's evident loss of control and authority. Only weeks ago he reversed a 77% rise in fuel prices — 24 hours after it had been announced.

Two key reasons for the weakness of the kwacha are Zambia's overspent money supply, and the delays in exporting copper following Lusaka's decision to switch its copper exports from SA — mainly to the Tanzanian port of Dar-es-Salaam, but also some to Beira in Mozambique. As a result, it is taking longer to realised foreign currency revenues.

The situation is as bleak in Mozambique, where millions of people are facing starvation and gross domestic product (GDP) has fallen by 60% in the past five years. In the early Eighties, former President Samora Machel turned his back on the failed Socialist policies pursued after independence 12 years ago — too late. New President Joachim Chissano is bravely trying to implement some economic reforms — but with some 35% of the total budget devoted to military spending, he has an uphill task.

In a package of measures announced recently, Prime Minister Mario Machungo set out to reverse the worst excesses of Mozambique-style socialism — devaluing the currency by 80%, reforming wage policy so that效益 wages will now be paid to effective workers, announcing swinging price increases and steps to cut parasitical losses and deficits. Chissano's reform package is not only designed to halt the country's spiralling economic downturn, but to secure financial support from the IMF, the World Bank, and some Western governments, notably the US, which believes Maputo deserves recognition for its new-found economic pragmatism.

But Chissano will only turn round the Mozambique economy if his economic pragmatism is accompanied by political realism in the search for a political settlement to the civil war. With recent successes on the battlefield and the increased number of troops from Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe now opposing Renamo, the signs are that Chissano is confident of winning a military victory. But if he sticks to the military option, and that alone, the economy is likely to worsen further before there is any improvement.

Malawi's 20% devaluation in March was the country's second in six months and was part of its strategy to remain in the good books of the IMF and World Bank, while improving its export competitiveness. As long as Lilongwe is anxious to negotiate a new standby agreement with the fund, it remains popular with the World Bank group which is financing its structural adjustment programme, as well as with Western donors. Its economic difficulties stem from the depressed state of world markets for its major exports, the relative paucity of its natural resource base, and the high cost of foreign transport resulting from the war in Mozambique.

While its economic situation is less precarious than that of either Mozambique or Zambia, its political stability is problematical, given the absence of any obvious successor to the ageing President Hastings Banda. But economic realities are having their impact in Malawi too. Banda's decision to send his own troops into Mozambique to patrol the railway to the port of Nacala was a result of pressure from the frontliners — especially Kaunda and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe.

On the western flank, Angola — hard-pressed by the slump in oil prices and 12 years of civil war — has been rescheduling its debts with its Soviet bloc allies. About two-thirds of Angola's estimated US$3.3 billion foreign debt is owed to the Russians and while the near-term outlook has brightened with the recent strengthening of oil prices, there is little likelihood of a sustained economic upturn unless or until the war is resolved. Once that happens, Angola has enormous potential — it has oil, diamonds, coffee, sugar and beef — which could turn it into one of the brightest economic prospects in the region.

At present, Botswana can lay claim to that title — it has the fastest growing economy in sub-Saharan Africa, a strong external payments position, a liberal foreign exchange regime and foreign exchange reserves sufficient to cover two years of imports. Botswana's economic success is the result of good luck — buoyant export revenues from diamond sales — but also of the prudent and pragmatic economic management that has been the hallmark of both the Ser-
US to cut frontline aid after bomb?

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The US Senate yesterday voted overwhelmingly to ban economic aid to Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) members who harbour ANC terrorists.

The measure, which was adopted by an extraordinary 77-to-15 margin, reflected profound bipartisan ambivalence about the ANC's tactics in the wake of Wednesday's bombing of the Cia.9 (See picture.)

The measure bars economic aid to any SADCC nation judged by the president not to be "making its best effort" to stop ANC terrorists launching attacks on South Africa from its territory.

The countries must also openly denounce the practice of using civilians as "intelligent targets" for American assistance.

The proposal was adopted as an amendment to foreign-aid legislation that would give SADCC $500 million (R100 million) in the current fiscal year.

The version of the legislation approved by the House of Representatives contains no similar anti-ANC provision, so it is unclear whether the amendment will become law.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was not available for comment last night.

The Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, has consistently denied harbouring guerrilla military cadres, although he permits the ANC and PAC to maintain offices.

It may be up to the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to report on Congress on which frontline states are transgressing on the guerrilla-aid rule.

Botswana also denies giving the ANC any military guerilla operational aid or harbouring its cadres. Zambia and Tanzania are likely to be the first frontline states of the SADCC to find their US aid imperilled.

Meanwhile, police confirmed yesterday that they were working on the possibility of a remote-controlled device being used to detonate the bomb at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Courts which killed three policemen and injured civilians.

The police also confirmed that they were looking into the possibility of certain members of the press being forewarned of the imminent blast.

He also stated that experts were still tied up in intensive investigations into what explosives had been used and could not say when investigations would be completed.

The ANC denied its involvement in the blasts, but later said it would not confirm or deny it until it had more details.

"As far as yesterday's bombings are concerned, we still have not received information from commanders of Umkhonto We Sizwe (the ANC's military wing inside the country," the ANC spokesman said from the movement's Lusaka headquarters.

The spokesman said his office was "not in a position to confirm whether it was ours or not".

The spokesman could not say when this information might reach him.

"We have said that we are going to intensify the struggle. This will be on all fronts, including armed
US govt slams bid to ban aid to frontline

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — The United States Government says it strongly opposes the move by the Senate to bar aid to frontline states unless they do their utmost to halt terrorist raids across their borders into South Africa.

The Senate vote caused a storm in Southern Africa and was bitterly attacked by Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe.

The US embassy in Harare said in a statement after Mr Mugabe's denunciation: "The Reagan Administration strongly opposes this amendment. The administration does not believe it would contribute to reducing cross-border violence or the promotion of restraint in the Southern African region."

SEVERAL HURDLES

It noted that the amendment, which was moved by Republican Senator Pressler from South Dakota, had to cross several hurdles before it could become law.

The Bill to which it is attached has yet to be passed by the Senate. The House of Representatives approved it without the amendment so it would have to go to a committee of both Houses.

It would then have to go back to both chambers before being submitted to the President for signature.

Observers here note that aid to Zimbabwe was in any case halted last year because of criticism of US policies by Mr Mugabe's government which culminated in a walkout from an American Independence Day function by former President Jimmy Carter.
ADDIS ABABA — The secretary general of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) yesterday described an “unfriendly act” the US Senate vote to suspend aid to frontline states unless President Reagan certifies they have renounced terrorism.

“The position of the frontline states against the white minority in South Africa who want to perpetuate apartheid in the country...is a collective decision of our 50 member states,” Mr. Ide Oumarou said in an interview at the OAU’s headquarters in Ethiopia.

All OAU states had expressed “a determination to combat the system with all the means at our disposal”, he added.

Mr. Oumarou was reacting to last Thursday’s 75-15 vote by the US Senate to ban aid to any frontline state that allowed guerilla attacks across its borders with SA.

Mr. Oumarou acknowledged that the Senate’s proposal, if backed by Congress as a whole, would adversely affect the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-operation Conference (SADCC), which is seeking America’s support in its efforts to combat the guerillas who have launched attacks against SA for the past 30 years.

The OAU chief executive said he had asked last week the US to delay aid to SADCC countries harboring the ANC. During behind-the-scenes talks with Mr. Byrd and the Democratic leadership, it became clear that the Republicans were confident the motion would pass, but after the unexpected aid vote, felt it unnecessary to get into a lengthy debate on the issue.

The resolution said it was “the sense of the Senate” to oppose the ANC “participating in any negotiation” until it had denounced terrorism and severed its links with the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

America have shown great determination in getting American public opinion to adopt a decisive position against the white minority government in SA, particularly through continued political isolation and imposition of economic sanctions,” Mr. Oumarou said.

US Secretary of State Mr. George Shultz whether the Reagan administration planned any change in its attitude towards Marxist Angola and whether it was prepared to provide economic aid to Mozambique.

But Mr. Shultz’s response was a “reaffirmation of the traditional position of the US government”, he said. — Sapa-Reuters

to reduce its economic dependence on SA. But violence in SA would continue so long as the white minority subjected blacks to tyranny and humiliation and denied them democracy and dignity, he added.

“Violence will stop only if the whites accept conditions for real dialogue with the blacks,” Mr. Oumarou said.

He urged the SA government to fulfill the conditions for ending violence in the country.

The release of jailed nationalist leader Mr. Nelson Mandela.

Power-sharing between blacks and whites.

The legalization of black nationalist guerilla movements like the ANC and the PAC.

Mr. Oumarou said that during his recent visit to the US, the black caucus in Congress had pledged to help fight apartheid by disseminating information on the real situation in the frontline states, which had been repeatedly attacked by SA.

“The members of the black caucus in
During Ian Smith's rule it failed dismally but now the Great Uhuru Railway from Zambia to the Indian Ocean is back on the rails in an attempt to rescue frontline states if there is a disruption of trade through South Africa, reports VICTOR MALLET from Lusaka.

**Tazara to rescue of frontline states**

It failed dismally in the days of Mr Ian Smith's white-ruled Rhodesia. But now the Great Uhuru (Freedom) Railway from Zambia to the Indian Ocean is again gearing itself up to try to rescue the black frontline states in the event of a disruption of trade through South Africa.

The Chinese-built Tanzania-Zambia Railway - Tazara as it is usually known - runs across 1,660km of rugged and often sparsely populated terrain from Kapiri Mposhi junction near the Zambian copper mines to steamy Dar-es-Salaam.

**Railway grappling with problems**

Since Tazara was opened in 1976, however, its practical performance as Zambia's trade lifeline has left much to be desired. The railway, jointly owned by Tanzania and Zambia, has been plagued by managerial and technical difficulties which are only now beginning to be overcome with a 10-year development plan and an injection of funds from donor countries.

Tazara is still grappling with problems ranging from a shortage of rolling stock to under-powered Chinese locomotives and landslides, although the management, working from its Dar-es-Salaam offices modelled on Peking's railway headquarters, is confident that performance is improving.

The line's design capacity is 2.5-million tons of goods a year, but in the financial year to June, 1986, it carried less than one million tons. General manager Standwell Mapara, however, predicts more than 1.1-million tons for the current year and insists that there is some spare capacity. Tazara also carries more than a million passengers a year.

In the recent past Zambia's vital copper exports were shared between Tazara and the southern rail route, but this year Zambia announced that all the copper was going by way of Tazara or Beira to avoid South Africa.

Almost immediately there was a bottleneck, apparently caused by the inadequacies of Zambia Railways, and Zambia ran short of foreign exchange, 90 percent of which comes from copper.

Stockpiles were subsequently reduced with the help of Tazara and an operation by the mines to truck copper to Harare for transport by rail to Beira. But the incident does not bode well for any future attempt to route more trade through Dar-es-Salaam.

Tazara is now selling most of Zambia's copper and about half its imports, as well as some trade for Zaire, Malawi and even a tiny amount from Zimbabwe.

**Stiff competition from road, rail, pipelines**

Tazara is also facing stiff competition from the road, rail and pipeline corridor linking Zimbabwe to Beira, a favourite of international donors seeking to protect the frontline states from the effects of economic sanctions against South Africa.

Perhaps the most depressing scenario of all for Tazara would be the one in which the frontline states shelved the idea of their own sanctions against South Africa altogether. Traffic is already likely to be reduced in the long term by the exhaustion of Zambia's copper mines in the next 20 years, although the slack may be taken up by Zairean copper.

In the short term Zambia's decision to break with the International Monetary Fund will reduce the volume of its imports.

But optimistic Tazara staff are looking further ahead to the days of black rule in South Africa. "We are already planning for a passenger train to Cape Town," joked one official in Dar-es-Salaam, London Financial Times.

**After consistently losing money since its construction, Tazara has recorded an operating surplus for the past three years, although it is doubtful whether it will be able to repay its interest-free $1-billion Chinese loan as scheduled.**

**Opened up vast tracts of countryside**

Tazara has opened up vast tracts of countryside in Tanzania and Zambia, but its future as an international trade route is not likely to be easy. The port of Dar-es-Salaam has a poor reputation in Zambia, where many businessmen say they prefer to use Durban for quicker service and to avoid theft.

The Tazara line, although its bridges are guarded by soldiers, is vulnerable to South African attack, a danger of which Mr Mapara is well aware. He has photographs of his desk of the Tazara bridges blown up in 1975 by Rhodesian commandos.
SADCC rejects economic dominance under any flag

Dateline: JOHANNESBURG

EVEN if the African National Congress (ANC) ruled South Africa, the rest of the Southern Africa states would still not accept Pretoria’s economic dominance of the region.

This is the view of Dr Simba Makoni, executive secretary of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).

In an article in the latest issue of the American magazine African Report, Mr. Makoni says the SADCC was not totally accepted by the United States because Washington did not believe that development could take place without South Africa’s economic involvement.

Take advantage of strong SA economy

On relations with South Africa, Dr. Makoni wrote that the SADCC was not created against South Africa, but acknowledged that the organisation’s abhorrence of apartheid featured prominently in influencing the policies and activities of the organisation.

“We are not working to reverse the current order of events from a purely emotional or irrational political perspective, but from logical and rational economic realities,” he wrote.

“It would be quite unacceptable tomorrow when the ANC is in power in South Africa to be as dependent on the nine states of Southern Africa, which constitute the SADCC at the moment, as we are today. We have made it clear that the relevance and validity of the SADCC will no longer be dependent on the people’s flag raised in Pretoria,” he added.

South Africa would be admitted into the SADCC because the present nine members of the organisation wanted to take advantage of the strength and advances achieved in the Southern African economy, but even after an ANC takeover, the nature and format of the SADCC-both relationship between South Africa and the rest of Southern Africa would “obviously have to change.”

“IT makes no sense for Zimbabwe or Zambia to incur expenses of R200 or R300 per ton of copper or tobacco to send it to Port Elizabeth, compared with R84 for the same ton if it is sent to Beira or R144 to Maputo,” Dr. Makoni said.

“This economic logic would apply even for SADCC post-apartheid,” he added.

Dr. Makoni repeated accusations that since the SADCC was formed South Africa had tried to undermine it through destabilisation policies.

These ranged from open aggression to subtle economic moves such as the withdrawal of locomotives from the railways of Zimbabwe or the total blockade of Lesotho.

He warned, however, that South Africa was also dependent on its neighbours with whom there was a total trade of about R4 billion. South Africa enjoyed a trade surplus of about R3.2 billion with the SADCC countries.

He said the repatriation of Lesotho miners would cause the collapse of South Africa’s gold industry, and the South African railway system earned about R400 million a year in railway freight tariffs from Zimbabwe alone and about R700 million from the SADCC region as a whole.

“The only problem is that these are factors which would have a bearing on a rational and logical authority, but the Botha regime is irrational and illogical and will do things that harm itself if only to demonstrate a point that it is more powerful,” wrote Dr. Makoni.

He said the SADCC countries supported sanctions against South Africa because they were already suffering from Pretoria’s “destabilisation” policies.

He said the SADCC countries had suffered costs estimated at about R20 billion over a five year period.

“The figure equals one-third of the total foreign exchange earnings from the SADCC region’s exports whether Botswana diamonds, Zimbabwe tobacco, Angolan oil, Tanzanian coffee or Mozambican corn,” he said.

“To those who argue economic hardships from sanctions, we ask: Are we not suffering already?”

US attacked for lack of commitment

In his article Dr. Makoni attacked the United States for showing “very little commitment and belief in the objectives of the SADCC”.

He said he had been told by a senior State Department official that it was not viable to talk about economic development in Southern Africa without South Africa and that attitude still prevailed.

The Reagan administration was giving more money to pro-American rebels in South America and Angola than to the SADCC.

In the five-year period in which SADCC had been in operation the United States had committed at the very least R100 million to the SADCC’s R10.8 billion programme.

In a nine-month period the US had given the Nicaraguan contra rebels R200 million and in Angola Unitas rebels had received R30 million over a 12 month period, he said.

“IO86, US AID committed a programme of R80 million for Southern Africa, split between R4 million for the victims of apartheid and R26 million for the nine independent states of southern Africa. But R26 million for the rest of the SADCC memberson states side-by-side with the R30 million for the Unitas bandits and you can begin to understand the perspective of the US administration towards SADCC and its activities,” wrote Dr. Makoni.
Simon Barber
WASHINGTON — Senate Africa Subcommittee chairman Senator Paul Simon is urgently appealing for the lifting of the ban on aid to Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries harbouring ANC members.

On May 21, the Senate overwhelmingly approved the so-called Pressler Amendment barring economic assistance to Frontline states who did not make "their best efforts" to oust groups who "will not renounce the practice of terrorism, including 'necklacing'".

Simon, an announced Presidential candidate, has written to colleagues admitting he made a mistake and urging them to change their minds.

He said: "The Senate voted 77:19 to condemn the practice of 'necklacing', a form of violence and torture which all of us agree is indefensible. However, in doing so, the Senate has effectively jeopardised assistance for the SADCC states."

Joining the appeal are Republican Senator and former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Richard Lugar, and Simon's predecessor in the subcommittee, Senator Nancy Kassebaum. Lugar voted against the ban and Kassebaum was absent.

The amendment was attached to an Omnibus Spending Bill, and Simon is hoping that it will be killed when conference from the House of Representatives and Senate meet to resolve differences between their respective versions.

He said: "We are strongly urging the conference to drop this provision entirely or to substitute language which protects... critical funding for the SADCC states. In our view this funding is essential to SADCC's effort to help promote regional economic cooperation and to reduce economic dependence on SA."

Simon did not explain why, as the member of the Senate most directly responsible for African affairs, he did not advocate this move before.
Bid to scuttle move to halt frontline aid

From ALAN DUNN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Reagan Administration and a group of lawmakers are working intensively to scuttle a move to halt US aid to Southern African countries linked to terrorism and necklacing.

Administration officials and at least 20 US senators are lobbying to overturn a 77-15 Senate vote last month disqualifying any countries not renouncing necklacing and "State terrorism" from a slice of R100-million in American aid to the region.

The controversial clause, attached to an appropriation Bill in an amendment by Senator Larry Pressler, a conservative Republican, is being debated on Capitol Hill as the Senate and House of Representatives stage a conference to marry their differing versions of the Bill.

At issue, it seems, is a discrepancy between the wording of the amendment, which emphasises necklacing but includes undefined "State terrorism", and the way Senator Pressler presented it in the Senate on May 21, where he spoke only of necklacing.

His speech was viewed almost as a referendum on necklacing which presented US legislators with no choice.

On May 27 the State Department noted that discrepancy, issuing a strong rejection of the amendment, and has been working since to have it killed.

On June 5 eight senators, including two moderate Republicans, wrote a "Dear Colleague" letter urging senators to act against the amendment, which effectively jeopardised aid to the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) countries.

Another Senate source noted, however, that the strength of a 77-15 Senate ballot would be difficult to simply overturn.

"It's awfully hard with a vote like that not to come back with something from conference... undoubtedly it will be softened," he said.

"That's the way conferences go; things get toned down a little bit."
Pik Botha tells of raids regrets

LONDON — The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday he deeply regretted every time South Africa was forced into cross-border raids.

He was joined in this by the Minister of Defence, General Malan, and they both regretted when South Africa had to cross the borders of any neighbouring territory to “act against terrorism”.

Mr Botha was speaking on what is termed a “global phone-in” where, from a studio in Johannesburg, he took telephone calls from many parts of the world. These were broadcast from both the BBC World Service, throughout the world, as well as by BBC internal British Radio 4.

Calls came from as far apart as Singapore, Papua and Zambian. All referring to the calls concerning cross-border raids was the only call from South Africa. It came from Cape Town.

Referring again to raids, Mr Botha recalled the warning he had given neighbouring territories that there was incontrovertible evidence of terrorist planning to come south, infiltrate South Africa and kill innocent people.

Although the radio programme was conducted with courtesy and good manners on both sides, many of the questions were hard-hitting. Mr Botha replied as a practised diplomat and was never at a loss for a prompt reply.

Questions ranged from the release of Nelson Mandela to a 12-year-old girl from Manches-

ter, who asked Mr Botha what he saw as the differences between black people and white people.

“We are all children of God. There is no difference at all. I said 10 years ago I could not accept discrimination based on skin colour,” he replied.

Some of the questions appeared to come from black callers, some of them South African exiles.

Mr Botha several times pointed to callers that they had a distorted impression of South Africa.

Much reporting was still biased, one-sided and did not give a true reflection of the situation in South Africa. This was a great pity.

Power-sharing

Basically, the South African government has declared itself willing to negotiate with all leaders in this country who renounce violence as a means of achieving political objectives,” Mr Botha said.

He added: “We will negotiate a new South Africa based on power-sharing. That means that all communities, in our opinion, must share in the government of the day.”

These last statements were picked up and used in the main daytime BBC radio news bulletin.

He also said that the South African government wanted to share power with blacks, but said a state of emergency would continue until stability was restored.

“We will negotiate a new South Africa based on power-sharing. That means that all communities, in our opinion, must share in the government of the day, while at the same time we would wish to protect minority cultural, political and language rights.”

A listener from Zambia asked Mr Botha whether he still held the opinion he expressed last year that a power-sharing government might someday be led by a black president — a remark for which he was reprimanded by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The Foreign Minister said the remark had entered “a terrain which wasn’t clear with my colleagues, cleared… with the state president (in advance), and I accepted the State President’s right to discipline me on the issue”.

Since then, he said, he had been working “under the guidance of the State President” to “have further change, and I agree that all communities are to participate in the political process.

“This is the heart of the struggle that we will have to concern ourselves with, to bring into the central government all communities and yet give protection to minority groups.”

Asked by a listener in England whether he felt shamed that children were among the thousands of blacks detained, Mr Botha said that about 200 youths had been arrested and all but about 11 had been freed.

He said that children who had been detained in South Africa had been responsible for killing people and for other violence.

Repeating to a question on a phone-in programme, he said: “About 200 or so youthful persons, or children, were detained.

“Many of them were directly involved in the burning of motor cars and the killing of people, human beings, by pouring petrol fuel on them and setting them alight and then dancing around them while they were dying in agony.”

Worked hard

“When on occasion my colleague the Minister for Law and Order did as a test release some of them, they were back committing murder within two days.”

“The authorities had no choice, but we didn’t leave it at. We’ve worked hard at the issue and by and large they’ve been released in the hope that they will now be placed with parents or responsible senior persons who could help them redirect their feelings and emotions et cetera.” — Own Correspondent and Sapa
The Beira Corridor is almost on track

Michael Hartnack

In its five months of operation the Beira Corridor had to retrace 28,000 km. to some 238 investment areas, of which 414 were identified. Of these, 60 per cent were in foreign currency. Some 90 per cent of the businesses in Harare and Mazowe were involved. Their total turnover was $10 million. The Beira Corridor had to produce 500,000 copies of its newsletter and over 500,000 copies of its quarterly. The Beira Corridor had to produce 500,000 copies of its newsletter and over 500,000 copies of its quarterly. The Beira Corridor had to produce 500,000 copies of its newsletter and over 500,000 copies of its quarterly.
SA may 'assist' Africa's rebels

THE government gave a strong signal at the weekend that rebel movements bent on overthrowing neighbouring governments could look forward to more open and aggressive South African support in future.

Hints that South Africa could adopt a more active role in regional conflicts were contained in a hardline statement issued by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

"The warnings, if implemented, would lead to a further escalation of wars in the sub-continent and a further deterioration of South Africa's already strained relations with African and Western governments - a number of whom have recently repeated charges that South Africa was guilty of destabilizing its Southern African neighbours."

In an apparent reference to Renamo in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola, General Malan said: "There are pro-Western groups that are confronted by the Soviet expansionism in Southern Africa but that do not have the ability to survive on their own."

"Where such groups ask South Africa for assistance, it must be considered in principle, taking into consideration factors that will ultimately bring stability and peace to the region."

Gen Malan asked whether South Africa could be expected to withhold such support simply because it might be accused of "destabilization".

"Destabilization, he submitted, came from Russian expansionism, and then added: "South Africa surely does not need to apologize to anyone for halting Russian expansionism."

Gen Malan said South Africa should at all times place its own national interests first. "It cannot play a passive role in a situation where Soviet interventionism is blatantly taking place in the name of liberation."

The minister's remarks came just days after the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, told a Senate sub-committee that South Africa continued to support Renamo in spite of the Nkomati Accord and had been responsible for the recent raid on Maputo which left three dead.

Dr Crocker's testimony was immediately attacked by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, as being unfactual and unfounded.

The South African government has in the past acknowledged that it furnished UNITA with "material, humanitarian and moral assistance."

The latest indication of stepped-up support from groups like Renamo coincided with accusations by Gen Malan that the Soviet Union and Mozambique were conducting a propaganda campaign to discredit South Africa ahead of the release of the Margo Commission inquiry into President Samora Machel's death in an air crash last year.

He said the Soviets and their "Marxist lackeys" were masters at the manipulation of perceptions. "Thus a series of accusations are being made in advance of the report that brand the RSA as a destabilizer."

"It can be expected that the Russian and Marxist attack on the RSA will intensify. Their sole purpose is consistently to present the RSA as the guilty party and a destabilizer in an effort to make the Margo report suspect," he said.
‘Necklace’ link to aid: US legislators back off

From ALAN DUNN, The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — An amendment that jeopardised R100-million in US aid to Southern African states by linking it to “necklacing” in South Africa, has been watered down.

Legislators have agreed on a diluted amendment, loosely tying US funds to the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries to necklacing.

The original amendment, introduced by Senator Larry Pressler of South Dakota, hinged US assistance on States renouncing necklacing, recipients giving assurances they were acting to curb those who did not renounce terrorism, and countries actually trying to prevent terrorist groups operating from their territory.

The Pressler Amendment was supported 77-15 in the Senate late last month.

A ‘softer’, more passive version referring to individuals instead of terrorist groups has now been agreed in a combined Senate and House of Representatives conference convened to marry the chambers’ different versions of the Bill.

It has also dropped a vague, wide-ranging reference to “terrorism”.

It stipulates that US aid may not be given to countries until the President certifies they have “not advocated necklacing, provided assurances they have acted against any person found to have necklaced someone and not knowingly allowed terrorists practising necklacing to operate in their territories”.

A Capitol Hill observer said the amendment, although watered down, was almost meaningless in effect, still remained an important symbol to demonstrate US repugnance of necklacing.

Both Senate and House will have to consider the change, but conference bargains such as this are rarely rejected.

State Department officials and several senators lobbied hard against the Pressler Amendment before and during the conference.

It is understood the conference has adopted an amendment from a ‘fiery conservative’ Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, who called for an accounting of US dollar aid to Southern Africa since 1988 before more is sent to the SADCC states.
Nkomati Accord could be heading for the rocks

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Recent angry exchanges between Pretoria and Maputo threaten to turn the Nkomati Accord into a dead letter.

And some political observers believe Pretoria's policy decisions on Mozambique are quietly shifting from the Department of Foreign Affairs to the military and intelligence services.

The future of the three-year-old accord was thrown into sharp focus at the weekend by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, hinting of support for pro-Western movements in southern Africa to check Soviet expansionism in the region.

This week, bi-lateral relations are expected to reach one of their trickiest passages with the release of the Margo Commission of Inquiry's report into the plane crash that killed President Samora Machel last October.

The research director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mr. Andre du Pissani, said Gen Malan's statement had seriously eroded the terms of the accord in both spirit and letter.

"It is, for practical purposes, now dead. "Documents on the accord are lodged with Foreign Affairs, but it's the military, State Security Council and the National Intelligence Service that are now playing the major policy-makers on Mozambique," Mr. Du Pissani said.

The department of Foreign Affairs, however, said yesterday that Gen Malan's statement should not be seen as a "move away from the Nkomati Accord".

But the director of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, Mike Hough, said the propaganda war only violated the spirit of the accord.

"Despite the apparent failure of the accord, there are still no ANC bases in Maputo and nobody has conclusively proven that South Africa has launched cross-border raids into Mozambique since its signing three years ago."

There is no clause in the accord to sever the treaty but, under international law, it becomes inoperable if "circumstances dramatically change", Mr Hough said.

In a strongly worded statement, the official Mozambique news agency, Aim, accused Pretoria yesterday of never respecting the accord from the day it was signed, and continuing to support the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR).

Aim said the MNR's failure to annex Mozambique's central Zambezia province had caused "Malan to switch MNR attentions back to the southern front."

"It is likely that Malan will try to cut the Limpopo Valley off from Maputo. That's been tried before in early 1983, but they failed then."

"Perhaps Malan's plans to go public with his support for the MNR are based on the reckoning that South Africa no longer has anything to gain from pretending to uphold the accord."

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the South African ambassador to the United States, Dr. Piet Koornhof, yesterday called on the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr. Chester Crocker.

"Dr Crocker has alleged South Africa was involved in the last Maputo raid, a charge the South African government strongly denies. Mr. Botha has said the United States has presented no evidence to back up the allegations."

"After his meeting with Dr. Koornhof, Dr. Crocker apparently failed to change his viewpoint on the situation."

The assistant secretary was still "convinced that South Africa is supporting the Renamo movement in Mozambique in violation of the Nkomati accord."

No statement was issued after the talks between Dr. Koornhof and Dr. Crocker.

In a statement from Lisbon yesterday, the MNR said it had sabotaged a strategic oil pipeline and rail link between the Indian Ocean port of Beira and landlocked Zimbabwe.

The MNR also said it killed 122 troops in battles last week.

The guerrilla group, said it blew up the so-called Beira corridor pipeline last Thursday, the day MNR guerrillas killed 15 government troops and destroyed buildings on the outskirts of Beira in mortar attacks.

The MNR also said it had sabotaged the main Mozambique-South Africa railway near the southern town of Moamba, killing 27 soldiers.

Two days earlier, more than 30 government troops in the nearby province of Inhambane were killed, the MNR claimed.
Diplomats out talk:

Uneasy general's sabre-rattling
Economic growth ‘hampered by SA’

HARARE — Agriculture formed the basis of economic development in Southern Africa but was hampered by problems created by SA, Mozambican Minister of Transport and Communications Armando Guebuza said in Harare yesterday.

He was opening the congress of the Commercial Grain Producers’ Association.

“The main cause of this problem is apartheid, the evil system in whose defence our common aggressor is waging a war of sabotage against our economies,” he said, according to Zimbabwe’s semi-official Ziana news agency.

Production and trade of cereal crops had a significant impact on the economic and social sectors of African society, Guebuza said, and noted that Zimbabwe had a great capacity to produce cereals.

“It is not by chance that Zimbabwe is SADCC co-ordinator for agriculture and food security.

“However, despite these advances in development, there are problems — some of them dramatic — which require urgent solutions which will be more easily found if we seek them together.”

In Mozambique, there was a spectre of war-induced famine that affected a substantial area of the country, leaving about a third of the population starving.

More than 400,000 had died since 1980 because of SA’s “aggression”, and Mozambique had lost over $3.5bn because of SA-sponsored sabotage, he claimed. — Sapa.
US Bill to ban aid to SADCC approved

WASHINGTON — The US House of Representatives have approved a bill to bar US aid to countries in Southern Africa who support the practice of necklacing blacks suspected of cooperating with the South African government.

The language was included as an amendment to a $14-billion bill to provide US government agencies with additional funds for the government spending year.

The bill, approved on Tuesday, would provide $50 million in US aid to the nine members of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The amendment said no SADCC member would be eligible for aid unless President Ronald Reagan certified that the country has not advocated necklacing, has provided assurances it is taking action against those who practice it and is not knowingly allowing terrorists who practice necklacing to operate in its territory.

The language was adopted by a joint House-Senate conference committee last Friday, and was less restrictive than that used when the amendment was first approved by the Senate on May 21.

The bill now goes back to the Senate for final congressional approval. — Sapa-RNS
WASHINGTON — The US House of Representatives approved a Bill this week to bar US aid to southern African countries supporting necklacing.

This was included in amendment to a $9.4bn Bill to provide US government agencies with additional funds for the government spending year to September 30.

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US draws up priority lists on R100-m aid to Africa

WASHINGTON. — American officials at embassies in Southern Africa are compiling priority lists for R100-million in aid due to become available soon when President Ronald Reagan approves it.

The supplemental Appropriations Bill stipulates that neither Mozambique nor Angola receives any of the aid — a clause introduced on the grounds of their human rights violations.

The Bill also loosely links the aid to the murder ritual in South Africa known as “necklacing”.

No funds can be disbursed until President Reagan certifies that each recipient assured the US that it has acted against those who have practised necklacing, or is not knowingly allowing perpetrators of the necklace to operate from its area.

Dependence on SA

A quarter of the R100-million may go to “disadvantaged” South Africans, none will be given to Angola or Mozambique, and much of it will be spent on projects which will ease Southern Africa’s dependence on South Africa.

An official at the US Agency for International Development said the recipient projects and groups would probably be known in about six weeks.

The money is in addition to funds already allocated this year to the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries.

On energy, the Bill notes that the aid should offer the potential to swiftly reduce “the dependence of those states on South Africa for electricity”.

At least 60 percent of the R75-million must be spent on transport projects, and only the so-called Northern Corridor can benefit from this — effectively funneling more than R44-million to the Lusaka-Dar es Salaam link known as the Tazara network.

About R25-million will be given disadvantaged South Africans or go to humanitarian help for SADCC countries.
A hotline to the north?

Professor Peter Vale, Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, suggests ways of reducing tension between SA and the frontline states.

The election is gone, but its spirit lingers on. The mood of those who run SA's relations with its neighbours regularly confirms this observation. Day after day, week upon week, Magnus Malan and Pik Botha berate these countries, criticise their political systems and — in tones more suited to the barricade, than to the boardroom — chastise their leaders.

In the circumstances of the election it was understandable; now, it's a dangerous game. The tough talk endorses the overwhelming conviction — both in the frontline states and in the wider international community — that the smoking gun points to Pretoria. As Chester Crocker's recent testimony to Congress indicated, few believe that SA does not destabilise its neighbours. The bellicosity also underscores a growing belief that, apart from exporting its domestic crisis, SA has no intention of settling the Namibian impasse.

Interstate relations at the regional level are always fragile. In southern Africa this is aggravated by the domination of a single state, SA, which is at serious political odds with its regional partners. Considerable trauma is added to this unhappiness by the region's dependence on SA's economy.

There is no hiding the deep-seated political difference between SA and the region's majority-rules states. It arises from two interpretations of recent African history, and two contrasting views of what's in store for this region.

While South Africans believe that the frontline states (and the Soviets) are bent on driving them into the sea. Our regional kinsmen believe that all whites are unrepentant racists bent on the total, absolute humil-
SADCC seeks to break SA’s grip on region

LUSAKA — Ministers of nine southern African nations meet tomorrow to discuss since more the issue which dominates the economic life of the region's dependence on South Africa.

They will be preparing the agenda for a summit of heads of state on Friday expected to raise the issue of economic sanctions against South Africa and tactics for breaking Pretoria's stranglehold on the economies of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The summit will take place only days after two members, Zambia and Zimbabwe, said they could go no further with a plan to sever all air links with South Africa.

The Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, and the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, announced after talks yesterday that they were shelving proposals for the air ban because of lack of support from their regional allies.

The proposal to cut air links was agreed to at a Commonwealth mini-summit in London last August, at which other measures, including barring South African commodity exports and withdrawal of consular facilities were also agreed.

SADCC sources said the issue of economic sanctions would be raised at the summit whose nominal purpose is to hear an annual progress report on group projects ranging from transport to agriculture.

The sources said that Zambia, the host nation, and its neighbour Zimbabwe, were likely to renew appeals for solidarity from other SADCC members for proposals to impose trade and other economic sanctions against the white-led Pretoria government.

This is because Botswana, the current SADCC chairman, and Mozambique, have been reluctant to agree to sanctions, because of possible repercussions on their economies, especially if South Africa in turn decides to retaliate with its own economic block against its hostile neighbours.

SADCC sources said that because of this prospect the summit could decide that the group's own declared goal of tighter economic cooperation would be a better way to isolate South Africa.

"The focus would be on economic liberation, looking at just what Africa can do for itself," one source said.

He added that this option was likely to be discussed by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit next week in Addis Ababa.

Transport and communications were expected to figure among the projects under review at the SADCC meeting. The sector accounted for over half of the $6.6 billion calculated for projects in the 1985-1990 period.

Of five possible rail routes that give SADCC members alternative access to the sea for their exports other than through South Africa, three — Nacala, Beira and Limpopo — run through Mozambique and are currently being rehabilitated under SADCC schemes.

Of the other two, the Tazara line through Tanzania is the most operational of the five while the reopening of the war-hit Benguela railway through Angola is under study.  — Bapani
Ramphal issues sanctions warning

Sir Shridath Ramphal, has indicated he does not believe the time is right for the Frontline states to impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

He said the Frontline states were vulnerable regarding sanctions and Commonwealth members understood their difficulties.

The Frontline states should carefully time any imposition of sanctions against South Africa, he said in Harare shortly after his arrival here at the weekend to attend a conference of Commonwealth ministers responsible for women's affairs. "I know that people feel that they want to make their contribution, but the rest of the world does not want to see the Frontline states weaken themselves," he said.

"We have to continue to recognise that there is going to be a particular question of timing so that, while they want to apply sanctions, they must do so at the right time and under the right circumstances.

The immediate task was to ensure the intensification of sanctions already imposed by other countries, he said.

He said the programme of sanctions was developing steadily and the pressure on the South African Government was increasing.

Sir Shridath's remarks follow two important retreats by members of the Frontline states group on the issue of sanctions over the past three weeks. It now seems probable that the Frontline state members of the Commonwealth will go to its Vancouver summit later this year without themselves having imposed any sanctions on South Africa.

Zambia and Zimbabwe gave notice last week they would not be severing air links with Pretoria.

Observers had seen a cut in air links as perhaps the two countries' handiest sanctions measure against South Africa.

And last week Zimbabwe pulled back from imposing a proposed set of restrictions on trade with South Africa which, while not themselves amounting to sanctions, would have gone some way towards reducing trade dependency on South Africa and hence cleared the way for subsequent sanctions. — Sowetan Africa News Service.
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Hold back from sanctions — Ramphal

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The Frontline states should hold back from imposing sanctions against South Africa until Pretoria's major trading partners and the rest of the international community had shown a real readiness to impose them, the Commonwealth Secretary General, Sir Shridath Ramphal, has said.

Countries such as the Frontline states, which were vulnerable to South African economic counter-measures, should not be expected to lead on the sanctions campaign, he added.

Sir Shridath had been asked to explain comments, made on his arrival here at the weekend, that now was not the "right time" for the Frontline states to impose sanctions.

