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1986

SA secret weapon — economies of other states

27/9/86 Sun Times

By DAVID JACKSON

SOUTH AFRICA's "secret weapon" in the looming sanctions battle is the stranglehold it has on the economies of surrounding black states.

A South Africa stung into retaliation by trade embargoes could use the weapon of "retributive sanctions" to pull the plug on Southern African states.

The economies of vulnerable countries such as Lesotho and Zimbabwe could be crippled in a matter of weeks, political analysts and businessmen predicted this week.

Priority reports placed on the desk of President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher are said to have painted a gloomy scenario of the effects sanctions would have on South Africa and its neighbours. And they are among the key factors underpinning American and British resistance to full-scale mandatory sanctions.

Independent

The big unknown factor is the extent to which South Africa's nine black neighbours can resist the economic siege that sanctions would bring.

Millions of rands — R210-million voted by the EEC alone — have been poured into the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the Frontline-states grouping which in 1980 formed itself into an economic unit with the aim of making it independent of South Africa.

Some pro-sanctions lobbyists now believe that the SADCC has developed sufficiently to enable the 'hostage' black states to survive the effects of sanctions in the region.

Others said this week that South Africa still possessed the ultimate counter to sanctions.

South Africa is still the main trading partner for all nine of its black neighbours. Ninety percent of Zimbabwe's trade is shipped through South African ports.

Electricity

More than 1,3-million of the nine states' nationals work in South African mines and factories (in Lesotho's case earning more than half that country's income).

Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland depend on South African oil. South Africa supplies about 60 percent of Maputo's electricity grid alone — if it wished it could simply switch off the lights in the Mozambican capital.

But the kingpin in this network of economic dependence by the Southern African states is the South African Transport Services (Sats), whose infrastructure dominates the region.

Sats statistics show that at a rough count more than 6 000 South African railway trucks lie scattered in Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique and Swaziland.

All these countries, except Mozambique, not only need South African harbours to move their imports and exports but need South African rolling stock to move their goods.

Alternative lines through black-ruled countries have either been disrupted by local guerrillas or are heavily congested. The only viable alternative port — Dar es Salaam — is hopelessly inadequate to meet the needs, experts said this week.

According to Johannesburg-based export consultant Sally Gallagher, only Botswana of the countries whose trade links would be disrupted by sanctions would be able practically to counter the effects by foreign airlifts of goods.

Retaliation

For the rest, they are entirely dependent on South Africa's transport system.

The effects of sanctions on the Southern African region, says Miss Gallagher, could "destroy everything which the West has taken two decades to build up".

According to Professor Reginald Green of the Institute of Development Studies, quoted in the New African magazine, sanctions alone will hurt, but not necessarily wreck, the economies of the Frontline states.

But what is feared is South African retaliation.

Says the New African, widely read in black Africa: "Pretoria could take more damaging steps. One likely retaliatory measure would be to stop oil shipments to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. With Maputo linked to South Africa's electricity grid, Pretoria could also turn out the lights in Mozambique's capital by flicking a switch."

ROBERT MUGABE
His people depend on SA

According to one South African source this week, South African strategists are divided on how — if at all — the retributive sanction weapon should be employed.

One hardline school of thought is that it should be used *in toto* to create the maximum effect.

Another view is that it could be used selectively to dramatic effect on specific targets.

Zimbabwe, it was said, could be severely disrupted within a month — facing massive retrenchments and shortages of vital commodities, such as spare parts.

SADF: No quarrel with neighbours

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.

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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 Developement 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 communique 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 centred on communications and transport. — Sapa-AP

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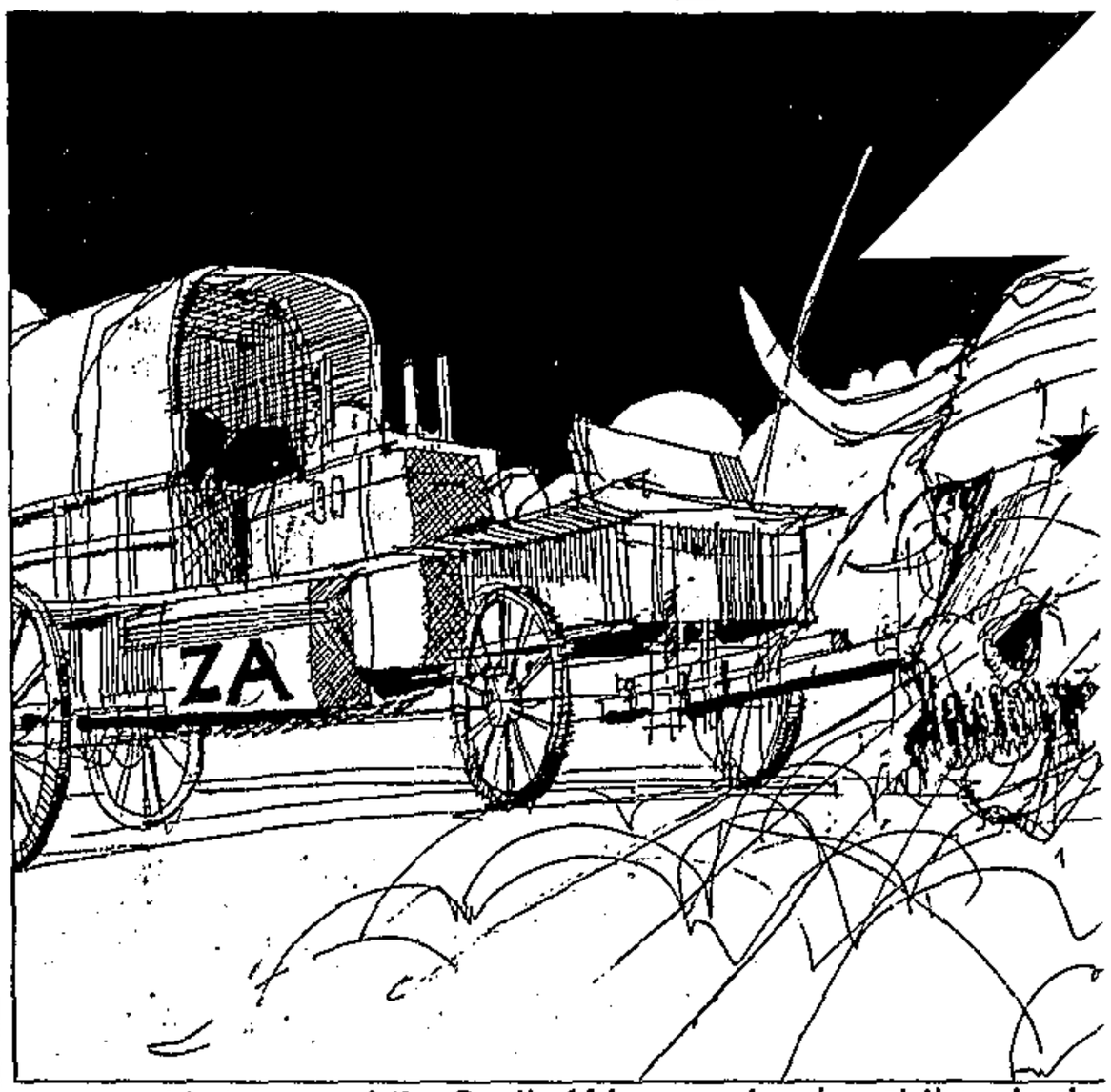
Margaret Thatcher speaks



Margaret Thatcher and the South Africans ... tugging at the wheels

'When people call that MOR/

In the week of Sir Geoffrey Howe's abortive South African trip, the Guardian's HUGO YOUN

MARGARET THATCHER, it turns out, is not entirely without first-hand experience of South Africa. She came here once, as Secretary of State for Education and Science, to open an observatory.

She does not make too much of this distant episode, but it has left a vivid impression and remains in the present tense.

Could she say, I asked her last week, after she had sent Sir Geoffrey Howe on his way, that she had seen apartheid in operation?

"You have to be very careful in saying that just because you've been to a country, you've seen it," she replied. "But I've seen apartheid in a number of respects.

"The first thing you see when you get off at Johannesburg airport is that you go into a hotel which is totally non-colour-conscious. You go into a dining room and there's all colours and backgrounds. So your first impression of South Africa is rather different from what you've been led to believe."