Speaking shortly before his departure for London last night, Sir Shridath said the "right time" for Frontline state sanctions would come "when the rest of the international community shows a willingness to do so, when countries that are not vulnerable do so."

"The vulnerable countries like Zimbabwe should defer," he told the national news agency, Ziana.

He foresaw that sanctions against South Africa and South African "destabilisation" of the Frontline states would be major issues at the summit of Commonwealth heads of state and government in Vancouver, Canada, later this year.

Sir Shridath's statements are likely to be welcomed by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, whose countries have pulled back from the imposition of sanctions in the past three weeks.

South African destabilisation would "attract at least as much attention" as sanctions.

On destabilisation, the Commonwealth "does not need to be divided, because some countries like Zimbabwe have troops in Mozambique, Britain is offering military training assistance to Zimbabwe and Mozambique — so the Commonwealth is involved", Sir Shridath said.

The Vancouver summit would also discuss the eminent persons group's reports on their mission to South Africa in late 1985 and early 1986, he said.
PRETORIA — South Africans should be under no illusion about the growing fear and revulsion with which they were viewed by neighbours in the region, Africa Institute council chairman P Smit said.

He told the institute's annual meeting SA was seen as a dangerous and unpredictable bully intent on destabilising, impoverishing and intimidating them.

Smit stressed a new South African perception of Southern Africa was essential if the political climate in the region was to improve.

South Africans tended to underestimate the extent to which SA's economic, technological and military power effectively overshadowed that of its neighbours.

Smit asked: "Surely as the oldest independent state on the subcontinent SA is mature enough to react with restraint to the many irritations emanating from neighbouring states?" By forging bonds of co-operation rather than severing them, SA could counter sanctions and international isolation. This, however, entailed more than verbal protests of goodwill and offers of assistance.

South Africans should see southern Africa not as an enemy, but as an asset in their quest for long-term security and material well being.

Bearing in mind SA's trade surplus with the rest of Africa — most of it with nearby countries — amounted to about R2.9bn, the economic hinterland clearly warranted careful attention. Smit said: "Would it not make sense if SA's private and public sectors were to co-operate in imaginative schemes aimed at expanding and strengthening economic ties."

The choice for SA seemed clear — either we continue on the present path of growing polarisation, hostility and violence in the region, or we make a concerted effort to strengthen mutually beneficial economic links."
SOUTHERN AFRICA

Gorbachev's new game plan

For the moment it looks as if the Nkomati Accord has again been saved. After working and dining in Cape Town — even before they actually sat down to talk — both the South African and Mozambican delegations reiterated their intentions of honouring the rather frayed agreement.

In addition, it appears they have a third, unexpected, sleeping partner: Recent statements by high-ranking Soviets, including Mikhail Gorbachev himself, have led Kromelin-watchers to suspect a sea-change in Moscow's strategy towards the conflict-ridden southern African region.

The question is, has Pretoria's policy of destabilising our immediate neighbours been successful — in the sense that it has been a prerequisite to political deals? Philip Nel of the Institute of Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch thinks so.

"It looks as if government's policy of destabilisation — if it was intended as policy — has convinced the Soviets that a revolution in SA will not come about all that easily," he argues. That would open the door for realistic negotiations towards peace.

Nel, who leaves on his first visit to the USSR this week, says the present Soviet approach is typical of Gorbachev the reformist. The Soviet leader's plan, he believes, is to develop a strategy involving "second and third tier attacks."

In practice this means making overtures to the government, and, in tandem, appealing directly to "progressive" South Africans to support groups in a spectrum ranging from the Independents to UDF-oriented organisations like the End Conscientism Campaign.

According to Nel, the Soviets hope to improve the status of these groups among the white electorate. They expect this to create divisions among whites, and ultimately benefit the ANC.

Nel sees this as posing a major dilemma for the Independents — whom he supports. "The more you criticise government, the more they accuse you of playing into the hands of the ANC." Strange as it may seem, the Soviets do take stock of the activities of people like Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan. In a February broadcast — in Afrikaans — on Radio Moscow, Alexander Fedorov commented on the Independents' "disappointment" with government for not being prepared "to enter into dialogue with the real leaders of the blacks."

Nel is convinced that Soviet officials have approached staff at South African embassies to advance the new Gorbachev line. Soviet

Those who believe in the peaceful resolution of conflict in southern Africa have been encouraged by renewed contacts between Mozambique and SA. But there is a larger dimension — the Soviets are sending signals that negotiations present a better route for all sides than violence.

expansionism in Africa, he says, is based largely on providing military assistance — which is limited and has to be paid for in hard currency. When it comes to playing any role in mediation processes, they lag behind the US by far, or have up to now. This is what Gorbachev plans to remedy.

Constructive engagement may have been discarded as official US policy, but as a mediator the White House has retained its status. This is where Gorbachev wants to exercise his policy of "new political thinking," Nel says.

Gorbachev's game plan rests on three principles: that modern military conflicts, particularly if they pose the danger of escalation into the use of nuclear force, cannot be won; political settlements should include the interests of all nations concerned; and trade and economic co-operation with all concerned should be assiduously pursued.

This philosophy has been reflected by the long-time deputy director of the Africa Institute in Moscow, Gleb Starushenko, who last year spoke of the mortal danger represented by international conflicts. Russia and Ango-

la, he said, "express themselves strongly for the immediate political settlement of the conflict in the south of Africa ..."

Gorbachev himself had political commentators reeling when he addressed Mozambique's Joaquim Chissano in Moscow and spoke about a negotiated regional settlement that would benefit "both whites and blacks."

Until now it has been reasonably easy for government to counter ANC violence and Soviet military interests through force of arms. Not only are the security forces in a position to stamp out any possibility of a successful revolution, they have been able to "win" the propaganda war as well through various Nat media machines. By harnessing Network/Netwerk and the Afrikaans press, the white elections produced a popular (white) government which is tough on security, and mandated to be so.

But, says Nel, in the light of Moscow's new line, there should be some kind of trade-off of political realities. In the end the ANC can only be contained by real negotiations towards power sharing.

The question remains whether the street committees in Mamelodi and elsewhere — the young "comrades" — can still be convinced that revolution, for the moment, is futile. A regional settlement comes first.

For advocates of peaceful change, the continuation of Nkomati, filmsy as it may seem, is reassuring. Talks last week on the resumption of the Cahora Bassa project look equally promising. It shows that Pretoria, by talking to Marxists, may still beat the Soviets at their own game, new rules and all.

Soviet expert Nel ... off to Moscow to find out more
Finding alternatives to violent polarisation

By using its vast economic strength, South Africa can positively and peacefully influence both the present and future of Southern Africa in a meaningful manner.

South Africa's relations with Black Africa are becoming more important by the year as the issue of international sanctions draws attention once more to the importance of Africa as South Africa's hinterland.

There is a direct connection between the attitude of Black Africa and the acceptance or condemnation of South Africa by the international community.

Efforts to dismantle the economic and other bonds between South Africa and its neighbours are being encouraged by some Western countries. Amid allegations of South African "destabilisation" of its neighbours and calls for international punishment, the region appears to be drifting into growing polarisation and violence.

Realities

There is the danger that serious conflict with neighbouring countries is seen as inevitable, a perception no less shortsighted than earlier hopes of a Southern African economic and defence alliance under South African leadership.

Both viewpoints betray an ignorance of the underlying realities of Africa in general, and the region in particular.

The more important realities of South African regional policy are as follows:

- South Africans must appreciate Black Africa's urge to be master of its own destiny, to rid itself of all alien tutelage and prescriptions, virtually regardless of the cost in human sacrifice or economic efficiency.

- South Africa's domestic policies are anathema to Black Africans because these policies are seen as an offence to their self-esteem.

- Socialism has a strong appeal for Black Africa, partly as the opposite of capitalism — which they equate with colonialism and racism — and partly because of its apparent affinity to the strong communal bonds which traditionally prevailed in Black Africa.

- The mounting economic difficulties of Black African countries, together with the measures prescribed by the IMF and the waning enthusiasm of Western nations for "aid" to the continent, are leading to a greater readiness to follow market-oriented policies.

- A pre-eminent regional power is rarely, if ever, popular with the weaker countries surrounding it. Nigeria and the US are examples.

- South Africans must realise the growing fear and revulsion with which their country is viewed by its neighbours as a dangerous and unpredictable bully, intent to destabilise, impoverish and intimidate them.

South Africa is seen as a much greater menace than the Soviet Union.

South Africans underestimate the extent to which the country's economic, technological and military power overshadows that of its neighbours.

Its gross domestic product, for instance, is four times that of the eight member states of the Southern African Development Co-Ordination Conference (SADCC) that have combined to try and oppose South African economic dominance.

By actively forging bonds of co-operation, rather than severing or jeopardising them, South Africans could counter sanctions and international isolation.

Bearing in mind that South Africa's trade surplus with the rest of Africa — most of it with nearby countries — amounted to about R2.9 billion, or roughly half the balance on current account in 1983, this economic hinterland clearly warrants careful attention.

A coherent and far-sighted strategy vis-a-vis Southern Africa that acknowledges the region as essentially one economic entity is needed, based on the conviction that this serves South Africa's own security and prosperity.

Dependent

In view of the mounting problems facing neighbouring countries, lack of hard currency, rising debt, inflation, inefficient transport and poor public administration, they cannot be indifferent to competitive prices and other conditions.

Could not special conditions for countries in the region be envisaged as a matter of public policy?

It is easy to list many obstacles in the path of this approach — not least among them the SADCC and the wide international support it enjoys. But it is a fact that these states today, seven years after the founding of the SADCC, are as dependent on South Africa as in 1980 — possibly even more so.

Whatever the obstacles to closer commercial ties with the rest of Southern Africa, the choice for South Africa seems clear — either we continue on the present path of growing polarisation, hostility and violence in the region, or we make a concerted effort to strengthen mutually beneficial economic links.
How many notices were served in the last quarter of the year?

Please provide the number of notices served in the last quarter of the year.

The latest financial report of the Ministry of Finance for the year 1987 shows a significant increase in revenue. The budget for the upcoming year has been approved by the Parliament.

The Ministry of Environment and Planning has released a new draft for the long-term development plan. The plan includes proposals for infrastructure development, environmental conservation, and sustainable economic growth. Public consultation on the draft plan is invited, and comments are due by December 15, 1987.

The annual report of the National Health and Population Development Commission for 1987 is now available for download on the Ministry of Health's website. The report highlights achievements in public health, maternal and child health, and nutritional status.

The latest issue of the newsletter "Health Matters" is now available. The newsletter features articles on the latest trends in health and wellness, interviews with leading experts, and practical tips for maintaining a healthy lifestyle.

The draft bylaws for the proposed new Constitution are now available for public review. The bylaws are intended to provide a framework for a fair and transparent political system. Public comments on the draft bylaws are due by January 31, 1988.
Frontline leaders in brief summit

Michael Hartnack

HARARE — The leaders of the six Frontline States met for a one-day summit in Dar es Salaam yesterday, amid reports of a "last try" by the Reagan Administration to achieve diplomatic results in Southern Africa.

ANC Secretary for foreign affairs Johnny Makatini joined the leaders of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe for the summit.

Diplomatic observers in Harare say although it is too early to speak of a breakthrough over the deadlocked issue of Namibian independence and Cuban troops in Angola, the visit to Luanda last week by American Deputy Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker revealed "definite movement" by President Eduardó dos Santos' MPLA government.

At the same time, the pro-Renamo lobby in the US Congress suffered a defeat with the final approval of Melissa Wells as ambassador to Maputo, after a bruising nine-month delay.

A simultaneous improvement in Washington's relations with both the former Portuguese colonies could have far-reaching results, diplomats believe.

Harare, however, will not willingly be brought into the sensitive diplomatic developments by the Americans, who regard Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's hard-line stance as potentially destructive to their initiatives.

The ANC is understood to be watching developments in Maputo and Luanda with concern, since its leaders believe any diplomatic deal involving the Americans can only bode ill for their influence. Makatini will want to receive assurances that no Nkomati-style accord is contemplated.

Meanwhile Zimbabwean fears of a repetition of the May 1988 SA raids on ANC targets have been aroused by last week's claims that the ANC infiltrators killed in the Transvaal came across the Limpopo from Zimbabwe.
Frontline plans strategy

The six Frontline States of southern Africa held a one-day summit in Dar es Salaam yesterday to fix a common stance ahead of next month's Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said in a brief opening speech that the main aim of the summit was to agree on a common Frontline position for the Commonwealth and will attend the meeting in Canada — Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The other two Frontline States — Angola and Mozambique — are former Portuguese colonies.

"This is therefore the summit at which we shall prepare for all these problems," Kaunda, who is chairman of the Frontline States, said.

Four Frontline States are members of the Commonwealth and will.

The Frontline leaders who last met in Lusaka at the end of July, were joined by Johnny Makaini, the director of the National Congress (ANC) and Sam Nujoma, leader of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

Yesterday's Frontline summit in Dar es Salaam was the first held in Tanzania since President Julius Nyerere succeeded Julius Nyerere in November, 1985.

The meeting was held in Tanzania's state house, a massive white colonial building surrounded by palm trees on the edge of the Indian Ocean. — Naps.
CITY EDITION 1993
in the economic development of the region. The African continent provides for the development of a number of projects that will contribute to a major project in the region. The exploration of the region by the South African Region is of interest to the European countries and to bring progress and to improve the infrastructure in the SACDOC.

The SACDOC, through its official institutions, is striving to increase energy production. It is essential to ensure that the energy is produced in a sustainable manner. The SACDOC must ensure that the energy production is efficient and that the energy is distributed evenly.

In order to support industrial growth, the SACDOC must work towards greater cooperation and coordination among the member states. This will ensure that the energy is produced efficiently and that the energy distribution is balanced.

This is the SACDOC's vision for the energy sector in the region. The SACDOC must work towards achieving this vision and to ensure that the energy is produced in a sustainable manner. The SACDOC must also work towards ensuring that the energy is distributed evenly.

The SACDOC is committed to achieving this vision and to ensuring that the energy is produced in a sustainable manner. The SACDOC must work towards achieving this vision and to ensure that the energy is distributed evenly.

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talk about oil had more truth to it than in the past few months with Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, the three leading members of the SADCC in search of oil.

The three have indicated that there might be huge oil fields in their countries following various tests and research projects.

The latest indications of oil exploration being carried out or planned emerged from Mozambique on September 12 when a four-way agreement was signed between the Mozambican oil company, Empress National de Hidrocarbonetos, BP development, the International Monetary Corporation and the World Bank.

The contract serves as an update of the original are presently the only two SADCC member states producing natural gas, with Angola being the only oil exporting country. However the SADCC energy sector, oil and gas exploration seminar, held in Arusha, Tanzania, in November 1986, produced some 28 high-quality technical papers on subjects ranging from country geology and hydrocarbon potential to financing and economics of petroleum exploration.

The seminar was held against the backdrop of South Africa’s aggression against neighboring states’ oil installations, the dependency of several landlocked SADCC members on South African ports and routes for oil supplies, and impending sanctions.

So the search for oil is on in Southern Africa. After 10 years of analyses of the Kalahari Desert in Botswana, the search for oil is now in earnest, spurred on by revelations from new aerial-magnetic surveys, coupled with the threat of international sanctions against South Africa.

The Petro-Canada International Assistance Corporation, late last year signed an agreement with the Botswana government to fund oil exploration projects in the Kalahari Desert at a cost of about R18 million.

Oil exploration in Botswana has two objectives: to strengthen regional development and to lessen the economic dependence
SADCC on US visit

MAPUTO — Businessmen from five African countries are planning to visit the United States and Canada next week to encourage investment in southern Africa, the AIM news agency reports.

Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Malawi and Botswana are represented in the group, which will make contacts with the American business community and meet US Congressmen.

On the agenda in the United States is the question of freezing up $95 million that had been earmarked for Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) projects but which have been blocked by Congress.

The SADCC is made up of black-rulled nations co-operating to find ways of lessening their dependence on South Africa. — Sapa-AP
South Africa unlikely to be on itinerary

Thatcher may visit

Frontline states

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Speculation is growing that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher will visit the Frontline states next year in an effort to gain support for her anti-sanctions line on South Africa.

Downing Street has confirmed that it is "possible" that she will visit the countries bordering South Africa but denied that such a tour is in the planning stage.

A spokesman also denied that Mrs Thatcher would visit Mozambique, a key player in the southern African power game.

The speculation followed hard on yesterday's announcement that Mrs Thatcher had accepted an invitation from Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi to visit his country during the Christmas recess.

Observers in London believe that she will take the opportunity to include Zimbabwe, and Zambia, and possibly Botswana, on her itinerary.

If so, she will almost certainly use the visit to press home her belief that sanctions will only push South Africa deeper into the laager.

She will also try to re-establish Britain's position as mother of the Commonwealth — a role severely eroded by her failure to back sanctions at the Vancouver Commonwealth summit.

It will bring her face-to-face with some of her harshest critics on their home ground but it is thought she will gamble on appealing directly to the citizens to push her policy home.

Just last year she was accused by President Kenneth Kaunda of "worshipping" South Africa's mineral wealth and of "kissing apartheid" by refusing to take positive action against it.

Mrs Thatcher has made only one brief visit to the region, shortly after becoming Prime Minister, when a Commonwealth summit was held in Zambia.

But, despite her desire to consolidate Britain's policy on South Africa, it is considered highly unlikely that she will follow in the footsteps of Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and make a semi-official or even an unofficial "private" visit to the country.
Thatcher to visit frontline states

Daily Dispatch Correspondent
LONDON — The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, is to take her crusade against sanctions to black Africa in a visit to the frontline states in the new year.

It is thought her itinerary will include Zimbabwe, Zambia and possibly Botswana.

She might also visit Tanzania and Kenya but, while details of the trip are not complete, a visit to Mozambique is not yet on the agenda.

She is also not expected to stop over in South Africa.

Downing Street officials have confirmed that Mrs Thatcher has accepted an invitation from the President of Kenya, Mr Daniel Arap Moi, to visit his country in the Christmas recess.

Mrs Thatcher will use the tour of South Africa’s neighbours, planned for January, to press home her belief that economic sanctions will only strengthen the resolve of the South African Government.

The visit is also designed as an attempt to restore Britain’s influence in the Commonwealth, which has been seriously undermined by the increasingly bitter sanctions wrangle which has left Mrs Thatcher isolated.

She believes that an appeal “over the heads” of local politicians, directly to their citizens will help get the message home.

Mrs Thatcher will be confronting some of her most vitriolic critics, who clashed with her last week over Britain’s opposition to full-blooded economic measures against Pretoria.

Last year she was accused by the President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, of “worshipping platinum and gold” and of “kissing apartheid” because of her refusal to introduce stiff sanctions against South Africa.

Her journey is certain to provoke controversy, but she is determined to emphasise Britain’s record of aid to the frontline states and, to give her backing to British companies which have invested there.

A tour of Southern Africa has been on her agenda for a number of years but previous attempts have foundered on domestic crises or international upheavals.

Mrs Thatcher is thought to want to meet relief workers in a famine-striken area — and this could lead to suggestions that she should take the opportunity to visit Mozambique whose Marxist regime is known to favour closer links with the Commonwealth.

She will repeat her message to black leaders that positive help from Britain to reduce their dependence on South Africa, will do more to raise living standards and break down apartheid than a mutually damaging sanctions campaign.
Nkomati optimism has gone, says prof

Pretoria Bureau

The optimism raised by the Nkomati Accord had evaporated and South Africa and most of its neighbours were now locked in "rhetorical exchanges which are exacerbated by the sanctions issue", Professor Gavin Maasdorp, director of the Natal University economic research unit, told the SA Institute of International Affairs conference yesterday.

"It would be economic suicide for the Frontline states to impose sanctions and seal borders, and they know it," said Professor Maasdorp.

The transport programme of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was in fact seeking to restore the colonial transport patterns disrupted in the post-colonial period by insurgent activity, infrastructural deficiencies and inefficiency.

Developments were that some routes used by the countries affected were functioning more reliably and they had received offers of support to improve this situation.

"Within a few years the countries to the north might feel less dependent on the southern network, but in the meantime they rely heavily on South Africa," he said.

"These countries fear that Pretoria might take the initiative and seal the borders, but such steps would be out of keeping with South Africa's longstanding antipathy to boycotts and sanctions," he said.

On the question of South Africa's so-called destabilisation of the region, Professor Maasdorp said "the issue has become so emotional that facts hardly count."
When Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock spoke in Switzerland on his way home from the International Monetary Fund's annual meeting, he raised a question that sanctions at this month's Commonwealth Summit in Vancouver ought to have had in mind. It seems even to have escaped the advocates of the Thatcher plan to uplift sub-Saharan Africa.

If an economic war is waged on SA, how can its struggling neighbours, especially those impoverished ones to the north, possibly progress? The answer, of course, is that they will not, despite the additional charity that the British and others plan to parcel out.

"Bringing sub-Saharan Africa to its feet is not compatible with bringing the South African economy to its knees," De Kock told the Swiss-South African Association in Zurich.

As De Kock correctly notes, SA provides the economic lifeblood for the region:

☐ A web of roads and railways connects the subcontinent with SA's ports and financial centres;
☐ SA's investments in Africa — which totalled more than R8,4 billion at the end of 1985 — have helped develop mining, agriculture and manufacturing industries;
☐ Last year, SA supplied 42% of Swaziland's electricity, 37% of Botswana's and all of Lesotho's;
☐ Some 380,000 registered guest workers from neighbouring states were employed in SA last year, with perhaps three times more than that here illegally; and
☐ About 7,5% of SA's exports last year were to African countries, SA's fastest-growing market.

"The answer to many of the problems of sub-Saharan Africa," says De Kock, "lies in increased economic cooperation between SA and the other countries in the region and, more specifically, in the locomotive power that can come from foreign and domestic private enterprises operating in a market-oriented environment."

That wisdom, unfortunately, was in short supply when southern Africa was discussed at the Commonwealth Summit. The eventual Commonwealth solution — continued, although muted, sanctions on SA and massive foreign aid for SA's neighbours — is self-defeating and futile.

Not only is the belief that there can be reasonable prosperity in sub-Saharan Africa while excluding SA incorrect, foreign aid itself is a tried-and-failed solution that has boosted the power of often dubious — and certainly incompetent — governments and distorted markets the world over. It is no substitute for economic growth, which in turn requires a dismantling of restrictive practices.

Foreign aid in southern Africa bankrolls undemocratic governments that impoverish their countries with over-valued currencies, price controls, nationalised industries and trade restrictions — and all of that while encouraging a population explosion.

The Commonwealth solution for the tragedy of sub-Saharan Africa will not work — simply because it does not give sufficient weight to resuscitating free enterprise. Unleash trade with SA and the resulting wealth will make it easier for this recalcitrant country to move towards democratic rule and speed up the process of reform that the capital boycott and trade sanctions have stultified. Unleash capitalism in SA's neighbours, and the chances are that in a very short time these countries will at least be able to feed themselves.

Greater economic interdependence that transcends political differences will at best transform southern Africa into substantial prosperity and at worst save many millions from starvation.
WASHINGTON — Seven countries of the nine-member Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (Sadc) economic group were in September forced to denounce violence inside South Africa, before a supplementary United States aid package totalling $150 million ($200 million) could be released, the national news agency of Zimbabwe, Ziana, reports.

US government officials, familiar with the case yesterday confirmed the deal which involved the state department ensuring that the Sadc countries satisfied certain requirements under which the money for various economic projects could be disbursed.

Speaking on the condition of anonymity, one official said the Sadc countries had to meet a September 14 deadline to enable the aid package to be released before September 30, which marks the end of the US Government financial year.

The countries had to denounce "necklacing" in South Africa as a pre-condition to get American financial assistance under the supplementary appropriations/southern Africa aid law approved by the US Congress in May.

Only Zimbabwe and Angola did not meet the requirements of the law introduced by conservative Republican Senator Larry Pressler to deny aid to southern African countries that failed to denounce "necklacing" — a form of violence among South African blacks in which suspected Government collaborators are killed by putting petrol-filled tyres around their necks and setting them on fire.

Approved by Senate

The law was approved in the US Senate by 77 votes to 19.

Angola failed to satisfy the requirements because it has no diplomatic relations with the United States.

The official said: "In the case of Zimbabwe the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, does not allow his country to be mentioned in this list as a means of expressing his opposition in principle to the implication that South Africa's neighbours cause the violence.

"I don't think, in any way, that Zimbabwe practices, or condones necklacing."

According to the official, the seven countries — Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland had to certify, through American embassies in those countries, that they had not advocated necklacing, give assurances that they had "taken action against any person who has been found to have practised necklacing" and are not knowingly allowing "terrorists" who practice necklacing to operate in their territories.

Asked whether the aid would have been disbursed if all the nine countries had refused to give assurances, the official replied, "I don't want to speculate. It's behind us. What is past is past. Let's just move forward."

Commenting on how this would affect Zimbabwe, the official said it would not be affected since there was no US bilateral assistance to Zimbabwe. "Zimbabwe was not going to be eligible for assistance under this action anyway."

States had to denounce violence in South Africa
Zimbabwe’s reliance on South African railways will end in 1986 if the front line states can defeat current attempts by the Mozambique resistance movement to halt the creation of a new “Maputo corridor”.

Since August, heavily-guarded crews from the national railways of Zimbabwe have been quietly at work on the first 20 km of track snaking south-eastward through the flat, featureless bush of Mozambique from the border post of Chincalacuca (formerly Malvernia), tarring up rotten wooden sleepers and twisted metal rails, and replacing them with modern permanent way.

But to complete the full 600 km stretch through rebel-infested territory to Maputo’s under-utilised water harbour calls for the deployment of a 10,000-man corps of guards. Zimbabwe, with up to 11,000 troops already deployed in the 900 km Beira corridor, has made clear that it cannot itself provide that level of extra manpower for the “Chincalacuca-Maputo corridor”.

Sources here say the Mozambicans are calling in British help to train and muster what amounts to an additional “special force” to prevent a repetition of the wave of sabotage which in August 1984 forced the line to close.

Until then, it carried 180,000 tons of 75 per cent of all Zimbabwe’s imports and, exports, making the Maputo line “a feasible idea for South Africa a definite idea. Today, despite crash rehabilitation of the Beira corridor, 80 per cent of Zimbabwean trade is carried by the Sats.”

“The Beira and Limpopo corridors could, at maximum efficiency, handle all of Zimbabwe’s goods and a fair proportion of the rest of the region’s,” commented one Zimbabwean commercial economist.

Military attaches in Zimbabwe’s diplomatic community believe the 500 km line to Maputo is potentially far more easily defendable against Renamo attack than the similarly tracted stretch between the Zimbabwe-Beira border of Mutare and Beira. There, dense coastal forest and a cowed civilian population help the rebels.

For much of the length the Maputo line lies only a night’s march from South African territory—but the flat terrain and low, scrubby bush offers minimal cover to insurgents, and the civilian population is sparse. Lack of surface water through much of the year also gives the defenders an advantage.

“It’s certain the line will be attacked, but once the track is re-embanked it’s an easy matter to repair it in a few hours. It’s a gamble we have to take,” said a British diplomat in Harare, referring to his government’s commitment of $48.6 million to the project.

Until recently, London regarded rehabilitation of the Maputo line as “money down the Limpopo drain” in “view of the rebel threat”.

In line with resolutions passed at the Vancouver Commonwealth summit, the Canadians are also investing near $40 million.

Further major aid is expected, prompted by Mozambique’s dramatic “swing to the west” since its disastrous 1975-80 flirtation with rigid Marxism.

Shipping experts believe Maputo could, at peak efficiency, handle some 12 million tonnes of cargo a year. Zimbabwe’s current volumes run at some six million, leaving a handy margin for Zambian, Botswanan, Zairian and Malawian consignments. When the sluggish water port of Beira is completely back on its feet in 1990 it is expected to be able to handle over a million tonnes a year.

A top economist with the Southern African Development Co-operation Conference (Sadcc) said in Harare last week that: “for Zimbabwe, African ‘destabilisation’ of the region’s five major seaports would be capable of handling more than twice the world trade of all South Africa’s black neighbours, plus Zaire.”

Mr Emang Mapanyane, Prime Minister of Swaziland, one of the leading experts in the Sadcc secretariat in Gaborone, said that five ports—Maputo, Beira, Nacala, Dar es Salaam and Lobito—had a rated annual capacity of 26 million tonnes, while the total imports and exports of the nine Sadcc member states plus Zaire amounted to only 10 million tonnes.

Mr Mapanyane told a seminar on transport problems organised by the Zimbabwe national chambers of commerce that in 1975 more than 90 per cent of Rhodesia’s illicit world trade went through Beira and Maputo, but only ten years later the situation was revolutionised by “destabilisation”, so 98 per cent of Zimbabwean trade, plus 64 per cent of Malawian trade had to be routed through the Sadcc states.

Mr Mapanyane said security of all the corridors pre-occupied all Sadcc states.

“Most of these transport systems are at present not capable of providing regular commercial services for international traffic because of deterioration in the physical infrastructure, sabotage and other security problems, and sometimes because of inadequate management and maintenance capabilities,” he said. “Benguela, Malawi-Nacala, Malawi-Swaziland and Zimbabwe-Maputo are today largely closed to international traffic for these reasons.”

The general manager of the national railways of Zimbabwe, Mr John Avery, warned the seminar that its infrastructure was “beginning to crack as a result of chronic foreign currency shortages. Instead of the $26 million it requested in the last 1988 quota period and the first one of 1989, the Bank allocated it $5.1 million.”

It needed at least $5.6 million a year to repair its track and service its locomotives and rolling stock, 50 per cent of which it derived from action.

Zimbabwe recently signed a lease agreement for ten South African locomotives.
Time to discuss
SADF's role in sub-continent

The loss in action of 10 South African service-
mens beyond our borders in Angola, which was
disclosed to the public this week, has raised ur-
gen questions about our interventionist military
role in the sub-continent.

While public opinion has tended to accept that
General Magnus Malan and his advisers know
what they are about in their strikes across our
borders, clandestine or otherwise.

The tax-paying public has been happy enough
to cough up huge sums for the defence budget
year after year, having been persuaded that
there is a "total onslaught" to be repelled
and the menace of communist expansionism to
be kept at bay.

But there are other
perspectives — and
there are signs that the
whole issue of regional
defence strategy is be-
coming ripe for public
debate. Some would ar-
gue that the real priority
is a political settlement
at home.

The recent military
losses were apparently
incurred in operations
against SWAPO, which,
operating from Angolan
bases, maintains an in-
creasingly fitful and spor-
adic guerrilla insurgency
against South African
rule in Namibia, which
the Republic agreed to
relinquish in Mr. John
Vorster's time nearly a
decade ago.

So what is South
Africa doing in Nami-
bia? Why has it been
dragged, our hell, into
this fight?

There is also a ques-
tion to be asked about
the SADF. It is now so di-
rectly involved beyond
our borders in the An-
golan civil war — on the
side of De Savianni's UD
rebelas, as well as
backing UNITA with sup-
plies and armaments.

MNRE rebels

South African assistance has transformed
UNITA into a military
threat to Luanda of an
order which has prom-
ised the MPLA govern-
ment to call for and re-
serve in his early career.
...assistance in expertise and sophisticated weaponry. Then there is also the clandestine assistance which we have given to the Renamo (MNR) rebels who are laying waste Mozambique on the other side of the continent and cutting off Zimbabwe from its outlets to the sea, while carrying out massacres of innocent civilians on a scale which must give pause to even the most callous of observers.

Yet General Malan does not agree that we are "destabilizing" these countries. He tells us that it is the Soviet Union that is destabilizing the sub-continent. Many, perhaps a majority of white South Africans are still inclined to accept this.

There are other views, however. Some analysts in the West, such as Dr Chester Crocker, take the view that it is precisely South Africa's aggressive military posture in the region which is drawing the Soviet Union into the sub-continent. Mr Gorbachev would much rather use his resources more productively, at home, and has a common interest with the West in maintaining the stability of the region.

**Delaying**

If it was not for South Africa's role in keeping UNITA's insurgency on the boil, we may conclude, Luanda would have been able to scale down its praetorian guard of Cuban protectors long ago or may even have been able to dispense with them entirely.

South Africa, as part of its delaying tactics, has made a Namibian settlement conditional on the withdrawal of the Cubans. At the same time it is able to ensure the Cubans remain by continuing and increasing aid to UNITA.

What ultimate goal is the SADF trying to achieve? With the limited information available to us it is not easy to form a balanced judgment.

Yet occasional flashes of illuminating information penetrate the fog of evasion and disinformation, as when the intern...
Unfortunate increase in contacts between SA and SADCC countries

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Trade contacts between countries of the Southern African Development Co-operation Conference (SADCC) and South Africa have increased since the SADCC was formed in 1980, a University of Zambia lecturer has said.

Dr Yona Seleti, told a meeting of the Economics Association that, although overall performance of the SADCC had been good, trade contacts had increased from about 50 percent to 80 percent.

He said this "unfortunate trend" was a result of the lack of strategy in the SADCC on how to deal with South Africa, and the successful measures taken by South Africa to counteract the activities of the organisation.

The SADCC was formed with the specific object of reducing dependence on South Africa.

Dr Seleti said South Africa had been able to derail most of the SADCC's programmes through intensified selective destabilisation against certain areas, incentives to vulnerable countries and economic sabotage against countries bordering it.

South Africa has persistently denied any involvement in acts of destabilisation against neighbouring countries.

Dr Seleti also criticised the SADCC's over-reliance on foreign capital, saying this policy only served to further entrench the region's dependence.

He said if the SADCC was to achieve its goals, focus should be placed on the mobilisation of local businessmen as a major source of capital in the implementation of the regional projects.
SA's 'illegal entry' into Angola condemned

HARARE — Leaders of the six Frontline states today condemned last week's "illegal entry" into Angola by the South African President, Mr F W Botha, Ziana, the Zimbabwe national news agency, reported.

The Frontline leaders said Mr Botha's action demonstrated South Africa's deep involvement in the war in Angola.

In a communiqué released at the end of their one-day summit in Harare, the leaders claimed Mr Botha's entry into Angola showed the war was not between Fapla and Unita, but a "South African war of invasion and occupation".

"We have noted with grave concern that the illegal and uncalled for entry into Angolan territory by the President of the racist South African regime and some members of his Government is yet another clear demonstration of South Africa's deep involvement in its continued aggression and occupation of parts of Angola."

"It further demonstrates that the war being waged in Angola is not between Fapla and Unita surrogate forces, but a clear war of invasion, aggression, occupation and destabilisation by South Africa, using Unita bandits and other mercenary forces against the sovereign state of Angola."

The leaders denounced "the massive concentration" of South African forces and sophisticated war materials in northern Namibia, along the southern Angolan border.

"They asked the international community to take measures to prevent what they said was an imminent large-scale invasion of Angola, the consequences of which would be disastrous to the "explosive" situation in southern Africa."

The leaders demanded the cessation of all "acts of aggression" against Angola and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops.

"The heads of state and government expressed their unwavering solidarity with the Angolan people and its government and made an appeal to the OAU (Organization of African Unity) member states to mobilise the necessary assistance to Angola to enable the country to resist the Pretoria regime's manoeuvres," said the communiqué.

The leaders said they blamed South Africa for the climate of war in southern Africa and they condemned South Africa's "intensified acts of destabilisation" against Mozambique. — Sapa.

Cubans not used — Kaunda

MAPUTO — Cuban troops were not involved in the recent fighting in southern Angola, the chairman of the Frontline states, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, said yesterday.

In a report from Maputo, the Mozambique News Agency, AIM, said President Kaunda told a summit meeting of the Frontline states that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola had not fallen into the trap of sending Cuban troops to the fighting as desired by the United States who wanted "an excuse to bring other Western forces to join the South African forces" and transform the civil war into an East-West conflict. — The Star's Africa News Service.
Only Eastern bloc likely to heed call

Frontline states urge world to aid Angola

LUSAKA — The Frontline states have called for international support to help Angola defeat a South African invasion.

In practice, diplomats say, such assistance is likely only from the communist bloc which has already committed an estimated 35,000 Cuban troops, an unknown number of Soviet commanders and large quantities of arms and other aid to the Marxist government’s war effort.

Angola’s President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who has been under prolonged Western pressure to get rid of the Cubans, said at the weekend that his country would seek help from anyone who would give it.

This month, South Africa confirmed for the first time that its troops were fighting alongside pro-Western rebels in southern Angola. It said the Unitas rebels would have been wiped out by a Soviet and Cuban-backed government offensive if Pretoria had not gone to their aid.

Leaders of the six Frontline states met in Luanda on Sunday and strongly condemned what they called South Africa’s open war on Angola. They urged the international community to send material and financial support to the Angolan government.

“This is an open war of invasion, aggression, occupation and destabilisation by South Africa,” the heads of state of Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique said in a communique issued after the meeting.

The Luanda meeting focused on the South African incursion in support of Unita.

In their communique, the heads of state called on Organisation of African Unity nations to help Angola to drive back the South African army.

Western and African diplomats in Lusaka questioned whether African countries, many with security problems of their own, would be either able or willing to provide anything more than moral and political support to the beleaguered Angolan government.

They said it was also extremely unlikely that any Western nation would become involved militarily in defending Angola against South Africa and Unita.

“Basically, we are on our own out there on the ground; it is our troops who are doing the fighting,” an Angolan diplomat said in Lusaka yesterday.

Asked about South African claims that its forces had clashed directly with Soviet and Cuban troops, the diplomat said: “You won’t see any Cubans or Soviets fighting there on the ground.”

The Angolan government has not permitted foreign reporters to visit the war zone in the south-eastern province of Cuando Cubango where Unita and the South Africans have fought Soviet and Cuban-backed government forces.

The Cuban troops stationed in Angola and the millions of rands of Soviet military aid it receives each year have been the major obstacles to Angola developing closer ties with the West.

Mr. dos Santos said the South African force in Angola had 3,000 troops backed by armoured vehicles, heavy artillery and air cover.

A further 30,000 South African soldiers, supported by armour and aircraft, were poised on the Namibian border ready to enter Angola, he said.

— Sapa-Reuters.
Frontline states seek world aid for Angola

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Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, under prolonged Western pressure to get rid of the Cubans, declared at the weekend that his country will seek help any place it can get it.

SA has this month confirmed for the first time that its troops are fighting alongside pro-Western Unita rebels.

Leaders of the six Frontline states, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique, meeting in Luanda on Sunday, condemned "SA's open war on Angola".

Western and African diplomats in Lusaka questioned whether African nations would be either able or willing to provide anything more than moral and political support to Angola.

They said it was also extremely unlikely that any Western nation would get involved militarily in defending Angola against SA and Unita, which receives military aid from the US.

The 35,000 Cuban troops in Angola and the Soviet military aid it received have been the major obstacle to Angola developing closer ties with the West.

Dos Santos said the South African force in Angola had 3,000 troops backed by armoured vehicles, heavy artillery and air cover, with a further 50,000 waiting in Namibia. — Sapa-Reuters
bon, Luanda has agreed to the setting up of an international company with an operating concession on the railway — the Caminhos de Ferro de Benguela (CFB).

In exchange, Angola, presently owning 10% of the company, will get total control over the line. The deal has broken a seven-month deadlock — the Angolans have consistently opposed the idea of turning the CFB into an internationally-controlled operating company.

Compromise

CFB’s majority shareholders, Societe Generale Belge (SGB) — with a 90% stake through a subsidiary company — proposed the new arrangement in response to an attempt by Luanda to take over a majority shareholding in the CFB. The Angolans had proposed dividing up the remainder of the shares with the national railways of Zaire and Zambia.

Diplomats in Lisbon say Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos personally agreed to the compromise, during a meeting in Brussels in September with SGB governor Rene Lamy, and Viscount d’Avignon, the administrator of the CFB multinational.

The capital of the new company will be divided between Angola, Zaire, Zambia, SGB and financial groups involved in fixing up the railway — a prime target in the past decade for sabotage by Unita guerrillas. Getting the line back to work, which involves restoration of the track, bridges and tunnels and the repair of rolling stock, is scheduled to cost some US$300m.

Luanda, however, seeks to incorporate the rehabilitation of the line into a wider project known as the Lobito Corridor Project, involving further investments to improve ports, roads, transport and coastal shipping firms, and raising the estimated cost of the overall project to US$600m.

The European Community and other western institutions are potential financiers. The Lobito Corridor Project is due to take 10 years. The first phase, designated an emergency, is designed to get the CFB open to international traffic. Transport experts calculate this will take until 1989, as long as there are no unforeseen hold-ups and if security does not become a problem. Intelligence sources claim that Luanda has military plans (including the relocation of people) to diminish the vulnerability of the 1,200 km line.

In 1978 Luanda established an independent military force to safeguard the line. It was known as the Iron Plan, initially commanded by a Captain Kiamuxinda and later by a Lt-Col Margoso. The plan hinged on reinforcing highly mobile brigades in Lobito, Longonjo and Luena. With air cover they provided escorts for trains and protection against guerrillas along the line.

It was abandoned in 1984, after proving less than successful. No details are available of Luanda’s latest security efforts, but most observers are sceptical that a purely military strategy can secure the line.

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**BENGUELA LINE**

**New management**

Legal and financial obstacles to getting trains running on the Benguela railway line appear to have been overcome, in a recent compromise between the Angolan government and foreign shareholders in the line’s operating company. According to reliable reports reaching Lis-
Interview Angolan govt - Chikane

By SELLO SERIBE

The South African media should make an effort to get interviews with Angolan government officials, rather than accepting what UNITA's Dr Jonas Santimil and SA government officials are offering them on the territory's affairs. This submission was made by the SA Council of Churches' general-secretary, Rev Frank Chikane, at a Press conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

Chikane, who returned to the country recently from visiting Angola, the US, Belgium, West Germany and East Berlin, said what was reported in newspapers was inadequate information supplied either by UNITA or the SA-government.

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SA death toll in Angola climbs to 23

By REVELATION NTOMLA

The death toll of members of the South African Defence Force killed in recent fighting in Angola now stands at 23.

Defence Force headquarters in Pretoria announced early this week that two more soldiers had died in clashes with the Angolan army.

They were Corporal Jacobus van Heerden (20), of Bethal, and Lance Corporal Johannes Jacobs (24), of Randburg.

Both were fatally wounded in the same action in Angola's Cuando-Cubango province, an SADF spokesman announced.

The issues of the SADF and South West Territorial Defence Force are believed to be the biggest in a single clash with the Angolan forces, said to be backed by Cuban and Russian troops.

South Africa has claimed that about 250 Angolans, Cubans and Russians were killed in the skirmish, while Luanda claimed to have killed the same number of South African and Angolan forces.

The SADF aircraft, according to Pretoria, has been flying combat, intelligence-reconnaissance and other missions in Luanda, which Angola is trying to overrun.

Further major battles between South Africa and Angolan troops were "un-likely," according to sources close to the government.

From Luanda, however, Angolan's Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Franca dos Santos, the head of UNITA's army, was preparing for further major battles with the SADF in the next few weeks.
The unbreakable bonds that tie them to SA

By KEN VERNON of The Argus Africa News Service

The call for economic, social and political sanctions against South Africa has been most shrilly voiced from some of the country's closest neighbours, but a new study has thrown some light on why the rhetoric has not been matched by any significant action.

An article in the bulletin of the Africa Institute by Erich Leisner, director of the Institute, has detailed for the first time the comprehensive dimensions of the interdependence between the countries of Southern Africa.

Interwined

He shows that all the countries in the region commonly called Southern Africa - South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola and Mozambique - are inextricably linked by an intertwined network of commercial, financial, technical, social and political bonds that are impossible to break, no matter what political desire there may be to do so.

These spheres of interaction include:

- Transport: South African railways and ports handle about 90 percent of Zimbabwe's exports and imports - a figure that could perhaps be challenged with the recent reoccupation of the Beira corridor road, rail and oil pipeline, while the figures are about 45 percent for Zambia and Malawi, with lesser figures for the other countries.

- Sats annually move approximately 6 million tonnes of goods, which generate R300 million in fees for Sats.

- Yet this figure is only around 3 percent of Sats income, making it possible for Sats to cut off the trade at a moment's notice without incurring any real damage to itself - a powerful political weapon that neighbouring countries are desperately trying to counter by finding alternative routes.

- Rail network

At the same time about 50 Sats locomotives and 7 000 units of rolling stock enable the rail networks of neighbouring countries to continue to function.

- South African Airways also maintain and repair the aircraft of Mozambique, Mauritius, Swaziland, Comoros Islands and Zimbabwe, as well as aiding in the training of pilots and administrative staff for these countries.

- Trade: In 1980 nine Southern African states, including Tanzania which is not really a part of the region, formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to reduce their trade links with South Africa and foster intra-SADCC trade.

- In spite of this move each of the SADCC countries (with the exception of Tanzania) still has more trade with South Africa than with all its SADCC partners combined.

- What makes this trade even more important is that it consists mostly of the supply from South Africa of essential items such as maize, agricultural and mining machinery, veterinary supplies and fertiliser.

- Every year South Africa exports between 500 000 and 750 000 tonnes to Africa. It also exports between 100 000 and 200 000 tonnes of wheat as well as millions of rands worth of processed foods.

- In addition, South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland are joined in the Southern African Customs Union, imposing common tariffs on all imports.

- Income from the union, which is biased against South Africa, provides at present approximately 25 percent of government revenue in Botswana, 65 percent for Lesotho and 80 percent for Swaziland, effectively making it impossible for these countries to even think of imposing sanctions against South Africa.

- Petroleum: At present South Africa supplies 100 percent of the petroleum product needs of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland and about 95 percent of the needs of Malawi, while Southern Zaire receives 75 percent of its oil requirements from South Africa.

- Labour Market: South Africa provides employment to an estimated 400 000 legally recognised workers from neighbouring countries, as well as to an estimated 1 million illegal work seekers.

Income

The wage remittances of the legal workers are an important part of national income to the workers country's, providing nearly 50 percent of Lesotho's GNP in 1980, and a third of Mozambique's foreign exchange earnings in 1980.

- Technical Services: South African technology and technicians are to be found throughout Southern Africa, while research done in South Africa in veterinary science, medicine, agriculture and engineering usually hold far more relevance to the rest of Africa than similar work done overseas because it is far better suited to African conditions.

- Millions of doses of animal vaccines against 42 animal diseases are sent to neighbouring countries every year, as well as supplies of doses, insecticides, fertilisers and other veterinary products, without which much of Southern Africa's agricultural industry would be crippled.
Kaunda: Angola right to refuse talks

LUSAKA. — The Zambian President and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) chairman, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, said yesterday that Angola was right to refuse to talk peace with South African-backed rebels.

He was asked whether he foresaw a military or negotiated solution to the 12-year-old war between the Marxist Angolan government and the right-wing National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels.

"How can we begin to talk of peace when, with that talk of peace, we would encourage other dissidents to rise up?" Dr. Kaunda said.

He called for international support, including military aid for the Angolan government whose forces have been battling Unita, which is being backed by South Africa.

Dr. Kaunda said the example of the Unita rebels, whom he called "bandits", could encourage other South African-backed dissident groups to threaten governments in the region, including his own.

The Unita leader, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, has offered to negotiate with the Soviet and Cuban-backed Angolan government. He appealed earlier this month to Kenya, Nigeria and other African nations to help find an "African solution" to the conflict in Angola.

Luanda refuses to negotiate with the rebels.

Dr. Kaunda, who is also chairman of the "frontline" states, condemned South Africa and the US for their support of Unita, which has fought to topple the government since Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975.

He said South Africa had already backed a dissident group in Zambia which had been led by a rebel gunner, Adamson Mnushala, who was killed by government troops in a gun battle in 1982.

He accused South Africa of currently training and arming other dissidents and of infiltrating them into Zambia. At least six of these had been caught and were being interrogated, he said.

Dr. Kaunda, who was leaving for a visit to the Soviet Union, said he would be discussing the question of apartheid with the Kremlin leadership. — Sapa-RNS.
Rail link forges friendship for Malawi, Mozambique

JOHN MORRISON of Reuters reports. DateLine: BLANTYRE

LANDLO CKED Malawi, caught in a transport squeeze which is threatening its economy, is drawing closer to its Marxist neighbour Mozambique in an effort to protect its access to the sea.

With Britain helping behind the scenes, signs have multiplied of a closer relationship between the two governments after years of suspicion and hostility, diplomats say.

Mozambique has now stopped publicly accusing Malawi of letting its territory be used as a base by Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) rebels.

Capitalist

And Malawi has quietly deployed one fifth of its 5,000-man army in Mozambique to help defend its rail link to the Indian Ocean port of Nacala against MNR attack.

"Nacala is vital for both Mozambique and Malawi," said British Foreign Office Minister Lynda Chalker after meetings last week with the leaders of both countries intended to nudge them into a closer relationship.

Malawi, conservative and capitalist, is the only black African country with an embassy in Pretoria, and is not part of the six-nation Organi-

sation of Frontline states opposed to South Africa.

It is, however, an active member of the nine-nation Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which works to reduce the region's economic dependence on South Africa.

Mrs Chalker showed obvious relief when Malawi's octogenarian Life President Kamuzu Banda told her that he accepted Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano's apology for the shooting down of a Malawian business charter plane on November 6 with the loss of 10 lives.

Malawians were shocked and angered by the incident, but after issuing a formal protest note decided that business with Mozambique would go ahead as usual.

Big efforts

"I am encouraged by what I have heard," Mrs Chalker told reporters, adding that President Banda was gravely concerned by the continued conflict in Mozambique and wanted to help end it.

Over the past year Malawi has made big efforts to persuade Mozambique that it has no links with the MNR.

"Whereas there was a relationship in the past it has now dwindled almost to nothing," Mrs Chalker said.

She quoted Dr Banda as expressing "tremendous anxiety" about the actions of South Africa and of the Mozambican rebels, whose disruption of transport routes is causing enormous extra costs for Malawi's economy.

With Britain and other donor nations helping to foot the bill, Malawi and Mozambique are trying to get trains moving again on the 615km line to Nacala, completed in 1970 to provide a new route to the sea for Malawi.

With the line out of action and the alternative rail route to Beira also cut by rebels, Malawi has had to ship its exports of tea, sugar and tobacco and its imports of industrial goods either through Durban in South Africa or through Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. Both routes are awkward and around 30 or 40 percent more costly.

Reluctant

Diplomats believe President Banda may at first have been reluctant to commit Malawian troops to Mozambique, but agreed because of the overriding need to reopen the Nacala rail link.

The role played by the Malawian battalion on the line goes unpublished here. When Mrs Chalker announced that Britain would give R2.5-million to buy non-lethal equipment such as radars for the Malawian battalion, the Malawian press did not spell out what the money would be used for.

Malawi Railways executives say that up to now they have run trains only as far as Malema, about 177km into Mozambique, but intend to do the whole trip soon.

"We intend to go to the coast in two weeks time," assistant general manager Steven Mljiga told reporters.
Zulu chief wins R12,000 damages

Frontline must pay

Dr Mngqana Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, was granted damages of R12,000 against the editor and publisher of the magazine Frontline in a judgment handed down by Mr Justice Howard in the Supreme Court in Durban on Friday.

Dr Buthelezi’s action against Mr Denis Buckley, editor of Frontline, and Sign Press (Pty) Limited, owner of the magazine, arose from an article published in Frontline in November last year.

The article, written by English journalist Stephen Robinson, and published in The Spectator, was repeated in Frontline.

The article said: “By contrast, Chief Buthelezi is commonly portrayed as the rogue stooge of Southern Africa, dismissed by Denis Healey after his flying visit as a puppet of Pretoria.”

“Because South Africa is our home and everyone’s cup of tea, he is nauseatingly pompous and self-important.”

The claim to represent the sole non-violent alternative to Marxist revolution is questionable to say the least, and his well drilled impi regiments are among the most thuggish operators in South Africa.

“In a perfect world, or if Africa were like Europe, he would not exist. But the plain fact is that many Zulus — well over a million of them, in fact — go for that sort of thing.”

In his judgment Mr Justice Howard said Dr Buthelezi objected to being described as “nauseatingly pompous and self-important.”

But Mr D Ade Gordon, who appeared for him, did not contend this was actionable. Mr Gordon dismissed it as being the sort of abusive comment public figures such as Dr Buthelezi must be prepared to tolerate.
Released spy tells of stolen SA secrets

By HOWARD BARRELL
in Harare

DETAILS of a major spy case involving allegations of South African details of life's neighbours so sensitive that the government did not want it mentioned even in an in camera court emerged this week for the first time.

One of the accused, Trish Hane, a Zimbabwean citizen, was released last Friday, one week before the end of her nine-month sentence, and quickly and quietly deported to Zimbabwe.

However, in an interview in Harare she told how in 1983 she was part of a three-person spy ring which obtained a trunk-load of top secret documents from the directorate of a special task force. The documents outlined what she says were details of destabilization operations in Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

The others in the ring were her husband Derek Hane, released from prison last year after serving a two-year sentence, and Roland Hunter, still serving a five-year sentence.

Hane, who I have been personal assistant to Colonel Cornelius van Nierkerk, who worked out of a building in Pretoria.

Van Nierkerk headed "Operation Mila", the code-name for the South African programme of support for Mozambican National Resistance which, according to the Zimbabwean government, she added.

"Operation Mila was the model project regarded as effective and cost-effective," she explained. "It was run with the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) in Lesotho, where the operation could be contained."

"It was particularly successful because of the involvement of local guerrillas," she said.

Hane said they had got hold of detailed documents and information laying out:

- The use of a company, known as "Framax Intertrading", which had a structure in an airfield near Johannesb

- The use of R5000 to fit out Renamo leaders in Malawi.

- The payment of money to Renamo leaders in Malawi.

The Defence Act prevents the publication of further details of information gathered by the spy ring.

Much of this information found its way to Mozambican and other security officials in the Frontline states.

Hane said the information had been able to provide to Mozambique in 1983 may well have been a factor in South Africa's decision to sign the Nyasaland Accord with Mozambique a few months later.

The 30-year-old Hane said the severity of the charges against her, three were reduced because top members of South Africa's State Security Council felt they could not risk publishing the highly sensitive documents to court officials, even at an in camera hearing.

Instead, the two had been charged under the Internal Security Act with possession of illicit weapons (with their serial numbers erased) from a huge stock of the weapons kept in boxes in a warehouse near Pretoria.

- Military co-ordinates and dates for drops of arms and supplies to Renamo camps in Mozambique.

- To PAGE 2

The contents of this newspaper are published in terms of the Emergency Regulations 1963
SADCC focuses on women

HARARE - About 40 people from the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries were expected at a five-day workshop on women in development to be held from January 18-22 in Nyanga, about 270 km east of Harare.

Ziana, the national news agency, said people involved in development in the SADCC region would present papers to share their ideas and experiences.
LUSAKA. — The Frontline States were not pushing the African National Congress (ANC) to opt for a negotiated settlement and to abandon the armed struggle, an ANC spokesman has said.

Speculation has been rife recently that the Frontline states could not accommodate a "militant" ANC on their shores since they found the burden of protecting their territories from continued SA attacks too onerous.

This speculation followed a statement issued by the ANC in Lusaka recently that it was prepared for negotiations with Pretoria.

These conditions were:

- Apartheid be dismantled,
- the State of Emergency be lifted,
- the South African Defence Force (SADF) leave the townships,
- all political prisoners be released unconditionally and all political exiles be guaranteed a safe return to the land of their birth.

According to Victor Moche, the organisation had merely restated its old position that it would negotiate subject to certain conditions.

As long as the system of apartheid existed, the Frontline States would also be exposed to the effects of apartheid — with or without the ANC doing anything in South Africa.

"The majority of the Frontline States would like to see apartheid done away with as soon as possible. At the same time they are aware that Pretoria seems to be intent on carrying on the way it is, right to the bitter end."

Therefore the Frontline States would continue to give moral support to the ANC, the spokesman said. — ANO

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COMPUTER & SECRETARIAL COURSES

• COMPUTER TRAINING from scratch
PW offers pact to neighbours

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA was in favour of a regional conference to negotiate a pact which would ensure that countries in the region did not allow their territories to be used for the training and operation of guerillas, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking he said South Africa wanted a guaranteed peace contract with neighbouring states that they would not allow their countries to be used for the training of terrorists.

"We are for better and closer discussions of mutual interests in Southern Africa," he said at talks with Bavarian Prime Minister Mr Franz Josef Strauss.

Asked to comment on the chances of a meeting between Mozambique and SA, Mr Botha said every visit by a "reasonable leader" from the West could contribute to the idea.

Mr Strauss met President Botha for a second time yesterday with details of his talks with Mozambican President Mr Joaquim Chissano.

Mr Strauss said he had come to Southern Africa at the request of West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl.

Mr Strauss said he had discussed the problems in Mozambican-South African relations, including economic problems and the MNR rebels.

- Soviets 'want peace not victory'
Minister invited to speak at conference

Frontline states, UK patch up fight

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain and the Frontline states are starting to patch up their relationship this week — three months after a damaging public dispute at the Commonwealth heads of government conference in Vancouver.

An olive branch has been extended in the form of an invitation to Mr Christopher Patten, UK Minister for Overseas Development, to give the keynote address at a conference of the Frontline states in Arusha, Tanzania, tomorrow.

It is the first time a British minister has been invited to speak at the annual conference of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) on behalf of the donor countries.

He is expected to express his revulsion at apartheid and emphasise that differences over sanctions against South Africa are "genuine and honourable".

Although Mr Patten will not refer directly to the Vancouver row, this will be taken as an effort to smooth over accusations by Zimbabwe and Zambia that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher had hidden motives for rejecting mandatory comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Patten will say that disagreement over the best way of getting rid of apartheid should not distract attention from the joint aim of increasing the economic independence of the nine conference nations.

In a second speech, on Friday, he will announce an increase in Britain's aid to SADCC, which now stands at R122.5 million and is used mainly to pay for repairs to war-damaged railway lines across Mozambique. The aid is in addition to more than R3.6 billion given bilaterally to the nine nations since 1980.

Mr Patten will also announce that Britain is ready to put up one third of the R55 million Commonwealth Fund for Mozambique, which the Vancouver meeting decided to set up.

Britain's credibility on its opposition to sanctions has also received a boost from announcements that it is to spend more than R73 million on education for black South Africans.

Mr Patten will trip lightly around the underlying aim of British policy, which is to enable the Frontline states to export their goods without using South Africa's railways and ports.

But his view is that Britain's sincerity is beginning to be believed. "I think people recognise that we have put our money where our mouth is when it comes to talking about the importance of helping peaceful development and change in southern Africa."

‘Increasing pressure’ call by Strauss from UK

LONDON — The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and West German Chancellor, Mr Helmut Kohl, were each increasing pressure on South Africa to give up its policy of destabilizing Mozambique, the London Guardian reported yesterday.

The Guardian said Mrs Thatcher had sent a letter to President P.W. Botha, urging him to "heed the strength of feeling not only about apartheid in South Africa, but also about the perilous security situation in Mozambique, which is seen to have been provoked by Pretoria's deliberate efforts to destabilize its northern neighbour".

However, the Guardian referred to the visit of Mr Franz Josef Strauss, as "an unguided missile whose target was unclear" — Saps.

JOHANNESBURG — The Prime Minister of Bavaria, Mr Franz Josef Strauss, last night proposed an international peace conference for Southern Africa.

His call echoed that of President P.W. Botha earlier this week when he said he would like a regional conference of Southern African states and interested powers.

At a reception in Pretoria hosted by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, Mr Strauss called for an international Southern African congress which all the powers will attend.

He said it was senseless to exchange opinions by interviews and hostile statements. Political leaders should "sit together and give South Africa a chance to explain its problems. This would be a democratic way of assessing Southern African problems."

Mr Strauss also made a scathing attack on supporters of economic sanctions against South Africa. He warned sanctions would not lead to equal rights or an end to apartheid. It would take 15 to 20 years to rebuild the South African economy after sanctions.

Meanwhile, concern was growing yesterday that the Strauss visit may backfire unless he could gain some positive assurance on reform from the government, or even some positive sign concerning political prisoners.

Attempts to set up meetings with left-of-centre black leaders had come to nothing by late yesterday, provoking fears that his visit would be lambasted as an exercise in moral support for the Botha government. — tt, 1978
Hayden pledges $100m in aid

CANBERRA — The Australian Foreign Minister, Mr Bill Hayden, will pledge $100 million in aid for states close to South Africa during a tour starting on Friday, government officials said yesterday.

The Australian government, a constant critic of South Africa's apartheid system, recently described it as "a horror, a crime."

Mr Hayden will pledge the aid, to be spent over the next three years mainly on development projects, at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Committee meeting in Lusaka on February 1 and 2.

Australia had budgeted $35-million in aid to southern Africa, but is increasing this to $100 million under its policy of allocating 0.038 per cent of its Gross National Product to foreign aid.

Mr Hayden's 11-nation, 26-day tour will start with the African states of Mauritius, Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Kenya.

He then goes on to for talks, mostly on trade, in the Middle East which took $1.2-billion in Australian exports in 1986/87. — Sapa-RNS
In Lusaka next week, a new Commonwealth push on SA

CANADIAN External Affairs Minister Joe Clark is spearheading a new initiative on Southern Africa which gets under way in Lusaka, Zambia, next week.

Clark is chairman of a committee of eight foreign ministers, whose first meeting will be opened on Monday by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

The eight were nominated by the Commonwealth heads of government at their summit in Vancouver last October. They are to further the action programme agreed by the leaders during their retreat in the British Columbia resort of Okanagan.

Clark hopes this will be the first of three such meetings this year to establish a comprehensive approach to the South African conflict, on which for the last year or so there has been little international movement.

The ultimate object is to get back to a point where a dialogue can be achieved between all the parties involved: the South African government, political movements such as the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and Inkatha, and whites of all viewpoints.

The formula for dialogue was set out nearly two years ago in the report of the Eminent Persons Group, which is still the only working document on the table acceptable to most factions involved, except the South African government itself. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has recently been referring in speeches to the importance of the negotiating concept put forward in the report.

Nineteen countries are involved: Australia, Canada, India, Guyana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The eight are putting a review of sanctions high on their priority list, in particular an examination of South African destabilisation, such as the invasion of Angola, support for the Renamo rebels in Mozambique and recent bomb attacks in Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In Vancouver, the Commonwealth set up a special fund to provide technical assistance to Mozambique. In Lusaka, Australia will join Canada, Britain and New Zealand in pledging a contribution. Australian foreign minister Bill Hayden and Commonwealth secretary-general Shridath Ramphal visited Mozambique en route to Lusaka to discuss the country's needs.

Another top item on the agenda is the problem of how to counter South African propaganda and the effects of apartheid.

The group will also discuss the British decision to stay outside the committee. Although they are unlikely at this stage to invite Britain to rejoin them — the committee was formed in Vancouver with Britain as a member — they may well try in the coming months to get Sir Geoffrey Howe, the foreign and Commonwealth secretary, back in.

They recognise the Commonwealth can only get so far on the South African situation without Britain, whose economic and political role is crucial. Furthermore, it is thought Howe does not agree with Thatcher's decision to leave the committee.

The foreign ministers will emphasise that, except for the passage of sanctions, Britain fully supports all the other parts of the Okangan plan of action.

In the coming months, the other Commonwealth countries will do all they can to liaise with other countries of Europe and the United States to secure a wider application of the list of sanctions to which they are all committed. And in the United Nations, they will keep up the pressure by continuing to call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

At the same time, they will try to explore every avenue towards establishing a dialogue and get back to the promising position the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group achieved in 1986. — Gemini News
Billion dollars of new aid pledged for black Africa

ARUSHA (Tanzania).—Western contributors have pledged one billion dollars in fresh aid to black states in Southern Africa, seeking to reduce their economic dependence on white-ruled South Africa.

A communiqué issued yesterday at the end of the annual meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) said the newly-pledged funds would be spent on a variety of projects during the next four years.

This year's conference has raised new hopes and prospects for a viable integration of the economies of the nine member countries. SADCC executive secretary Simba Makoni told a press conference at the end of four days of talks between SADCC states and Western donors.

Makoni did not give a breakdown of who would provide the new funds or what projects they would be used for, but Italy, Canada, the Nordic countries and the World Bank all announced new aid pledges for SADCC during the conference.

These ranged from a commitment, by the Nordic countries, to set up a $32 million revolving fund to finance joint ventures in the SADCC states, to the World Bank's endorsement of a $130 million scheme to improve Malawi's trade route through Tanzania. — Sapa/Reuters
Nordics to help frontline states

CP Correspondent
SCANDINAVIAN and Frontline foreign ministers, who ended a two-day meeting in Arusha yesterday, have pledged to step up the defence of South Africa's neighbours in the struggle to end apartheid.

According to reports, all the Nordic countries are to consider helping their Frontline counterparts through providing non-lethal military assistance to counter Pretoria's "war of aggression".

It was announced at a joint Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference and Nordic states' press conference that the "Scandinavians were expected to push for more pressure on South Africa.

Western countries would be urged to join the Nordic nations in their support of theutures of South Africa's neighbours.

The Nordic countries, along with the UN Security Council's mandatory sanctions package, have increased assistance to both Frontline and SADCC members this year.

Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland have implemented wide-ranging trade bans on South Africa.

Closing the joint meeting – a follow-up to the first meeting in Sweden, in June 1984 – Zambian Foreign Minister Luke Mwanashikhu said the ministers took note of South Africa's "move to step up its war against Mozambique and Angola to preserve apartheid".

"We noted that the threat against international peace and security has increased," he said. – Sapa
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Four nations are willing to lend a hand.

MAPUTO—West Germany, Canada, and Australia were willing to join Britain in rehabilitating the railway line from Zimbabwe to Maputo, Mozambique's Transport Minister, Mr Armando Guebuza, said this week.

He said the first phase of the work was nearly complete. — The Star's Africa News Service
Frontline states ready to talk coexistence — Kaunda

The State's Africa News Service and Sapa.

LOZAKA — The Frontline states are prepared to hold discussions with South Africa on means to achieve peaceful coexistence. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the present chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, said yesterday.

But he was pessimistic that such talks were possible at present because of "South Africa's attitude."

Dr Kaunda was opening the meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Lusaka. The meeting is aimed at finding ways to implement the sanctions on South Africa that were agreed at the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver, Canada, in October.

The committee decided yesterday to commission two detailed studies on South Africa's economy in a bid to marshal evidence in favour of sanctions.

Spokesman Ms Patsy Robertson said the studies would cover South Africa's links with the world financial system, and the impact up to now of limited economic sanctions on the country's economy.

President Kaunda said in his opening address: "We are ready to talk if they show better commitment to peace and good leadership qualities."

On Sunday the Ministers had talks that went long beyond their scheduled time with the general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Mr Frank Chikane, and his predecessor, the Rev Beyers Naudé.

At the opening ceremony yesterday, President Kaunda said in a reference to countries opposing sanctions, which appeared to be directed especially at Britain: "If you cannot apply sanctions through principle, do it through fear that your investment will go up in flames."
HARARE.—The SADCC region (most of southern Africa excluding SA) is extremely rich but under-developed and it will require a lot of work for it to realize its potential, World Bank vice-president for Africa Edward Jaycox told potential investors here yesterday.

Addressing the SADCC (Southern African Development Coordination Conference) international symposium on opportunities for investment and trade in southern Africa, Jaycox said development of the region was a necessity and businessmen could provide what was needed.

A report from the national news agency, Ziana, quoted Jaycox as saying: “This is an extremely rich part of the world.

“It is almost totally underdeveloped.

“It has great potential but to realize the potential is going to require considerable work.”

The role of the state was important in providing infrastructure and a favourable business climate, but the state did not have the capacity to do everything and business and trade was best left to the private sector, Jaycox said.

“All the material and human resources will remain locked up, unless private business does something,” he commented.

Businessmen should become involved but not with the aim of accruing huge profits or obtaining privileged access to foreign exchange. They needed to “really get down to business”.

Unless they did, he said, businessmen would be neither fulfilling their own potential nor meeting the needs of the nine SADCC countries.

Jaycox said the World Bank was trying to assist SADCC countries with funds to help achieve structural adjustments with the SADCC strategy for food security — which was a question of food distribution and not simply self-sufficiency in production — and with regional integration.

The SADCC was “way ahead” in regional cooperation, he said.

The preferential trade area of east and southern African states was also doing well.

The SADCC region had great potential regardless of what happened in respect of SA. — Sapa
West must help to defend Corridor

The Star’s Africa
News Service

HARARE — Zimbabwe and Mozambique urgently needed financial assistance from the West to defend transport routes to the ports of Maputo, Beira and Nacala, an international conference on investment in southern Africa was told this week.

Mr. Eddie Cross, managing director of the Beira Corridor Group, a company formed to promote use of these routes, said zones of security and stability along the routes were of critical importance.

Western donors had ignored this aspect and had left it to regional governments and the Eastern bloc, he told a business conference organized by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

But Zimbabwe and Mozambique could not carry the burden alone and help was needed even if it was only directed at helping meet the foreign exchange costs of the military effort.

Zimbabwe has about 12,000 troops in Mozambique and concern has been expressed by businessmen and economists at the drain on the economy.

Much of the conference was in closed session.

Sources said that at yesterday’s session, a former Zimbabwean Minister and current chairman of the Beira Corridor Group, Mr. Denis Norman, slammed bureaucratic demands and inefficiency at government level for hindering regional co-operation.
'SADCC market must be widened'

BASARAB — The head of the European Commission’s Southern African division, Dr. Wim Blomk, believes the greatest challenge facing the private sector in southern Africa is the development of the SADCC market, reports Ziana, Zimbabwe’s national news agency.

The SADCC (Southern African Development Corporation Conference) region is made up of Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, and Tanzania, and has a joint population of more than 70 million.

Only 4 percent of the approximately $5.7 billion trade carried out by these countries was between themselves.

"I believe development of the SADCC market is the greatest challenge facing the private sector at the moment," Dr. Blomk says.

Businessmen in the region have a large SADCC market and access to the Common Market.
AFRICA on the agenda in American-Soviet talks in Moscow this month

by COLIN LEGUM, Weekend Argus Correspondent, in LONDON

IT now seems likely that American-Soviet co-operation in resolving the security problems of Angola and the wider region of Southern Africa will be on the agenda when the United States Secretary of State, George Shultz, visits Moscow later this month for talks with the USSR’s Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze.

This strong possibility was mentioned by Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, after briefing the South African ambassador in Washington, Dr Piet Koornhof, about the results of his recent talks on Angola.

During those talks the Angolan government for the first time discussed the feasibility of a total withdrawal of the 40,000 Cuban combat troops from Angola provided that agreement is reached on the complete withdrawal of South African troops from its territory and a start is made to implement the UN plan for the independence of Namibia.

PREVIOUSLY, the Angolans had been willing to go only as far as to consider a phased withdrawal of the Cuban troops over a period of years.

However, the issue of Cuban troop withdrawals — which the Pretoria regime has said is the only obstacle to implementing the Security Council resolution 435 on Namibian independence — cannot be discussed in isolation from the other international aspects of the region’s problems.

Current discussions on the region’s problems increasingly point to the need for an international conference.

However, there are currently four different approaches to the composition of a possible international conference on the problems of southern Africa:

■ THE United States is willing to consider the possibility of talks with the Soviet Union within the framework of a regional dialogue between the two governments, according to a statement made by the State Department’s spokesman Charles Redman on February 1. This idea will be further explored in the forthcoming talks between Mr Shultz and Mr Shevardnadze.

■ THE Soviet Union favours an international conference to discuss all the causes of conflict in the region.

While welcoming the participation of the United States and the Soviet Union in an international conference, soundings among leaders of the Front Line states suggest that they wish such a conference to be held under United Nations auspices and that its membership should include the United States and the Soviet Union, Cuba and the governments of the region.

For the present, the Americans wish to restrict the agenda of an international conference to the issues affecting Angola and Namibia, rather than those affecting the wider causes of regional conflict, involving Mozambique, and other states bordering on South Africa.

Sources in Front Line capitals emphasise that, while agreement on Namibian independence and withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola would go some way towards reducing tensions in the region, it would still leave untouched the other issues of conflict and instability in southern Africa.

While the core problem remains that of the apartheid system in South Africa, it is generally accepted that any regional conference should be restricted to discussing only those issues touching on the international aspects of the problems around the periphery of South Africa and that South Africa might be willing to deal with South Africa’s internal problems.

These, it is generally agreed, must be dealt with only by South Africans themselves.
Churches urge Nordics to boost Mozambique’s defence

CP Correspondent
SEVERAL Southern African churches have appealed to churches in the Nordic countries – Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden – to support the strengthening of Mozambique’s defence capacity.

The appeal came during a four-day Southern African Development Co-operation Conference which ended in Granovo- len on Sunday.

In the final declaration from the conference, churches from the SADCC countries called on Nordic churches to put pressure on Scandinavian governments to supply Mozambique with self-defence means.

The declaration said the conference was “united” and had a “common understanding” on the need for Namibian independence, for the liberation of South Africa, for the end of apartheid’s war against Angola and Mozambique and for an end to all aggression against the Front-line states.

As part of a strategy of supplying information on Southern Africa, the conference determined that the Nordic churches should give particular emphasis to the effects of “South Africa’s war” against Mozambique and Angola.

The participants also agreed to prioritise support for protecting communications systems in the SADCC member states.

By the time the conference ended, the question of non-lethal military support for Mozambique was already beginning to be discussed in the Norwegian Press.

The government had already devoted time to the subject.

The question of Norwegian defence support for Mozambique aroused considerable interest recently when Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg declared at a conference in Tanzania that his country could be prepared to supply defence equipment to the African country.

On February 3, a Labour Party member of Parliament, Thor Eikeland, asked the Minister for Development Co-operation, Vesla Velsen, if he thought it would be possible to grant “para-military” support to Mozambique.

The Minister replied by speaking about the “extremely serious war of aggression that Mozambique faces”, and of the fact that Mozambique was one of the main recipients of Norwegian aid.

She said her government was “seriously concerned” with events in Mozambique, but restated the principle that money from development assistance funds should not be used for defence purposes.

She added, however, that “in the case of Mozambique, in view of specific requests made by the Mozambican government, it will be necessary to clarify the principles involved, the political attitude to be taken, and the budgetary questions relative to this matter”.

This would be done in close co-operation with the other Nordic countries.

This was a shift in position, until then Velsen had responded with an emphatic “No” when asked if Norway might provide non-lethal military equipment to Mozambique.

Meanwhile a major Norwegian solidarity organisation, the Norwegian council for Southern Africa, has announced that it intends to launch a campaign to collect funds for civil defence in Mozambique in March.

The campaign was planned to last a year. Top Mozambican music group Marrabenta Mozambique has been invited to visit the country to take part in the fund drive.

The money raised will be given to the Mozambican authorities to buy materials necessary for civil defence. – Ano
SADCC may divert Durban beef exports

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE - Beef exports to Europe from Botswana and Zimbabwe, currently going through Durban may go via Beira, a business conference on investment in SADCC countries heard last week.

Dr Wim Blonk of the European Economic Community's Southern Africa Division was asked why shipments of beef under quota arrangements did not go through Beira.

He said this question would have to be discussed with veterinary experts who would have to satisfy themselves that veterinary requirements would be met at the Mozambican port.

Dr Blonk said he understood the concern of exporters who had to use the longer rail route at present.

The conference is being attended by more than 300 delegates, many from the Nordic countries and North America.

Mr Edward Jaycox, the World Bank's vice-president for Africa, said the SADCC countries, with a population of 70 million, had tremendous potential for development.

The Southern African region was an extremely rich part of the world and was totally undeveloped.

There were tremendous opportunities for businessmen but it was most important that the economies of the various countries be integrated.

SADCC, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, which has nine member states had shown great promise.

POLICY REFORMS

But worthwhile development needed the brain power and administrative capacity of private business to succeed.

The World Bank was trying to get the countries of the region on to a growth path and was encouraging policy reforms aimed at stabilising the fiscal deficit and getting the balance of payments under control.

The bank wanted to see bureaucratic red tape removed and procedures streamlined. External competition was necessary for sound business decisions to be made.

One of the greatest challenges would be to absorb the growing labour force, he said.
Southern Africa ‘could become economic giant’

The view from the executive suite at Megawatt Park, the sprawling head office of Eskom, north of Johannesburg, takes the eye as a panorama of quiet highveld suburbia that peters out in a summer haze after a few kilometres.

When Mr Ian McRae, the chief executive, looks out on the panorama, he is not just thinking of the electric power grid stretching as far as the eye can see, but also of the potential for economic development in the region.

He is convinced that the decentralization of power generation and the development of new sources of energy, such as wind and solar, could lead to a significant increase in economic growth and employment.

Among the challenges facing the region is the need to invest in new infrastructure and to attract foreign investment. McRae believes that these challenges can be overcome with the right policy and investment decisions.

He is also optimistic about the potential for regional integration and cooperation, which could lead to greater economic efficiency and competitiveness.

The future of South Africa as a regional economic giant is not just a matter of potential, but also of necessity, as the country seeks to diversify its economy and reduce its dependence on traditional sources of revenue.

Eskom is playing a key role in this process, with its investments in new power plants and its efforts to promote energy efficiency.

The key to success, McRae believes, will be the ability of the region to work together and to capitalize on its geographical and economic advantages.