Soon, however, you came across other things, which were different from Britain. Thatcher had not been to Soweto or any other township. But she had seen both sides of South Africa, including the part where apartheid apparently did not exist.

"I've seen it on occasions where there's no apartheid, and I've seen it when there is apartheid. And I don't like apartheid. It's wrong.

"Let me make that clear. Apartheid is wrong. It has to go, and it is going."

The question is how to speed its departure. Despite the events of recent weeks and months, the British Prime Minister is an unswerving believer in the virtues of contact, dialogue, persuasion. She had made a start, she reminded me, when she had received President Botha at Chequers last year and told him that forced removals of black communities were "totally and utterly and particularly repugnant to us".

Their meeting and subsequent correspondence had been fruitful. "Those have been stopped now. Things are coming in the right direction. Naturally one wishes them to come faster."

I suggested that this process might now have come to a halt. "What leverage do we have through mere persuasion, particularly when the main characters in the drama won't even see our Foreign Secretary?"

Thatcher deployed the quiet voice of incredulous affront. "I'm sorry, that's absolute nonsense. President Botha's seeing the Foreign Secretary."

"But Sir Geoffrey had wanted to see him this week."

"You have to try and arrange a date. I run eight, nine, sometimes 12 engagements a day. I can't just fit people in. Let's look on the positive side, and not try to make every single difficulty in this country, difficulties which don't exist. Mr Botha will see Sir Geoffrey Howe. Course he will. The question is arranging a date which is mutually convenient."

"But wasn't it a bit humiliating that the trip was set up so publicly and then Botha said he wouldn't be available?"

Thatcher said it might have been better if they could have arranged the whole thing more quietly. But there would certainly be a meeting, and we should meanwhile look on the positive side, which consisted of fulfilling the terms of the last EEC communiqué outlining the need to get negotiations started between the South African government and black political leaders. Negotiations, not sanctions — the Rhodesian way.

"But Rhodesia survived sanctions only because it had South African support. Surely there is no South Africa to support South Africa?"

"South Africa has colossal internal resources. A colossal coastline. And whatever sanctions were put on, materials would get in and get out. There's no way you can blockade the whole South African coastline. No way."

So, I asked, was there no economic pressure which, in the Prime Minister's view, would have any effect?

The banks, she thought, who had pressed for repayment of the South African debt last year, had some effect. But the main influence came from people inside South Africa who were fighting apartheid. And who were these? Above all, industry, "and some of the political parties".

"But the question is whether governments, your government, can and should add to that pressure?"

"You're talking about economic pressure," said Thatcher. "I'm talking about how to bring about negotiations." And here she launched into an attack on past policies. South Africa should never have been isolated from the world.

"I think we should have had more contact. We would have influenced her more. She would have been able to see that multiracial societies do work in other countries. They do, of course, have certain problems. We've seen the problems in Kenya and Uganda. But South Africa would have been much more influenced to come our way."

As it was, even the moderates, black and white, would respond badly if they saw the West just hitting out at their country.

"So are you saying there is no form of hostile pressure which is appropriate?"

"Let me say what I'm saying," she responded, in a voice which had now long assumed the deliberate and emphatic timbre familiar at parliamentary question time. "There's no case in history that I know of where punitive, general economic sanctions have been effective to bring about internal change.

"That is what I believe. That is what the Labour Party in power believed. That is what most of Europe believes. That is what most Western industrialised countries believe. If that is what they believe, there is no point in trying to follow that route."

So sanctions, first of all, would not achieve the desired effect. But that was only the beginning of the case against them.

We now approached the central thrust of the prime ministerial argument, that part of it which elicited her most withering scorn. But there was a moment of calm before the storm, even a brief, flickering line of self-doubt, concerning a point over which "people, if I might say so, seem to me confused — although they might make the same allegations about myself".

The matter in question was the moral case for sanctions. "I must tell you I find nothing moral about people who come to me, worried about unemployment in this country, or about people who come to us to say we must do more to help Africa — particularly black Africans.

"I find nothing *moral* about them, sitting in comfortable circumstances, with good salaries, inflation-proof pensions, good jobs, saying that we, as a matter of *morality*, will put X hundred thousand black people out of work, knowing that this could lead to starvation, poverty and unemployment, and even greater violence."

I tried to intervene. "So the black leaders who ..."

But Mrs Thatcher was thumping the table. "That to me is *immoral*. I find it repugnant. We had it at the Community meeting. Nice conference centre. Nice hotels. Good jobs. And you really tell me you'll move people around as if they're pawns on a checkerboard, and say that's *moral*. To me it's *immoral*."

"So how do you read the motives of the black leaders in South Africa, Bishop Tutu and many others, who are actually in favour of economic sanctions?"

"I don't have to read them. I can tell you there are many, many people in South Africa, black South Africans, who hope to goodness that economic sanctions will not be put on."

"How do you know that?"

"Huh. You've heard Chief Buthelezi say that. He said it in this room."

"That's one."

"But seven million Zulus. He said it on the doorstep of Downing Street. I've heard it, too, from some of my ... from some other people, here in this room. Here in this room."

"All right. But Tutu, Mandela, the ANC, the UDF, also represent a large segment of opinion — which you reject."

"I totally reject it. Because I find it very difficult to know how they can turn round and say 'Put our people into acute difficulty. They've got good jobs. They're looking after their children. But pursue a policy which can lead to children being hungry.' I find it very difficult indeed."

So sanctions, far from being moral, were positively immoral; and, as we have already seen, they would be ineffective. A third objection could also be made, and here one suddenly became aware of scores, nay hundreds, of unseen visitors who have passed through Thatcher's drawing-room and had some of the elementary facts of life explained to them, particularly the dire occasions for retaliatory action which are afforded by the geography of Southern Africa.

"I sometimes get the map out and say 'Look at it. Have you looked at how goods are going to get in and out of Zambia and Zimbabwe? Close Beit Bridge and how are you going to do it?' That's the maize route. When there was drought, that's the route through which maize went to keep people alive.

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WILL SANCTIONS SINK THE FRONTLINE STATES?

MARK NICHO

BOTSWANA's Vice President Peter Mmusi has said the detrimental effect of sanctions against South Africa on the economies of its nine neighbours should be compared to the pain of childbirth: worthwhile suffering if the baby turns out to be the fall of apartheid.

Wrong, says Pretoria, which is looking to dissuade the United Nations, the Commonwealth, US senators and others: new sanctions will beggar the economies of Pretoria's neighbours, and sanctioneers will act at that peril.

Pretoria says any sanctions will hurt neighbouring states simply because they depend so entirely on South Africa's giant economy.

This dependence is undeniable: 90 percent of Zimbabwe's trade is shipped through South Africa's ports; up to 1 350 000 of the nine states' nationals work in South Africa's mines and factories (with their remittances earning, in Lesotho's case, more than half the country's income); Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland depend on South African oil; and South Africa is the main trading partner for all nine of its neighbours.

There are many other links and, says Pretoria, because of them, anything aimed at wrecking the South African economy will hurl damaging economic shrapnel across the whole of Southern Africa.

But under the auspices of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), the Frontline states have, since 1980, gathered themselves in an economic unit which they hope will eventually stand on its own economic feet and walk out of South Africa's fiefdom. Working project by project, SADCC is encouraging greater use of its own railways and ports to ship goods, more use of its own energey sources and more trade with neighbours.

If SADCC has developed far enough, says Joseph Hanlon, author of several authoritative reports on the group, that "most sanctions would, in fact; have little direct effect on the SADCC states, and could benefit them". This is because buying on the world market for goods and energy would mostly be cheaper than buying from South Africa.

Hanlon believes disinvestment would have no effect on SADCC, and could help if the withdrawn funds were reinvested in neighbouring countries.

Likewise, if the Commonwealth agrees to enact further economic "measures", this may not unduly harm the six Commonwealth countries around South Africa's borders — who would then be taking their own sanctions. Professor Reginald Green of the Institute of Development Studies says while the proposed bans on Commonwealth governments buying from South Africa will be costly at worst, the other measures, including bans on air links and tourism to South Africa, will be no more than a "nuisance".

Sanctions alone, therefore, will hurt, but would be unlikely to wreck the economies of the Frontline states. What might, though, is South African retaliation. Pretoria could well take action against its neighbours to punish them for taking their own sanctions or supporting others in doing so (as all but Swaziland publicly do). President PW Botha even threatened reprisals against neighbouring states last July to forestall sanctions being considered by the UN, saying if they were implemented he would send home all the Republic's migrant workers.