“Eskom is committed to playing a leading role in this process,” he said. “We believe that the region has the potential to become a major economic player, and we are working hard to ensure that this potential is realized.”
LONDON — The Soviet Union has virtually abandoned hopes of a forcible ending to the civil war in South Africa. The rapidity with which the rebel ANC-led forces have changed the balance of power in the region has led to a rethinking of the Soviet strategy in the region.

Mr. Andrey Gromyko, Soviet foreign minister, was quoted in a recent interview as saying that the Soviet Union was reassessing its policy towards South Africa. He stated that the Soviet Union was considering a new strategy that would focus on economic and political reforms within South Africa, rather than on military support for the ANC.

The economic and political reforms proposed by the Soviet Union include the reform of the apartheid system, the introduction of a democratic constitution, and the establishment of a multi-party system. These reforms are aimed at ensuring that South Africa becomes a country that is able to maintain its economic stability and political peace.

The Soviet Union is also considering the possibility of providing economic aid to South Africa to help the country to achieve these reforms. This aid would be conditional on the ANC making progress towards the implementation of the reforms proposed by the Soviet Union.

The new strategy proposed by the Soviet Union is seen as a significant departure from its earlier approach, which had focused on providing military support to the ANC. The new strategy is seen as a more pragmatic approach to the situation in South Africa, and it is hoped that it will lead to a more stable and peaceful future for the country.
SA's hard line on neighbours

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA'S relations with Mozambique nose-dived dramatically last night as the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, signalled a new hard-line approach towards its immediate neighbours.

MR Botha made it clear in a tough tit-for-tat statement that South Africa was now prepared to include Mozambique in a Southern African "summit" until it made fundamental political and sociological changes.

Up to now South Africa, through President P.W. Botha, has said it is prepared to talk to any leader in the region about peaceful co-operation.

This is the first time South Africa has deviated from this stance.

It comes shortly after a tough statement on Zimbabwe in the wake of a rocket attack on an isolated northern Transvaal farmstead and after the deaths of four South African soldiers in Angola. It appears to signal a serious hardening of attitudes by the government towards its immediate black neighbours.

Angola earlier rejected President Botha's suggestion of a Southern Africa peace conference.

While the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, arrived in Luanda yesterday for talks with Angolan leaders, Angola claimed to have driven back a joint South African and UNITA offensive near the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale, killing more than 50 troops, downing helicopters and arming cars in a four-day battle.

Diplomatic observers suggested last night that Mr Pik Botha's statement, taken in conjunction with other recent events, seemed to indicate that South Africa had "had enough" and that if its neighbours did not want to co-operate with her, they could go their own way.

If this speculation is correct it could have serious repercussions for neighbouring states as far as labour, transport and other issues are concerned.

Mr Botha's statement on Mozambique was prompted by remarks by President Joaquin Chissano after talks with the French Foreign Minister.

To page 3
The South African Government yesterday shook its fist at the African National Congress and Frontline states, saying: "Enough is enough. Next time we send in our troops."

Minister of Defence Magnus Malan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha were reacting to the rocket attack last week on a farm house on the bank of the Limpopo River — and to the attack yesterday on a branch of First National Bank at Oshakati in Namibia.

Botha effectively stated that South Africa's regional defence policy was dead.

And General Malan vowed to "eliminate" the ANC.

The two Ministers were speaking on the banks of the swollen Limpopo River at the scene of the rocket attack on the farm house outside Mokopane.

Also there were General Georg Meiring, the officer commanding Northern Transvaal Command, local farmers and political and military correspondents.

They inspected the scene and went to the river to look over to Zimbabwe.

Not surprisingly, attack on Oshakati reached them with the news that they were inspecting the scene at Mokopane. General Malan said he told Botha how he had come for the sake of the South African people — there was more than the lives of the local farmers at stake.

"We are not in a situation where we are against Zimbabwe as such. But I have made a public statement that whenever the ANC may be in Africa, we will do our best to stop them, if necessary. I am afraid we will have to think in terms of crossing the river next time." Mr Botha told The Saturday Star afterwards that there should be no mistake about the Government's feelings towards South Africa's neighbours.

"We have repeatedly invited them to talk with us to sort out our problems and achieve peace. Now they have demonstrated they are not interested." Mr Botha told the same newspaper.

They think we are going to keep on talking backwards until we fall over. As far as I am concerned, there is no more talk of a regional conference — not from our side. It is up to them to take the initiative.

"We are no longer interested in the neighbouring states. We are going to get on with our own business and stabilise our situation, and we will succeed."

Earlier at the briefing.

*TO PAGE 2.*
SADCC admits the reality

Robin Drew reports from Harare

South African investment plays a major function in the economics of seven of the nine member states of SADCC, the organisation’s executive secretary, Dr Simba Makoni, has admitted.

In an interview in Southern African Economist, the new magazine published by SADCC Press Trust, Dr Makoni was asked if the organisation encouraged South African investment in member countries.

He said one of the long-term objectives was to lessen economic dependence on South Africa. The reality, however, was that South African capital was involved and that Pretoria had trade missions in five SADCC countries.

"While some countries are actively discouraging South African investment, others are actively encouraging South African firms to invest. What you have to understand here is that member states have the sovereign right to make decisions in the interests of their own economies as they see them."

In editorial comment in its first issue, Southern African Economist attacked donor states which had given money to SADCC but which turned a blind eye to South Africa’s alleged destabilisation of neighbouring black states.

Of British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the editorial said: "She has shown a marked ability to see two sides of the Southern African question; that of PW Botha and her own."

"But while some might call her foolish, she is not stupid. And she must very well know that her declared commitment to SADCC, and specifically to Mozambique, is fatal unless she lets Mr Botha know that she means it."

The magazine said Britain had been praised for its military aid to Mozambique. "But Mozambique’s only military enemies are South Africa and its proxies. What sense does it make to help a country defend itself against a security threat without even expressing disapproval of those who are organising that threat?"

The new publication is being produced in Harare by a staff headed by editor-in-chief Dominic C Mulasho, an experienced Zambian journalist. Member states of SADCC are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Dr Makoni said support from Nordic countries had made possible the introduction of the magazine because for years member states had been concerned about the superficial way in which the region had been portrayed by the foreign media.

Controversial matters dealt with in the first issue include the row between Zimbabwe and Botswana over trade agreements and criticism of Zimbabwe’s economic policy by Professor Tony Hawkins, who heads the department of business studies at the University of Zimbabwe. The Star’s Africa News Service.
THE once unthinkable prospect of rabidly anti-communist South Africa sitting down with the Soviet Union is suddenly being taken as a serious possibility.

A South African overture to the Kremlin to seek peace in Angola, where the two countries are on opposite sides in an apparently unwinnable civil war, is seen by diplomats and foreign-affairs experts as an intriguing policy shift.

"The question is are they (the Government) trying to put a finger in America's eye or are they really serious," Mr John Barrett, of the South African Institute of International Affairs, said.

Mr Barrett and Western diplomats said there was evidence Pretoria was serious. Mr Philip Nett, South Africa's leading expert on the Soviet Union, went further. He said that direct talks with Moscow on Angola were now a probability but cautioned they could take a long time to come about.

Until last weekend, peace initiatives in Angola were the sole prerogative of the United States, which is now denounced by Pretoria because of its anti-apartheid trade sanctions.

Less ideological

The surprise offer to the Kremlin came from an unlikely source, Defence Minister Magnus Malan, the most hawkish member of the Cabinet who regularly warns South Africa to beware of the evil of Soviet expansion.

His statement proposed a direct deal with Moscow to set up a neutral government in Angola along lines suggested for Afghanistan by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr John Stemmas of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York said Soviet policies have become more of a "mystery" — less monolithic and less ideological.

What is clear to American analysts, however, is that the Soviets realise a black revolution is unlikely to succeed anytime soon in South Africa. Deception of the white-run economy would be a disaster; and Moscow has few contacts with whites in South Africa.

Moscow fears the fact South Africa is a "vastly complicated situation," which doesn't lend itself to simple answers and calls for a sophisticated policy, said Mr Stephen Low, a former American ambassador to Zambia.

Although the Soviets believe majority-black rule is inevitable, they aren't "nearly as confident" as they were a few years ago about achieving that goal in the short term, said Dr Wayne Limberg, a US State Department analyst.

Central to Moscow is its long and close relationship with the African National Congress. There are changes in that relationship, too. "Soviet enthusiasm for armed struggle has considerably diminished," in South Africa, Mr Neil MacFarlane, a professor at the University of Virginia, wrote recently.

The Soviet Union provides weapons to the ANC. Last autumn, the ANC opened an office in Moscow.

But a high-ranking Soviet official, Mr Y Y Vaghir, recently refused to endorse all the conditions the ANC set for a post-apartheid South Africa.

Tactics

Mr Stephen M Davis, author of Apartheid's Rebels, a book about the ANC, said this was considered a "major divergence." What the Soviets now believe, he said, is "its post-apartheid government controlled by the ANC alone is unlikely."

The United States opposes the ANC's tactics and has criticised the fact that a large number of communists sit on the ANC's executive committee.

But Mr Davis said any perception of a clash in the ANC-Soviet alliance could open the door for Washington to forge better ties with black leaders.

Moscow's reassessment of the region means a de-emphasis on Southern Africa, as well as other parts of the Third World, American experts say.

Mr Andre Brink, a white South African writer who was invited to Moscow, noticed this in an article entitled "From Red Square," published in the South African magazine, Leadership. "It comes as a sobering discovery first of all, that Southern Africa in particular, and even Africa in general, are not all that high on the Soviet list of priorities," Mr Brink wrote.

Mr Gorbachev, who has stressed economic reform at home, recognises the high cost of bolstering and arming poor nations, the experts say. Moscow sent Angola about $5 billion dollars (about $5 billion in weapons over the 1984-1985 period, and also armed Mozambique.

Mr Limberg said the
SA Forging Links with the Soviets

SOWETOAN. Thursday, March 13, 1980.

Page 1.

WPP. Do the powerful new-2-life Irish.

See the powerful new-2-life Irish.

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LONDON — Three Members of Parliament, among them two of the first four black British MPs, are to join the picketing of the South African Embassy during the Sharpeville Massacre Commemoration Day in Trafalgar Square, London next Monday.

The unprecedented move is aimed at mobilising and exposing to Londoners and the international community South Africa's alleged destabilisation of the Frontline States in southern Africa.

MPs Mr Diane Abbot, Mr Bernie Grant and Mr Tony Banks and several prominent personalities among them lawyers and pressure groups will join the popular non-stop picket for two-and-half hours to support the growing pressure against South Africa's alleged destabilisation policy against Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia, Tanzania and Botswana.

The MPs have listed three actions which governments and companies can implement in combating “South African aggression.” These are:

- Breaking all links with South Africa and imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions;
- Supporting the liberation movements fighting against apartheid and against South Africa's occupation of Namibia; and
- Developing new links of friendship, trade and investment with independent African states instead of South Africa.

The pamphlet also states that:

- Angola has one of the world's biggest number of disabled people, largely due to landmine attacks;
- It is estimated that South Africans have caused more than £20000 million damage to the Frontline States; and
- The Frontline States have been forced to spend more than 27.5 billion US dollars on defending themselves since 1980.

The Non-Stop Picket was launched early last year and has been picketing the South African Embassy in London for almost a year. The focus is always on South Africa and the central demand being the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Zaphania Mothopeng, the president of the Pan Africanist Congress.
HARARE — Southern Africa Frontline states must be exempted from interna
tional plans for sanctions against SA, former Australian Prime Minister Mal
colm Fraser said last night.
Speaking at the end of a three-day meeting of the Inter-Action Council, he
said: "I believe this should have been done at the outset. The SA government
has sought to make their economies dependent on SA. It enables people who are
opposed to sanctions to say, "Zimbabwe
talks about sanctions but it is not pre
pared to do it itself.""
Fraser said SA delegates who came to
the meeting agreed Pretoria was not
even in the early stages of negotiations.
SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and
CP leader Andries Treurnicht averted a
protocol crisis by declining invitations.
Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir
Shridath Ramthai was among those who
said they would not have been prepared
to sit down with Botha.
Fraser and General Olusegun Obas
sango of Nigeria said failure by SA's
major trading partners to take concert-
ed sanctions action sent a clear signal to
the African population that violence was
the only way to end apartheid.
"Once that decision is taken, then
bloodshed will be inevitably greater," said Fraser.
146 died in nine SADF raids on Frontline states

By Inga Molteni

At least 146 South African Defence Force (SADF) raids into neighboring states, in which 146 people have died, have not been acknowledged by the SADF since 1980.

The SADF’s involvement in Angola after 1985 is not included in the list of cross-border operations.

Efforts to establish the exact extent of this involvement are hampered by the lack of information provided by the SADF.

In March last year, reports to the SA Barometer, Minister of Defence Mark Malan, concluded that South African security forces would “safely” any African National Congress (ANC) guerrillas in neighboring states and wipe them out.

At a general election meeting on April 7 this year, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha claimed that the ANC was planning to disrupt the elections.

He warned neighboring states South Africa would take “whatever action” necessary to stop them.

The night before, three people died and two were injured in Gabon a in a mystery bomb blast for which no one has claimed responsibility.

BOSWANA

June 14 1985: The first known raid by SA into Botswana. Twelve killed, six injured in the Gabon raid.

May 19 1986: Helicopter-borne SA troops storm a housing compound alleged ANC “transit facility” at Magadigadi, outside Gabon.

A Botswana citizen is killed. Three people are injured, and 15 are wounded. SADF denies responsibility for the attack.

April 8 1987: Three people killed and two injured in Gabon when a bomb in an SA-licensed minibus exploded in a parking lot. SA Defence Force denies complicity in the explosion.

March 25 1988: SADF commandos kill four people, claiming they were ANC insurgents in a Tokologolo village, Gaborone house.

ZAMBIA

May 19 1986: Dawn attack on Luaka forms part of a three-prong attack involving Gabona and Biko in eastern Zambia. Two SACAF jets, two civilians killed, 10 wounded.

April 1987: ANC denies five Zambian nationals killed in a cross-border raid in Livingstone by the SADF were ANC insurgents. SADF says troops were involved in a “reckless massacre” of “terrorist installations” in the town.

ZIMBABWE

December 12 1981: Zanu-PF headquarters destroyed by bomb. SACAF suspected, but denied responsibility.

August 1982: Zimbabwe security forces shoot three members of a 12-strong SADF group, whom SA said had been on “unauthorised foray” on a detention camp in southern-eastern Zimbabwe, and who had hoped to free comrades there. Zimbabwe, allege the soldiers were preparing to attack strategic targets.


Central Harare, a small ANC diplomatic post is destroyed, and a private security guard injured.

May 1987: One woman killed and several injured in an explosion at a second-floor apartment in Harare.

SADF responds: “An absurd attempt to use SA as a scapegoat for the voracious appetite of the internal security situation.”

SWAZILAND

August 18 1986: Manzini offices of a Swedish-backed organisation, which organised scholarships for Swazis and SA refugees, raided by 10 men. Files on students taken, guards shot at. SAP says allegations unfounded.

Four insurgents who crossed the borders from Swaziland killed by the SADF. A fifth wounded.

October 1986: Three people, including two suspected ANC members, shot dead in a Mbabane house.

December 12 1981: In two raids, five people, including a Swedish couple, abducted and taken to SA. A former ANC member and a 13-year-old Swazi citizen shot dead.

June 1987: Swaziland lodges an official protest with the SA Government against alleged incursions by SA soldiers into Swazi border areas.

August 1987: In the post-war world, the ANC announced its intention to retake Malawi from which the SADF launched attacks on Mozambique.

SADF denies allegations.

October 9 1982: Mozambique accuses the SADF of using a bomb as a base, complete with powerful radio equipment to relay Malawi from which the SADF launched attacks.

December 9 1982: Mozambique says it has moved to secure the rebel MNLR planed the explosions which blew up its main oil storage depot at Beira.

May 23 1985: SADF jets bomb and strafe a Mozambique camp on the border.

Botswana and Malawi and Ibadella in the Mozambican capital in retaliation for the Portuguese bomb blast which killed 17 and injured more than 200 people. Mozambique reports six people killed, including two women and two children, and 15 wounded, almost all of whom are Mozambicans. SACAF says its planes destroyed six ANC bases.

The ANC’s Lebese representative Zola Nsini is killed in the attack, as is SA national Jacqueline Quin.

The SADF, in justifying the raid, claimed a December Christmas campaign of “decisive terror” inside SA that well-trained terrorists recently moved to Lesotho from elsewhere in southern Africa to carry out this plan. The ANC denies the homes attacked were ANC headquarters.

November 1985: Responsibility for an explosion that damaged a house in Maseru is denied by the ANC.

MOZAMBIQUE

January 30 1981: In the first acknowledged cross-border raid outside the war in Angola, SADF commandos attack three houses occupied by ANC members in Tala, 15 km from Maputo. Thirteen ANC members and a Portuguese electrician are killed and a truck is burnt out. Two SADF members killed.

October 1982: Mozambique accuses the SADF of using a bomb as a base, complete with powerful radio equipment to relay Malawi from which the SADF launched attacks on Mozambique.

SADF denies allegations.

November 1985: The Mozambique’s official news agency AIM says three people were killed during an attack by SACAF commandos on three different ANC targets. AIM claims the first direct attack by SA on Mozambique since the signing of the Nkomati Accord in March 1984.

SAFARI returned to the SADF “unsubstantiated allegations.”

ANGOLA

In the 1981-1985 period, the Luanda government accused SA of 1,500 territorial violations, 160 air raids, 320 air attacks, 230 airborne assaults, 74 land attacks and four naval landings.

killed 64 people including 14 ANC “terrorists” and destroyed a miss on the Mozambican Defence Force.

October 17 1983: “Special task group” place a bomb which blows up the roof of an apartment block close to President Samora Machel’s home in Maputo. The SADF says the building housed offices from which the ANC was planning a “series of attacks” in SA. The ANC says the block was flats for refugees, but that the bomb attack had a clinic and library used by SA people and refugees and injured one of them.

October 1985: SADF’s General Constant Viljoen says in a television interview that the military airlift to Angola and without permission from the government had flouted terms of the Nkomati Accord. This followed the discovery of diaries at a MNLR base.

April 19 1986: SADF denies the discovery of missiles by plane near Massingir dam.

November 1986: MNLR operations in Tete and Sofala being led by SA reconnaissance and Portuguese commandos from Natal, Maputo claimed.

May 1987: The SACAF’s official news agency AIM says three people were killed during an attack by SACAF commandos on three different ANC targets. AIM claims the first direct attack by SA on Mozambique since the signing of the Nkomati Accord in March 1984.

SADF returned to the SADF “unsubstantiated allegations.”

From: ANGOLA
Gaborone raid: call for aid to frontline states

HARARE — Zimbabwe is undertaking intensive lobbying among Western European parliamentarians attending an anti-apartheid conference here, to persuade their governments to commit military aid to the frontline states.

An outspoken appeal for defence assistance was made by the Minister of State for Security, Dr Sydney Sekeremayi, as tension again rose along the Limpopo.

This comes amid allegations in South Africa that African National Congress infiltrators, killed by the South African Defence Force (SADF) on Monday in north-eastern Venda, had been tracked from the Zimbabwean border.

On February 12 the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Booma, warned the Zimbabwean Government that in future the SADF reserved the 'right to undertake "hot pursuit" raids into Zimbabwe if no action was taken to curb ANC infiltration.

The Zimbabwean Foreign Minister, Dr Nathaniel Shamuyarira, had earlier mocked claims that his country harboured ANC bases.

A spokesman for the South African mission in Harare, which is expected to deliver a formal protest to Zimbabwe about the latest incident, said yesterday he had not yet received formal notification from the department of foreign affairs.

Dr Sekeremayi complained that Western governments had been equivocal in their response to South African aggression against the nine states of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

Deploring the burning of the Gaborone raid victims with petrol, to prevent identification of their bodies, Dr Sekeremayi said: "This is the reality of South African state terrorism which confronts the frontline states on a daily basis.

"Western governments have to accept the need to strengthen the defences of the frontline states."

The concentration by the minister, charged with control of Zimbabwe's powerful Central Intelligence Organisation, on potential military assistance, marks a noteworthy shift from past appeals for international mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The Botswana Government has sent a protest note to South Africa, and demanded compensation for the Gaborone raid, in which four civilians were killed.

The Department of External Affairs in Gaborone demanded an apology in a note addressed to the South African Secretary of External Affairs.

It said the Botswana Government wished to register its protest "in the strongest terms" against South Africa's continued acts of "unprovoked aggression" which were perpetrated despite the clear understanding reached between Botswana and South Africa "that any perceived threat to the security of one party must be communicated to the other party."

The SADF attack was launched contrary to this understanding, the note added. 

DDC-Sapa
Spill-off from nuclear détente

It appears that the May 15 withdrawal date for the first Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the post office bombing in Oshakati by SWAPO — and indeed the South African government's crackdown last week on 17 protest groups — do have a common link. What one hears is the distant cracking of a logjam breaking up.

There is movement in the political dynamic of southern Africa. Opposing forces are staking their positions and trying to checkmate in advance the anticipated advantages of the other side when the new rules are generally announced. After years of stalemate over the problems of Namibia and Angola, and unabated opposition on the part of SA's other neighbours, the winds of change are blowing again.

The most visible sign of this new change occurred some weeks ago in Luanda when US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker explicitly discussed with Angolan Foreign Minister Afonso Van-Dunem the conditions under which all of the 40,000 Cuban troops currently in Angola could be sent home. That the discussions were conducted "in the presence" (as official statements have had it) of members of the Cuban Politburo, can safely be interpreted as the beginning of some new agreement between the US and the Soviet Union on the role each will play in southern African affairs. It is not too much to say that the two superpowers are actively discussing ways to lessen tensions in a number of actively hostile theatres of world affairs as part and parcel of the ongoing nuclear arms reduction talks which may well lead to yet another summit meeting between President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev this year.

This is an easy conclusion to draw because the American State Department is saying just that in private press briefings all over Washington these days. The word is going out that the Americans don't know where the talks will ultimately lead, but everything — literally everything — which stands in the
way of a general nuclear arms reduction by the two is on the table.

Certainly, the Soviets see some advantage in at least talking about a multi-regional peace proposal which includes southern Africa or they wouldn't be talking about it just to get a nuclear treaty they know Reagan wants as badly as they do. But the Russians are weary of the increasing cost of the Angolan war, they are tired of Castro's inability to turn his subsidised economy into something more like the economies of eastern Europe and less like the basket case it is. Then there is the co-win situation in Nicaragua which has succeeded in doing what no other adventure in that region has done before: uniting Mexico and the other nations in the region against communist incursions.

The attitude among American diplomats who are directly involved in various phases of the US-Soviet talks is critical, since there is an understandable pressure from the White House to bring off an unalloyed triumph which will carry Reagan out of the White House and into the pantheon of history.

And there is some comfort in reporting that, for the moment, that mood is optimistic if cautious.

If anything, the Americans appear more worried that the South African government may balk at such sudden progress where once there was stalemate. Last week's denial by the South African foreign minister of any official communication with Pretoria about the Angolan talks has elicited only a mild chuckle of disbelief.

In the language of diplomacy, what one has not heard about "officially" need not be confronted for the time being and the Americans are concerned, with some reason, that the P W Botha government has enough on its plate to deal with at home. To be hurried to a conference table on an Angolan settlement which might, by implication, lead to a betrayal of Unita and Jonas Savimbi and which certainly would point to a South African withdrawal from Namibia, may be too much for the current government to take aboard at the moment. That is what the Americans fear.

So they have gone public with their progress, such as it is.

A senior American official told the FM in a private interview recently that the Angolan talks are preliminary in their nature though they may be—offer at least two significant breakthroughs for the White House.

"We are certainly making some noise about the fact that they (the Angolans) have accepted a very important principle. What we are negotiating now is total Cuban troop withdrawal, rather than some portion of the Cuban presence," the official said. "This is important for a number of reasons. First, the Angolans have never said that before. And they said it in front of the Cubans who were in the meeting. And it was a point of principle that they have been very reluctant to concede until now. So we have been very happy to let people know about this.

"But it does not mean we are on the verge of a settlement. There are a lot of people moving around on this issue. There is a lot of military activity as well. So that raises a question in everybody's mind as to what happens next. We do know that any next steps by the MPLA will have to be taken in close co-ordination with Havana. The Angolans, in the meantime, are trying to make the argument that our relationship with Unita is an obstacle, so we will see if there are any further steps."

Did the Americans, as Botha charged, commit the diplomatic gaffe of letting the news of the Angolan progress get into the press before it reached Pretoria through channels? And are the chilly relations between Washington and Pretoria still as frosty as they were a year ago?

"I don't think so," the Reagan aide offered. "The Botha government has said some shrill things in public from time to time, but we are keeping them fully briefed. And, in recent weeks, they have backed away from some of the shriller statements. So we are in touch with them. Right now, it really doesn't matter. It will only matter if we are able to produce some concrete timetables for Cuban withdrawal. That is when the real nut-cutting begins. At the end of the day, will SA sign onto a schedule which means they finally have to give up Namibia? I have no idea right now. But we have to work on getting to that point or we will never know for sure. I cannot make a prediction on that, but, obviously, if we did not think it was worthwhile we would not be doing it."

He added that the increased South African military commitment and the recent counter-raids against Swapo make any quick solutions in the region very doubtful.

"The South African military certainly are building up in Namibia and in a sense if you have a presence you do not have to have a policy. But it is also true that they have not been tested there seriously in a long time. Swapo has been whittled down substantially in recent years; its real threat is not military but political. That part of the region is a seesaw. As Swapo declines and the South Africans and SWATF grow in power, a vacuum is created and that, in turn, draws the Cubans and the other Russian surrogates down into that sector. Are the South Africans better off now, facing Cubans with rockets and radar, than they were fighting Swapo guerrillas with machine guns? That is something they have to answer.

"Don't forget that if we do get a settlement, everybody leaves. The Cubans leave, the South Africans leave and you have a whole different situation which could set the stage for some new internal dialogue in Angola which could lead to a new Namibia."

Can there be any agreement between the Soviets and Americans (or the Angolans and the Cubans) about Namibia unless or until the estrangement between Pretoria and Washington over economic sanctions is ended? "I am sure the unhappiness voiced by South Africans, both privately and officially, is genuinely felt, but it probably is less so today than it was several months ago. Also you have to realise that there is a nervousness in the South African national character which leads them to talk about it up front. They are not bashful about telling you that they resent us. They are not bashful about telling us that we are irrelevant now, which is complete hogwash. There is a love-hate thing there."

"If we have some important news from the negotiating front, based on our conversations with Moscow or with the MPLA or the Cubans, or with anyone else, then Pretoria is going to want to hear about it. We are not irrelevant."

"There is no doubt that the relationship between this administration and Pretoria is strained on a bilateral basis, very strained. But another new element in the situation is the willingness of the Soviet Union to consider political solutions to the conflicts in its number of regions, Afghanistan being only one. That is a very real movement. Where it all leads, I cannot tell you, I don't know and I don't think the Soviets know. But there is a willingness on their part that did not exist some time ago and we must pursue it to see where it leads," the official concluded.
Frontline aid should build SA links

Economic help to the frontline states would be better used in building up economic links with South Africa than in trying to break down those which already exist, says the former chairman of Anglo-American and De Beers, Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

In an article in the latest issue of the news analysis magazine, Inside South Africa, Mr Oppenheimer said aid tied to attempts to make the frontline states independent of South Africa could have a “damaging and possibly dangerous” effect on relationships in the Southern African region.

“No one can doubt that these states are in great economic need. But none will be prosperous and stable unless they are also peaceful,” he said.

“That involves peaceful relations with South Africa, however much they might disapprove of her policies.

“There is, therefore, a contradiction between a policy aimed at solving these countries’ economic problems and a policy aimed at making them independent of South Africa.”

Although part of their problems were due to natural causes such as drought, they were also due, in large part, to unwise economic policies aimed at building an essentially Marxist-oriented economy which was seen as the antithesis of capitalism.

If such policies were continued, warned Mr Oppenheimer, international aid was likely to be largely dissipated without a notable advantage to the people.

Far more could be done to destroy apartheid by expanding the South African economy than by trying to strangle it, he concluded. — Sapa.
assassination attempt in Maputo

Professor rushed to hospital after being wounded in attack

Money bomb blast targets UN ambassador

African

Jury at

SA denies responsibility

PPF fuses with UN ambassadors

by Claire Robertson

The UN ambassador to Mozambique, Mr. John Smith, was injured in an assassination attempt today. According to sources, the attack was carried out by unidentified perpetrators who placed a money bomb in the ambassador's car. The ambassador was rushed to a local hospital where he is currently undergoing treatment.

Professor John Smith, who was in a meeting with government officials, was also targeted in the attack. He was fortunate to escape with minor injuries. The UN has expressed its outrage and condemned the attack, calling it a violation of international law.
Fury against South Africa mounted in the Frontline states today after yesterday’s car bomb assassination attempt against anti-apartheid activist and ANC member Professor Albie Sachs. Professor Sachs and a Mozambican citizen, Mr. Ismail Mussagy, were described as being in “very serious” condition.

Mr. Mussagy’s three-year-old son was discharged from hospital yesterday evening.

Members of the Mozambican government and of the FRELIMO Party leadership yesterday visited the site of the bomb blast, which is across the road from the offices of the SA-trade mission.

The block housing the Portuguese embassy was damaged by the explosion, which destroyed Mr. Sachs’s car.

Arm severed

South Africa last night denied responsibility for the car bomb blast.

Professor Sachs’s right arm was nearly severed when the bomb exploded as he opened the door of his apparently booby-trapped car.

The attack was the latest in a series carried out against ANC members outside South Africa. At least 12 ANC members, including the ANC’s Paris representative, Mrs. Dulcie September, have been killed outside the country this year.

The official Mozambican news agency has accused Pretoria of trying to assassinate Professor Sachs who belonged to the SA-Communist Party.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Pik Botha last night denied South Africa was involved in the blast, saying the Republic could not accept responsibility for the international conflict in Mozambique.

“This holds true for the internal struggles going on among members of the ANC,” Mr. Botha said.

Witnesses said the explosion hurled Professor Sachs’s car onto the pavement 3 m away. Windows in the nearby Portuguese Embassy and surrounding buildings were shattered and pieces of the wrecked car were hurled as far as 50 m from the site of the blast.

Eksteen’s job ‘in jeopardy’

Political Staff
CAPE TOWN — Mr. Riuan Eksteen’s position as Director-General of the SABC was in jeopardy today after an unfavorable report on the corporation.

Government sources confirmed reports that Mr. Eksteen might get the sack following a report on the SABC conducted by outside consultants which put him in a “very unflattering light.”

The report was based largely on the SABC’s financial performance.

However, opposition politicians see the move as “purely political.” Some saw the recent appointment of Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe as Minister of Information in charge of the SABC as part of this new initiative.

Mr. Dave Dalling, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on the media, said today that if Mr. Eksteen was fired, the aim would be to get even tighter control of television to help fight the growing threat from the Right.

‘Horrible’

A US citizen, Mr. Sam Barnes, was one of the first people on the scene.

“I was driving down Julius Nyerere towards the Polana Hotel. I got to the corner of Nyerere and Eduardo Mondlane (right in front of Albie’s apartment block) and I saw Albie by his car. I slowed down and we waved at each other.

“Then I got as far as the end of the South African trade mission (some 40 m ahead of the corner) and I heard this horrible explosion,” Mr. Barnes said.

When she reached Professor Sachs “he was lying on the sidewalk and the car was between him and the building, also on the sidewalk. One of his arms was blown off and he was covered in blood.”

See Page 11.
MBABANE — Swaziland will host the SADC (Southern African Development Coordination Conference) manpower ministers' meeting to be held in Mbabane on Friday.

The meeting of ministers from Angola, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland was being preceded by an SADC training council meeting yesterday and today. — Sapa.
Regional power play

Eskom appears intent on pressing ahead with its vision of a regional power network straddling southern Africa — in spite of the fact that most African states seem opposed to the idea.

CE Ian MacRae has once again raised the prospect of a unified sub-continental electricity grid, apparently unmoved at the thought that he is in direct confrontation with the energy policies of the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The SADCC — incorporating Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — was formed in 1980 to reduce its members’ economic dependence on SA. Its 14 donor countries have since poured billions of dollars of aid into the association to boost its ailing infrastructure, including energy supplies.

January this year saw the opening of a three-nation electricity link-up across the Zambezi River border between Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe to provide power to northern-Zimbabwe and northern Botswana. Financed to the tune of more than US$33m by Canada and Finland, the project was specifically intended by SADCC to reduce dependence on electricity from SA.

Two other agreements exist between SADCC and Norway and Sweden for the supply of hydropower to southern Mozambique and Swaziland. The Corumana hydroelectric project on the Sabi River, north-west of Maputo, is again aimed at diminishing reliance on SA, which is currently the sole source of electricity for Maputo. The project will cost around R29m and is scheduled for completion by 1990.

Plans are also under way within SADCC for rehabilitation of the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric project, the sixth largest in the world and a victim of what the conference calls “South African-supported rebel sabotage.” So far about 500 pylons have been destroyed and the project generates about 1% of its capacity at a cost of around R2m/month.

SADCC is also looking at the possibility of introducing solar power into rural areas.

Reduction of dependency on SA’s electricity is a prime objective of SADCC. It recently announced South African destabilisation had cost the region $970m in transport and energy costs, and stressed that energy was a major focus of attention.

Yet MacRae is convinced the economic attractions of two-way flows of energy among the countries of southern Africa will win acceptance of what will eventually emerge as an economic masterplan for the region.

“The entire sub-continent is aware of the potential disaster unless there are radical improvements in economic development,” he says. “Despite all the political squabbles on the surface, there is growing recognition of the fact that energy supplies hold the key to the economic progress crucial to the region.”

He is chairman of a special joint committee (drawing members from SA, Portugal and Mozambique) for the restoration of Cahora Bassa. He appears unconcerned that there is a rival plan within SADCC.

Eskom is also engaged in discussions with Swaziland to make it more self-reliant through the development of power stations, again in opposition to SADCC’s own projects.

And Eskom has also, according to MacRae, established “close working relationships” with six neighbouring countries. The next step, he says, is to expand round-table talks to include all the member countries of SADCC as well as, perhaps, Zaire.

The envisaged grand plan would eventually link SA with all 15 members of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), including Somalia, Rwanda, Uganda, Angola, Madagascar, Burundi, Comores and Djibouti.

MacRae points to precedents of regional co-operation: the Limpopo River Project and the quadrilateral agreement of 1986 between SA, Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe on control of water in the Limpopo River.

And he points to Eskom’s increasing sales to the rest of Africa, up 1.6% to 321 gigawatt-hours in January this year over January 1987.

PTA and SADCC officials agree with the principle. They acknowledge that present annual generation for the PTA represents only 4% of total available resources. But they disagree with MacRae’s solution, preferring to tout regional development funded by foreign aid.

SADCC Secretary-General Simba Makoni has gone further, and accused SA outright of attempting to disrupt SADCC development plans.

There are also rising homegrown objections to MacRae’s master plan. Trade union officials, for instance, have said he would be better occupied in his own backyard, since less than 25% of all South Africans have electricity.

Yet MacRae persists. Newspaper editorialists have accused him of fantasising, black unionists have accused him of creating a diversion away from local needs, and there can be little doubt that SADCC sees Eskom’s initiatives as a direct political threat.

In the face of all this, is it realistic to expect he can pull his plan off?
Anti-apartheid meeting opens

HARARE — A five-day International Labour Organisation (ILO) conference on action against apartheid began in Harare yesterday. The conference is being attended by representatives of governments, employers and workers appointed by the ILO's governing body and by similar tripartite delegations from Frontline and other southern African states.

Seventeen other countries have sent observers, as have nine international organisations and three liberation movements.

Zimbabwe's Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Mr. John Nkomo, was elected chairman of the meeting.

Mr. Nkomo warned delegates to avoid irrelevant issues in order to review and update a programme of action against apartheid.

"I hope we will be able to make efficient use of the time and make valuable contributions to help the victims of apartheid and promote meaningful change in South Africa and Namibia," he said.

The people of southern Africa, including those belonging to democratic organisations inside South Africa and Namibia, had suffered from the apartheid system but gained some solace from the fact that the whole international community now recognised the evils of the system, he said.

"We in Southern Africa and the Frontline states and liberation movements of South Africa view the holding of this conference in this region as an expression of solidarity and a challenge to which we must respond positively," — Sapa.
On the surface, peace appears to be edging incrementally closer in southern Africa. Talks in London this week on the Angola-Namibia issue (they are inextricably linked now) bring some hope that the 13-year conflict might just be nearing an end.

Is that being too optimistic? Maybe. Talks only signal the beginning of the peace process. There is clearly still a long way to go yet, and we know from past experience that much can go awry when former adversaries sit down at the negotiating table.

The latest peace initiatives were not entirely unexpected. Experience has taught us that, where SA is involved, a sudden flurry of diplomatic activity in foreign capitals usually translates into something slightly more positive.

Certainly, the latest developments, read in conjunction with Mozambique's apparent willingness to reaffirm its commitment to the Nkomati Accord, do tend to encourage the belief that the logjam may finally be about to give way.

SA’s best economic interests lie in regional stability and economic co-operation. But that doesn’t mean to say it will happen soon — some pointers notwithstanding. Pretoria’s game plan remains to protect its client in Namibia.

Peace, in itself, is a fetching prospect. Only in a subcontinent where peace reigns would, say, Escom’s day-dream of a regional power network linking SA’s national grid with Kariba in the north and Cahora Bassa in the east have any prospect of becoming real (Business April 29).

The next logical steps would obviously be an expanded customs union, preferential trade agreements and, ultimately, a fully fledged economic bloc of southern African states. Even the most diehard nationalists, on all sides, would agree that it makes cogent economic sense.

What does not make sense is that the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) should spend vast sums it can ill-afford developing alternative outlets to the sea when SA has all the transport infrastructure the region needs.

The arguments are compelling. Hard to dismiss, too, is the suggestion that there should be regular meetings between the heads of the neighbouring states to consider problems of regional security, economic dysfunction or social dislocation — regional African summity, in other words.

Unfortunately, while the latest initiatives towards peace are encouraging, they must be tinged with circumspection.

That much Foreign Minister Pik Botha allowed when he warned recently after talks between Angola, Cuba, the US and Moscow, that people should not allow “their expectations” of peace to be unduly raised.

Professor Mike Hough, Director of Strategic Studies at Pretoria University, points out (as Botha has done) that nothing much, on the ground, has changed. The Angolans, he
says, are still insisting on a limited pullback of Cuban troops to beyond the 13th parallel; there is no timetable for the proposed withdrawal process yet; and, more damning still, the MPLA is being re-supplied by Moscow with equipment lost in the current skirmishes. Not an encouraging scenario.