Besides adding gravely to unemployment in Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique, such a move would cost six of the Frontline states more than £200-million (R800-million) in remittances.

And, as it showed dramatically in January, by imposing an economic tourniquet around Lesotho, South Africa could cut off all fuel and food exports to the country, effectively holding it hostage.

But economic action could be costly for South Africa too. According to Joseph Hanlon's recent book, Apartheid's Second Front, South Africa's net trade surplus with its neighbours is £908-million (R3 632-million). Moreover, most of South Africa's manufactured exports are sold to its African neighbours and, by Professor Green's

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Thatcher and the South Africans ... tugging at the wheels of history

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"I ask them, 'Have you looked at it? Have you looked at the poverty and hunger and starvation — just when we're after all trying to give things *to* Africa, to see she doesn't suffer in this way?'"

The voice was shaking now, at this spectacle of a continent which displayed such inexplicable moral inconsistencies. "I find it astonishing, utterly astonishing, that on the one hand we're doing everything to help Ethiopia, everything to relieve poverty and starvation, everything to get the right seeds, the right husbandry. And at the same time we're suggesting that you turn people who are in work, out of work. And add to the problems you've already got. When people call that moral, I just *gasp*."

Nor would the retaliation stop with the impoverishment of black Africa. There was also the West's strategic interest in certain raw materials — and here too the moral issue kept breaking through.

"Platinum comes in quantity from only two places, South Africa and the Soviet Union. Are people who say there's a moral question suggesting that the world supply of platinum should be put in charge of the Soviet Union?"

"And there are other things. Your chemical chrome, your vanadium, and of course gold and diamonds. They would have a fantastic effect on the economy of the Soviet Union.

"To me it is absolutely absurd that people should be prepared to put increasing power into the hands of the Soviet Union on the grounds that they disapprove of apartheid in South Africa."

These lectures have evidently borne fruit. "I go through these things with some people, and they say: no one told us, no one explained this to us."

The rest of the world, however, would seem to be looking for deeper and different explanations. Particularly the Commonwealth. There was, as the Prime Minister had early in our conversation conceded, a desire at least for some mark of disapproval of apartheid to be made. "Signs and gestures" she called them.

This was why Britain had agreed to the EEC package last year. But this hadn't been enough.

"The Commonwealth wanted more. So we did Krugerrands. And we put the extra gold coins in. And we've done no promotion of tourism. And various other things. But I don't know anyone in power in the Western world who is suggesting punitive sanctions."

"But they're suggesting bigger gestures, aren't they?"

Indeed they were, she said. But I had lit the blue touchpaper again.

"All right. Supposing you start with fruit and vegetables. That would be 95 000 people, blacks and their families, out of work. *Moral?* Poof! *Moral?* No social security. *Moral?*

"Up would go the prices here. Some of it would be sold out of the coastline, through third countries, re-marked, and perhaps come in at a higher price. And the retaliation we could have to things we export to South Africa! What is *moral* about that?"

This raised a question even about the gestures we had already taken part in. Insofar as they were designed, in a minor way, to inconvenience South Africa, they were surely open to objection from the Thatcherite point of view.

"We've gone along with the gestures and signals," she said, "because I recognise that people want to do something more than words."

"But you don't really believe in them?"

"I don't believe that punitive economic sanctions will bring about internal change."

"But even the gestures you're not keen on?"

(Pause.) "I don't think the gestures are very effective. We withdrew our military attaché from South Africa. That means we don't get as much information as we should otherwise. Often you argue against the big things, the really damaging things that would cause unemployment. So you accept much smaller things, as we did."

A few weeks ago, in the early stages of the sanctions crisis, the Prime Minister had formulated what struck me as a classic Thatcherite utterance, when she said: "If I were the odd one out and I were right, it wouldn't matter, would it?" I now reminded her of this, and asked whether she was really so indifferent to the opinions of allies, Commonwealth colleagues and so forth.

She said this had all been a familiar experience for her. There were too many times when she had been the one to put arguments that no one else actually liked to put.

She won some, she lost some, but the times on which she lost it were, it seemed, invariably because her anatagonists were moved more by emotion than by reason. "If you're alone, you only operate really by persuading. Your only way of persuading is by argument."

So was she now winning the argument, from this lonely eminence? Apparently she had more allies than we could know about.

"Look, in the world in which I live, sometimes you make the argument and sometimes people do nót express their own views, knowing you will express yours. And they hope to goodness that you'll win your argument. Many people.

"In the world where I live, sometimes there's a public view and a private view." This wasn't, of course, her own problem. "So often my own converge," she chortled, with legitimate pride. But she understood other people's difficulties and took comfort from their tacit backing.

Standing on her own high ground of unshakeable consistency, Thatcher is especially contemptuous of her political opponents — "people who took the same view as we do when they were in power, and voted in the United Nations the same way we did."

I suggested, in Labour's defence, that the internal situation had drastically changed since Denis Healey was in power and Dick Crossman was composing his diaries. Political upheaval had hugely escalated and the government was weaker.

"And apartheid has been reduced," Thatcher snapped back. "There's practically no apartheid left in sport."

"Due to a boycott," I replied.

"Well." Short pause. "Due to a boycott. Due partly to a boycott. Not economic sanctions. A political thing."

The prohibition against mixed marriages had also gone. "As a matter of fact, I think it's the thing that signals the end of apartheid." The pass laws were also going. And enforced removals. And job reservation. Even the Group Areas Act, Thatcher claimed, was "starting to go".

There were now "many black people with professional qualifications and of considerable substance". Their only problem was that they couldn't live where they wanted, and couldn't take a proper part in government. "Those are the things to which you've got to address your minds and your action.

"I think we've done quite well by persuasion, particularly in the last 18 months. But by *non-economic* ways. And we should go on that way."

The next test is the mini-commonwealth conference in early August. By then Sir Geoffrey will have made his rendezvous with Botha, and Thatcher hopes that Tutu will follow.

After all, she had opened the door to the Bishop in London. "He asked to see me. Of course I saw him. I don't just refuse to see people. I very much enjoyed talking to him."

Even though she didn't agree with him? "We got just a little bit more understanding between us, and if we went on talking I think we would again."

She gave me a foretaste of how her emollient self would greet the Commonwealth. "Emotions will be running high," she predicted. "and when that happens, you just have to let them run high and keep calm yourself. Because it doesn't help if you let your own emotions run high, even though they feel as though they're running high."

Her job would be steadfastly to remind her seething interlocutors of some of the facts. "How many of you have states of emergency? How long have you had them? How many of you detain people without trial? How many have had censorship? How many of you have excluded people on racial grounds?"

I wondered whether they might not get irritated if she started talking to them like that. Wouldn't it be a little patronising?

"It's not patronising. That's just putting facts to them. Patronising? What's patronising about putting the facts? The Commonwealth's been strong enough to survive all those things. It's not for me to be patronising. I try not to be. Not for us to be patronising to South Africa either. We don't live there.

"We can still get through, if we will," she said at the end. "We can still help to get negotiations started." But to this end she did not sound like a politician preparing to agree to a single thing that much of the world expects of her.

●This interview originally appeared in The Guardian.

MARK NICHOLSON assesses the potential damage

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And, as it showed dramatically in January, by imposing an economic tourniquet around Lesotho, South Africa could cut off all fuel and food exports to the country, effectively holding it hostage.

But economic action could be costly for South Africa too. According to Joseph Hanlon's recent book, Apartheid's Second Front, South Africa's net trade surplus with its neighbours is £908-million (R3 632-million). Moreover, most of South Africa's manufactured exports are sold to its African neighbours and, by Professor Green's calculations, a quarter of the country's economic growth over the past 16 years has been generated through exports of manufactured goods to the region.

So costly economic retaliation against the Frontline states may be opposed by South African businesses. What is more, the country cannot afford to endanger its current balance of payments surplus while foreign bankers continue to ban new loans and demand repayment for $14-billion (R35-billion) worth of debts outstanding.

All of which makes most experts agree that Pretoria's most likely retaliation against its neighbours would be military. As Hanlon notes, raids have long been part of Pretoria's "sjambok and carrot" policy of thumping its neighbours into staying within its economic domain.

Hanlon says South Africa's most effective ploy would be to put its neighbours' railways out of action. He says that with some upgrading, at a cost he reckons at about $500-million (R1 250-million) overall, the Beira line from Harare to Maputo and the Tazara rail from Lusaka to Dar es Salaam could both carry all the SADCC trade which now runs through South Africa. But successful raids on these lines would keep SADCC firmly within the Republic's economic grip.

At present some 10 000-12 000 Zimbabwean troops are helping to keep Mozambique's rebel MNR from closing the Beira line. But a concerted guerrilla campaign backed by South African commandos would be virtually impossible to deter. The hilly meanderings of the Tazara line make it extremely difficult to defend against attack.

This being so, Hanlon argues that countries taking sanctions against South Africa must offer some compensation to its neighbours, including military aid.

But it is clear that the UK or the USA would be unlikely to offer such aid and unclear who else would. — New African

EVENING POST, MONDAY, JULY 28, 1986

'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 fuel, food, and vital spares 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, which predicted that severance of SA access to Western markets would increase the significance of African markets to the Republic.

While the confidential British report suggested this 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 laager" 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 analysts 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-Reuter

Blockade of 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 6-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 grain.

Killer fence on terror path

HAMISH McINDOE

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.

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as one trader said, they sense that the ... the foreign exchange ... dard Merchant has lost two traders, and

Don't expect help, Frontline states warned

Cabinet supports Thatcher on SA

● THATCHER

● HOWE

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

JOHN BATTERSBY

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 broke on her 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 her 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-

● To Page 2

Golds

Thatcher refuses to budge

● From Page 1

sions to the Commonwealth on more wide-ranging sanctions.

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.

Killer fence on terror path

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Sanctions!

SA's neighbours are feeling threatened by other factors too

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

Sanctions were not the only critical factor and Southern African countries were already suffering because of punitive steps by South Africa and because of its destabilisation campaign in the region.

This is the view of Mr Simba Makoni, executive secretary of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

In an interview carried in the latest issue of *Africa Report*, published in New York by the African-American Institute, Mr Makoni said the nine SADCC countries had calculated that South African destabilisation had cost them more than R25 billion over the past five years.

This was more than the total development assistance the nine — Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi and Tanzania — had received in the same period.

"Its roughly one third of our total export revenues . . . a third has been blown into ashes by South African destabilisation.

"So for those who argue that not imposing sanctions will save us from suffering, they must ask themselves how much more suffering they are hoping to save us from.

"We are suffering already!

"We feel that even if it takes much more suffering, if we are assured of genuine and effective changes in South Africa, then we are prepared to take it."

Mr Makoni said the economies of SADCC member states were threatened by four "distinct factors" of which a sanctions campaign was only one. The other three were:

- The current, popular opposition to apartheid in South Africa was already a threat to SADCC economies. For instance, if South African railway workers went on strike not a single ton of Botswana beef would get to Cape Town and not a single bale of Zimbabwean tobacco would get to Port Elizabeth.
- Africa had urged the intensification of the "armed struggle" in South Africa and SADCC knew that the first targets of armed insurrection were strategic economic infrastructures such as railways, power stations and power lines. If the South African infrastructure was damaged, SADCC economies would suffer.
- Member states were already suffering from South African punitive action, aggression and destabilisation.

This arose not only from commando raids such as those on Gaborone, Harare and Lusaka in May and invasions into southern Angola, but also from sabotage by the "bandits" of the Mozambique National Resistance and Unita and economic squeezes like the blockade of Lesotho and the slowdown of movement on the South African Railways.

Mr Makoni said these were very potent economic weapons which were already threatening the SADCC economies without the international community "imposing a single iota of sanctions" on South Africa.

Heavy burden

"So, when people talk about the possible hardships which will come to the economies and the peoples of southern Africa as a result of sanctions, they must appreciate that we are already threatened and that we are already carrying a very heavy burden on account of apartheid.

"In our view, sanctions are not really the critical factor.

"The greater danger to Southern African states is not so much from the direct effects of sanctions as from the retaliatory measures which the Botha regime has threatened to take against our member states."

Mr Makoni said it was difficult to assess what aid SADCC countries should get in the event of sanctions.

The SADCC programme of action, which aimed, primarily, at making member countries less dependent on South Africa, was, in itself, already a contingency measure against the deterioration of the South African economy.

"Our answer to sanctions, to our historical dependence, and to new post-apartheid relationships is the current SADCC programme of action."

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 having 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 everyone would be asking, and the answers might not be flattering to Mrs Thatcher.

rights

Frontline states lay plans for possible ban on SA landing

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

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 only: "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 Zambia's (AZ) representative Tony O'Brian said last night the airline had been working on plans that met with the Zambian 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 Loft Dundas said he was not aware of any contingency plans that would effect 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."

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

5/8/86

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

By Kym Hamilton,
Pretoria Bureau

A defiant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday pledged that South Africa would "go so far and no further".

It was prepared to pay the price for standing alone in the face of an "evil campaign" of sanctions.

And Mr Botha announced a number of economic steps which would and could be taken to protect the economy.

Speaking at an international Press conference in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Botha warned it had been decided that levies would now — for the first time — be imposed on imports passing through South Africa.

Other envisaged steps against Frontline states included the introduction of import licences and stricter border control measures which could be enforced to protect the South African economy from the full ravages of international sanctions.

South Africa, he said, would not take the blame for any harm that befell the economies of these countries. The blame rested with those who implemented sanctions.

Lambasting those governments which had called for the *implementation of this "cynical* and irrational campaign", Mr Botha said he was confident the majority of South Africans supported the Government's stand and were prepared to pay the price of deciding without interference on their future.

"We are not going to take this lying down ... there will always be ways and means to circumvent sanctions."

Mr Botha also challenged Zimbabwe and Zambia to set an example: "We invite them to initiate total and comprehensive *sanctions" and "to put their* money where their mouths are".

"The time has come for the South African Government and our people to declare once and for all that we stand united and firm and to show the world we are not prepared to put the destiny and the future of this country in their hands."

South Africa, he added, had *two options:*

- To capitulate to increasing pressure and see the country and what it stood for destroyed;
- To say: so far and no further.

Mr Botha said the Government had realised no amount of reform would stop sanctions as it had done everything the Commonwealth powers were demanding it do to avoid sanctions.

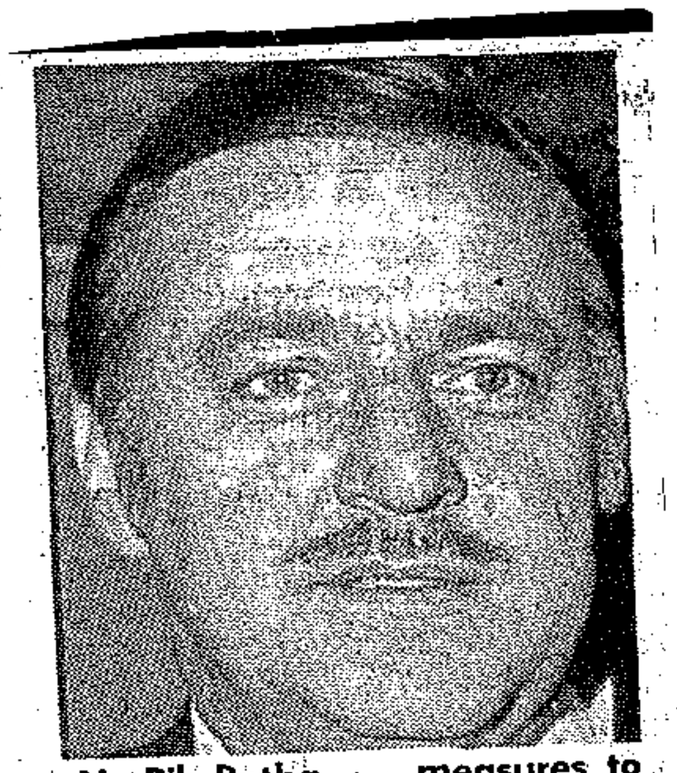
"The South African Government cannot understand why this action was taken against us," he said.

However, he added the Government remained committed to negotiating with authentic black leaders who had abandoned violence. Further, sanctions would not deter the Government from implementing the announced reform programme.