What the commentators will allow, though, is that the Angolan government and its supporters have recently demonstrated far more willingness to consider a peaceful outcome to the conflict than in the past. Luanda’s change of heart, they speculate, has been brought about by the thaw in relations between Moscow and the West; fears that the USSR could be over-committed in regional conflicts in Afghanistan and Angola; the need for the Cubans to disentangle themselves from what is proving to be a costly foreign adventure; a genuine desire for national reconstruction in Angola; and, by no means least, SA and UNITA’s military successes on the battlefield in Angola.

In short, the initiative for peace is coming largely from abroad. Meanwhile, far from rushing to accept the olive branch which is being proffered, SA appears to be playing the role of a coy bride. In the field, the SA-UNITA alliance appears to be in the superior position, having repulsed the MPLA offensive on the UNITA capital of Jamba at the Lomba River. It has subsequently wrested the initiative by moving westwards, taking the fight directly to the Angolans and surrounding their key resupply town of Cuito Cuanavale.

“What the Angolan government is in effect offering,” says Hough, “is a form of political amnesty. SA, on the other hand, is consolidating its position on the battlefield. It would not be unreasonable to expect it to push for the best settlement possible under the circumstances.”

The best settlement, as Hough sees it, is a peace which leaves UNITA in a strong position in any future Angolan government; which leads to the emasculation of Swappo cadres operating from Angolan soil; and which has the effect of diminishing foreign influence in the region — Cuban, Soviet and that of the US.

That, in itself, could complicate the peace process — given that the hawks in the Angolan administration have vowed never to sit at the same table as UNITA’s Jonas Savimbi. Says Hough: “The stalemate could continue indefinitely.”

The more worldly wise commentators, like Professor André du Pisan of the Institute of International Affairs, and UCT’s head of political studies, Prof. Robert Schrire, suggest that a stalemate is precisely what SA wants.

They point out that a settlement in Angola only brings the more pressing question of independence for Namibia into sharper focus. SA’s position on the territory is well known. Government has said that it stands ready and willing to implement UN Resolution 435 — once the Cubans have departed.

Schrire maintains SA’s priority in the Angolan-Namibian conundrum is, and always has been, Namibia. It wants to see a benign regime installed in Luanda, but, more importantly, it wants to keep Swappo at bay and retain the support of the internal parties in Namibia. Effectively, continuing conflict in Angola helps it attain that — by keeping southern Angola as a buffer zone to Namibia and having UNITA forces harry Swappo cadres fighting alongside Angolan troops.

Consequently, Schrire ventures: “SA would not be unhappy to see the peace process fail.”

Du Pisan is similarly sceptical. He says there is hard evidence pointing to the fact that SA is attempting to de-link the Namibian question from the peace process in Angola; in short, trying to broker a reconcilia-

tion between UNITA and the MPLA which leaves Namibia entirely out of the equation.

He concludes that as a strategy it is unlikely to succeed. Linkage, a concept devised by US negotiators and initially heatedly embraced by SA, envisages reciprocal movement on the issue of Resolution 435 leading to independence for Namibia in return for the withdrawal of Cuban troops. Any attempt to de-link the two issues at this juncture, he says, is likely to be vigorously opposed by virtually all parties.

Du Pisan, too, sees SA’s latest stratagem as an attempt to buy time over the Namibian issue. SA, he says, has failed dismally to cobble together a credible political alternative to Swappo from among the fractious internal parties in Namibia. Ironically, its military successes have run ahead of any gains that have been made diplomatically or politically.

Says Du Pisan: “In the absence of any significant movement on the ground in Namibia, which fits in with SA’s regional political plans, there is no way a settlement in Angola can go ahead.”

However, he’s not surprised there has been further diplomatic movement on the Angolan issue. Moreover, he anticipates the Cubans will come up with a timeable envisaging a phased Cuban troop withdrawal over one or two years — and that the bell will be placed firmly back in SA’s court.

SA will then either have to seize it and run with it or stall for more time as it has habitually done in the past.

In the absence of any dramatic political breakthrough, Du Pisan sees SA continuing to consolidate on the battlefield and establishing a cordon sanitaire in south Angola which will amount to a de facto partition of the country. The recent announcement that UNITA has established a provisional government is significant. A total military victory over Angola, even if it were within the capabilities of the SADF (which is open to doubt), is an option which, for obvious reasons, is discarded by most observers as impractical.

Peace is obviously the preferable route. But to be realistic one would have to acknowledge that the peace process cannot be rushed. There are so many vested interests, on all sides, to be accommodated that the mere attainment of a modicum of peace — however imperfect — would be a victory in itself.

As Schrire says in summation: “There are so many obstacles to peace that a basic pessimism is warranted.”

So Eskom — and everyone else — will have to wait. Probably for at least a decade.
SOUTHERN AFRICA

A time for clear heads

SA, and of course the other players taking part in the current round of highly secretive Angolan peace talks, could boost Vice-Presi-

dent George Bush's chances in the November presidential elections - should anything substantial come out of the sensitive delib-

erations. That is a di-

mension which ob-

servers at home should remember in assessing realistic prospects for peace in southern Africa (see Leaders). Facing the serious threat of more comprehensive san-

cctions imposed by the Demo-cratic-controlled US Congress, SA's negotiators in Lon-

don, led by Foreign Affairs Director General Neil van Heerden, would do well to heed this.

A smell of success for Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker - often derided by Democrats for his failure of policy constructiveness - may just rub off on the Republicans in November.

However, political analysts point out that this week's meeting must be seen as "talks about talks," and not a quick solution to the problems of war-ridden Angola. Already talks about a possible Cuban military build-

up (dismissed by some commentators as "be-

fore the fight" psychological tactics) have put a damper on the prospects of a solution in anything but the distant future.

The absence of rebel leader Jonas Savimbi's UNITA round the tables in London could also work against success when the talks eventually (and hopefully) go critical. UNITA claimed last weekend that it has shot down two Russian-built MIG fighters and had killed government troops; nothing peaceful there.

If SA is really serious about these talks succeeding, Pretoria will have to exert some pressure on Savimbi, who until now has counted on Pretoria's assistance, to restrain himself. The same goes for Swapo and their Soviet mentors: terrorist attacks and bloodshed will not be conducive to an early breakthrough.

Nonetheless, the talks, although preliminary, may represent the start of a new re-

gional peace initiative involving SA, the US, Britain and the various regional players, ac-

cording to analysts close to government. As the FM went to press no major break-

throughs were expected; but the broader implications of the contact between SA, the US, Cuba and Angola are probably signifi-
cant.

Coupled to the latest talks, aimed at end-

ing the Angolan conflict and allowing for the withdrawal from the territory of both Cuban and South African troops, is another new regional peace initiative - Mozambique.

A key Mozambican negotiator with SA in the pre-Nkomati period and a senior Frelimo Cabinet min-

ister, Jacinto Veloso, was in Cape Town last week to ask President P W Botha to meet Mo-

zambique's leader, Joaquim Chissano. Moves to revive the Nkomati Accord fol-

low reports of a fast deteriorating security and economic situation in Mozambique and recent revelations in the US of gruesome atrocities by the Mozambique National Re-

sistance Movement (MNR).

There are indications that although the latest moves towards peace in both Angola and Mozambique have been initiated outside SA, the government is more than willing to participate and co-operate in the hope of winning back some international credibility.

Stellenbosch University philosophy professor and political commentator, Willie Esterhuysen, says that even the possible solution of regional conflicts in southern Africa may have a positive influence on the anti-
sanctions lobby - particularly within the British government where PM Margaret Thatcher is under increasing pressure to jus-
tify her anti-sanctions stance.

He says there are also indications that some African leaders are keen to play a more active role in peace initiatives, and that there is a sense of progress towards regional stabil-

ity. According to him, these moves must be coupled to widespread acknowledgement in Africa that SA is an important regional power, and to the acceptance that regional stability is a prerequisite for economic development.

Esterhuysen says "cautious initiatives" are currently coming from some African coun-

tries and the limited contacts that have been made give cause for "cautious optimism." He adds that a possible summit between P W Botha and Chissano could introduce a dy-

namic new factor into the regional initiatives. As far as the Angolan initiative is concerned, the less said in public about a possible settle-

ment, the better the chances will be that "something meaningful" will occur, he be-

lieves.

Esterhuysen emphasises, however, that SA must accept that its path to the West is through Africa - and that there are coun-

tries in Africa keen to forge trade ties with this country. That is what Pretoria must take advantage of.

SANCTIONS - 1

Doubling imports

On the surface, the latest American trade report for the first full year of economic sanctions against SA would argue that the embargo is not working very well. But a closer look points up a suspicion that perhaps there are unintended consequences, not all to the good.

The US commerce department reports that, despite a sluggish South African economy and a wildly swinging dollar, exports to SA fell from $1 158,3m in 1986 to $2 281,2m in 1987. Imports from SA were sharply lower, as might be expected, down from a near record $4 746,2m in 1986 to $3 999,0m last year.

Thus, on the surface, SA managed a muscular but praiseworthy trade surplus with America, and things could have been worse. Indeed, things may be worse already, for there are clear signals that buyers on both sides have been over-ordering important goods in the last 12 months. The implication is that importers on both sides of the Atlantic expect an eventual total embargo of supplies from one another, and are busy stockpiling inventories to see them through until alternative sources of supply can be arranged.

It is in the area of imports of strategic minerals from SA that the disparity in trade trends from last year and the year before is the most clearly seen. American users of South African hard metals have nearly doubled intakes, well beyond any increase in actual use for US products.

According to the commerce data that tracked the decline in overall American purchases from SA, more than half of all US trade orders of South African goods - a full $727,8m worth - comes from imports of platinum group metals, a volume almost unchanged from 1986. The next largest import item, which accounts for more than 5,3% of imports, is ferrochrome which nearly dou-

bled its import flows last year. Other products which have kept their market share increased sales, despite the shrinkage of American demand, include ferromanganese and chrome, wood pulp and nickel.

South Africans, in turn, appear more in-

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**House of Assembly**

The information was presented by the different
Ministers of Constitution and Planning

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**Ministry of Transportation**

- **Director-General**: Jane Smith
- **Deputy Director**: John Doe

**Ministry of Health**

- **Minister**: Dr. John Doe
- **Deputy Minister**: Dr. Jane Smith

**Ministry of Education**

- **Minister**: Dr. Jane Smith
- **Deputy Minister**: Dr. John Doe

**Ministry of Finance**

- **Minister**: Dr. John Doe
- **Deputy Minister**: Dr. Jane Smith
SA is winning market battle, says SADCC

...By Robin Drew, The Star's Africa News Service...

HARARE — In the battle to secure markets and trading links in southern Africa, Pretoria is winning.

That is a conclusion reached not only by the policymakers in President Botha's administration but also by the opponents of Pretoria, who so desperately want to break away from South Africa's clutches.

The commentary says: "In 1979 Mr P W Botha floated the idea of a coalition of southern African states, under Pretoria's leadership. That idea was mocked. But today, without any obvious help from its promoters, it is being fulfilled." SADCC member states' imports from South Africa grow while their imports from each other stagnate. Left to itself, this trend may well not be reversed.

It adds: "We cannot accept that where racist and militarist South Africa succeeds in establishing a customs union which includes some of them, the SADCC countries are helpless to establish a free and vigorous trading area."

It maintains that apart from the agreement between Botswana and Zimbabwe (which was extended to the end of June) cooperation in trade was virtually non-existent eight years after the founding of SADCC and seven years after the birth of the bigger 16-nation PTA (Preferential Trade Area) movement.

Southern African Economist said: "During those years much lip-service has been paid to the ideals of the PTA. But in reality, the hinges on the trade doors of each country have stiffened so that now they open only outwardly to let out exports and most reluctantly inwardly to let in imports.

SADCC had invested heavily in developing transport and communications routes and could not afford to be indifferent if trade failed to grow.

The nine members of SADCC are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe."
SA trade routes 'head to destruction',...
Socialism in retreat, says Malan

Parliamentary Staff
THE "sun of socialism" was setting on the period of Soviet expansionism in Southern Africa with the Soviet Union no longer able to afford the price and on its way home, said Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Speaking in the House of Representatives yesterday during the debate on his budget vote, General Malan said 10 to 12 years ago there was great optimism in the frontline states that the "sun of socialism was rising".

"Today, that sun is setting behind the hills of collapse and poverty. Socialism has failed, even in the Soviet Union. Pre-
pull their troops out of Afghan-
istan, what was General Fidel Castro going to do with his "roving forces" in Angola?

General Malan said Africa should be careful that these Cuban soldiers did not eventually become a "nomadic horde" wandering without destination.

"The rumours that we hear about those forces in terms of sicknesses like Aids also portends little good."

General Malan received praise and support from members of the House with Mr Patrick McKenzie, Labour Party MP for Buteleheuwel, supporting the presence of troops - "our men in uniform" - in the townships.

"The unrest has brought our men in uniform closer to the people in the townships," he said. "When we are asleep they are our watchful eyes."

He warned General Malan to approach the (Angolan) MPLA with caution. "You must view every talks with communists with suspicion. They will only talk when they are losing and have their tails between their legs. Perhaps they are talking now after the good hiding we have given them."

Mr G Leeuw said South Africa had gone to Brazzaville with "its flag flying high" while there was "tension among the anarchists" - the people in Brazzaville and Broederstroo who wanted to overthrow South Africa with violence.
Malan lashes out at Frontline states

While South Africa was prepared to live with the Marxist policies of its neighbours, it would not accept the export of revolution and would fight it with all conceivable means, conventional and unconventional, Defence-Minister Magnus Malan said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

In the debate on his budget vote, General Malan said South Africa was quite prepared to co-exist with a government in Luanda that put the interests of Africa first and that did not export revolution as one of its chief policies.

He said South Africa did not want to prescribe a political formula to Angola.

General Malan lashed out at the Frontline states for the support they gave to the African National Congress.

He said the "rules of the game" from South Africa's point of view were that the country had no interest in destabilising its neighbours, that it had no desire to control the governments of organisations in southern African states and that it had no expansionist ambitions.

But those states should learn from Europe where, despite profound ideological differences, Eastern Europe had developed a viable co-existence and close economic interaction with Western Europe.

General Malan said South Africa's message to Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Zambia was: "We will not accept the exportation of revolution. If necessary, we will fight it with all conceivable means, conventional and unconventional."

Zimbabwe had offered political asylum to the ANC since 1984 and from its offices in Harare it kept contact with Cuba and the Soviet Union. The ANC office in Harare that South Africa destroyed in May last year had been moved to another building, said General Malan.
OAU declaration calls for unity in struggle against SA

The African Union (OAU) has declared a call for unity in the struggle against South Africa. This follows the recent meetings of the organization's leaders who expressed concern over the growing tension and conflict on the continent. The declaration emphasizes the need for collective action to address these challenges and promote peace and stability in the region.

The OAU also called for an end to all forms of violence and intimidation, including the use of military force, against civilians and protesters. The leaders urged all parties to engage in dialogue and find peaceful solutions to their differences.

In addition, the declaration called for the immediate release of all political prisoners and the lifting of all forms of censorship and media restrictions. The OAU also called for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression and assembly.

The declaration concluded with a call for international support in the struggle against South Africa, emphasizing the need for solidarity and cooperation among all African countries.

The OAU has long been a driving force for regional integration and cooperation, and this declaration is a clear indication of its commitment to promoting peace and justice on the continent.
Kinnock to visit Frontline States

The Star's Foreign News Service

LONDON — Britain's Opposition leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, hopes to return from his 10-day Africa trip with a dossier of information on South Africa's alleged destabilisation tactics in southern Africa.

The Labour leader will question heads of state in Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique on their views, asking for details of local initiatives for countering South Africa's influence in the region.

Mr Kinnock, in his first visit to the Frontline States, is keen to gather ammunition to use against Mrs Thatcher in his campaign for sanctions.

SHORING UP APARTHEID

The British Prime Minister's opposition to sanctions, he believes, is helping to shore up South Africa's apartheid system — enabling it to remain economically dominant in the region and allowing it to dabble in the political affairs of its neighbours.

After four days in Lusaka, Mr Kinnock will move on to Gabarone, Harare and Maputo. He returns to London on July 18.

It is understood that Mr Kinnock will also meet officials of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference who are spearheading the drive by the Frontline States to end their economic dependence on South Africa.

Mr Kinnock will be accompanied by his wife, Glenys. This will be Mrs Kinnock's second visit to Harare — she was there last year for a conference on South Africa's detained children.
Kinnock to visit Frontline States

SOWETAN Foreign Service

LONDON — Britain’s opposition leader, Mr. Neil Kinnock, hopes to return from his 10-day Africa trip with a dossier of information on South Africa’s alleged destabilisation tactics in southern Africa.

The Labour leader will question heads of state in Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique on their views, asking for details about local initiatives for counter-acting South Africa’s influence in the region.

Mr. Kinnock, in his first visit to the frontline states, is keen to gather ammunition to use against Mrs. Thatcher in his campaign for sanctions.

The British Premier’s opposition to economic sanctions, he believes, is helping to shore up South Africa’s apartheid system, enabling it to remain economically dominant in the region and allowing it to dabble in the political affairs of its neighbours.

Sanctions

A spokesman for his office said the Labour leader had decided the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference, who are spearheading the drive by the frontline states to end their economic dependence on South Africa.

Mr. Kinnock will be accompanied by his wife, Glenys. This will be Mrs. Kinnock’s second visit to Harare. She was there last year for a conference on South Africa’s detained children.

Sowetan Foreign Service
A front-line season of disasters for SA

By PETER WELLMAN in Harare

Law and Order Maintenance Act. He too was captured in Botswana and handed back after fleeing from a Zimbabwe border post when officials wanted to search his car. A man with him escaped from Botswana, presumably back to South Africa.

Beahan, who once worked as a security guard at the Sandton Sun, was allegedly the commander of South African commandos infiltrated last week to rescue five people charged with murder in the bombing of an ANC house in Bulawayo in January. The SA Defence Force has denied involvement in this incident.

Bulawayo businessman Rory Maguire has already been convicted under the same Act for working with the group, but he alone has escaped the murder charge.

Maguire was not with the other five when Beahan’s rescue bid was aborted. He will give evidence against the others.

Zimbabwe’s Minister of State for Security in the President’s Office, Dr. Sydney Sekeremayi, told journalists on Monday vehicles had been found with weapons, hand grenades, uniforms similar to Zimbabwe Army issue and other items to be used in the rescue.

Diplomats in Harare say these failed cowboy tactics have alarmed South Africa’s traditional supporters, such as Britain and the US, particularly since Pretoria’s generals and the politicians are blaming each other for the failures.

One diplomat told me it creates potentially dangerous instability in Pretoria centering on who is going to win and what the winner is going to do. One scenario is that the military wants to continue sporadic raids into the Frontline states and to push “destabilisation” hard.

The politicians, among them Foreign Minister Pik Botha, warn this has led to the present chaos in Mozambique.

South African support for Renamo has broken down security so badly that the Mozambique government cannot effectively control its borders. The result is that they also would not be able to control ANC movements across those borders, in spite of the joint security agreement between Pretoria and Maputo.

Another scenario is that, in Angola at least, the generals want to get their boys back home, while the politicians still dream of an anti-communist buffer from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans.

One diplomat told me: “The generals blame the politicians for not agreeing to a strong enough force to smash their way northwards for fear of international repercussions. “But now they want a retreat because army morale is a fragile thing and it has taken a big knock at Cuito Cuanavale.”
Kinnock visits the Frontline states

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock left Britain last night for an 11-day tour of the Frontline states, intending to highlight what he described as "the destruction wrought by South Africa and its attempts at imposing domination on half a continent".

Mr Kinnock, whose visit will start today when he meets President Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka, regards the trip as another opportunity to boost his international stature and his knowledge of the world's trouble spots.

He yesterday said the biggest problem faced by the Frontline states was the "violence and warfare and economic destabilisation that the apartheid regime spreads across the region in its efforts to defend continued white minority rule by aggression towards its neighbours".

Mr Kinnock is to meet leaders in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique.

APARTHEID

He said the theme of his trip was that "getting rid of apartheid is as urgent a priority for the Frontline states as it is for the people of South Africa and Namibia themselves".

In key speeches in Botswana and Zimbabwe, the Labour leader will press the case for comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa, and is not expected to hold back from condemning Mrs Thatcher's opposition to sanctions.

The Labour leader added that Britain had a historic, material and moral responsibility to help the Frontline states to end their economic dependence on South Africa.
SADCC plans summit in Maputo

POLITICAL and economic issues of concern to the Southern African region will be discussed at a one-day summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference in Maputo on July 15.

The summit will consider the 1987/88 annual progress report, which reviews the implementation of the SADCC program of action covering programs and projects of different sectors.

The summit will be preceded by a meeting of the standing committee of ministers on July 11 and 12, a meeting of the standing committee of officials today and tomorrow. Sector coordinators met on Wednesday. — Sapa.
HARARE — The SADCC region is threatened by a huge calamity, unless member states act immediately to break trade barriers now dividing the organisation, says the latest issue of the Southern African Economist.

Published just before the eighth summit of the SADCC heads of state starts in Maputo on Friday, the editorial says the overall economic situation in the region has deteriorated sharply.

"Incomes have shrunk, opportunities have narrowed, children die from economic deprivation. Essential assets such as roads, hospitals and schools disintegrate."

"If the same trends continue for another eight years, we will not just be talking about a debt crisis, an unemployment problem or a regrettable absence of development. We will be talking about a huge calamity, a massive failure of leadership, a shameful inability to mobilise our manpower and our brain power," it says.

The editorial says while economic groups such as the European Economic Community were talking of achieving a common market by 1992, the situation was different in Africa where, for example, the abolition of tariffs in the preferential trade area region might only be achieved in the next century because member states were afraid of losing customs revenue.

"We humbly submit that on its eighth birthday, SADCC must take a deep breath and resolve now to break the barriers to trade and investment which divide its members.

"Breaking these barriers does not only mean removing obstacles, it means positive movement to harmonise policies in all areas of economic life."—Sapa.
SADCC accuses SA

MAPUTO — Pretoria’s “destabilisation activities”, which cost the region about $5bn between 1980 and 1985, are undermining economic development efforts by Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) states, it has been alleged.

According to a 1987/88 SADCC draft annual progress report tabled at a meeting of senior government officials from member states here, SA adopted more “terrorism methods” in 1987 and continued to create an unstable environment in the region which was greatly hampering economic development.

SADCC, the report says, is trying to implement its action programme with the political and military support of the organisation’s co-operating partners, but is being frustrated by Pretoria and an unhealthy world economic environment.

“These efforts are partly undermined by political tension and a perception of insecurity in the region caused by SA military aggression and destabilisation,” the report says.

It says during 1987 SA emerged with new patterns of aggression against neighbouring states — in addition to its “regular military attacks”, SA “commandos” were now “assassinating and abducting” opponents, including foreigners.

In Mozambique and Angola, the report says, SA continued to support and sponsor Renamo and Unita, who destroyed property and killed civilians, while constantly invading southern Angola. — Sapa.
Economic reform 'yielding results'

Cut deficits, says SADCC report

MAPUTO — Southern African states should continue to implement structural adjustment programmes to help them reduce their balance of payments and budget deficits, a Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference report says.

A 1987/88 SADCC draft annual progress report currently being considered at Maputo says economic recovery and rehabilitation programmes initiated in 1986/87 are beginning to yield results, but more needs to be done to improve overall growth and enhance people's living standards, Ziana news agency reports.

The report, circulated among members of SADCC Council of Ministers, says SADCC states should avoid borrowing from international banks to finance their budget deficits, but should continue to implement structural adjustment programmes to restore stability through increased exports, transfer of resources, efficient resource allocation, incentives and balanced income and expenditure.

"The impact of these programmes, however, is often constrained by the seriously eroded productive base. Recourse to increased borrowing and deficit-financing only leads to greater debt service and galloping inflation," says the report.

Although there was a substantial improvement in the region in 1987, the report says, sluggish economic growth in industrialised countries lowered prices of some of the region's primary exports, while manufactured goods imports became costly.

"The prospects for increased export earnings remain uncertain and demand for primary products in industrialised countries remains weak," it says.

"The current shortage of foreign exchange will persist in most member states," the report says, completing the gloomy picture.

The report accuses SA of using "terrorist tactics" against her neighbours and continuing to frustrate SADCC development programmes. It said SA was now using "terrorist tactics" like assassinations and abductions against its opponents in neighbouring states. — Sapa.
SA ‘using terror tactics’ against SADCC

MAPUTO — South Africa has been accused in a SADCC report of using “terrorist tactics” against its neighbours and continuing to frustrate SADCC development programmes.

The Council of Ministers of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference began a two-day meeting in Maputo yesterday to play the organisation’s 1988/89 action programme.

An SADCC secretariat official told the Ziana news agency that the Ministers were expected to consider and adopt the annual progress report which had been debated by senior government officials who met here last week.

“The Ministers will talk about all the issues concerning the development of SADCC states, the projects going on and those that will follow. They will pass on their recommendations to the summit,” he said.

The Ministers are also expected to discuss the political situation in the region and how it affected SADCC’s economic development efforts.

**Frustrate**

A draft annual report which was prepared by senior government officials last week said Pretoria was continuing to frustrate SADCC development programmes.

The report also said South Africa was now using “terrorist tactics” like assassinations and abductions against its opponents in neighbouring states.

The two-day meeting will be chaired by SADCC council of ministers chairman, Mr Peter Mmusi, who is also Botswana’s vice-president and Minister of Finance. — Sapa.

**Jailed**

NAIROBI — A British tourist was jailed for three months in Nairobi for tearing up Kenyan banknotes he was trying to smuggle out of the country, it was reported yesterday.
SA may try to topple countries, report

BY SUE LEMAN
The Star Bureau

An Economist's Intelligence Unit study makes an in-depth analysis of the interdependence of southern African states and predicts that the overall situation in the region will become more confrontational.

LONDON — Faced with further sanctions or escalated domestic unrest, South Africa will simply step up its destabilisation of the Frontline states — and may even try to overthrow some of their governments, says a new report.

But the study, by the influential Economist Intelligence Unit, says comprehensive mandatory sanctions could remain on the backburner for the next five years.

The next major wave of internal unrest will probably only materialise around the early 1990s, the study predicts.

Transport sabotage

The report, entitled "Southern Africa: The Price of Apartheid", makes an in-depth analysis of the interdependence of the states of southern Africa — and concludes that it is South Africa's destabilisation policies, including the "sabotage of transport routes" which have helped it maintain its stranglehold on the region.

Despite the absence of comprehensive sanctions, the overall climate within the region seems bound in the long-term to become slowly more confrontational.

But for now, despite heated anti-apartheid rhetoric, cool heads are in control in the capitals of the sub-continent, it says.

Author Roger Martin — a veteran British diplomat with more than 20 years' service in the region — says a relative easing of internal and external pressure on South Africa in 1987 has given Pretoria's pragmatists the upper hand, and they are pushing for "business as usual" between the southern African states.

Pretoria is now less likely to exercise the "Lesotho option"— an economic blockade like the one imposed on Lesotho in 1986 — and more likely to try the "flexible squeeze", a periodic but minor disruption of transport and other links.

But Mr Martin warns that by the early 1990s, South Africa could be under renewed sanctions and domestic pressure.

Reasonable hope

Its economic dominance will be undercut by the efforts of the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference, which plans to open a number of major new and repaired transport routes then.

However, it in the meantime South Africa and the international community can understand the Frontline nations' anti-apartheid statements for what they are — "an expression of sincere principle, and... and essential safety valve for governments facing an extremely difficult balance act, not as statements of real desire for confrontational action" — then there is "reasonable hope" of a slow improvement in regional stability.
Kinnock finds SA everywhere

THE STAR BUREAU

The Kinnocks were shocked to find so many South African products in the Frontline States.

LONDON — Mrs Glenys Kinnock, wife of Britain’s Labour leader, is so opposed to apartheid that for the two decades of her marriage she has worn a silver wedding ring, fearing that a gold one might contain metal from South African mines.

This week, however, Mrs Kinnock and her husband learned the difficulty of avoiding South African products in southern Africa, where many countries are heavily dependent on South Africa for vital goods and services.

The couple, in Zambia on the first stage of an 11-day swing through the Frontline states, found that wherever they went they were confronted by “Made in South Africa” labels.

Had they looked inside the hard hats they were obliged to put on during their visit to the Nchanga copper mine, they would have found instructions written in Afrikaans.

At a dinner given by President Kenneth Kaunda in the Kinnocks’ honour, the couple were concerned to find that the wine that flowed was South African. Mr Kinnock made a point of saying that he drank it only out of deference to his host.

On another Zambian stop, the BBC’s cameras caught the Labour leader seated at a table on which was a bottle of what looked very like a bottle of South African-produced tomato sauce. A bottle of South African Grunberger Stein was at his elbow.

The very DC10 which brought the Kinnocks from Heathrow is involved in sanctions busting.

The plane, which belongs to Zambia Airways, recently began a Lusaka-New York weekly flight. A connecting flight every Tuesday from Johannesburg to Lusaka was altered to dovetail perfectly with it.

The new service makes things much more convenient for passengers who have sorely missed the direct transatlantic flights since America banned them two years ago.

Back home in London, Mrs Kinnock may be in for another surprise. For the South African fruit that she tries so hard to avoid when she shops in her local supermarket could well be finding its way into her trolley without her knowledge.

In recent months, South African fruit is believed to have been re-labelled and shipped to Europe through Zambia.
Much fighting talk about SA, but the real foe is Maggie

A TRIP to Southern Africa has been the Kinnocks’ dream for a quarter of a century but nobody has any doubt that the visit was more about domestic British politics than sightseeing.

With Labour once again lagging far behind the Tories in the opinion polls, Neil Kinnock, leader of the official Opposition, has just survived a party crisis over unilateral disarmament. There is a growing question mark against his continued leadership. Tory newspapers have even suggested that he has been suffering from depression and that his wife, Glenys, had to dissuade him from resigning — a story which seems to be untrue but which underlies the huge burden he has been carrying, trying to hold together Britain’s bickering official Opposition.

Through Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe, Kinnock — with Glenys smiling her support in the background — has been flagellating South Africa with a ferocity of language which has rarely been heard from a major Western politician. “Animals”, “murderers”, “bullies”, “terrorists” and “cowards” are some of the insults he has directed at the South African government and the security forces.

The Southern Africa trip had been planned for several months, but in the circumstances it was particularly timely for him. The apartheid issue is, of course, Kinnock’s strong suit, despite Margaret Thatcher’s efforts to portray him as a man who has become too moderate.

The prime minister has been seen to be vulnerable on the issue, largely as a result of his codswallop over sanctions. The issue of one party states is the most important issue of all, and the Labour leader has so far made no opportunity to hammer him.

Standing on the Zambian border, looking at the South African flag fluttering over a military base in the Capetown suburbs, he described it as an illegitimate, uncaring, disingenuous and lacking in “moral obligation” and accused him of failing to understand the region’s “potential for disaster”.

In Botswana, inspecting the burnt-out house attacked by South African commandos — in which four people were killed — he coupled his use terror for its deliberate purpose of destabilisation, a systematic campaign of violence against the innocent which threatens the very existence of the civilisation on which the apartheid regime from time to time likes to pride itself,” he said.

The issue of one party states he managed to skirt, with a somewhat tendentious suggestion that they were “democratic” in that they allow for dissent within the party.

Challenges to the mismanagement of black African economies met with more enthusiasm. They triggered him on one of his hobby horses — the injustices of the present international monetary system as reflected in the world debt problem.

But overall the hallmark of Kinnock’s tour has been his hostility towards “South Africa is a state willing to
LONDON — Southern Africa’s Frontline states will remain uneasy dependent on Pretoria into the 1990s and, as long as they do not attempt to turn their anti-apartheid rhetoric into reality, Armageddon can be averted in the region, according to a report by The Economist Intelligence Unit published today.

Change within South Africa will be the result of its own internal power struggle and, with luck, this will “pursue its own turbulent course” without bringing down the rest of the region, the report concludes.

Western countries should target their sanctions campaign to stop Pretoria destabilising the Frontline states and not to abolish apartheid, the report said.

It recommends the Frontline states limit their anti-apartheid activity to political rhetoric and suggests they should continue business as usual and become militarily neutral towards South Africa in exchange for a reduction or cessation of destabilisation by Pretoria.

This is the “best-case” scenario depicted in the report, by Mr. Roger Martin, a former British diplomat in the region.

The “worst-case” scenario sees a spiral of deterioration, with South Africa’s hawks in the ascendency, an increase of random attacks and a transport squeeze on the Frontline states, which then adopt a more radical pro-African National Congress posture, leading to an escalation of global sanctions, which would in turn reduce the inhibitions of the South African military and lead to retaliation against the Frontline states.

The dependence of the fragile economies of Frontline states on South Africa, The Economist says, has been deliberately created by Pretoria’s policy of destabilisation and the destruction of their transport routes by groups linked to South Africa.

Of all the Frontline states only Angola, with help from Russia and Cuba, is capable of standing up to South Africa’s military might. — The Independent News Service.
Maggie rages at Kinnock over SA

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON: Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday raged at Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock, rejecting sanctions outright during a blazing row in Parliament.

There was uproar as Mrs Thatcher denied Mr Kinnock’s allegation that she had earned “the reputation of being the appeaser of apartheid”, warning that sanctions would mean starvation for millions of black people in Southern Africa.

MPs hurled abuse across the floor of the House of Commons after Mr Kinnock, who had returned only hours before his controversial tour of frontline states, launched his attack on Mrs Thatcher.

The Speaker called vainly for order and condemned MPs on both sides for “disgraceful” behaviour.

Red-faced and shouting directly at the prime minister, Mr Kinnock alleged that “since 1980 nearly 70,000 children have died and nearly 200,000 are orphaned and millions more have suffered hunger directly because of the war waged by South Africa against the frontline states”.

He demanded that she should increase aid to those countries and introduce strong sanctions “against the apartheid regime of South Africa”.

Mrs Thatcher, also shouting, told him: “If there were ever to be comprehensible sanctions against South Africa the number of people who would suffer — including children — would be infinitely greater.

We do give considerable help to the frontline states and we have given special additional help to build pathways and roadways so that people can take their goods, not through South Africa, but through other ways to the ports.”

But Kinnock leapt back to his feet responding that every organisation in South Africa that represented the majority of the people wanted sanctions.

“Does she think she knows more about things to be done than those who live with apartheid and its aggression?” he bellowed.

Shouting above the now-deafening noise, Mrs Thatcher replied: “By virtue of his recent visit he (Mr Kinnock) will know that the frontline states themselves do not apply sanctions because they are aware of the devastating effect on their economies and on their own people.

“Hewill know the effect of sanctions would vastly increase the number of starving children.”

Again the livid Labour leader came back shouting: “The vulnerability of the frontline states is no excuse for the lack of action by this government.”

Visibly enraged, Mrs Thatcher roared straight back: “He knows I condemn apartheid. I totally disagree with him about sanctions and unless I am not prepared to sit in this House comfortably and impose sanctions on millions of black South Africans.

Labour backbencher Mr David Winnick then accused Mrs Thatcher of carrying out a policy of appeasement towards South Africa “in the same way Neville Chamberlain appeased Nazi Germany”.

Mrs Thatcher tore into Mr Kinnock and Mr Winnick, saying: “There is a great difference between what the frontline states say, and what they do.

“Fey urge comprehensive sanctions but they do not themselves impose sanctions from their own countries because of the poverty it would do to their own people.”

Conservative MP Mr David Evans then infuriated Labour backbenchers by teasing Mr Kinnock over his arrest at Mutare airport in Zimbabwe.

He asked the prime minister to make sure that consulates and embassies were staffed adequately to help travellers abroad and suggested that Mrs Thatcher should ask the government of Zimbabwe to “condemn the Lance-Corporal who arrested Mr Kinnock”.

Mrs Thatcher told the House: “Consular services and embassies are very well staffed to deal with any situation. The aid we give to the frontline states is greatly appreciated as is the training we give to the Zimbabwe armed forces.”
In Maputo today, a slow but key step

By PAUL FAUDET in Maputo

THE heads of state of the nine members of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference meet in Maputo today against a background of slow, but significant steps in achieving SADCC's goal.

SADCC's main goal is the reduction of dependence on SA.

On two key rail routes in the region, the Beira and Dar es Salaam corridors, traffic has increased significantly over the past year. And two of the other lines, to the Mozambican ports of Maputo and Nacala from Zimbabwe and Malawi respectively, are being upgraded and are expected to reopen by the end of the year.

Only the Benguela railway running through Central Angola to the Atlantic port of Lobito remains a major headache for SADCC, thanks largely to the efforts of Unita.

Even here there are hopes: a donor's conference to raise funds for the Benguela Line will take place in Angola later this year.

Since its foundation in 1980, SADCC has worked remarkably well despite the enormous range of political systems it covers — from the Marxism of Mozambique and Angola, through the multiparty system of Botswana, to the Banda dictatorship in Malawi.

There have been few serious frictions, and none of the squabbling for posts that has marred other regional bodies such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECWAS).

SADCC's executive secretary, Zimbabwean Simba Makoni, is pleased at the progress made, and declares that SADCC's biggest success has been "an acknowledgement by the people of the region that their destinies are linked, that our countries will swim together or sink together."

He admits SADCC has not reduced dependence "to the extent we would have liked", but points out "we are trying to redirect relations that were consolidated a century ago."

Makoni identifies South African aggression as SADCC's main obstacle, saying Pretoria's attitude had forced several SADCC members — notably Angola and Mozambique — to divert scarce resources into defence coffers.
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Western conspiracy alleged

HARARE — The West was conspiring to subvert the regional economic independence aims of the preferential trade areas (PTA) and the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC), a speaker claimed at a Southern Africa peace and security conference in Tanzania at the weekend.

"That they are trying to do so is not simply guesswork," said Mr. Colin Darch, a senior researcher of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre.

"There is convincing evidence that the strategy is already in operation," Harare-based Mr. Darch told the conference.

**THREATENED**

He said the coming together of a group of widely different and sometimes competitive states to try to gain greater control of their own economies threatened Western interests.

Western interests had been forced to try to co-opt both organisations to stave off the opening up of a genuine possibility of wider freedom of movement for PTA and SADCC member countries.

"To the extent that such an attempt also threatens Western interests, then SADCC dependence on Western funding for its projects obviously presents an opportunity to foreign capital to try to re-define the agenda," Mr. Darch said.

He cited World Bank and International Monetary Fund pressure in favour of so-called free markets and for reduction of state intervention in the economy.

"Among individual donors, the United States, especially, has tried to use control of purse-strings to exclude certain kinds of solutions to technical questions."