Warning of the possible harmful effect sanctions would have on the neighbouring countries economies, Mr Botha said he hoped the Canadian and Australian Parliaments would vote the funds needed to assist them.

South Africa had estimated that the 2 million migrant workers who worked here probably contributed to the livelihoods of about 12 million other people.

Mr Botha also accused the Commonwealth powers of "having a hidden agenda".



Mr Pik Botha ... *measures to protect the South African economy against sanctions.*

● BOTHA

Black states stand to take knocks, Pik warns

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."

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

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 Frontline states could come at a great cost

Two-edged sword warning

7/8/85

(27 9A) STAR

Political Staff

DURBAN — South Africa has warned the world that sanctions are a double-edged sword and moved quickly in reaction to the Commonwealth clamour for economic action to force South Africa to meet international demands.

But counter-sanctions can also have a substantial cost in return.

Mr Harry Schwarz, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on finance, believes there could be a political cost.

He said another problem was that as South Africa argued that blacks would be the main sufferers of sanctions, counter-sanctions would also hurt the general population of other countries.

Though the rest of Africa is a comparatively minor source of trade for South Africa compared with the United States and Europe, the continent is proving to be a growing market for this country.

From January until June, South Africa exported R828 million in goods to African countries, while importing products with a value of R279 million. The Government does not give a breakdown of these figures, but most of the trade is with immediate-vicinity neighbours.

Product range

This amount is relatively small compared with the roughly R30 000 million worth of goods that South Africa exports and imports annually. But it remains significant and has been growing in recent years. It is also a market which absorbs a different type of product range than the developed countries.

The economic war against Rhodesia is estimated to have cost Zambia in the region of R800 million, but Rhodesia also saw an annual trade of R70 million drop to virtually nothing.

And when Mr Ian Smith closed the border with Zambia, that country continued to trade with South Africa through Botswana.

Although the main target of the South African Government so far has been to hit the Frontline states, particularly Zimbabwe, by placing hurdles in the way of transit goods, the action has been accompanied with threats of firmer action.

South African Transport Service (SATS) figures show the enormous tonnage of goods which flow in transit through South Africa. The harbours have handled 819 000 tons of export goods bound for Zimbabwe, and another 225 000 for Zambia.

Whip hand

What is worrying business organisations is that even irksome hurdles such as those imposed over the past 10 days could have a counter-effect.

South Africa undoubtably has the whip hand at the moment. There is not much that Zambia and Zimbabwe can do in direct response, while the idea of New Zealand Prime Minister Mr David Lange of an airlift is generally dismissed as extremely woolly-headed.

Zimbabwe has already been working at reducing its dependence on South Africa with some success.

Business organisations also point out that Zambia and Zaire could, for instance, get some goods from Zimbabwe, which has the potential to produce more and a wider range — but they would be more expensive than from South Africa.

The loser then would be South Africa. SATS could also land up losing a profitable source of revenue

Trade balance

If it ever reached the stage that the borders with the Frontline states were closed as a result of political action from either side, South Africa would have a considerable amount to lose with the balance of trade well in her favour.

There is no doubt the cost to the Frontline states would be equally expensive to bear.

An interesting fact of the Commonwealth sanctions package which Zambia and Zimbabwe pushed so hard to get was that not many of the goods listed by the Commonwealth countries are products imported by the Frontline countries — something of which Mr Robert Mugabe and President Kenneth Kaunda must have been well aware.

They do not import coal, uranium, iron ore or primary steel. Most imported goods are mining equipment, chemicals and fabricated metal products.

Even retaliation in other fields, such as reducing foreign labour, cutting electricity and halting credit facilities will also have a cost for South Africa.

Although he concedes that South Africa has been forced into a difficult position, Mr Schwarz believes that in the end all the parties will have to talk to each other and counter-sanctions can only put up more barriers.

SADCC summit

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 guerilla 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 hotly 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.

FOREIGN WORKERS

A political tool?

Top government officials are playing down the suggestion that sanctions against the country will lead to the enforced repatriation of hundreds of thousands of black foreign workers from SA.

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

Foreign worker . . . facing threats of repatriation

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, if sullen, profile on sanctions. It would, therefore, seem that workers from Zimbabwe and Botswana are the most likely targets for repatriation. ■

19/8/86
BUS DAY
279A

Frontline states' transport and export look set for major snags

LINDA ENSOR

PLANS by the Frontline states to free themselves completely from dependence on SA's harbours and transport system are likely to run aground.

Not only do their port and railway systems need a massive injection of finance for rehabilitation projects, but instability racks the two countries, which could offer alternative gateways to foreign markets — Mozambique and Angola.

Frequent attacks by the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) and Unita on road and rail links in these countries continue to undermine attempts by landlocked states to give effect to their regional transport system.

Projects to rehabilitate railway lines and improve harbour facilities have sometimes had to be abandoned after sabotage or the kidnapping of foreign personnel.

In addition the paucity of skills, chronic inefficiency and lack of capacity at railways and harbours have been cited as reasons why exporters in the Frontline states prefer not to use them, says Bryan Bench, a research officer of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

A spokesman for the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) says: "SA companies send goods via Maputo with reluctance for sound commercial reasons. There is no guarantee that the delivery times arranged with the international buyer will be adhered to."

Port management is very inefficient, he says, and delays are a common problem. Physical capacity is lacking and, as unqualified people are in charge, documents are not processed expeditiously and smoothly.

Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute of SA, believes only with substantial finance and political stability can the goal of independence be attained.

Bench says it was in the context of growing international hostility to SA and the threat of retributive action by SA against neighbouring states that the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) decided earlier this year to concentrate its efforts on developing and protecting the Beira Corridor as a vital lifeline for Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and Malawi.

Enormous sums in foreign donations have poured in to finance rehabilitation and upgrading proejcts linking Beira to these states, says Bench. — Zimbabwean troops are safeguarding both the railway line and road from Mutare to Beira, though derailments still occur frequently.

HOPES of the Frontline states that they will able to free themselves completely from dependence on SA's harbours and transport system in the event of sanctions are likely to run aground.

The Beira Corridor, Bench says, is regarded as crucial in the event of supply lines to SA being cut-off, especially since the railway line from Harare to Maputo is inoperative and the one to Angola's Nacala harbour is ostensibly out of order.

SADCC reports reveal that last year about $641m was thought necessary to improve Beira's harbour facilities — primarily with the aim of expanding container and coal-handling facilities for Zimbabwean exports. At that time 11% of this sum had been secured.

Projects for the Maputo-Matola harbour were costed at $692m and for Nacala at $10,9m, while Dar Es Salaam harbour in Tanzania and Lobito in Luanda also needed revamping.

Deficiences identified by the SADCC include inadequate port infrastructure and equipment, shallow water in the entrance channels, lack of adequate coal terminals, a lack of container-handling equipment, a shortage of skilled manpower and a lack of locomotives and rolling stock.

Inadequate telecommunications systems and irregular management of information is said the SADCC to be particularly frustrating for shippers and consignees wishing to arrange shipments and delivery times.

The entrance to Maputo harbour is to be dredged to allow for the entry of large coal-carrying vessels. Work on deepening Beira started last year.

Notwithstanding this intensive activity, there is some doubt whether Mozambican ports can handle all of Zimbabwe's trade, let alone that of Zaire Zambia, Botswana and Malawi.

A study by the Dutch government which is assisting in the Beira project estimates that Beira can only handl 40% of Zimbabwe's trade. Othe sources say it would have a maximum capacity after renovation to handle 3 million tons of general cargo per an num.

The annual foreign trade of Zambia Zimbabwe, Malawi and Botswana i about 14-million tons, Bench estimates

An estimated 15% to 20% of Zimbab wean exports is being channelled t Mozambican ports by road and rail.

One analyst does not believe Zim babwe will be able to achieve viabl independence.

"If the border were closed tomor row, they would be in an impossibl position. The economy would collapse, he says.

Much the same can be said of the other states.

Tentative agreement as new aid to Frontline mooted

Reagan retreating on SA

● REAGAN

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The White House, a week before it must finally decide on SA sanctions, has reached a tentative agreement with Senate majority leader Robert Dole.

This is to expand President Ronald Reagan's executive order while offering new aid to 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 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 parastatal 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 Partick Buchanan, who views himself as Reagan's conservative conscience, is determined to fight any new sanctions even, acording 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."

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 cannot 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.

Zambia prepares for economic war with South Africa

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Zambia appears to be preparing for a full-scale economic war with South Africa.

President Kenneth Kaunda is reported to have placed the armed forces on full alert against a possible South African attack on the Tazara railway that will have to carry Zambian exports and imports if South Africa refuses to handle them.

Emergency measures are being planned to increase the capacity of the railway and the port at Dar es Salaam that serves it.

Plans are also being made to increase Zambia's own production to substitute for goods now imported from South Africa.

President Kaunda has warned Zambians to be on the lookout for "South African saboteurs" planning to attack the Tazara railway and bridges on road links with Tanzania.

He warned that Zambia would retaliate "with full force" against such attacks and would fight back "with every possible resource."

President Kaunda is believed to be particularly worried about mining machinery and spare parts for Zambia's copper mines, which have up to now come largely from South Africa.

Difficult to source elsewhere

"While some spare parts and machines can be replaced with equipment imported from other countries there are a good many that are available only from South Africa and will be difficult to source elsewhere," a spokesman for the Ministry of Mines said.

He said both President Kaunda and the department of mines placed much faith in the fact that Anglo-American had a minority shareholding in the Zambian copper mining industry.

"It is our belief that Anglo-American will be able to persuade the South Africans not to cut off this important source of supply despite any other steps they may decide to take against us," he said.

The general manager of the Tazara railway, Mr Standwell Mapara, has claimed the line is ready to meet all of Zambia's and Tanzania's needs following a major rehabilitation that included the purchase of new locomotives and rolling stock.

Independent analysts doubt this claim. Up to now the line has been able to carry no more 65 percent of Zambia's exports and 35 percent of its imports.

Tanzania has offered Zambia all possible help to offset the consequences of any South African retaliation against sanctions.

President Kenneth Kaunda . . . warns of South African "saboteurs".

Leaders in Angola for sanction talks

The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — African leaders have gathered in Angola for talks aimed at co-ordinating economic sanctions against South Africa, while softening the blow such measures would cause to their own economies.

Among those attending today's summit of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), a nine-nation group formed six years ago to reduce dependence on South Africa, are Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

Mr Mugabe has urged a swift implementation of sanctions, including cutting air links between black African countries and South Africa, but other SADCC members such as Botswana and Lesotho are less enthusiastic.

Kenya, a key staging post for flights from Europe to South Africa, was invited to Friday's meeting along with Nigeria, but Angolan officials say leaders of the two countries may not come to Luanda, in effect postponing a joint African decision on air links.

Machel calls for summit meeting

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — President Samora Machel of Mozambique has called for a summit meeting in Southern Africa between President Ronald Reagan of the United States and the leaders of the six Frontline states.

President Machel suggested the summit take place in Southern Africa so that President Reagan could "view the situation at close hand."

The Mozambican leader did not make clear what agenda he envisaged for the summit but its prime purpose would presumably be to discuss the South African issue, which is the major matter of concern in the subcontinent.

He did not suggest, however, that President Botha should also attend the summit.

The summit proposal was discussed at a meeting last night between President Machel and the Rev Jesse Jackson, who is on a tour of Frontline states.

Speaking to reporters at Maputo airport today before flying to Luanda for the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, President Machel said he had asked Mr Jackson to carry the proposal to President Reagan.

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, Congolese 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 1980.

SADCC has drawn up plans to improve regional transport ties to avoid SA ports. — Sapa-Reuter.

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BUDDAY

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.

African leaders firm on sanctions

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.

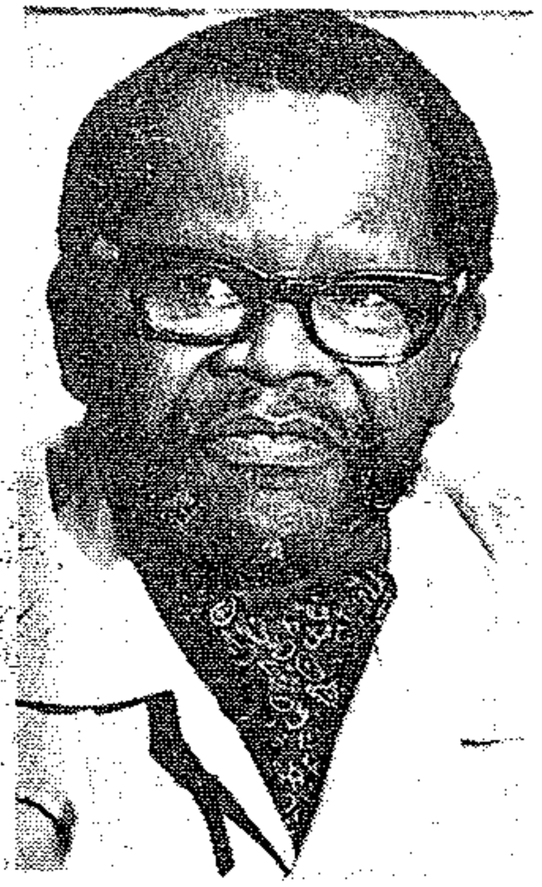
But a statement said "SADCC member states' vulnerability" should not be used as an excuse by others for not imposing sanctions.

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

HARARE SUMMIT TO FOCUS ON SA

HARARE — South Africa's policy of racial discrimination and additional moral and material support to the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the South West African People's Organisation, are expected to form the centre piece of the non-aligned summit scheduled to start in Harare this month.

Mr JOHNSON Mlambo of the PAC . . . attending summit.



SOWETAN Correspondent

With some 20 000 delegates from 101 member countries already beginning to arrive in the Zimbabwean capital, the word is out that South Africa is going to be the principal subject of discussion.

"The non-aligned movement is out to prove to the West that it is prepared to act against South Africa in ways and means that the West has not been prepared to act thus far, "Dr Samir Amin, a participant in a preparatory symposium held in Harare last week said.

Pressure

The possibility of bringing added pressure to bear on countries such as Britain, West Germany and France which are seen by many non-aligned member countries as patrons of South Africa, will also be high on the agenda.

Zimbabwean academic, Mr Chakanyka Karase in his capacity as co-ordinator of the Southern African University Social Sciences Conference, said the arch enemy — South Africa — will also benefit substantially.

With massive imports of food and wine already in storage rooms in Harare, South African expertise will be utilised throughout the summit to ensure that such mundane aspects as simultaneous translation take place according to plan and that all the delegates are correctly seated at the many state dinners that will take place during the duration of the summit.

"We tried as far as possible to avoid using South African firms in the organisation and running of the summit," a senior Zimbabwe government official involved in the proceedings said.

"The fact of the matter is, however, that we simply did not have all the expertise required to host an affair of this magnitude and it was a great deal cheaper getting it from South Africa than flying experts from the United Kingdom or the United States."

Thrust

The close proximity of Harare to South Africa is expected to give added impetus to the aligned movement a greater slice of the economic pie, Mr Mugabe will be first and foremost concerned with eradicating apartheid on his doorstep.

"We must eradicate conflicts in South Africa, in Central America and the Middle East," he said recently.

While the United States is exepected to come in for a severe tongue-lashing over their financing of the so-called Contra rebels fighting the government forces of President Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua, the Soviet Union will also be reminded that many members of the non-aligned movement consider their presence in Afghanistan illegal.

Described as "the solidarity of the dispossessed", the non-aligned movement has become a force to be reckoned with over the 15 years of its existence and resolutions adopted in Zimbabwe are almost certain to later be adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York giving them global impact.

Slaughter

With some ten thousands head of cattle earmarked for slaughter and many more thousands sheep, pigs and goats already streaming to the country's abbattoirs, delegates will be able to feast on some of the finest victuals that Africa has to offer.

One proposal that is expected to be hotly debated is the suggestion by a number of countries that the non-aligned movement sponsor a kind of "peace keeping force" to be stationed in the frontline states to "deter South Africa from destroying the infrastructure" of these states in retaliation for the imposition of punitive sanctons.

This proposal, however is expected to be shot down because of what many member states consider to be the impractical nature of the suggestion.

Soviet Union and US will also come under attack

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non-aligned 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 Zimbabwean dollars, is expected to provide hard-

Mr OLIVER Tambo of ANC . . . attending summit.

pressed 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.

Much to the chagrin of many delegates to the glittering occasion, the non-aligned movement's

anti-South ... thrust of the summit.