"Mr. Darch said the European Community had also made "such stipulations, but usually in a much more subtle way." It was open to question whether the SADCC could continue to resist this economic pressure.

Likewise in the PTA, he said, Zimbabwe had resisted an attempt to limit tariff benefits to companies which were 51 percent national. — Sipa.
Millions allocated to better services in Vaal

By STAN MILONGO

THE Vaal Regional Services Council this week approved more than R17-million in capital projects — intended to upgrade the facilities of areas falling under its jurisdiction.

Speaking after the VRSC monthly meeting, VRSC town clerk Andre Bosman confirmed that R12-million of this amount was from loans and R5-million was accrued from income.

Over R8-million, will be spent on electrical systems in the Vaal region; R3-million on roads; another R3-million on sewage; R2-million on water systems and R413 000 on recreation, investigations into libraries and into dumping grounds for refuse.

Vereeniging, Evaton, Meyerton, Vanderbijlpark, Rosettenville, Rustervaal, Sebokeng, Sharpesville, Bolpotong and Bobophelong and peri urban areas will benefit.

Evaton — with a growing squatter problem — will get the bulk of R7 210 000; the Lekoa council R6 700 000; Meyerton and Vanderbijlpark R850 000 each; and Vereeniging R1 036 000. The other areas will share R1 278 000.

The amounts allocated are considerably above amounts budgeted for in 1987/88, when the total expenditure amounted to only R1 875 000.
Move to reopen Benguela line

BRUSSELS. — The Belgian owner of Angola's strategic Benguela railway said yesterday it was ready to send experts to study possible reopening of the line if their safety was guaranteed.

The track has been largely made unusable by 25 years of civil war.

Société Générale de Belgique, which owns 90% of the railway through a subsidiary, said it planned to send experts to survey the 1,297 km of line between the Atlantic port of Lobito and Dundo on the border with Zaire.

"If the survey proves positive, the terms of rehabilitation of the railway will be discussed within the framework of a regional development plan which, in addition to Angola, also intéresses Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe," the conglomerate said in a statement.

The railway used to be a major route for Zaire and Zambia to transport copper and other minerals.

Hopes of an end to Angola's civil war have risen since Angola, Cuba and SA agreed last month on the principles to be included in any settlement to the Angolan conflict.

Société Générale noted that the idea of a regional development plan conformed with one of the principles, which acknowledged the need for African and international co-operation to solve the region's development problems.

It said it expected to receive a positive response to its plan from all the parties concerned.

The statement said Société Générale had had contacts with each of the parties involved in trying to revive the railway. — Sapa-News.
Frontline praises Angola

LUANDA - Leaders of the Frontline states last night concluded a one-day summit, which their chairman Mr. Kenneth Kaunda described as "extremely successful". The leaders mainly analysed the prevailing situation in southern Africa in the light of the Angola talks.

A joint communiqué issued at the end of the summit said the Frontline leaders expressed their satisfaction with the constructive spirit, courage, realism and flexibility demonstrated by the government of Angola in the framework of its peace initiatives. It encouraged Angola to pursue this path and called upon the parties concerned to avoid any action that might jeopardise the present process of negotiations.

They also reaffirmed their conviction that the utilisation of "armed bands" by the "Protevista regime" in its policy of alleged aggression and destabilisation against the Frontline states continued to be the principal cause of the climate of tension and of war prevailing in the sub-region. — Sapa.
Mugabe voices misgivings about Angolan peace accord

Mugabe fears the Angola-Namibia peace accord could lead to an intensification of SA "destabilisation" attacks on its neighbours.

Commenting at a media conference, after his return from Monday's one-day summit of the Frontline leaders in Luanda, Mugabe said Pretoria might become more aggressive, feeling itself "encircled, besieged and threatened" by the forces of liberation.

"I do not trust the South Africans," said Mugabe. "They still have to prove they are genuinely committed to the peace process."

Mugabe said SA had been forced to capitulate because its troops had been surrounded and were in danger of annihilation. They and whites at home in SA were demoralised, he believed.

In Lusaka, the ANC said it whole-heartedly welcomed moves that would bring about peace, not only in Angola but to the whole southern African region.

In a statement issued to ANO, the ANC referred to the raising of the so-called presence of ANC camps in Angola as an issue in the continuing negotiations between Angola, Cuba, SA and the US in an effort to bring a peaceful settlement to the south-western part of Africa.
LISBON — The Frontline states said yesterday the ceasefire agreement between SA and opposing Angolan and Cuban forces was a big step towards peace in the region.

"The constructive spirit, courage, realism and flexibility shown by the Angolan government... has improved the prospects for peace in SWA," the six countries said, Sapa-Reuter reports.

Their statement was issued after the leaders of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe met in Luanda for talks on the ceasefire.

Cost of war

It praised Cuba for its support of the Angolan government in its 13-year war against Unita rebels and called on SA to end apartheid "to ease the internal tension which is felt throughout the sub-region".

ELSABÉ WESSELS reports that Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) executive director Ron Haywood said yesterday what he termed the Namibian occupation was costing the SA government of Rbn annually.

Namibian Administrator-General Louis Pienaar yesterday said the latest peace agreement offered the best opportunity in more than a decade to end hostilities, Sapa reports.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party in Windhoek yesterday appealed to white political parties in the territory to present a united front in opposition to the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 as UN-supervised elections in the territory would lead to "a communist regime".
Warning on decay of welfare care

HARARE — Social welfare in SADCC countries was deteriorating due to structural adjustments involving devaluation, high interest rates, cuts in social subsidies and the introduction of charges for other services, a specialist researcher told a food security workshop here.

Anna Thabijaka, of the University of Dar es Salaam, said these "macroeconomic" factors were important when dealing with the food security situation, Ziana reports.

She was addressing about 26 participants to a food security workshop yesterday on constraints facing non-governmental organisations (NGO's) in their attempts to tackle food security measures in the SADCC region.

Food aid doubled

Thabijaka said even if structural adjustment programmes being carried out were not directly responsible for the deterioration, governments should do something to arrest the deteriorating human conditions.

At the beginning of the workshop yesterday, Zimbabwe's Environment and Development Action (Zeda) deputy director Joshua Gwilita said food aid to the SADCC region had doubled between 1980 and 1986, totalling one million tons a year. — Sapa.
Angola is 'main base' for the ANC

Political Staff

ANGOLA is the main training ground for ANC terrorists and Botswana is their main infiltration route into South Africa, General Johan van der Merwe, head of the security police, said yesterday.

Briefing political journalists on the current security situation, he said South Africa is having a "reasonable degree of success" against infiltration.

Botswana is the main conduit because the ANC has difficulties in operating from other neighboring states, but is nevertheless still using them to varying degrees as staging posts to reach SA.

The ANC's involvement in Angola is an important aspect of the current peace negotiations concerning Cuban withdrawal and independence for Namibia. However, General Van der Merwe said it is a sensitive situation and he could not say what the outcome of the peace talks would be.

He said Botswana had been given warnings of the activities of ANC members in its country and is attempting to take firmer action.

"However, we understand that President Kenneth Kaunda has asked Botswana not to be too tough on the ANC, which has established underground structures in that country," he said.

Botswana was careful not to give the ANC such a degree of free rein that it would entice action by the SA security forces.

"In light of the increased infiltration by terrorists, and the serious warnings issued by SA, Botswana decided in 1987 on a stricter security policy regarding revolutionary movements," he said, adding that South Africa has the impression there is a great deal of laxity or inefficiency on the part of Botswana.
81 countries say SA caused refugee crisis

OSLO -- Eighty-one nations denounced South Africa yesterday as the root cause of a humanitarian crisis threatening millions of lives throughout southern Africa.

A declaration at the end of a three-day international conference called for more urgent aid to the region. It saw no lasting solution to the sufferings of an estimated six million refugees and displaced people until the apartheid system was overthrown.

"South Africa's apartheid policy, its illegal occupation of Namibia, the policies it pursues in the region of direct and indirect acts of aggression, intimidation and destabilization are root causes of the tragic humanitarian crisis unfolding in the region," the statement said.

The statement was prepared by a 15-member committee including representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Speakers at the conference accused South Africa of deliberately causing the refugee crisis as part of a strategy of weakening the economies of neighbouring states and increasing their dependence on Pretoria.

The final declaration omitted a proposal contained in an earlier draft submitted to conference delegates that the United Nations should set up a new organization to deal specifically with displaced people. It was felt that there were enough aid organizations in the field. -- Sapa-Reuters.
Transport projects hit by S.A. sabotage, says lecturer.

BASA in Pretoria, 23 July. L. G. Mafunda, lecturer at the University of Fort Hare, has accused South Africa of sabotaging transport projects in the region.

Mr. Mafunda, who is currently on a fact-finding mission to the region, said that South Africa had deliberately delayed the completion of transport projects. He said that South Africa had also prevented the region from benefiting from the projects.

"The region needs transport projects to develop," Mr. Mafunda said. "We can't continue to be held back by South Africa's sabotage."
SADC has pondered its 'economic nightmare'

The annual summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference last week was characterised by sombre realism, most evident in the keynote address by its chairman, Botswana president Quett Masire.

Masire warned that SADC, a grouping of nine Frontline states, was at a crossroads and that "the promise of political independence is progressively turning into a nightmare."

He pointed to the economic woes of the region: the long-term downward trends in per capita production and income, the foreign exchange crisis, the erosion of social services, serious unemployment levels and a foreign debt that "has reached unbearable levels, and threatens to seriously compromise our sovereign right to formulate policies of national development and management."

Masire called for a reversal of "current production and trade relationships" which "expose us to ever-deteriorating terms of trade, and make us the perennial objects of charity."

"Solutions, he argued, "must come from ourselves, through more imaginative and efficient management of our affairs and institutions."

His suggested priorities for the SADC were regional co-operation in investment, production and trade to halt the region's current decline and then to launch it "on a path of self-sustaining growth."

Masire and other speakers stressed the importance of recent seminars with SADC businessmen. Participants had identified constraints on investment, including bureaucratic inefficiencies, worries over security, and the "perceived negative attitude of governments to business."

Many speakers mentioned the small size of national markets in the region and the need to move towards an integrated regional market.

The progress report adopted at the summit noted that the region remains heavily dependent on the Southern African rail network, but there...
Canada gives R9.2-million aid to African refugees

By Correspondent

The Canadian International Development Agency is to provide R4.2-million Canadian dollars (about R9.2 million) towards helping the growing number of refugees and displaced people in Southern Africa.

A statement issued by the Canadian High Commission in Lusaka said another seven million dollars (about R15.4 million) initiative involving three water projects in Mozambique were being discussed.

The statement says a Canadian MP, Walter McKillop, made the aid announcement in Oslo, Norway, at the international conference on the plight of refugees and displaced persons in Southern Africa convened by the Organisation of African Unity and attended by UN members states.

Although the refugee problem is widespread in Southern Africa, tension is being directed mainly at Mozambican refugees in Malawi and Angola, currently has a displaced population of 153,000 and a total of 179,000 refugees comprising 69,000 Namibians and 100,000 South Africans.

According to the latest statistics issued by the High Commissioner for Refugees in Malawi, there are an estimated 482,000 Mozambican refugees in Malawi.
Demand for goods and services increasing

‘SA links with Africa growing’

GEORGE — Africa was inextricably linked to South Africa by a growing web of commercial, economic, health and other ties.

This was the thrust of a lengthy list of links South Africa has with countries to its immediate north which the State President, Mr P W Botha, detailed last night when opening the Cape National Party congress at George.

Mr Botha said South Africa, with 4 percent of the total African population, accounted for 20 percent of its gross national product.

Investment, development aid and loans by the South African private sector made a substantial contribution to the economies of many countries in the region.

Many development projects in Africa were financed by credit and loans provided by the South African private and public sectors.

South Africa provided transport and harbour facilities to many states so they could conduct their international trade.

The country had 27 percent of the total length of railways on the continent and it carried 81 percent of railway freight transported in Africa.

Seven landlocked states made extensive use of the South African transport and ports system.

There were more than 10,000 carriages, steam and diesel locomotives of the SA Transport Services in use on the railway systems of neighbouring countries — Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire and Namibia.

South Africa was also involved in the maintenance of the port of Maputo.

South Africa provided job opportunities for many workers from neighbouring countries — 300,000 official migrant workers at the latest count and, perhaps, just as many illegal workers.

Two million people derived benefit from the employment of migrant workers in South Africa.

South Africa’s Eskom was a source of energy for five states in the region — Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

South Africa was the leading factor in the development of the R4 billion Lesotho highland water and hydro-electric scheme.

South Africa was also involved with Mozambique in the Cahora Bassa scheme and with Angola in the Ruacana and Calueque schemes.

South Africa was the major market for hydro-electric power and water from its neighbouring states.

Despite the threat of sanctions, the demand for South African goods was constantly increasing in Africa.

Not only did South Africa supply food to the region, it was involved in agricultural development of the various countries.

By David Braam, Political Correspondent
Next step southern African summit

P W makes plea for peace, development

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

GEORGE — The State President, Mr PW Botha, last night appealed to the leaders of southern Africa to come together to bring about peace and development in a region racked by conflict and poverty.

"South Africa has an important role to play in the region.

'Ideological differences cannot be allowed to thwart attempts at peace and co-operation," he said.

Mr Botha made his latest call for a summit of southern African leaders during his speech at the opening of the Cape National Party congress in George.

The two-day congress, starting today, is likely to focus sharply on President Botha's vigorous diplomatic thrust into Africa of recent months.

Mr Botha said after his weekend meeting with the President of Zaire, Field Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, that a conference of all the leaders of southern Africa would be the next step in his Africa initiative.

The State President devoted most of his speech to this theme last night, underlying the high priority he has given it.

He said the perception for years had been that South Africa was a belligerent power in a region of conflict. Events of recent months had, however, placed a serious question mark over this notion.

Made call

Mr Botha said he called for closer co-operation in southern Africa throughout the 10 years he had been South Africa's leader.

In 1979, at the Cahora Bassa conference with business leaders, he had called for a constellation of southern African states.

At the signing of the Nkomati Accord he had again called for regional co-operation.

Since then, the Government had taken a number of concrete steps, such as establishing the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

'"Two years ago, Mr Botha said, he had at the Free State NP congress called for co-operation in southern Africa, in the following areas: military security and stability; economic development, support and mutual co-operation; agricultural and industrial development and the creation of jobs; and the conservation and supply of water.

Mr Botha said: "Allegations that South Africa is a destabilising and disruptive force in southern Africa are therefore not true. South Africa is the single most important stabilising factor in the region."

Mr Botha said there were encouraging signs of greater co-operation and understanding in the region. However, the leaders of southern Africa still had to take the big step of coming together.

Efforts at peace are based on principles we strive for. These include:

• That countries do not interfere in the domestic affairs of others.

• That alien forces are not utilised in southern Africa for military purposes.

• That countries do not accommodate international terror organisations which act against other countries."
Southern African summit urged

President calls for co-operation

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

GEORGE. — President Botha last night called for a summit of Southern African leaders to discuss co-operation in the region.

But the Department of Foreign Affairs said it was unaware of any plans for the President to attend this weekend's summit of black African leaders in Zambia.

A spokesman for the department was reacting to reports from Kinshasa which quoted Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko as saying: "The summit of heads of state of (countries) neighbouring Angola will definitely be held next Thursday or Friday in Lusaka in Zambia with the participation of Mr Pieter (PW) Botha."

Plans for a summit of black African leaders in Lusaka were reported at the weekend while Mr Botha was meeting the Zairean President in Gbadolite, Zaire, and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was meeting the president of Gabon in Franceville, Gabon.

At the meeting last night Mr Botha rejected allegations that South Africa was a destabilising factor in the region.

Cape congress

Addressing about 1 000 people at the opening of the Cape National Party congress in George, he said South Africa was the single most important stabilising factor.

Over the years South Africa had become the mainstay of many Southern African countries. They were using this country's infrastructure, labour market, scientific and technological expertise, capital resources and various other services to develop their own countries.

There were encouraging signs of greater understanding and co-operation, but the leaders of Southern Africa still had to take the great step to get together.

Mr Botha pledged South Africa's full support and contribution to such an initiative.

This, he said, was essential because South Africa had an important role to play in efforts to bring about peace where there was conflict and to promote development in a region of poverty.

Despite threats of sanctions the demand for South African goods was constantly increasing in Africa. South Africa's most important exports to Africa included food, chemicals and medicines.

South Africa's peace efforts were based on sound principles. These were that countries should not interfere in the domestic affairs of others, foreign forces should not be used in Southern Africa for military purposes, and countries must not allow internationally organised terrorist movements to strike at other countries.
Now for the hard part

South Africa has to maintain diplomatic momentum

some black states that may be harder to win over

President Botha

President Mandela

Koremil

Board of Directors
developments within South Africa itself, that African states would find unacceptable or a South African Defence Force attack on ANC targets in a neighbouring state.

South Africa's reputation as a deliberate destabiliser in the region militates as much as its apartheid policies against open dealings with other countries in the subcontinent.

To win acceptability, South Africa must demonstrate that it has abandoned destabilisation rather than provide evidence that it retains a place in Pretoria's policies.

To a lesser extent than the diplomatic drive in Africa, could be set back by a major advance by the white right wing in the municipal elections on October 26.
Peace hopes: Africa is optimistic

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Top South African diplomats have arrived in the United States for further talks on peace in Southern Africa — and black African leaders are optimistic that Angola’s President José Eduardo dos Santos’s willingness to negotiate with Unita could soon lead to a comprehensive settlement.

President dos Santos acknowledged in an interview with the French newspaper Liberation that talks could take place with Unita, although he said this would be considered only after a settlement with South Africa.

And in an interview with the New York Times President dos Santos said: “We believe there will be a definite accord. We will do everything in our power to reach an accord.”

His remarks were published as South Africa’s Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr. Neil van Heerden, arrived in New York for discussions with the United Nations secretariat on the implementation of Resolution 435.

Mr van Heerden, accompanied by his deputy, Mr Herbert Benke, is also expected to have more talks with his Cuban and Angolan counterparts, who have also arrived.

The chief mediator of the negotiations, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr. Chester Crocker, is understood to be in New York preparing for the talks, which will tackle issues such as a timetable for a Cuban troop withdrawal.

“Opportunistic statements”

The Argus Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that Zambia’s President Kenneth Kaunda has firmly ruled out meeting President Botha until he is satisfied South Africa will meet its commitments in Angola, Namibia and Mozambique.

Dr Kaunda said past dealings with the South African government had made him sceptical about Pretoria’s undertakings. But if elections took place in Namibia by next June he would invite Mr Botha to Lusaka.

“I will say to him: ‘You kept your promises, now come and talk about ending apartheid’,” President Kaunda said.

His remarks drew a quick response from Mr Fik Botha, who accused him of making irresponsible and opportunistic statements to deflect attention from his own problems.

“Dr Kaunda knows that his economy is on the
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"By Kaunda knows that his economy is on the brink of collapse and it is sad that his country's economic disintegration should continue to afford him the opportunity to endeavour to draw attention away from his own dilemma," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha's reaction to Dr Kaunda's statement followed criticism of Zimbabwe and Botswana yesterday by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

He told the Cape National Party congress in George that those two countries were continuing to allow the use of their territories to launch a vendetta against South Africa. He accused the President of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, of leading a propaganda war against South Africa.

In Maputo, Mozambique's Foreign Minister, Mr Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, said in an interview with the Washington Post that a possible meeting between President Botha and leaders of the frontline states depended on "the evolution" of the peace initiative. Asked whether the South Africans were sincere in their pledge to leave Namibia and allow it independence, he said: "They seem to be."外延 aid

In Windhoek a number of white businessmen, academics and politicians have been invited to Lusaka for discussions with Swapo leaders.

It is understood that the visit will take place at the weekend.

And in Lagos the Nigerian government yesterday pledged extra aid to help Swapo win the independence elections.

The military President, General Ibrahim Babangida, promised the aid when he met Swapo leader Sam Nujoma.

In Washington, President Ronald Reagan is seeking support for his policy of promoting Angolan national reconciliation from President Moussa Traore of Mali, new chairman of the Organisation of African Unity.

Husky insurance

NUUK (Greenland). — After 900 huskies died in a distemper epidemic, Arctic hunters can now insure their dogs, an insurance company said. — Sapa-Reuter.
Black Africa and the SA connection
Statistics show that the frontline states have great economic dependence on South Africa and that anti-apartheid campaigns will not change this situation. MICHAEL CHESTER reports.

Frontline states, South Africa fresh fruit went to West Africa and Central Africa. Meat shipments have gone to Zaire, the Ivory Coast and Mauritius.

In the 1984-85 financial year, South African Transport Services conveyed 5.6 million tons of freight and from the seven SADC states via its rail, road and harbour network — including many of its exports and imports for overseas.

The hiring of South African locomotives and trucks have become routine. South African rail operations can be found as far north as Zaire and even from the borders of Tanzania.

Apart from about 50 steam and diesel locomotives, South Africa is now the major provider of railway lines and rolling stock to other SADC states.

Not widely known, South Africa is also the largest investor in the development of the port of Maputo, which is the most important port in the southern African region.

South Africa, through its railway, has an extensive network with Mozambique, the main route being with the capital, Maputo.

Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and SWA/Namibia obtain all their petroleum products from South Africa. Malawi gets about 50 per cent of its oil from South Africa, Zaire about 75 per cent of its needs.

Zimbabwe says it can meet most of its petroleum requirements through the Botetra-Peruka pipeline. But Zimbabwe last year had to place orders worth $20 million to $30 million with South Africa for 10,000 tons of diesel and 3,000 tons of petrol because of sabotage in the Botetra section.

At a count taken by the African Institute on the situation in 1985, the Eskom electricity grid supplied Mozambique with 11,875 GWh (megawatt-hours) of its power needs, Swaziland 227 GWh, Lesotho 110 GWh, and Botswana 244 GWh, and SWA/Namibia 22 GWh.

Power supplies from the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric scheme were hit by waves of sabotage that finally caused a total breakdown until recent initiatives have been taken in talks between South Africa and Mozambique and Portugal.

Eskom, on the other hand, has reorganized its tripartite agreement on the restoration of Cahora Bassa supplies, is convinced that the spread of international power grids across the continent — and not just South Africa — is the key factor in bringing about economic unity in the sub-continent in time.

Armed conflict in Angola has also crippled supplies from the Rucani Falls scheme on the Cuencas River because water from the Cahora Bassa has been cut. Here, too, recent initiatives have heightened optimism about a return to normal.

The flow has been striking, from a total of 600,000 recorded in 1983, the number of foreign and workers coming in to swell to little above 400,000 in 1985. Today it is put at around 350,000 — although government sources insist this can be doubled if one counts the number of workers coming in illegally.

The African Institute blames economic factors as the main cause of the decline: the high technology needs for the modern potash plants in South Africa, at a cost of over $2 billion, is largely to blame.

It believes that, all in all, more than $1 billion out of earnings was remitted back to foreign countries in 1985 — more than twice the total in 1980.

The South African private sector has ploughed millions of rand into business ventures in black South Africa. Much of it is mining but also in agricultural and industrial enterprises.

South Africa keeps a low profile with its flow of economic assistance, but by mid-1985 the government had provided development funds totalling R214 million to countries in Southern and Central Africa, and the Credit Guarantee Corporation, based in Johannesburg, is also busy with long-term credits.

The African Institute estimates that long-term credit guarantees now stand at more than R350 million, short-term credits running at around R250 million a year.

South Africa, with its sophisticated medical facilities and two major hospitals in哪些 particular, has sponsored numerous medical assistance programmes and is seen as a key to the continent.

Patients arrive for treatment at South African hospitals from as far afield as Kenya.

There is also widespread assistance for veterinary research programmes, funded by northern neighbours and for the supply of animal vaccines.
LONDON — Black leaders in southern Africa are putting pressure on British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to tour the region within the next three months in the belief that she could help force the South African Government to change its ways.

A report in the London Sunday Times said the announcements by President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia of a forthcoming tour in late December or early January were made “as if the dates were already in her diary”.

But Downing Street has denied this.

The report said the leaders believed that if Mrs Thatcher visited the frontline states, she would understand more fully the “evils of apartheid” and agree to increase pressure on South Africa to institute changes.
Agency calls for committed action from UN

'Now 13-m refugees'

LONDON — Refugees are now more numerous than ever before. According to the aid agency, Save The Children Fund, they total 13 million people, more than half of them children.

Many are starving and facing death, others are rotting in inhuman conditions. Yet often their plight goes "virtually unnoticed," said the Fund. The chronic refugee population in Ethiopia and Malawi has had little media attention, it says.

The Fund calls for committed action from United Nations agencies to avert the "poverty, disease and death currently facing millions of refugee children."

Save The Children Fund's director, Mr Nicholas Hinton says: "Reports from our field staff indicate appalling levels of malnutrition, mistreatment and international apathy."

Last week, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN body that assists refugees, assembled in Geneva to assess the state of the world's refugees, who it describes as a "mirror image of world events."

Armed conflicts

Armed conflicts are over-whelmingly responsible for most of today's refugees. As victims of political disputes, refugees are frequently mistreated as they move out of their own land. Southern Africa has become a region full of refugees.

Nearly 1 million Mozambicans have been forced to flee their homes to escape the terror campaign waged by MNLF guerrillas. The destruction of homes, schools, roads, agriculture and health centers has uprooted one-in-seven of Mozambique's population.

Most people — nearly 800 000 — have fled to neighboring Malawi. And still the trek goes on. Every week another 4 000 Mozambicans take the heart-rending decision to abandon their homes and cross the border.

Zimbabwe has become the temporary home for 160 000 Mozambican refugees. Tanzania has 72 000, Zambia 30 000 and Swaziland 20 000.

Zambia is also home to a larger number of Angolans, about 97 000. Angola is itself looking after 69 000 displaced Namibians and 10 000 South Africans. Botswana has refugees from Angola, Namibia and South Africa.

The total number of refugees in Africa is about 5 million, according to estimates by the UNHCR. This does not include people who are displaced from their homes but who stay in their own country.

Civil strife in Somalia has caused 300 000 people to seek refugee status in the neighboring Hararghe region of Ethiopia. The number is still rising and there are fears it could soon reach 500 000. Again 300 000 of southern Sudan's Dinka have fled civil war and crossed over the border into Ethiopia.

Reverse flow

From northern Ethiopia there has been a reverse flow. About 500 000 people from Eritrea and Tigre have been driven by armed conflict into the Sudan.

Around 5 million people have been displaced as refugees from the war in Afghanistan.

In addition, there are refugees from Kampuchea and Laos who have crossed into Thailand, Vietnamese who have fled to Hong Kong, refugees in the Palestinian camps and people in central America who have again been driven from their homes and countries by armed conflicts.

Camps run by the UNHCR and voluntary agencies such as the Save The Children Fund help refugees to survive by providing food and, if the refugees are lucky, health, education facilities and work.

The more fortunate have been given land and materials to build their own homes and are thus able to stay out of camps. — The Observer News Service.
Co-operation is key to southern African links

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Southern Africa has the potential to become one of the strongest and most powerful regions in the world, but the formula for achieving this is greater co-operation between South Africa and neighbouring countries, Mr Andre Pelser, head of the Africa Secretariat at the Department of Home Affairs, said in Johannesburg recently.

Mr Pelser told the Rand Afrikaans University's "Development '89" seminar that South Africa could no longer afford not to normalise relations with other Southern African countries. Co-operation would benefit all and strengthen the region, he said.

"South Africa's way back into the international community was through Africa.

"One hundred years ago our forefathers trekked into an unknown interior in search of independence. Today we, their descendants, are engaged in yet another trek, possibly the greatest trek in our history - the trek into Black Africa.

"It is a trek based on the fundamental realisation that our future lies not in the West but in Africa, the more so because the fickle nature of the Western policy towards us," he said.

He said it was unfortunate that development in the region was being retarded by "the confrontational political attitude of the Southern African Development Co-operation (SADC) towards South Africa.

"The media, he said, had presented South Africa unfairly to Africa and the world, and the "progress in constitutional reform and development" had been totally ignored. Contact with the African countries, however, was breaking down the barriers of distortion which had impeded regional development.

"South Africa was the industrial heartland of southern Africa. South Africa, however, was also dependent on the region, which represented almost 50 percent of the country's total investment.

"It should be clear, therefore," he said, "that South Africa has nothing to gain from being surrounded by poor and disintegrating states which are incapable of trade and are poor-investment risks."
Frontline states cancel their summit meeting

A summit meeting of southern African Frontline states, set for tomorrow in Botswana, has been cancelled, the Zimbabwe Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

President Robert Mugabe's office in Harare confirmed the cancellation but gave no reasons.

The meeting would have been the first to bring together leaders of Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola since South Africa's State President, Mr P.W. Botha, started a diplomatic drive into Africa.

The Frontline states appeared divided over how to respond to Mr Botha's overtures, with Zimbabwe rejecting any idea of a meeting and Zambia willing to welcome the South African leader under certain conditions.

President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique met Mr Botha in Systema in early September before Mr Botha travelled to Malawi and Zaïre. — Sapa.
Give us money and time. — PW

The Argus Foreign Service

South Africa had two strategies to increase growth performance and employment. The first was to remove unnecessary regulations and restrictions in the business environment, while promoting free enterprise. The second was to give the country a degree of protection vis-à-vis international market forces.

"If I had my choice, I would put all the people in jail, but it would not be cost-effective. I would rather invest in human capital, in the education system, and in restructuring the economy." - President Botha

"As President Botha spoke about his determination to achieve a higher growth rate for South Africa, his minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. van Rooyen, reminded the audience that the government had been working on a comprehensive plan to promote economic growth. The plan included measures to improve education, health care, and infrastructure, and to attract foreign investment. The government had also been working on a strategy to improve the country's credit rating, which would make it easier to access international capital markets." - Nightline

Mr. Botha, who had been a strong proponent of economic liberalization, was now faced with the challenge of balancing the need for growth with the demands of his fellow Africans. His government had been criticized for not doing enough to alleviate poverty and improve the lives of the rural poor. However, Mr. Botha believed that the country's future lay in the hands of the young. He encouraged them to stay in school and to work hard to ensure a better future for themselves and their families.

The government had also been working on a strategy to improve the country's credit rating, which would make it easier to access international capital markets. This would be crucial in attracting foreign investment and in improving the country's economic performance.

"I must say that I am a little bit concerned about the situation in South Africa. The government has been working very hard to improve the economy, but the results have been mixed. We need to do more to improve the lives of the rural poor, and to ensure that everyone has access to education and health care. I hope that we can continue to make progress in these areas." - Mr. Botha

On Mr. Botha, Mr. Botha said: "I am confident that we can achieve a higher growth rate for South Africa. The government has been working on a comprehensive plan to promote economic growth, and we are making progress in this area. The country has a bright future, and I am confident that we will be able to achieve our goals." - Nightline

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Where South Africa Tades

SA Is Inex/rcable BOUND To SUB-continent
Summit off: Kaunda in Zaire talks

LUBUMBASHI, Zaire. — In the wake of the cancellation of the Botswana summit involving six frontline states, Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda arrived in Zaire yesterday to discuss prospects for peace in Southern Africa with President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The talks in the southern Zairean economic centre of Lubumbashi were intended to advance "the process of peace in Southern Africa", Zairean officials said.

The Zimbabwean Foreign Ministry announced the cancellation of the summit yesterday.

Meeting postponed

Mr Robert Mugabe's office confirmed the cancellation but gave no reasons for the move.

However, later the Botswana Foreign Affairs Department announced that the frontline meeting had been postponed, but also gave no reason for rescheduling the meeting that Botswana's President Mr Quett Masire was to have hosted.

Botswana officials said the leaders would discuss peace talks continuing between South Africa, Angola and Cuba that link independence for SArule Namibia to withdrawal of a 30,000-man Cuban army from Angola.

Dr Kaunda is chairman of the frontline states and diplomats in Lusaka said earlier yesterday that he had been expected to announce the summit after discussions with President Mobutu.

It would have been the first frontline gathering since President P.W. Botha started a diplomatic drive into Africa and a meeting with President Mobutu in Zaire last week.

Main aims

The frontline states have appeared divided on how to respond to Mr Botha's overtures, with Zimbabwe rejecting any idea of a meeting and Zambia willing to welcome the SA leader under certain conditions.

One of the main aims of the frontline summit was to discuss progress towards a peace settlement in Angola and independence for Namibia.

"US-mediated negotiations between SA, Angola and Cuba are still going on in an attempt to meet a deadline of November 1 for the start of a Namibian independence plan drawn up by the UN." — Sapa-Reuters.
Agricultural output improves but...

Zero growth in Frontline states

LUSAKA — Economic growth in most countries in southern Africa has stagnated in the past year, the latest World Bank annual report says.

The report notes that despite increased copper prices and production during the financial year, Zambia's economy had continued its downward trend in the absence of a sustained reform programme.

It also observes that in Zimbabwe, there was little economic growth because of drought, a continuing shortage of foreign exchange and depressed investment levels.

Malawi's gross domestic product (GDP) also stagnated in spite of the country's structural adjustment because of its compressed imports following the disruption of transport routes through Mozambique.

Mozambique, however, registered economic growth of 4% despite climatic adversities, security factors and transport problems.

According to the report, the region's food import needs were estimated at 9 million tons, making food security in the region an important issue that needs immediate redress.

It notes, however, that agricultural output had improved in the region because of increased producer incentives but was unhappy with imposed controls on exchange rates, prices and trade.

Meanwhile, Zambia is one of the five African countries in which the World Bank is carrying out a study to accelerate women's participation in development.

The study, dubbed "Women in Development", is also being carried out in Burkina Faso, Guinea, Kenya and Nigeria to develop and document effective ways to improve the productivity of women, especially in farming.

According to the report, the study is also aimed at formulating practical recommendations designed to improve the productivity and welfare of women.

Targeted

The study seeks to document effective approaches and preparation of operational tools for specific sectors, such as agricultural extension for women farmers, credit delivery systems for women, maternal health and family planning services.

The study is also targeted at designing bank assistance in a manner that will effectively reach women and improve their contribution to economic development.

The study is being financed by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and carried out by the World Bank. — ANO.
Expert slams SA over ‘destabilisation’

SOUTH African destabilisation activities have cost SADCC countries at least $18 billion US dollars, more than the region’s entire development assistance, an economist from the United Kingdom said in Harare recently.

The national news agency Zanas quoted Dr Colin Stoneman, of the Economic Intelligence Unit, as telling an ACP/EEC regional industrial co-operation meeting that material war damage to property and productive capacity in the region was about $1.6 billion during the years 1980 and 1984.

“Other costs have been even greater. In all, the estimates aggregate to just under $10 billion (US$18 billion to sh.50 billion), equivalent to more than the region’s entire receipts of development assistance, a third of exports and a tenth of gross domestic product.”

“The scale of damage and economic loss has, if anything, escalated over the past two years, concentrated in Angola and Mozambique, but also affecting also Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho,” he said.

Dr Stoneman said that the formation of SADCC, South African political and military destabilisation had escalated into a major and sustained assault on national development programmes and regional integration.

He said the Pretoria regime had used various direct and indirect tactics of intervention, including commando raids on strategic economic installations, trade disruptions and discriminatory pricing of transcontinental transport.
SADCC chases an 'impossible dream'

IN trying to cut themselves loose from South Africa’s transport routes the neighbouring states are chasing an impossible dream, says one of the world’s top experts on the subject. However, their efforts may bring major benefits of a different kind.

The Frontline States aim of divorcing their transport systems from the South African network will probably never be realised.

But the massive efforts being made to achieve this objective through the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) may well transform the sub-continental transport network into a viable, reliable working system capable of moving the region’s goods.

These are the conclusions of one of the top experts on transport in the region, Mr Tom Kennedy, in a detailed study published by the South African Institute for International Affairs.

Mr Kennedy makes a case for the adoption of an “open route” policy throughout the sub-continent and for closer technical and other cooperation between the states of the region, including South Africa. “The flow of goods, via the most cost-effective routes, on the basis of free economic choice, with a minimum of political distortion, can be compatible and consistent with most government policy in the region, and it is attainable,” he says.

Dependence

He predicts that dependence on South African routes will be reduced but not eliminated, and that “South African technical expertise will gradually spread throughout the region, with benefit to all parties.”

Mr Kennedy, who is a transport economics specialist with the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, has produced one of the most comprehensive and authoritative surveys ever made of the regional transport situation.

His 150-page monograph, heavily supported with statistical tables, is in addition sprinkled with quotes and anecdotes illustrating some of the difficulties plaguing transport in the region.

He tells, for instance, of the Egyptian diplomat transferred from Mauritius to Malawi who refused to have his belongings shipped through South Africa despite assurances that distress, allegations of South African destabilisation and continuing terrorism in Mozambique, he believes there is “still hope for the transport situation to achieve stability and that there will be an improvement in the economically efficient flow of goods throughout the region.”

Although there will be an increasing diversion of traffic from South Africa to SADCC ports, no great shift will be possible, he says, until the Limpopo line from Zimbabwe to Maputo operates regularly and the line from Malawi to Nacala becomes secure.

“Two of these routes are potentially the most strategic in the region, but the issue of security remains the critical factor.”

Maputo link

“Once the Nacala line is fully operational once Maputo is available.”

Security remains the region’s most critical issue, Mr Kennedy says. Advocating strong efforts to protect the railway lines by either bi-national or private forces, he says the problem “cannot simply be wished away.”

Estimates that the Beira corridor could handle five million tons of goods a year are unrealistic, he says, since security along the line remains precarious and Beira port has a capacity “far below such rash estimates.”

However, Mr Kennedy cites the Beira corridor as an example of what can be done with initiative and co-operation.

Pointing out that Zimbabwe’s railway operates 120 km into Mozambique along the corridor, he suggests SATS should be able to operate an efficient service along the entire 88 km from Komatipoort to Maputo.

This would benefit the SADCC countries as well as South Africa, says Mr Kennedy, who sees it one of a number of steps South Africa could take to counter allegations of destabilisation.

Knowledge

South Africans, he says, are considered by many SADCC railway officials to be the most knowledgeable about regional conditions and often the most suited to provide assistance to SADCC projects. Advocating an “open route” policy in the region, Mr Kennedy says studies have shown that if South Africa closed its northern borders in reaction to international sanctions, the economy...
this was the best way. He insisted on shipping them through Dar Es Salaam. Three months later, the container was found empty, at a remote station in Tanzania. The whereabouts of his belongings remain a mystery.

Mr. Kennedy sees no reason for "moderate optimism" in the outlook for Southern Africa's transport. Despite economic proximity, Malawi will be independent of expensive road haulage through South Africa and the Limpopo line will enable Zimbabwe to utilise Maputo to a greater extent, avoiding the longer route through Beira via Beit Bridge.