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 members of the non-

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Government of Zimbabwe regarding (i) trade sanctions between the Republic and these countries and (ii) restrictions on the transport of goods to and from these countries through the Republic; if not, why not; if so, when in each case;

(2) whether he will furnish the House with information on the matters discussed on these occasions; if not, why not; if so, (a) what matters were discussed and (b) what was the outcome in each case?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS (for the Minister of Foreign Affairs):

(1) (a), (b), (i) and (ii) Regarding the effect of sanctions on neighbouring states that might be imposed by foreign countries, discussions were from time to time held with representatives of the Zimbabwian Government through our Trade Representative in Harare. South Africa has no such representation in Lusaka.

The South African Government does not believe in trade sanctions and boycotts and does not impose such actions against other countries as we are against the interference in the internal affairs of other countries and we believe that ideological differences should not stand in the way of trade.

It has been decided, in line with international practice, to take certain steps to protect sectors of the South African private sector and to obtain a correct statistical picture of transport and trade patterns and also to ensure that transit traffic reaches its destination. These steps are handled by the relevant Departments and not by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

(2) Falls away.

Zambia/Zimbabwe/Malawi/Mozambique: goods transported to/from

*12. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether the South African Government has taken any steps to monitor goods transported through the Republic to or from (a) Zambia, (b) Zimbabwe, (c) Malawi, (d) Mozambique and (e) any other specified African country; if so, (i) what steps (ii) for what purpose and (iii) with what results;

(2) whether any further steps are being taken or contemplated in respect of goods so transported; if so, (a) what steps, (b) in respect of which countries and (c) for what purpose?

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS (for the Minister of Foreign Affairs):

(1) (a) and (b), Yes, with regard to incomming traffic.

(c) No.

(d) No.

(e) No.

(i) and (ii) I refer the honourable Leader of the Official Opposition to my reply on Question No 11.

(2) Falls away.

For written reply

General Affairs:

Gross domestic product

1044. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether his Department (a) institutes investigations, (b) makes calculations and (c) monitors results on a regular basis with a view to determining the gross domestic product of (i) each independent Black state and (ii)(aa) Botswana, (bb) Lesotho and (cc) Swaziland; if not, why not; if so,

(2) (a) at what intervals and (b) what were the results of these investigations over the past five years?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) No. The BLS-countries and the TBVC-states perform this task themselves. RSA institutions such as the Central Statistical Services, Reserve Bank, as well as the Development Bank of Southern Africa do, however, on request assist the TBVC-states in a technical and advisory capacity in this regard. Moreover a Sub-Committee on Financial statistics has been established in the SATBVC multilateral system where problems in this regard are discussed and efforts are made to find solutions jointly. This co-operation has also resulted in the training of future statisticians from the TBVC-states at the University of Pretoria to enable them to attend to the specific needs of each independent Black state.

(2) (a) and (b) Fall away.

Allowances/pensions

1134. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

(1) With reference to his reply to Question No 1008 on 23 May 1986, on what basis does his Department keep statistics on the payment of (a)(i) maintenance allowances for unmarried mothers and (ii) other social allowances and (b) social pensions;

(2) whether he will furnish the available statistics on maintenance allowances for unmarried Black mothers; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant statistics?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) (a)(i)(ii)(b) All social pensions are paid by way of a computer program, which is programmed on such a basis, that data relating to specific types of pension, cannot be extracted. In compliance with the regulations promulgated by virtue of the Children's Act, Act 33 of 1960, cohabiting adults do not qualify for a maintenance allowance for their children. The current policy is that maintenance allowances are paid to mothers whose husbands—

(i) are serving prison sentences;

(ii) have eloped; or

(iii) are deceased

in respect of a maximum of four children, but in the case of an unmarried mother, only in respect of one child.

(2) During July 1986 children's allowances were paid to 8 218 mothers, including unmarried mothers, in respect of 17 884 children, at a rate of R11,00 per child per month for normal maintenance, and R48,00 per month per child in foster-care.

Reference books/influx control

1160. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(a) How many (i) males and (ii) females were arrested by officers of Development Boards for offences relating to reference books and influx control in each of the main urban centres of the Republic from 1 January 1986 up to and including the date on which arrests for such offences were suspended, (b) what was the total number of such arrests in the Republic during this period and (c) on what date were arrests for such offences suspended?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(a) Arrested by officers of Development Boards:

	(i) Male	(ii) Female
Bloemfontein	44	14
Durban	0	0
Johannesburg	0	0

Tanzam railway will find it hard to deliver goods

STAR 26/8/86. 279A

By Alastair Matheson of the Observer

MBEYA (Tanzania) — Two slender ribbons of steel, stretching 1 850 km through the African bush, are the focus of attention for many people in Southern Africa since the "sanctions war" began escalating.

These steel ribbons are the single track railway which opened with a fanfare of publicity in 1976 when its Chinese builders christened it The Great Uhuru Railway.

Today it is better known as the Tazara or Tanzam Railway and gives land-locked Zambia access to the sea at the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam.

Not only in Zambia, but also in Zimbabwe, Malawi and even Botswana, people are now hoping for greater things from this backdoor route by which they might avoid some of the more serious hardships if and when the South African Government turns the screws tighter on their trade passing through its territory.

Enormous

Already traffic is piling up because of strict new imports controls and levies imposed by Pretoria.

But, it is doubtful whether this $230 million railway line, built by 5 000 Chinese labourers and their local counterparts with a loan from Peking, will be able to cope with the enormous strain that is likely to be placed on it.

Today, it can carry only about half the expected capacity of less than a million tons a year.

Its original purpose was to carry Zambia's copper to the sea and make Zambia less dependent upon South African rail and port facilities.

Now, in another decade, copper is no longer the magic metal it was, giving much prosperity to Zambia. When the line was put to the test it proved inadequate in many respects.

The locomotives were underpowered for hauling mineral trains up the steep escarpments in Southern Tanzania and, during heavy rains, serious washaways halted traffic for long periods.

There was also friction between the two governments over allegations of slow operations — the long turn-around time for wagons sent to Zambia, and the Zambian counter-complaints about laxity in Dar es Salaam.

Now that pressure is building up for the railway to play a much greater role in future, the authorities are taking a fresh look at the situation.

Tanzania's President Hassan Ali Mwinyi has decreed that in future the port facilities at Dar es Salaam will be reserved exclusively for goods to and from neighbouring states, and Tanzanians will have to use the minor ports of Tanga and Mtwara for their requirements.

Powerful

Fortunately, efforts at rehabilitating the troubled railway began last year, and it is expected that when a $150 million modernisation is completed traffic can be increased to 2,2 million tons annually.

West Germany has already come to the rescue with some powerful new diesel locomotives and China is to strengthen the track in places.

Already security is tight all along the length of the track, the Tanzanians having made the line and strips on either side a prohibited area, following an explosion which wrecked a pumping station on the oil pipeline which runs to Zambia along the same route.

The Zambians followed suit when a bridge was wrecked on the only road link between the two countries, as this was seen as conclusive proof of South African-inspired sabotage.

For all its weaknesses, the Tazara railway is far more secure than any of the "alternative" rail links which South Africa's neighbours can use instead of shipment through the Republic.

The Benguela Railway, which used to be Zambia's outlet for copper to the Atlantic, as well as for the mines in southern Zaire, has been closed since Unita guerillas captured the central part of the line which passes through Angola before reaching the sea at Lobito.

The situation is no better in the Beira Corridor to the east.

Beira used to be a major trans-shipment point for Zimbabwe's traffic, but now Renamo guerillas hold much of central Mozambique and the railway line leading to Harare is a major target.

Lean times

A large contingent of Zimbabwe troops was sent to keep the rail and road links open to Beira, but about 2 000 of them are now surrounded by Renamo forces.

For Malawi, matters are even worse. It also used to depend on Beira for its overseas trade, but Renamo guerillas now have this rail link under constant siege.

Both Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Zambia's President Kaunda are well aware of the difficulties which could result from their demands for comprehensive sanctions made at the recent Commonwealth mini-summit in London.

Both have warned their people of lean times ahead.

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Kaunda's summit call: US is noncommittal

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — United States Government officials are noncommittal 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 analysts say 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 faulty 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."

NON-ALIGNED NATIONS SUMMIT

Standing on their own feet

They do not want to be the play things of others

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.