"In many respects, Maputo is a more suitable port for Zimbabwe than Beira; therefore the Beira corridor will probably lose some of its lustre. Of many SADCC states, would come close to collapse. Malawi, for instance, would run out of fuel in two weeks and out of bread in three. But this sort of situation would not be in South Africa's interest, even though the revenue that SATS would lose from the stoppage of the entire flow of traffic to and from the countries of the region would amount to less than three percent of SATS's total revenue."

Mr. Kennedy calls for greater "reciprocity" in granting cross-border road haulage permits and says South Africa is probably the biggest offender in this respect. It is true, he says, that ever to be achieved, governments must look beyond their own self-interest. The region's resources are limited — if each country jealously guards its own development, prosperity will be possible.
Jackson calls for aid to SADCC

LUSAKA — American civil rights leader, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, has called on the United States to effect an aid plan for the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference.

The Star's Africa News Service Oct 11 1989
In trying to cater to the needs of the Southern African market, the rail network in South Africa is being improved. However, the rail network is not as efficient as it could be, and improvements need to be made. This is due to the fact that the rail network was built in the past and has not been updated since then. The rail network is also not as well maintained as it could be. If the rail network was improved, it would be possible to transport goods more efficiently, which would save money and time. This would also help to reduce the number of accidents that occur on the rail network. The rail network is also not as environmentally friendly as it could be. The rail network is not as energy efficient as it could be, and this is a major concern. The rail network needs to be improved in order to be more efficient and environmentally friendly.

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### Table: Rail Network Efficiency

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Low</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>High</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Medium</td>
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### Conclusion

Improving the rail network in South Africa would be a major step forward. This would help to reduce the number of accidents that occur on the rail network, and it would also help to reduce the cost of transport. The rail network is also not as environmentally friendly as it could be, and this is a major concern. The rail network needs to be improved in order to be more efficient and environmentally friendly.
Imports drop from R630m to R593m

SA trade with Africa shows marked decline

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

The report shows a decline in imports from R630m in 1986 to R583m in 1987 — a reduction of 6% in rand terms. Exports to African states also fell marginally from R1,796bn to R1,782bn over the same period.

Over the three-year period to 1988, exports to the rest of Africa fell from 7.8% of total exports in 1985 to 4.3% in 1986 and again to 4.1% in 1987.

Imports showed a similar although less marked trend. In 1985 imports from Africa comprised 2.4% of the total. They fell to 2.3% in 1986 and 2.1% in 1987.

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

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

- Second was the declining purchasing power of SA's traditional African trading partners, particularly Zambian and Malawian.

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

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

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

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

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

Since 1988 no breakdown of figures on a country-by-country basis have been issued. Trends have been "classified" and no trade figures for 1989 have been made available.
POSSIBILITY
OF MORE SA
REFUGEES

HARARE — Pretoria was increasing its "repression of anti-apartheid activists" and more South Africans were likely to seek refuge in the Frontline states in the next few months, an SA delegate at a seminar on refugees said here yesterday.

"Addressing the first day of the seminar, concerning the needs of SA and Namibian refugee women and children, Wendy Leeb warned the international community not to be fooled by Pretoria's "diplomatic offensive", Ziana reports. (W)

""Apartheid is alive and repression has increased and is getting stronger," she said.

""Although the anti-apartheid and liberation spirit is strong, we are likely to see a bigger flow of refugees to the Frontline states in the next few months. The Frontline states must get assistance to cope with this," said Leeb. (W)

""Because of the SA media restrictions the international Press could not convey a full picture of what was happening there. There was a large number of internal refugees and displaced people, but others were likely to flee soon, she said.

""There are only two options, the first one is to stay, fight, resist and probably die at the hands of the racists, and the other one is to go into exile and fight from there." — Sapa.
Regional transport system needed

Call for free flow of goods

SOUTHERN African countries should strive for a regional transport system allowing the free flow of goods via the most cost-effective route, based on free economic choice and with minimal political distortion.

That is the view of transport economist Tom Kennedy of the Road and Transport Technology Division whose book Transport in Southern Africa was published recently by the SA Institute for International Affairs.

He writes: "Never before have politics and transport been so closely intertwined in the southern Africa region. The physical condition and tenuous security surrounding many of the region's traditional routes to the sea have dictated that a large share of the region's traffic be dispatched via South African transport routes and ports, much to the political embarrassment of these countries' leaders."

Kennedy says SA has been criticised by certain Southern African Development Co-operation Conference (SADC) countries for supposed involvement in regional destabilisation, but can still take positive steps to enhance transport efficiency in the region.

He says many railway executives in SADC countries believe South Africans are the most knowledgeable about regional conditions and suited to assisting SADCC projects.

Security remains the southern African region's most critical issue and efforts to resolve the situation have been successful only in some areas.

He says claims that the Beira Corridor can handle 5-million tons of traffic if security is resolved are unrealistic. Security along the line is precarious and the port has a limited capacity.

Kennedy says Zimbabwe is still dependent on South African routes and port systems. Between July 1986 and June 1987, 77% of Zimbabwe's rail freight imports and 94% of its rail freight exports were routed via SA. If therefore likely dependence on SA routes will be reduced but not eliminated.

"South African technical expertise will gradually spread throughout the region, with benefit to all parties."
SOUTHERN African Development Co-ordination Congress (SADCC) officials were pleased SA's trade with Africa had declined, an SADCC spokesman said yesterday.

He said from the SADCC's Gaborone HQ that it was the organisation's aim to sever links with SA.

'The political climate in SA has become such that we are doing all in our power to reduce dependence on SA. There are quite a number of sacrifices to be made, but we are prepared to make them,' SADCC spokesman Andrew Budden said.

Business Day reported on Monday that SA exports to the rest of Africa fell in three successive years to 1988, and imports showed a similar but less marked trend.

Trade with Africa constituted a minor proportion of SA's total international trade, making up only 2% of its imports in 1987 and 4% of exports. However, the SADCC spokesman said 'although the figures may be small, SA will feel it as our countries look elsewhere for sources and markets'.

He said more regional trade between African states had contributed to the fall-off in trade with SA.

Goods which had to be imported, such as those of a capital or technical nature, were obtained in Europe or elsewhere if possible.

While such imports may well cost more and entail longer delivery times, that was a factor SADCC states were now learning to take into account and accept.
SADCC to discuss Namibia

LISBON — The Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) will discuss future membership for Namibia at a meeting in Luanda next month, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported.

The agency, monitored in Lisbon, said the nine member countries — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Swaziland and Zimbabwe — would gather in the Angolan capital from February 1 to 3 for SADCC’s eighth annual meeting.

The group’s main objective is to reduce members’ economic dependence on South Africa.

“As well as general economic matters, the SADCC members will discuss Namibia’s future membership over the medium and long term,” the agency said.

Namibia will move towards independence from South Africa this year. — Reuter.
The real struggle for power in South Africa

South Africa has been reaching out into Africa for crucial supplies of clean, clean electricity to fuel future industrial expansion. But, as Ken Vernon of The Star's Africa News Service reports, it is being blocked because of political objections.

In Mozambique, the installed capacity of Cahora Bassa of 2,073 MW has tapped less than 15 percent of the country's hydroelectric potential, leaving a wealth of the dynamic PWV area via fees paid to developing countries for the power, and South African capital and technology could be used in the development of the schemes as well.

Cheap and abundant power would encourage the development of industry in those countries now stagnating in agriculturally self-sufficient economies.

Of course, supplies of cheaper, cleaner power would at the same time ensure South Africa's continued economic dominance of the subcontinent - and perhaps thereby help solve some of the problems.

All the countries of southern Africa have been involved in the development of South Africa's Development Conference (SADC) to strive for economic independence from South Africa.

Proposed

The proposed sub-continenal power grid aims at increased inter-dependence of the countries, but perhaps to South Africa's most of all.

The link to the end of the 90s will be independent of South African power supplies, probably lessens any possibility that it will cooperate with South Africa in the development of their hydro-electric potential even it is to their benefit.

So it will require a political re-orientation of the Southern African power grid to become reality in the near future.
Power to the people ... soccer fans find another use for South Africa's extensive national grid, a grid the Government is trying to expand and, at the same time, win friends in the rest of Africa.
New prospect for economic "club"

Namibia likely to sign up with SADCC

LUANDA — With the clock ticking towards independence for Namibia this year, southern African nations are looking forward to signing up a new member for their economic club. Namibia is likely to be a major topic when the nine nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) hold their annual conference in Luanda this week from February 1 to 3.

Diplomats say that if SWAPO wins Namibia's unsupervised elections later this year, Namibia is virtually certain to become the 10th member of the nine-year-old regional economic group. 30/01/89.

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

South Africa, however, is likely to retain Walvis Bay, the only major port on Namibia's coast.

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

SADCC member states include three which are in the South African Customs Union — Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. They are landlocked and almost entirely dependent on South Africa. Angola and Tanzania have no ties with South Africa. But Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique all depend on Pretoria to varying degrees for transport, routes and vital imports.

Most of SADCC's initial thrust has been towards improving transport and infrastructure to the east.

The organisation has been trying to repair Mozambique's war-battered and neglected railways and ports to provide an outlet to the Indian Ocean free of South African control.

FOREIGN AID

Hundreds of millions of dollars in foreign aid have poured in to repair rail links from Zimbabwe to the ports of Beira and Maputo. But security problems have held up the reopening of two other lines linking Malawi to the ports of Nacala and Beira.

Namibia's independence and the fact that this year's conference is being held in Angola was expected to shift the focus westwards to the Atlantic.

Already international donors have agreed to back the first phase of a project to reopen Angola's Benguela railway, linking the Atlantic to Zaire and Zambia and closed for more than a decade by rebel attacks.

Still on the drawing board is a plan for another westward rail route across the Kalahari from Botswana via Namibia.

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

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

PROJECTS

As well as major projects such as the Benguela railway, the SADCC has a list of hundreds of others ranging from crocodile ranching to beekeeping, all of which may attract aid.

Over the past two years SADCC's small secretariat, based in Botswana, has tried to persuade member governments to consider seeking outside private investment as well as foreign aid. — Sapa-Reuters.
Warheads ready ... An aerial photo released by the Defence Department in Washington on October 24 1962 shows what was described as a medium-ballistic missile base in Cuba. Cuban officials revealed during a conference on the 1962 crisis in Moscow yesterday that 270 000 Soviet and Cuban troops were ready to go to war with the United States and that 100 000 casualties were expected.

Cubans wanted Soviets to bomb US

MOSCOW — President Fidel Castro urged the Soviet Union to use missiles against the United States to ward off an invasion of Cuba during the 1962 Caribbean crisis, a conference on the affair has been told in Moscow.

Participants said the revelation came during an informal discussion from a Soviet insider.

American and Soviet representatives said that the rules of the conference — under which participants agreed not to reveal the moment what others said during the closed meeting — barred them from saying anything on the record.

“We were told that there had been a telegram from Castro to Nikita Khrushchev, making this request at the height of the crisis,” said one participant. “Khrushchev flatly rejected the idea.”

It was the second major revelation to emerge on the crisis, which Soviet president Mr Mikhael Gorbachev, said on Friday had taken the world “to the brink of the nuclear precipice”.

On Saturday, military historian General Dmitry Volkogonov told the meeting that Soviet nuclear warheads were in Cuba during the crisis.

He said 20 warheads had already been delivered to the Soviet-controlled missile batteries, but had not been connected. Some 20 more had been on the way aboard a freighter when the US imposed a blockade.

Attending the conference were Mr Robert McNamara, US Secretary of Defence at the time, Mr Robert McNamara, US President John F. Kennedy’s national security advisor; Mr Ludvik, Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Andrei Gromyko; and Cuban Politburo member Mr Jorge Risquet.

Yesterday, the US delegation, which also included Kennedy advisors Mr Theodore Sorensen and Mr Raymond Garthoff, visited the graves of Mr Khrushchev and his deputy Prime Minister, Mr Anatoly Mikoyan, who played a vital role in resolving the crisis.

Mr Pierre Salinger, President Kennedy’s press secretary at the time of the crisis, said the US and Cuban delegations spent Saturday evening after the conference in relaxed discussion of the events and their continuing effect on US-Cuban relations.

“What comes through still is the Cuban resentment that a better deal was not achieved,” he said.

...The missiles were withdrawn in return for a pledge from President Kennedy that the US would not invade Cuba, but Khrushchev obtained no other concrete concessions.

Mr Risquet proposed that a further conference be held in Havana. Mr McNamara said: “It is an interesting idea. I would certainly like to be there.” — Supa-Reuters.
Zaire is one of major customers — survey

SA trade with Africa is on the increase

By James Tomlins

The Star Foreign News Service
PARIS — South Africa increased trade with Africa in 1988, with only one state — Zaire — not doing business with Pretoria.

This trade had risen from 6.5 percent of SA's exports in 1984 to 10 percent in 1988.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Zaire's wealth is at the mercy of Pretoria," the survey said, noting that in 1987, 3.6 million tons of Zairese goods were transported by SA facilities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The survey said there was no real will to join in sanctions.
SADCC prepares for '89 donor conference

LUSAKA, the Southern African Development Co-Ordination Conference (SADCC) council of ministers met here yesterday, to prepare for the eighth annual SADCC consultative conference later this week.

Zambia, the Zambian national news agency, reporting from Lusaka, said the chairman of the council of ministers, Botswana's Vice-President Peter Mmusi, officially opened the meeting, which was expected to adopt a negotiation document for use at the consultative conference. It will be attended by representatives of SADCC donor-government agencies.

More aid for SADCC projects is likely to be pledged during the conference, whose theme is "The productive sectors: the engine of growth and development".

The SADCC has plans to develop more industries and improve the regional technological base, in order to support the recovery of member nations' economies.

The conference theme follows the January 1986 conference, which focused on economic growth and the need for structural adjustments as a means of boosting economic development in the region. — Sapa.
SADCC prepares for '89 donor conference

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Namibia will be invited to SADCC

LUANDA – The southern African states seeking to reduce economic reliance on South Africa would invite Namibia to join them after it achieved independence from Pretoria this year, an SADCC official said yesterday.

He said the nine countries in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) had agreed at a Ministers' meeting to send the invitation immediately after the new Namibian government was formed.

"We are looking forward to the independence of Namibia and to Namibia joining the family of SADCC," the group's executive secretary, Mr. Simba Makoni, said in Luanda.

ELECTIONS

Under a United Nations independence plan, elections in Namibia scheduled for November are expected to be won by the nationalist group, Swapo, which has fought South African rule for more than 20 years.

Dr. Sam Nujoma, leader of SWAPO, is expected to become Namibia's first president.

Dr. Nujoma is due to address the ninth annual SADCC conference when it formally opens in Luanda today. Its members are Botswana, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi. Sapa-Reuters.
Mining main source of foreign earnings

GABORONE — Mining plays a major role in the economies of most member states of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), contributing 12 percent of regional gross domestic product and about 60 percent of total earnings.

This information is contained in a report on industry, trade, mining and tourism which is being presented to the SADCC conference in Luanda.

The report reveals that, for five member states, minerals account for more than 40 percent of total exports.

Minerals account for 80 percent of Angola's foreign exchange earnings, 75 percent of Botswana's and 41 percent in the case of Lesotho's.

Zambia relies on minerals for 91 percent of its foreign exchange earnings, while Zimbabwe's rate is 40 percent. The report says that except for Malawi, mining provides an important avenue for employment in the member states. — Sapa.
Namibia to join African trade club?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Outlet to ports

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

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

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Western diplomats say the SADCC countries are far ahead of the rest of Africa in overcoming local rivalries and jointly planning their economic development.
French-trained troops will protect key Nacala rail line

LUANDA — Repairs to a key southern African rail route, halted for almost a year by rebel attacks, will resume soon and French-trained troops will protect it, Mozambican Transport Minister Mr Armando Guebuza said last week.

Mr Guebuza said France would train several hundred Mozambican troops to protect the repair works on the Nacala line, northern Mozambique.

"Work will resume soon," said Mr Guebuza, in Angola for the annual meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). "The French are training a small unit of several hundred to protect the line."

He gave no exact date for the resumption of repairs or a target date for the line to be reopened to traffic.

The Nacala line, the main route to the sea for landlocked Malawi, has been closed since 1984 because of sabotage attacks by rebels of the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR).

A seven-year repair programme began in 1983, funded largely by France, Portugal, Canada and the European Community.

But work was stopped on the central section of the line between Nampula and Cuamba in May last year because of increasing MNR attacks.

This has forced Malawi to re-route most of its trade through South African ports.

Mr Guebuza said Mozambique's Limpopo rail line between Zimbabwe and Maputo would reopen to commercial traffic in the first half of this year.

He said Mozambican troops, including several hundred men trained by Britain, would guard the line from MNR attack, with help from Zimbabwean forces if necessary. — Sapa-Reuter.
Praise for SADCC— but not much new aid

LUANDA—Southern African nations received a deluge of warm words and advice but only a sprinkling of hard cash at their annual meeting with aid donors in Luanda last week.

The nine-nation Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) reaffirmed its status as the aid-giving countries' favorite regional grouping.

"We applaud you," the US delegate told ministers from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

"You can be justly proud," the Canadian delegate said.

The "shower" of praise reflected SADCC's growing success as a channel for regional aid.

Since its foundation in 1980 it has mobilized more than $4bn of assistance, much of it to repair vital transport routes and infrastructure.

The two-day meeting produced few fresh promises, but three significant initiatives were launched:

- A preliminary conference on Angola's Benguela railway produced $90m to fund the first phase of a repair programme.
- Five Nordic countries signed an agreement to provide $32m for a joint $60m fund to ease foreign currency shortages for industry; and
- Donors promised to help SADCC integrate Namibia as its 10th member after independence.

The SADCC states also heard praise from a top World Bank official for achieving an overall growth rate of 4.5% last year. — Sapa-Reuters.
SA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

BEYOND THE TURNING POINT

ECOES of Cuban president Fidel Castro's claim that the history of Africa will be divided into the period before and after the battle of Cuito Cuanavale dominated a conference on war and peace in the frontline states held in Havana last week. A serious setback suffered by South Africa's soldiers in Angola—which included the evacuation, at one stage, of at least 3,000 troops and the destruction of up to 30 percent of the South African Air Force—was seen by participants as the major factor that could end the 10 years of continuous war in some parts of southern Africa.

Moreover, reports from Mozambique, Angola and Namibia stressed that although defeat at Cuito had forced Pretoria to reassess its policy of covert military aggression in the sub-region, it had not abandoned its covert destabilization strategy. Some 70 journalists and church workers from South Africa and the frontline states, as well as representatives of the African National Congress, the Pan South African Congress and the African National Congress attended the four-day conference organized by the Ecumenical Documentation and Information Centre of Southern Africa (Edica).

It was the first time in two years such aggression had included a conventional military invasion of Angola; increased covert aid to Renamo rebels in Mozambique; acknowledged South African Defence Force raids on private homes in Gabon, Laetisia and Livengoni; assassinations of ANC personnel in Swaziland, Lesotho and Mozambique; a head-on attack by a "suspected South African agent" on Botswana President Quett Masire; and a coup plot, allegedly by South African agents, in Zambia.

"In July 1987 the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) calculated the losses to the region's economy were US$3,000 million greater than the entire foreign aid received by the six SADCC countries," said Sergio Veira, former security minister in Mozambique and member of Frontline's central committee.

"Yet within a few months all this began to change. Intense international negotiations in a 10-month period since May last year—prompted by "wages of war" and "wages of war"—had produced agreements over the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola; an agreement between South Africa and Zambia, both parties to the non-aggression accord with Mozambique and peace trips by President PW Botha to Malawi and Zambia.

"The development of this situation, with the South African military setbacks in Cuito Cuanavale, and the relaxation in international tension have provided an atmosphere for the recent triumph of peace over war in Angola and independence for Namibia," said Veira.

The battle at Cuito Cuanavale had smashed the myth of SADF invincibility.

Last year marked a turning point in Pretoria's relations with the sub-continent. The combined effect of the "Angola pullout" and "sanctions pressure led to increased South African business interest in the frontline states.,

said Rob Davies, lecturer in the Institute for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo.

It also exposed Pretoria's political sensitivity to war situations that cost large numbers of white lives (a planned SADF assault on Cuito was apparently turned down after it was estimated the lives of 300 white conscripts would be lost), and highlighted the R4 billion drain that the war was imposing on an economy running out of steam.

"The period between the first and second quarters of 1988 can, in short, be identified as a turning point in the regional struggle. It inaugurated a new confidence in which Pretoria's strategies of Maputo. Said Davies: "These powerful economic interests are capable of exercising restraint on the forces in favour of destabilization and for this reason are likely to be encouraged by the Mozambican government."

But he warned this pressure may not be sufficient to cause elements of the SADF to end their alleged support for Renamo. Attacks, involving the use of sophisticated military equipment, had been stepped up in Mozambique's southern provinces and have apparently been aimed at subduing the growing economic links between the two countries.

Mozambican refugees, arrested near the border with Mozambique and deported back to Manupito early this year, have repeatedly been held at a Renamo base in the Kruger National Park and put under pressure to join the rebel movement. Although these allegations have consistently been denied by the SADF, Davies believes they indicate a recognition of the known networks of South African support for Renamo.

This may include relocation from a Renamo base at Phalaborwa in the north-eastern Transvaal, from where, he said, Zimbabwe intelligence networks have monitored radio communication with Renamo, in June and since then hidden camps, he said. Suspicion that South Africa has not completely abandoned its destabilization strategies found resonance among delegates from Mozambique.

Immanuel Shibwambo, secretary general of the Namibian National Students Organisation (Namato), alleged that Unita rebels had been infiltrated into Namibia near Oshikango where they could be used as the nucleus of a Renamo-type movement after independence.

"And despite the military withdrawal at least 3,000 young Namibians have been recruited into the South West African Territorial Force."

Dave Smuts, a human-rights lawyer from Windhoek, noted that despite the 1989 Peace Agreement counter-insurgency unit South Africa was keeping its 52 Battalion, a unit of mercenaries and Angolan dissidents, flying spear-headed SADF operations in Angola, intact and moving it back to South African soil. South Africa was also keeping control over the harbour enclave of Walvis Bay where a large military base was already in existence.

Pretoria may have completely abandoned its military options in favour of diplomatic and economic overtures towards its neighbours.

But there was general agreement among delegates to the Edica conference that other pressures on South Africa would severely curtail the kind of overt South African aggression that has devastated the sub-continent over the past decade.
'I’d talk to PW if change in South Africa was assured'

Frontline chief Kaunda spells out conditions for talks with SA

ZAMBIAI president Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of Southern Africa's Frontline States, has reaffirmed that he would be prepared to meet South African President PW Botha if changes in SA were assured.

Outlining his conditions, Kaunda told reporters a meeting depended on Botha legalising the banned ANC, freeing ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other prisoners, starting dialogue with SA's black majority, and honouring the recent accords giving independence to Namibia.

"If he can do all this, I am willing to meet him in Lusaka, Pretoria or even Johannesburg, since we will be assured that there is going to be change," Kaunda said on Tuesday night after hosting a dinner for visiting Italian president Francesco Cossiga.

Botha is recovering from a mild stroke. Constitutional Planning and Development Minister Chris Hounis is acting as SA's head of state.

Kaunda said a meeting with Botha could take place only after SA had implemented a seven-month United Nations independence plan for Namibia, due to begin on April 1 and ending with elections.

The plan forms part of a peace accord signed by SA, Angola and Cuba in December.

It includes a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola by mid-1991.

Kaunda, who last met Botha in 1980, is a staunch opponent of SA's apartheid system.

However, he has always said he is willing to talk to the white minority government if it agrees to change.

The Frontline States group, headed by Kaunda, includes Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Tanzania. — Sapa
SA's trade with Africa up by 4%\(^\circ\)

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

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

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

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

**Member states**

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

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

The economies of Southern Africa were interconnected to such an extent that no country could ignore any other. — Sapa.
Black Africa's economic woes are largely of its own making

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

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

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

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

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

Nigeria

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

Nigeria has done badly in the 1980’s, so giving it a smaller weight makes the region as a whole look better. Using 1987 exchange rates, Africa’s output grew by a cumulative 13 percent in 1980-87, instead of by less than 5.5 percent.

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

Why did it happen?

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

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

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

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

To put this another way, if Africa had merely held on to its 1970 share of the non-oil commodities exported by developing countries, its export earnings would have been $10 billion higher in 1987. That is as much as the region’s annual debt service.

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

In the later period, the non-reformers saw their exports, investment, and consumption per head fall in real terms. The strong reformers saw all of them. No surprise: good policies make a difference. — The Economist
HARARE — Heads of six African nations gathered here yesterday for a summit that will focus on SA, Namibia and conflicts in Angola and Mozambique, organisers said.

The leaders of the Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — met informally yesterday before today’s talks with the OAU’s ad hoc committee on southern Africa.

The Frontline heads of state also are members of the 50-nation OAU’s ad hoc committee with Algeria, Cape Verde, Congo, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Senegal, and three liberation movements — SWAPO, the ANC and the PAC.

The committee, chaired by President Jose Mario da Cruz of Mali, has the task of monitoring events in southern Africa, particularly in Namibia.

Frontline leaders have often expressed doubts that SA will honour its pledge to allow UN-supervised elections in Namibia in November as a prelude to independence.

SA agreed to give up the mineral-rich territory in December in return for the withdrawal of about 30,000 Cuban troops from Angola.

Frontline foreign ministers met here on Monday to prepare for the summit, the first since the leaders met on March 8 and agreed to send observers to monitor Namibia’s elections. — Sapa-AP
Thatcher full of hope for peace

From Ian Hobbs

LONDON. - British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher flew into Africa yesterday convinced that her visit will contribute to the dawning of a new era of stability and peace in South Africa and the frontline states.

She will arrive in Harare later today from Nigeria after spending her first night in Africa as the guest of King Hassan of Morocco, where she was treated with all the splendour of a head of state. She is scheduled to leave Morocco today for Lagos.

The working end of her visit will be her two days in Zimbabwe, which she is expected to promote the idea of an all-status regional peace conference and support for a proposed new Mozambique-South Africa trade and security accord.

Aides say Mrs Thatcher is particularly buoyed by the new pragmatic Soviet attitude to Southern Africa and Moscow's new view that eventual settlement must come by negotiation, not conflict.

Thatcher sees 'a golden opportunity'

Mandela in the lion's den

Below: Mandela the Lion Tamer shows who cracks the whip in the lion cage at the Bowes-Wilkie Circus. The big cats huddle in a row, looking quite fierce but obeying the commands of 25-year-old Mandela, who is making his debut as lion tamer. Inset: When the hard work is done, Mandela gives one of his stars a gentle pat: 'Mandela's story' - Page 3

Correspondents travelling on the tour were told that Mrs Thatcher personally felt there was a 'great deal of room for hope in South Africa' - which is why she decided to attend last week's talks with Mr F W de Klerk.

Mrs Thatcher will argue against sanctions when she meets Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe and other Kuwanda-speaking politicians of Mozambique.

She will warn that any increase in sanctions will only lead to more and more government difficulty in South Africa under the expected leadership of Mr F W de Klerk.

However, Zimbabwe has already said it will reject the export of arms to sanctions and its insistence that to secure the release of Mr Nelson Mandela the ANC must contribute by suspending or abandoning its policy of armed struggle.

Mrs Thatcher will return to London on Saturday after spending the last two days of her whirlwind visit to Mabari, where she will meet President Hastings Banda.

Her African tour will correspond with a rare meeting of South African government and ANC representatives at a four-day 'academic' meeting, sponsored by an American charitable society, starting in South Africa this morning.

To page 2
Thatcher plan ‘a golden opportunity’

MAGGIE IN MOROCCO ... British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher with her Moroccan counterpart, Mr A上面的拉拉克, in Marrakesh yesterday. Mrs Thatcher’s African tour started in the West African kingdom where the princesses were welcomed with flowers at the airport.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

MRS Margaret Thatcher’s plan for a Southern African peace conference was “a golden opportunity which should be grabbed by the contending forces with both hands.”

Professor David Welsh of UCT political science department said yesterday he was cautious about the widespread support of both sides. In the latter case, a number of telling obstacles remained in the way of an internationally brokered settlement for the region at this stage.

“Ther there is as very good case for saying that we have to seize the moment in at moment could last for a couple of decades, with devastating consequences for society,” Professor Welsh said.

If the anti-apartheid movement would seize the opportunity now, Professor Welsh said.

Professor Welsh, who specialises in Southern Africa politics, noted that an internationally mediated settlement to the conflict in the region would carry a number of advantages:

- It would enjoy widespread legitimacy;
- It could lead to a lifting of sanctions which affect not only South Africa but the region as a whole;
- It would address the need for human rights in the region — a sort of Marshall Plan for Southern Africa.

Professor Welsh said the international community had been “deeply impressed” by what had

been achieved so far with the Angola-Namibian settlement that had demonstrated the "kind of thing that can work.

He added that if the US-mediated efforts to reach an accommodation between Israel and the PLO succeeded this could have "a profound demonstration effect for Southern Africa."

"The Southern African government — particularly the more hawkish elements — are likely to see internationally brokered attempts to reach peace as an attempt to meddle in the Republic's internal affairs.

Another difficulty facing Pretoria was that any meaningful peace initiative "must have at its core” the legitimising of the ANC or "bringing it out of the cold.”

Even if the ANC could be persuaded to forebear — or more likely temporarily abandon violence — there were doubts about whether the Southern African "would buy this.

"Bringing the ANC out of the cold in this way lets an enormous call a truce and suspend rather than abandon violence “provided the SA government does likewise.”

"This will be a crucial bargaining chip,” he said.

Professor Welsh also cautioned that it was unlikely that any peace initiative for Southern Africa until the leadership issue was sorted out in the SA government.

"I’m not sure that a lame duck President has the legitimacy to pull this off.

"It would probably be better to wait until the Groot Krokodil (President PW Botha) was safely locked up at the Wilderness first.”

Another obstacle facing Mrs Thatcher’s peace conference plan was the stance of Zimbabwe’s President Robert Mugabe towards both South Africa, Morocco, and Britain.

Referring to the upcoming meeting between Mrs Thatcher and Mr Mugabe, Professor Welsh observed: "The chemistry between the two is not good.”
Maggie’s summit in bush

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — Prospects for a peace initiative in Mozambique yesterday dominated summit talks between British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Zimbabwe’s President Robert Mugabe and Mozambique’s President Joaquim Chissano.

Sources close to the talks said sanctions against South Africa were only briefly touched upon, with Mrs Thatcher warning President Mugabe not to “undo” the good achieved by the recent agreement over Angola and Namibia.

In the face of Mr Mugabe’s strongly voiced doubts yesterday about South Africa’s good faith, Mrs Thatcher reportedly said: “Let’s hope you are wrong and you and I will be the first to cheer.”

In South Africa we must be realistic. We are now in the business of ending Apartheid. In genuine freedom, all South Africans will have a place in the government. We are in the business of building a new South Africa and it will succeed only if we discard hatred and bitterness and set about the task of reconciling all South Africans.

Mrs Thatcher addressed the Mozambique National Assembly yesterday, saying that she had urged the government to accept the constitutional declaration of national independence and the recognition of the right of all Mozambicans to a national and democratic government. She stressed the importance of the role of the West in supporting the black liberation movement in South Africa.

Mr Mugabe pledged his government’s support for the negotiations in South Africa, saying that “the black people of South Africa are determined to end the apartheid regime and establish a democratic and prosperous South Africa.”

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Sats puts 7 African states back on track

MARC HASENFUSS

SATS last year handled more than 4.3-million tons of goods — imports and exports — for neighbouring countries which could not be moved by their own transport routes.

Rail group GM Barry Lessing said in an interview this week Sats had business agreements and air pool arrangements with several regional transport organisations.

He added these were in seven of the nine countries in the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council which was established inter alia to reduce their dependence on SA transport.

There are about 11 700 units of Sats rolling stock, worth about R10bn, on the lines of other railways.

Lessing said Sats also leased 63 locomotives, aircraft equipment and spare parts worth R100m to trading partners in southern Africa.

It was also undertaking feasibility studies for the upgrading of both Ressano Garcia-Maputo railway line and Malawi-Nacala line to Nampula.

Networks

Lessing said the well-being of neighbouring countries depended on their ability to export basic mineral products and import virtually all manufactured goods.

Lessing rejected recent media reports that Sats opposed SADCC initiatives for the upgrading of various transport networks and harbour facilities in southern Africa with the help of foreign aid.

"Sats welcomes all initiatives aimed at improving the quality of transport in the sub-continent, and we would like to join the ranks of the SADCC."

Lessing believed the privatization of Sats would have a positive influence on SA's trading partners.

"Although we will in future be part of the private sector, where the profit motive is predominant, we remain prepared to help develop the transport infrastructure of our neighbours."
SA's neighbours poorer

World
GABORONE — “If I needed shoes and South Africa was the only place I could get shoes, I would do without them. But if I needed corn and South Africa was the only place to get corn, I would go to South Africa,” — former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere.

Almost a decade after nine Southern African states launched an ambitious effort to lessen their reliance on South Africa, they have yet to tap their economic potential and still depend heavily on their white-led neighbour.

From war-ravaged Angola to deeply indebted Zambia, several of the nations in the underdeveloped region have grown poorer despite the formation in 1980 of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC).

“In many ways, the countries are worse off now than in 1980,” said Tom Kennedy, a South African–based researcher who recently authored a study on the economic conditions in Southern Africa. “Due to wars, bad internal policies and poor management, there’s been very little progress in the region.”

**Problems**

The SADCC members are Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The organisation concentrates on the region’s two most pressing problems, transportation routes and food supplies. SADCC is generally perceived as a well–run umbrella organisation that has helped increase trade among member states and improved the flow of technology and research. It currently is involved in almost 600 projects that will cost some $7 billion dollars.

But SADCC has no authority over national economic policies or management, where economists say many of the deep-rooted problems exist.

Almost three-quarters of the 75 million people in SADCC countries remain subsistence farmers. The World Bank says annual per capita income in the region is less than $500 dollars.

South Africa remains the leading trading partner for seven of the nine SADCC countries. Its roads, rails, ports, power stations and communications networks are essential to their economic survival.

**FOCUS**

South Africa’s 28 million blacks have higher average incomes than in any SADCC country. More than a million workers from neighbouring countries earn their livings in South Africa; the traffic in the opposite direction is minimal.

The black-led countries want to reduce reliance on South Africa not only because they oppose its apartheid policies, but also to take advantage of potentially more efficient trade routes.

Malawi, where annual per capita income is about $200 dollars, spends an extra $100 million dollars a year exporting its tobacco, tea and nuts through distant South Africa because railway lines in neighbouring landlocked nations of Southern Africa to the Indian and Atlantic oceans.

However, four passes through Angola or Mozambique, where civil wars dating to the mid-1970s have halted or sharply reduced traffic.

**Railways**

“The region will never have secure food supplies until we can make these rail lines work,” said Nkwaki Ng’wanakilala, a spokesman at SADCC’s headquarters in Gaborone. “And that won’t be possible until the fighting stops.”

The region’s fifth rail line, which links Zambia to the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam, has been unaffected by war. But poor management has kept it from operating at near full capacity since the 1980s. Underutilised. Farmers are almost exclusively small-scale growers with little training, equipment or access to government services.

Zimbabwe is the only SADCC country that has more than 100 private commercial farms of several hundred hectares (a couple of hundred hectares) or more, according to regional agricultural officials.

The Southern African Economist, a magazine published by SADCC, noted that regional governments “blame the decline in food production on a host of factors ranging from adverse weather, escalating costs of fertilizers and longer transport routes to disruption of agriculture by South African-backed terrorists.”

But, it added, the “blame also lies with the governments themselves, for maintaining subsidies and setting unrealistic producer prices which give farmers no incentive to produce more.”

Despite the gloomy picture, there have been two recent developments that could strengthen Southern African economies in the long-term.

South Africa has been trying to improve relations with the black African and expressed eagerness to co-operate on development projects. It has agreed to grant independence to Namibia and says it has stopped supporting guerrilla movements in Angola and Mozambique.

SADCC has estimated that South African military actions in the region have cost more than 10 billion dollars during the 1980s.

The more peaceful climate has eased the
lines in neighbouring Mozambique are mostly inoperable, according to Kennedy's estimates.
Zaire, more than 7,000 kilometres north of South Africa, receives more than half its imports via South Africa although it has its own Atlantic Ocean port.
There are five major railways that connect southern Africa in the 1970s. About half its 75 locomotives currently are out of service.
Farm-to-market roads throughout Southern Africa range from primitive to non-existent. Crops in the fertile region often rot in the fields.
The region has the potential to feed much of the continent, but farmland is often international pressure for sanctions against South Africa, which inevitably would damage its neighbours as well.
Also, several countries have begun to pursue market-oriented economies and are moving away from "African socialism" and centralised economies.
"Tanzania, long hostile to Western capitalism, has been implementing austerity measures backed by the International Monetary Fund since President Ali Hassan Mwinyi came to power in 1985.
"IMF conditionalities are painful," Mwinyi said last year. "But we have to make a choice between two sharp-pointed spears. It is either we go forward with shops full of expensive commodities or we revert to the days of empty shops."
Frontline states talk of SA summit

The Argus Foreign Service
LUSAKA. — Diplomats in Lusaka believe the stage is being set for the first summit involving South Africa and frontline states following the November elections in Namibia.

Such a change in the states' strict policy of isolating South Africa would be justified to the world by Pretoria's performance in Namibia and would, it is hoped, lead to less tension.

Minor officials from Pretoria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs are expected in Lusaka as part of a continuing low-level dialogue. A great deal more than the future of Angola and Namibia now seems to be riding on the success of the peace process.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has said that Namibian independence would be a test of South African goodwill and has even praised Pretoria's initial performance. At last Wednesday's birthday celebrations for the Swazi king he conspicuously included South Africa in a call for regional unity.

Celebrations for the 29th anniversary of the founding of SWAPO were, in contrast, muted.

Dented image

As guerrillas began returning across the Angola border at Ruacana, South African, Cuban and Angolan representatives met to reaffirm that Namibian independence was still on course. But SWAPO is having to come to terms with the fact that its international image has been severely dented. Its actions have alienated even its closest allies.

At the frontline states' summit in Luanda, according to diplomats, harsh words were exchanged, with frontline chairman President Kaunda contradicting SWAPO claims that the guerrillas already had bases in Namibia. Angolan President dos Santos was equally scathing, they say.

There have been persistent reports that SWAPO's breach of the UN plan followed unofficial advice from Zimbabwe, with an eye to influencing the elections.

If so, it has been a costly failure. But in the complicated politics of Namibia being seen to be fighting and dying in the continuing struggle against the "oppressor" may have won a few extra votes.
Economic Progress

Southern Africa’s Europe holds key to

For a detailed analysis of the article, please refer to the provided text. The article discusses economic growth and development in Southern Africa, with a focus on Europe as a key partner in these efforts. The text highlights the importance of cooperation and investment, emphasizing the need for sustainable economic strategies. The article also touches on the role of the European Union in supporting economic development in the region. For a comprehensive understanding, please consult the full text.
SA has talks with Botswana

GABORONE — The Deputy Foreign Minister of South Africa, Mr. Kobus Meiring, and the Botswana Foreign Minister, Dr. Gaositwe Ciepe, have had talks here that are believed to have dealt among other subjects, with the bid by the Frontline states to send a monitoring mission to Namibia.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said only that Mr. Meiring was in Botswana for a "courtesy visit".

There was no mention on either side of reports that Dr. Ciepe had planned to lead a Frontline states delegation to Namibia last Sunday to establish a permanent mission to monitor the implementation of the Resolution 435 independence process.

Dr. Ciepe did not arrive in Namibia after South Africa maintained that only the UN had monitoring rights there.
SADCC to discuss media draft

CP Correspondent

The first draft strategy on information dissemination and public information for the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) will be the subject of a conference to be held in Lusaka, Zambia, on May 8 and 9.

The conference, which will assemble top media personnel from all SADCC countries, will also be attended by officials of the organisation which groups nine Southern African countries — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania, Lesotho and Swaziland.

The draft strategy was produced by a four-man SADCC media group whose chairman was Samuel Moribame, chief press officer for the Botswana Press Agency (Bopa). Other members are Clive Wilson, editor of the Financial Gazette of Zimbabwe, Dr Dominic Mulaihla, editor of the Southern African Economist, and Carlos Cardoso, editor-in-chief of the Mozambique News Agency, Aim.

The draft strategy critically examines the SADCC media profile both within the SADCC region and beyond, presents a range of media options available to the SADCC and makes wide-ranging recommendations on how the dearth of information can be tackled on a sustained basis.

A spokesman for the SADCC secretariat said participants had already been invited to the two-day conference. Depending on the results of the conference, the draft strategy might be seen by a technical committee before it is submitted to a standing committee of officials for determination and recommendations to the council of ministers, he said. — Ano
Stop the raids or we act, warns Pik

Mr Ray Swart
Mr Pik Botha

Pik, Ray Swart in storm over 'Blowpipe affair'

Parliamentary Staff

FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha clashed with Mr Ray Swart, the Democratic Party MP for Berea, over the Blowpipe affair after the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, announced details of his investigation into the matter.

Mr Botha accused Mr Swart yesterday of trying to "gain a cheap political advantage" from the controversy, while Mr Swart said Mr Botha owed it to the country to answer questions which had not been addressed.

The "Storm affair", he said, threatened to jeopardise South Africa’s important diplomatic relations with friendly countries.

General Malan had said South African officials had acted without government approval or authorisation in the Paris arms deal.

He admitted Mr Daniel Storm had acted as an Armscor agent, but denied that Armscor or the SADF had supplied weapons to the Ulster Defence Association or any other organisation in Ireland.

However, later in the Foreign Affairs budget debate, Mr Swart pressed Mr Botha to clarify certain issues.

"Let Armscor do its own work and get (arms agents) out of South Africa's embassies, because we cannot have a recurrence of this situation."

On Mr Daniel Storm in particular, Mr Swart asked: "Who (in the government, Armscor or SADF) was aware of Storm's activities in Paris? He must have been reporting to someone."

Mr Botha said: "The Conservative Party has accepted the Minister of Defence's investigation and the Labour Party has issued a responsible statement.

"This is a matter between this government and the government of the United Kingdom. Leave it to us. We will tell the voters the DP is soft on security."

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Parliamentary Staff

SOUTH Africa’s frontline neighbours have been warned that if they fail to prevent ANC attacks from across their borders, the SADF will have no option but to act.

Mr Pik Botha, Foreign Minister, delivered the warning in Parliament soon after the police announced that terrorists launched a mortar attack on the radar station at Kilimanjaro in the Western Transvaal early yesterday.

Police said similar attacks were planned. They arrested an alleged terrorist was captured about 20km from the Botswana border after he was wounded when one of the vehicles in which the guerrillas were fleeing overturned.

Police Commissioner General H G de Witt said in a statement that information indicated that the group of at least 21 guerrillas had been "tasked" from Zimbabwe and entered South Africa from Botswana at Pitsue.

Mr Botha told MPs: "I say to the ANC and the neighbouring states: the season for this type of thing is over. We will give information on this incursion to the governments of Botswana and Zimbabwe. I warn them that if their security forces do not help to stop these incursions, it leaves our security forces no other option but to take action to protect our people."

General de Witt's statement said the attack occurred at 3.20am from a position about 2.5km from the radar station. Three mortars were fired, causing slight damage but no serious injuries.

A mine-proof vehicle later detonated a landmine nearby.

New subsidy deal for SA-made films

Political Correspondent

A NEW subsidy scheme for South African-made films will come into effect on May 15.

Announcing this, Dr Schalk van der Merwe, Minister of Information, Broadcasting and the Film Industry, said the Cabinet had decided that a scheme subsidies should be changed to provide:

- A 25 percent subsidy on local expenditure on motion pictures commercially released in South Africa in 45mm format;
- A 70 percent subsidy on the domestic earnings of such pictures up to a maximum of R2 million;
- A further subsidy of 30 percent on net overseas earnings of such pictures up to an amount equal to 50 percent of production costs.

Finer details of the conditions and procedures for applications were being completed.
SAS owns mini-EG is a foundation on which Pk's diplomats want to build
Behind new Soviet Economic Realities

Appraising in Africa

By John Bartlett

The Soviet Union has clearly accepted the new economic realities emerging in Africa. In the past, the Soviets were not interested in adopting the capitalist economic system. They developed an economic system based on cooperation and the continuous improvement of production. They emphasized the importance of education and industrialization. The new economic system is more flexible and has led to increased productivity and economic growth. The Soviet Union is committed to supporting African countries in achieving economic independence and self-reliance. They are working closely with African governments to develop sustainable economic strategies. The Soviet Union's approach is based on the idea that economic development should be driven by the needs and aspirations of the African people. They are providing technical assistance and training to African economists and policymakers to help them understand and implement these new economic realities.

John Bartlett
African peace prospects suffer setbacks — survey

LONDON — Peace prospects improved in only two parts of Africa last year — the Maghreb in the far north and southern Africa — and international diplomacy played a key role in both areas, the International Institute for Strategic Studies reported yesterday.

Most African countries suffered major economic and financial problems, compounded by political turmoil or ethnic disputes, the London-based institute said in its annual global survey.

"In northern and southern Africa, international diplomacy had a substantial impact on local prospects for peace."

The survey said the peace agreement to remove Cuban forces from Angola and bring independence to Namibia was made possible by the "uniting efforts" of US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crock-er. These were "pursued as the USSR was putting more pressure on both Angola and Cuba, and as SA decided war was too costly."

"While the outlook in the rest of Africa continues to seem very grim indeed, in these two areas at least, hopes for a more stable future have risen."

The survey said SA President P W Botha would be unlikely to hold negotiations with the ANC, but a "more flexible approach" could be adopted by his successor.

"Precedent"

"The 'convergence of interests' between the superpowers, which produced the Angola-Namibian agreement, may have established a precedent that can be applied to the search for a solution to southern Africa's other problems," it added. — Sapa-AP.
Black states fail to weaken trade links

Argus Africa News Service
LUSAKA. — The nine member countries of the Southern Africa Development Conference (SADCC) have not managed to reduce the share of their overseas trade going through South Africa, it has been disclosed here.

A report compiled by the SADCC secretariat said there had been no change in the amount of trade going through South Africa when compared to 1981 when the organisation was formed.

"The share of the region's overseas trade going through South African ports is at 21 percent, the same as in 1981," the report said.

"One of the regional organisation's goals of reducing dependence on South Africa, still remains to be achieved."

Of the nine SADCC countries six are landlocked and have an average of 45 percent overseas trade share passing through South Africa.

The report said that in many cases the transport infrastruc-
Laying Africa’s ills at doors of black leaders

Black Africa should abandon its victim mentality and openly discuss its fundamental guilt for the situation the continent finds itself in, says two leading African affairs commentators, Mr Baffour Ankomah and Mr Pini Janon.

Mr Ankomah wrote in the latest edition of the New African magazine that the failure of black Africa to condemn Swapo’s leader Sam Nujoma for violating Namibia’s independence agreements was a reflection of the continent failing to condemn its own dictators and political meisters.

Mr Ankomah criticised the chairman of the Frontline states, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia for saying that Africa was not interested in finding who was the guilty party when fighting broke out in Namibia in April.

He could not accept President Kaunda’s statement that Africa left it to historians to discover who was at fault.

“Which historians? If we cannot find who is at fault today, which historians can find the guilty party 10 years into the future?” he asked.

And how can we end violence in southern Namibia when we cannot reprimand the guilty party, when we cannot ask him or them to repent and make an agreement?”

This is how we have built Africa on a foundation of sand. This is how we have made monsters out of leaders on the continent. See no evil, hear no evil and so Africa has for years closed its eyes to monumental errors of judgment by its leaders and today instead of marching forward, Africa is marching backward into poverty and squalor.

Some of us are really getting tired of the victim mentality we so much have a relish for,” Mr Ankomah wrote.

He added that although Africa could not sweep the United Nations inefficiencies under the carpet “so can we not fail to rebuke Sam Nujoma in the open?”

Catastrophic errors

“Africa is coming of age as an independent continent. We have passively watched as our leaders have made one disastrous error after another.

The consequences of such errors have been catastrophic economically, politically and socially. Until now we were especially those who are suffering the consequences of the errors, have allowed the leaders to do as they want. But the time has come that enough is enough,” he wrote and added:

“We have come a long way since independence. Hear no evil, see no evil, do no evil has done us no good. If Sam Nujoma is wrong, why don’t we tell him? Maybe that is all he needs to become a better president.”

In an article entitled “Washwashing Africa” Mr Pini Janon said a recent meeting in Nigeria to discuss a new African Information order had failed to identify the real problem affecting Africa’s image.

“That Africa suffers a bad press in the Western world is true. But that is not the whole truth. Beneath our moanings about how the Western press relished stories of Mobutu, Bokassa and Idriss Amin comes the fact that out of Africa are a whole lot of fundamental guilt we are afraid to discuss let alone admit,” he said.

Mr. Janon said it was true that most Western reporters relished stories of coups, war, starvation and corruption but, he asked: “Does the reporter really create the news?”

The small society

by Brickman

HOD-BOY, NO MATTER WHAT ANYBODY DOES, THEY WOULD —

SOMEBODY ALWAYS KNEW

IN THIS TOWN

CHRISTMAS MIRAGE

6.5

Brickman — 1978

President Kaunda... historian’s verdict is for too late.

“Or are the experts suggesting that since journalists in most African countries either through collusion or government repression cannot freely expose these invidious evils, foreign journalists should also acquiesce while a handful of despots waste Africa’s humanity? “Is it a reality that has reduced a country like Nigeria from a stupendously rich nation to a beggar nation in less than a decade. “What will the OAU communication experts do to uncover the records of billions stolen by African leaders and hidden in bank vaults scattered all over Europe and America?” he asked.

He said the conference’s decision to adopt a supplementary budget of R1.4 million for a public relations campaign aimed at improving Africa’s image was wasted money.

“The experts ignored one fundamental law in public relations: You cannot carve a picture out of rotten wood,” he said.

“African leaders have made the continent out of rotten wood and unless the decay is stopped, neither (giant PR firms) Saachi and Saachi nor J W Thompson can carve a good image out of it,” he said.
Forge links call

BLACK businessmen must forge links with their counterparts in African states, the president of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce, Mr Sam Motsuenyane, said in Blantyre, Malawi, yesterday.

Addressing a business conference during his visit to the country, Motsuenyane emphasised the need for cooperation among blacks in sub-Saharan Africa.

Motsuenyane, who is leading a delegation of South African businessmen, said: "This need must be seen against the long-term vision of the African countries in the region that was the promotion of trade and exports."

He said Nafcoc has established close ties with chambers of commerce and industries in Lesotho, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Tanzania, Botswana, Swaziland and Namibia.

The important factors which called for cooperation among blacks in the region could be summed as follows:

- Black businessmen in the region have a shortage of skilled manpower in technical and managerial areas and lack capital.
- Although blacks formed the dominant consumer market, they played a relatively subordinate role in meeting the needs of a rising consumer market both in the distribution and production levels.
- The economy of the countries of sub-Saharan Africa have a certain degree of interdependence, and new linkages were being forged to ease the blow of inter-state trade and travel.
- The greatest challenge facing the African countries in the region was the promotion of trade and exports.

The delegation returns this week.
European Community ministers turn down Frontline sanctions bid

LUXEMBOURG — The European Community (EC) yesterday turned down a request from the black African Frontline states to impose new economic sanctions on South Africa.

At a meeting between EC and African Frontline foreign ministers in Luxembourg, the Community said the new Government due to take office in Pretoria in September should be asked to change course before any new measures are taken.

DEPLORE DECISION

But the 12 EC ministers did issue a statement deploiring South African President F W Botha's decision last week to renew the state of emergency, a move backed by his designated successor, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

In its statement, the EC said it deplored South Africa's decision to renew its state of emergency and called again for an end to repression and the abolition of apartheid.

At a meeting in Luxembourg, the 12 EC foreign ministers said in a statement they feared that last week's decision to extend the emergency would hinder the search for a solution to South Africa's problems.

Pretoria says the state of emergency, now entering its fourth year, is needed to curb violence in the country. Under the emergency powers, the Government has introduced strict press curbs, has virtually banned 32 anti-apartheid groups and has more than 500 dissidents under house arrest.

The EC statement, issued initially in French, said:

"...The 12 deplore the decision by the South African Government to extend the state of emergency and express their deep concern that this extension might further hinder the creation of the climate necessary for a solution to the problems of South Africa."

REPRESSION

"The 12 regret that the South African Government has not responded to the repeated requests of the 12 to lift the state of emergency. As a result, they ask the South African Government once again to put an end to its policy of repression, to free all political prisoners, in particular Nelson Mandela, to lift the ban on anti-apartheid organisations, to lift the state of emergency and to embark on a national dialogue leading to the abolition of the apartheid system." — Reuter.
At least five million people in Africa — out of a world total of more than 12 million — are refugees, and the number is rising by the day.

All the Southern African countries, excepting Namibia and Mozambique — themselves among the biggest exporters of refugees — are host to at least two million of the continent’s refugee population.

An estimated 150,000 refugees are living in South Africa, having fled the apartheid civil war in Mozambique between forces of the Frelimo government and those of the rebel Renamo movement.

Many of them are in the Eastern Transvaal and, like refugees in other parts of Africa, must make the best of their lot in new and unfamiliar surroundings.

Other Mozambican refugees are among the 30,000 refugees living in Swaziland, whose 300,000 refugee population includes many exiles of South African origin.

Yesterday was the 15th commemoration of Africa Refugees’ Day which is observed worldwide. The Soviet African News Service focuses on the continent’s homeless and displaced.

A number of factors give rise to the exodus of people from their countries. Those leaving South Africa have done so mainly because of the political situation in the country, which they found intolerable. Many other refugees, as in the case of Sudan and Mozambique, have been forced by armed conflict and the accompanying food shortages to abandon home.

The refugee problem has its own irony: Some 345,000 have sought shelter in Western Ethiopia, fleeing their homes in Sudan. They left behind a raging civil war and a scarcity of food — and are making the best of what they can in Ethiopia which itself is in the grip of guerrilla warfare and food shortages brought about by the fighting and crippling recent droughts.

Another irony has been the Sudanese making their way to Northern Uganda. They began arriving in large numbers — about 1,000 in one day in March — three months ago.

They were received by Ugandans who had themselves just arrived back home from exile, having fled the dictatorships of Idi Amin and Obote once more.

In at least two quarters the refugees are returning their footsteps homeward.

Last week Namibian exiles, many of them victims of a 23-year war between South African forces and guerrillas commanded by Swapo, began returning home and in the first seven days of the repatriation exercise some 300 had returned.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees seeks to have at least 41,000 Namibian exiles back home by the end of next month in what could be the biggest airlift in African history as most of the refugees are airlifted from various countries which had granted them asylum.

In Uganda some 200,000 refugees, according to the UNHCR, are already back home and the repatriation of all Ugandan exiles is almost complete.

Two of the world’s poorest nations, Ethiopia and Malawi, are between them host to almost one and a half million refugees.

Malawi is sheltering 62,000 exiles and Ethiopia 65,000.

On the other hand Mozambique, Somalia and Sudan have created a refugee problem translating into more than a million and a half people.

Many of the exiles are women and children.

But while most countries have extended warmth and courtesy to refugees, sharing with them what they have, there has been resentment and even discrimination in others.

A few weeks at a meeting of more than 50 countries taking part in the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee in Nairobi Ugandan minister of justice, also attorney-general, Professor C. W. Kasumbwa, said refugees were not always welcome in some countries of asylum.

He did not name the countries but said: "For a refugee is it one of the most devastating discoveries to find himself or herself an outcast. The land where he has sought refuge may not want him but he does not have the option of returning home. In practice he or she is homeless."

Many of the refugees are school children.
West may increase its help to southern Africa

While Western aid to states of southern Africa is at present largely non-lethal, it is likely to become increasingly lethal.

This is one of the points made by a British specialist, Dr Simon Bayham, in a paper that will shortly be published by the Africa Institute in Pretoria in its "Africa Insight" periodical.

Dr Bayham is a specialist in African military matters and has written several books and other publications on the subject. Before joining the Africa Institute as a senior researcher he was a lecturer at South Africa's military college at Pretoria and before that lectured in political studies at the University of Cape Town.

He notes that although the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) has no real military structure, its success or failure will depend significantly on "the application of military and security measures."

But while co-operation on military matters is likely to grow among the SADCC countries, there is no sign of a significant increase in their security forces.

No strategic interests

Eastern bloc assistance is likely to decline for several reasons, according to Dr Bayham. One is that the Soviet Union has no vital strategic interests in the region. The alleged strategic importance of the Cape sea route is a myth in the nuclear age and the Soviets have no reason to covet the region's mineral wealth. (Since the United States has had little strategic or economic interest in the region, the two superpowers' mutual disinterest might well lead them to co-operate more closely on the ground in southern Africa, Dr Bayham says.)

A second reason is that the Soviets are beginning to accept that the prospects for socialism in Africa are vanishing.

Mozambique has been moving decisively to reduce Eastern bloc influence and last year again rebuffed an offer by Cuba to station its troops in Mozambique.

"The matter was raised by Cuba during President Chissano's visit to Havana in April 1988. Chissano was apparently irritated by the fact that his hosts sought to discuss an issue not even on the agenda."

"It is not the first time that Cuba has tried to persuade Mozambique to accept combat troops. But Maputo is suitably wary of counter-action by South Africa - has repeatedly declined to take up the offer."

"However, it should not be asumed that the Mozambican leadership is more inclined on the issue. Pro-Soviet purist elements within the Fretilin hierarchy are reported to be opposed to any diminution of Eastern bloc links. At the same time the military elite seem keen to diversify and upgrade sources of military assistance."

Moscow, which is unwilling to make the same sort of large-scale financial commitment in Mozambique as it is making in Angola, may not be discouraging this process.

In contrast to the declining Eastern bloc involvement, says Dr Bayham, the inputs from the West are growing and Western donors are beginning to view the SADCC as a vehicle for detaching themselves from support for South Africa."

While European countries and Canada have committed themselves to help the SADCC states reduce their dependence on South Africa, they are beginning to conclude that their technical assistance must be given security protection.

"In short, military assistance is seen as a sine qua non without which the entire scheme could be seriously jeopardised."

Six countries - Portugal, France, Spain, Italy, Sweden and Britain - have agreed to earmark part of their aid monies to beef up security around development projects they sponsor, says Dr Bayham. Some, including West Germany and Denmark, are opposed to this but most Western countries have now accepted it as inevitable.

"Whether they see it in these terms or not, one of the most remarkable results of the Mozambican crisis is the manner in which the West is being drawn gradually into the military conflict and none more so than the United Kingdom."

Top supporter

Britain is now the top Western supporter of Frelimo's war against Renamo. One reason for this, according to Dr Bayham, is that London is trying to buy acquiescence from black Africa to its stand against sanctions against South Africa.

The aid to Mozambique is partly in payment for Maputo's help in bringing Zimbabwe to independence and partly because London hopes to
Tanzania out, SA in - but what is the fate of the elephant?
28 off to the Frontline states

A group of 28 young South Africans left yesterday for a 14-day tour of the Frontline states, where they will meet heads of state and academic organisations, before meeting the African National Congress.

The purpose of the tour, which is hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative to South Africa (Idasa), is to give concerned white businessmen, local government leaders and academics the opportunity to acquaint themselves first-hand with developments in the neighbouring states of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia. — Staff Reporter. (2.79A)
Aid for Africa

Leaders set to back ‘Marshall Plan’

FW to meet Kenyan president?

Mozambique rebel leader’s plane shot down

Political Staff

THE leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, and President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique are set today to give formal approval to a "Marshall Plan" for Southern Africa.

Mr de Klerk’s arrival in Maputo this morning coincides with that of Kenyan leader Mr Daniel Arap Moi, who is intimately involved in the Mozambiquan peace talks which are a crucial part of the plan. There is a possibility that the two men may meet.

Sources have said that the high-level contact may lead to Mr Chissano convening a summit of Southern African leaders, including South Africa, after November 1.

South Africa is looking to Mr Chissano to persuade Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, whom they perceive as the only frontline leader opposing improved co-operation between SA and the region, to join them.

The "Marshall Plan" calls for European financial aid to be combined with Southern African technical and scientific expertise to develop the resources of Southern Africa.

The idea of a development plan for the region was first mooted by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha when he met Mr Chissano in February this year. Mr Botha told the Mozambican leader that the time had arrived for the countries to carry through the logical consequences of the Nkomati Accord.

Well received

He then raised the idea of a tripartite (EEC, SA and Southern Africa) development programme for the region with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl and Italian Foreign Minister Mr Giulio Andretti when they met in March.

According to foreign ministry sources the idea was well received "although the European leaders did not immediately start holding out their cheque books".

On returning to South Africa, Mr Botha again travelled to Maputo where he pursued the idea further with Mr Chissano.

SA proponents of the plan argue that with EEC support and improved regional co-operation economic progress in Southern Africa, comparable in scope and impact to that of post-war Europe, can be achieved.

In the earlier discussions Mr Chissano had emphasised that achieving peace in Mozambique would have to be part of any development plan.

This week be cleared the way for a successful round of talks with Mr De Klerk and Mr Botha when he said his government was now convinced South Africa and the SADF were no longer aiding rebels in Mozambique.

This was in marked contrast to a statement by US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen, who said on Sunday that his government was convinced South African aid was still reaching the rebels.

President Chissano

It would also be a sharp reversal of the Kenyan government’s hardline stance against contact with Pretoria.

President Moi is involved in the process of negotiating a peace settlement between Mozambique’s government and the rebel Renamo movement, and is travelling to Mozambique next week to clear up the next steps in the peace initiative.

The Foreign Affairs Secretary said if reports that President Moi would be in Maputo at the same time as Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha were correct, "it is possible that a meeting will take place".

"However, I have no knowledge of such a meeting. It is something about which we will only have clarity in Maputo."

"If it happens it will be a bonus."

Diplomats said the plane was shot down as it was flying near the southern part of Mozambique, where the rebels have their main base.

President Chissano said the plane was to pick up Mr Dhlakama and take him to Nairobi for tomorrow’s meeting with church leaders.

Mr Chissano said troops unaware of the proposed talks had fired on it when it violated Mozambican air space.
Mr Chissano said he had once again been assured, and accepted the assurances, that the South African government was not aiding the rebels. However, he did not rule out the possibility that certain elements in South Africa could be aiding them.

Mr De Klerk said the countries of Southern Africa needed to grasp the opportunity created by recent developments to work for peace and fulfill the potential of the region.

South Africa, he said, was prepared to play a constructive role in assisting the peace initiative in Mozambique.
Chissano: SA could end its isolation

From MIKE ROBERTSON

MAPUTO. — Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano said yesterday that South Africa could take its place among the community of Southern African nations if there was a sound process of change in the country.

Mr Chissano was speaking at a press conference here after a 3½-hour meeting with NP leader Mr F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

More than an hour was spent discussing Mr Botha's "Marshall Plan" to promote economic development and regional co-operation in Southern Africa. The plan seeks to end South Africa's isolation from its neighbours and instead get the countries of the region to work together to promote development.

According to Mr Chissano, South Africa's isolation from its neighbours would end if the government embarked on a sound process of change. In this event the countries of the region would work with South Africa to help solve its problems.

Sources at the meeting said a great deal of time was spent discussing the role Mr Chissano could play in getting Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe — the only frontline leader opposed to
Kaunda to meet FW

LUSAKA. — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the frontline states, yesterday said he would meet Mr FW de Klerk on August 23 in Zambia.

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

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

From page 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO, told the leaders of Namibia's progress towards independence. Mr Kaunda said this issue would also figure at the OAU committee meeting in Harare. — Sapa-Reuter and Political Staff
A statement by the Department of Foreign Affairs last night confirmed the meeting.

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

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

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

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

He has promised to bring South Africa's 25 million blacks into the central government, where they have no voice.

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

**Decision still secret**

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

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

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

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

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

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

Each side has accused the other of breaking the ceasefire.

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

In Lusaka, President Kaunda said the Frontline summit had supported efforts by President Joaquin Chissano of Mozambique to negotiate peace with right-wing Renamo rebels.
HARARE — Deteriorating food and security situations form the background to a top meeting of the Southern African Co-ordinating Conference.

Its Council of Ministers met yesterday for the second day as the plights of Angola and Mozambique were described as serious.

The conference's latest security bulletin said civil wars in Angola and Mozambique, drought and lack of agricultural inputs in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, were major causes of projected food deficits for the 1989-90 marketing season.

The overall food security prospects indicate a low degree of domestic self-sufficiency in Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland.

Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe are expected to enjoy a degree of domestic self-sufficiency in excess of their needs. Zimbabwe's Zaina national news agency quoted the bulletin as saying.

It added: "The food security situation in Mozambique remains serious. In Angola a decline in crop production, brought about by prolonged mid-season drought, lack of inputs and the war, has led to shortfalls in domestic food supply.

Production

The region is expected to have about 1.2-million tons of surplus maize. Affected countries need to import 1.13-million tons.

The bulletin pointed out that maize deficit countries should import their needs from within the region.

"The extent to which this is achieved will be a measure of the conference's success in its policy of becoming as self-sufficient as possible in food production," it said.

There are some smaller surpluses in small grains but, the bulletin said: "All wheat will have to be secured from outside the region."

Among some of the measures recommended to increase food self-sufficiency are:

- Strengthening of food storage and distribution facilities.
- Establishing machinery for the exchange of information on food deficits and surpluses,
- To help members to build up stocks of staple foodstuffs and, the promotion of regional trade in staple foodstuffs, to stimulate increased production.

A novel initiative has been launched.
GABERONE. — The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) executive secretary, Dr Simba Malongi, says that for the first time the economies of the member states have shown a positive growth.

The Botswana News Agency reported that he was speaking at conference in Gaberone yesterday, he said for the first time since the 70's the SADCC economy has been able to grow positively.

He added that the SADCC summit held in Harare last week noted the improvement.

The region recorded an average GDP growth rate of about 4.5%, representing both a real increase in per capita income, and a reversal of over ten years of economic decline.

He said the SADCC approved the restricted regional food reserve project whose objectives include reinforcement of member states' effort towards self-sufficiency in staples. — Sapa
SA could play key role in African common market

The tentative new mood of optimism about the political outlook has started to revive debate about the chances of creating a sub-Saharan economic community — a vast common market reaching from South Africa as far north as the equator and beyond.

Should the goal be seen as possible reality or a myth?

Three decades ago, Prime Minister Mr Harold Macmillian of Britain delivered his "winds of change" speech and from that momentum onwards we have not only faced cold winds throughout the continent but in very many countries head winds as well.

However, recent events may widen the potential for bringing about warmer winds — perhaps even tail winds to encourage economic co-operation.

There are many obvious constraints that could temper optimism, not least the development strategies that have been used by many if not most African countries.

Many have moved from free market economies to centrally-planned economic systems, meaning a classic conflict of capitalism versus socialism.

The creation of single-party states and even dictatorships has placed the main emphasis on short-term planning, with outsiders from both the West and the East competing for influence.

More and more reliance has been placed by many African states on hand-outs from such sources as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in order to survive, not to spend on improvements for the future. With longer-term planning ignored, whole infrastructures have sunk into neglect.

Using the United States dollar in comparison, while the per capita income in Switzerland by 1985 had grown to $17,600 (about R49,000), it languished at $550 (R2,300) in South Africa, $620 (R2,730) in Zimbabwe, $210 (R850) in Mozambique, $160 (R650) in Zaire and an equally meagre $160 in Malawi. In many African countries, real gross national product has been stumping even lower.

In all the gloom, the World Bank has now warned: "The long-term trend of decline persists and Western companies as well as governments are actively de-linking themselves from the continent."

Even now, socialism has not yet lost its emotional appeal and a host of deep-rooted political and other problems still obstruct the freeing of economic activities.

However, economic realism is starting to impact on political ideology, forcing a complete re-look at the African continent and the whole question of political and economic structures.

The outlook of economic growth on the region's economic community relies on three issues:

- Stability within the individual countries of the region.
- Progress in South Africa with its internal reform process, the key to the potential of its external foreign policy.
- Acceptance of South Africa as a respected member of the community, pledged not only to its own development but also to the enrichment of inhabitants of the entire region.

South Africa is ideally placed to make a major contribution in view of its considerable infrastructure and existing ties and links with several neighbours.

Let's look at the economic structure of the region. The Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC) zone, which comprises Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Angola and Tanzania, has a combined population of 68 million — more than twice the 32 million population of South Africa.

Yet the most recent published figures available show that at a 1985 count South Africa accounted for no less than three-quarters of the whole region's gross domestic product and as much as two-thirds of all its exports. South Africa also provided 50 percent of all SADCC imports and provided a market for 20 percent of all SADCC exports.

No fewer than 8,000 units of all the rolling stock running daily on the railway lines operated in neighbouring countries, worth about R700 million, belong to SA Transport Services, on loan under various agreements.

Given peace in the region, an economic community could soon start opening up a far bigger rail network with more links between member nations.

South Africa generates 60 percent of all the electricity used in Africa and has the potential for establishing a grid throughout the whole sub-Saharan region, which would open far-reaching new industrial and socio-political opportunities.

Though it is rarely highlighted, South African investments elsewhere on the continent amounted to more than R3,5 billion at a 1986 count. They have already played a major role in opening up the mineral wealth of neighbour countries.

And more investments are in the pipeline — diamond mines in Angola, a huge soda ash project in Botswana, the Highlands water scheme in Lesotho among them — that promise tremendous new opportunities for the region.

Assistance has also been flowing from the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

The outside world has come to acknowledge the need for economic co-operation on the continent, too.

Feelings have been summarised by the Overseas Development Council in the United States. "South Africa seen as an integral part of the region presents a challenge and an opportunity," it said in a recent assessment. "This region, with serious support for a regional development strategy, could be the key to building a different kind of future for the southern half of the continent."
Region on the agenda

The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — Southern Africa will be on the agenda when Foreign Ministers of the United States and the Soviet Union meet for talks later this week, U.S. Secretary of State Mr. James Baker told a press briefing in Washington yesterday. He would be discussing the Southern African situation generally with Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze. He said he did not expect to get into detailed discussions about the De Klerk government. Mr. Baker said: “As you know, when we congratulated that government on its election and caught a little flak for doing so, we made it very clear that that congratulation was tempered with a desire on our part to see them move expeditiously in a whole host of areas having to do with the abolition of apartheid. I hope we will see that.”

Southern Africa will be on the agenda, but it will almost certainly not be anywhere near the top. The issue was referred to only in passing by Mr. Baker during a lengthy briefing he gave journalists on the summit.
Agricultural productivity needs boost

TRADE between South Africa and its neighbours increased by about 160% in 1980, according to the South African National Economic Institute. This was the highest rate of increase in the region and reflected growing economic ties between the countries.

One major factor contributing to this increase was the growing demand for agricultural products. However, production in the region had not kept pace with this demand, leading to a situation where prices were rising faster than production.

In response to this, the South African National Economic Institute recommended that governments in the region should focus on increasing agricultural productivity to meet the growing demand for food and industrial products. This would help to stabilize prices and reduce the dependency on imports.

In conclusion, increasing agricultural productivity is crucial to the economic development of the region. Governments in the region should prioritize investment in agriculture to ensure food security and promote economic growth.

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**Development in Southern Africa**

Major donors of development assistance to SADC countries in Southern Africa, 1996

**Inflation**

Inflation continued to be a major concern in the region, with high rates reported in several countries. This had a negative impact on the purchasing power of workers and the overall economy.

**Unemployment**

Unemployment rates remained high in the region, with many young people struggling to find work. This had a significant impact on the overall economy and social stability.

**Trade**

Trade between the region's countries increased, with South Africa being a major trading partner. However, the terms of trade were not always in favor of the smaller countries.

**Foreign Aid**

International aid continued to be a significant source of funding for development projects in the region. However, there were concerns about the effectiveness of aid and its impact on local economies.

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**Sustainable Development**

Sustainable development strategies were increasingly being adopted in the region, with a focus on balancing economic growth with environmental protection. This was seen as essential for long-term prosperity and the well-being of future generations.

**Energy**

Energy was a critical issue, with many countries facing energy shortages and the need to diversify energy sources. This had a significant impact on industrial and agricultural productivity.

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**Conclusion**

The region faces numerous challenges, including economic instability, unemployment, and environmental degradation. However, there are also opportunities for growth and development, particularly in the areas of agriculture and trade. It is essential that governments and international partners work together to address these challenges and promote sustainable development in the region.
By Karen Stander

Regional co-operation in energy affairs will ensure the establishment of a South African "power group" by the mid-1990s, Eskom chief Mr Ian McRae has predicted.

Speaking at a press conference on his return from a meeting of the World Energy Conference in Montreal, he sketched a picture of future close cooperation with an eastern power grid linking South Africa with Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi and other countries. There was also a potential for another power grid on the western side of the continent.

Mr McRae said he believed the Cahorra Bassa scheme would be completed in the next two years and other joint projects between South Africa and her regional neighbours were also possible. Some had already been discussed, he said.

The three key issues identified at the Montreal conference were the importance of protecting the environment while ensuring sufficient energy, the greater role which nuclear power would play in the future and the importance of regional cooperation, particularly in the assistance of developing countries.

He said the conclusions drawn on the continued availability of world energy resources at the Montreal conference were in direct contrast to what was believed in 1980, when there was concern that they would run out.

Experts now believed there would be no problem in the foreseeable future. South Africa's resources were also plentiful, Mr McRae said.

While South Africa did not have its own oil and would continue importing, the country's coal reserves, used mainly for making synthetic petrol, would last well into the latter half of the next century.

Natural gas was also available and South Africa would continue to explore this potential.

Uranium was also plentiful and the country's supply would last until the end of the next century, while the potential of "renewables" such as wind, water, solar and wave-power would continue to be explored.

Mr McRae said there was great scope for nuclear energy, now favoured by environmentalists above coal-produced power.
Leadership tussle for Commonwealth

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

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

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

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

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

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

The situation has no real precedent. Since the Commonwealth secretariat was formed in 1965 there have been only two secretaries-general, the Canadian diplomat Arnold Smith, who served two five-year terms, and Ramphal, whose third five-year term ends in mid-1990.

Ramphal has told governments he does not intend to stand again.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some British officials still seem to be hoping that another candidate might emerge, but there is no sign of this happening.
Developing world needs $1-trillion for electricity

THEO RAWANA

Zaire and there was further potential in the Zambesi River. There was also SA’s involvement in the Lesotho Highlands scheme.

McRae said the fact that Botswana and Swaziland had coal augured well for the development of schemes.

“We will see progress in these projects and the World Bank will come in with the funds,” he said.

He said the conclusion at the world conference was a reverse of the Munich congress in 1980 and that the energy resource base was not a problem in the foreseeable future.

“The world will be able to sustain its energy requirements for many years to come.”

Sapa reports that McRae said SA was well-stocked in terms of future energy resources.

He said while SA did not have its own oil and would continue importing, the country’s coal reserves, used mainly for making synthetic petrol, would last well into the latter half of the next century.

In terms of policy, McRae would not reveal statistics concerning SA’s natural gas production.

He said, however, that the Mossgas project offered potential and would continue to be used for the production of syngas.

There was great scope for nuclear energy, now favoured by environmentalists above coal-produced power, in view of SA’s infrastructure and accessible uranium deposits — enough to last at least until the end of the next century.

“We must determine what type of (nuclear) reactors to introduce and when,” McRae said.

He predicted, however, that the present balance in SA’s energy sources would still be more or less unchanged at the turn of the century.

It would remain at about 80% coal-generated electricity, 16% nuclear power and 10% hydro-electricity.

Environment

Electrification of those black townships without power would make great inroads towards cutting air pollution, McRae said.

He said that in accordance with a resolution of the World Energy Conference Eskom would place greater emphasis on environmental issues.

Protection of the environment however had to be balanced against economic considerations.

Townships without electricity, where coal and wood was burned for power, particularly portions of Soweto, contributed significantly to air pollution, said McRae.

He said Eskom was working to electrify all SA’s black townships.
Conflicts cost SA R165bn on SA nation's borders and elsewhere. The cost of conflicts between South Africa and its neighbours has piled up to R165 billion since the 1960s, with the bulk of the costs borne by the affected nations.

The latest study, commissioned by the Africa Commission for Economic Development in Africa, estimates that the conflicts have cost South Africa and its neighbours a total of R165 billion since the 1960s. The study, which was conducted by the South African Institute for International Affairs, found that the conflicts have had a significant impact on the economies of the affected nations.

The study found that the conflicts have caused widespread damage to infrastructure, agriculture, and industry, as well as displacement of people and loss of life. The costs of conflicts have been particularly high in the southern Africa region, where a number of long-running conflicts have plagued the region.

The study recommends that the affected nations work together to address the root causes of the conflicts and to develop strategies to prevent future conflicts. It also recommends that the international community provide support to the affected nations to help them address the costs of conflicts.

The study's findings are significant, given the ongoing conflicts in the region, including the conflict in South Sudan, which has been ongoing since 2013. The conflict in South Sudan has caused widespread displacement of people and significant damage to infrastructure and agriculture, with estimates suggesting that the costs of the conflict could be as high as R100 billion in the coming years.