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

This misrepresentation of the movement and concept had been propounded by the West since Nam's conception in the Cold War era of the 1950s.

First, the movement was dubbed as one-sided neutrality-read pro-Soviet — and with the proven fallacy of that contention, was passed off as a neutral and innefective bloc.

But Nam 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. Nam constitutes an informal collection of nations sharing certain common principles and objectives.

The objectives are the assertion of a nation's independence, equality and sovereignty.

Such a stance, therefore, compels Nam countries to reject colonialism, imperialism, exploitation and super power military alliances. Instead, the stance allows a nation to make independent judgments on these and other issues and act, unfettered, on its judgment.

Nehru reflected this thinking before the birth of Nam at the Asian Relations Conference in 1974.

He said: "For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in western courts or chancelleries. That story must belong to the past.

"We propose to stand on our own feet and to co-operate with all

Special Correspondent

others, who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not want to be the playthings of others."

Africans 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 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 Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho and Angola 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 African-made Claymore anti-personnel mines used for the "job" have so far maimed 27 000 Angolans, mostly farmers.

Under the listed 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.

Challenge

Imperialism also challenges Nam's concept of non-militarism by denying Mauritius sovereignty over its Chagos Archipelago (including Diego Garcia) and by turning the latter into a floating fortress of conventional and nuclear arms.

In so doing, the US has acted not only against Nam principles 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 Nam states of the Indian Ocean.

Nam, especially its African members, cannot possibly be neutral over the continued French occupation of the Comoran 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 by independent states. Some, within Nam will differ over certain issues, like the Soviet presence in afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war and such. But then difference of opinion falls squarely within the conceptual mould of the Nam.

This concept asserts the right of each nation to independently judge a situation and act on its judgement. Consequently some nations within Nam will support different positions on a given issue at different times depending on national interest.

Such independent and active policies, therefore, negate the idea that Nam is a neutral bloc or an "alignment of the non-aligned".

Since judgment is fundamental and innate to man's cranial capacity, it must be recognised that no one can be said to be strictly neutral.

Even the traditionally "neutral" Switzerland and Sweden have acted on their judgments in the past.

Sweden, for example, gave asylum to US Vietnam War deserters and condemned US involvement in the war. Sweden then, endorsed what would be considered a Nam position which supported the Vietnamese war for national liberation, as it does similarly for the struggle for liberation in Africa today.

Switzerland, the best known neutral state, has acted in the opposite direction of Nam positions by upholding banking "ethics" which provide a safe haven for legal and illicitely obtained wealth.

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

SUN TIMES 279A 24/8/86

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 co-ordinate 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 Co-ordinating 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 lob-

Zambia's Kaunda ... disappointed

Fears of backlash from SA

bies 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

279A BG 27/8/86

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's conference centre tomorrow and on Friday before adoption by the heads of state at the September 1 to 6 summit.

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 Nicaragua'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.

The two sides met last week at a conciliation board convened by the Department of Manpower. But instead of negotiating they spent their time squabbling over the terms of reference the Minister of Manpower granted to the board.

The chamber's industrial relations adviser, Johann Liebenberg, won't comment on what the disagreement was about. But the *FM* understands it centred on exactly which workers NUM represents in the dispute. The minister, it seems, appointed the board for all mines where NUM is recognised without making reference to the specific job categories it represents.

NUM is insisting this means it represents all workers on all mines where it has recognition. The chamber, however, believes the dispute should be limited to specific bargaining units. The point is that if a strike occurs it would have a much bigger impact if *all* workers down tools. (And, because the minister appointed the board late, NUM has already won the right to strike legally.)

The chamber is understood to have asked the NUM if it is willing to apply to the minister to have the board's terms of reference altered. NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa refused; the chamber responded saying it wanted to consult its principals, the mining houses. The parties are due to meet again on September 4.

Meanwhile, the chamber told the parliamentary Standing Committee on Mineral and Energy Affairs last week that it cannot support the Mines and Works Amendment Bill in its present form.

The Bill, a product of the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, is at the centre of a debate on the most appropriate way to scrap job reservation on the mines (*Current affairs* August 22).

SADCC-FRONTLINE STATES

Sanctions nettle

Pragmatism was the winner at last week's summit of the nine Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) nations in Luanda, which ended without agreeing a joint plan of sanctions against SA.

While Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe continues his promise to implement the full Commonwealth sanctions package, most of his SADCC partners appear to have opted for a softer line. The summit communiqué acknowledged that some of the states are in no position to impose sanctions because of their heavy economic — and especially transport — dependence on SA.

At the same time, they agreed to "do nothing to undermine the effectiveness of sanctions imposed on SA by the international community." They also agreed that SADCC's vulnerability should not be used 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 Pretoria, but also because of the organisation's frank admission in its economic survey published earlier this year of its dismal short-term economic outlook. Of all the countries in the region, only Botswana and Zimbabwe have strong economies; in the latter's case economic growth is expected to slow substantially in 1986-1987.

Evidence of the region's economic weakness includes the fact that SADCC's foreign debt — including arrears — now stands at some US$16,5 billion, more than 60% of the region's gross domestic product.

The SADCC summit was told that some $5,4 billion was needed to diversify transport links over the next few years and to increase industrial capacity. However, only about one-third of this has been pledged so far. The region's heavy debt burden and underlying economic problems, especially in agriculture, suggest that it will have some difficulty in attracting the funds required to diversify its transport links as effectively — or as speedily — as the summit leaders hope.

☐ At a separate Luanda meeting, the six Frontline States — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — issued their now ritualistic condemnation of the "unco-operative attitude" of the Thatcher government, but welcomed the Commonwealth sanctions package.

Of the four Frontline States with links with SA — Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe — only Harare has yet publicly committed iteslf to a full sanctions programme. Although Zambia's President Kaunda has had a prominent role in demanding economic sanctions, last week he declined to answer questions about severing air links. Prior to the summit he made it clear that Zambia was in no position to implement the full Commonwealth package.

Indeed, the Zambian leader appears to have set a new hare running with his call for a summit between the Frontline States and President Reagan. Kaunda is optimistic that such a meeting would change US policy towards Pretoria.

The next page of the sanctions saga will be turned in Harare next week, when the 102 nations attending the non-aligned conference will call for tough economic and diplomatic sanctions against Pretoria. Only after the non-aligned delegates have flown home will Pretoria discover just how far Mugabe intends going in his sanctions campaign. But after last weekend's summit, indications were that Mugabe was out on a limb. ■

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FOCUS ON THE NON-ALIGNED SU

ANGRY MONDAY IN H

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

Robert Mugabe, left, makes his "arrival" on the international stage as the new leader of the movement, while Zimbabwe soldiers

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 wars 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 at the end of the summit 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 Zimbabwean 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, though often pragmatic in action, Mugabe will be the developing world's foremost spokesman 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 25 years ago.

Its founding fathers — Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Yugoslavian 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 subjugation by either of the two international power blocs, Nato and the Warsaw Pact — was, for them, a prerequisite of national self-determination and, indeed, international peace.

Hence, the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement — now with 101 full members, 99 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 and the PLO have been ascribed by many international bodies the status of "sole and authentic representative" of their people.

The African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) each have observer status only, at this stage. 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 probable future government of South Africa, and the PAC to try to recoup the vast amount of ground it has lost through years of infighting and inactivity.

The ANC delegation, led by its president, Oliver Tambo, includes: Secretary-General Alfred Nzo; Treasurer-General Thomas Nkobi; International Department Director Mfanafuti Makatini; Umkhonto we Sizwe Commander Joe Modise; Publicity Director Thabo Mbeki; National Executive Committee members Mzwai Piliso, Gertrude Shope, Jacob Zuma, Joe Jele and Anthony Mongalo; as well as its United Nations representative, Neo Nmumzana, and Zimbabwe chief representative, Reddy Mazimba.

The PAC delegation, led by its new chairman of one year, Johnson Mlambo, includes, among nine delegates, Administrative Secretary Joe Mkwanazi, Information Chief Edwin Makoti, Secretary for Defence Sabelo Phama, and United Nations representative Gora Ebrahim.

The two accredited South African liberation movements will be looking for increased support from the Non-Aligned Movement countries. One possibility being mooted is 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 rhetorical 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.

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120 PAGES OF ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

By HOWARD BARRELL
Harare

TWO lengthy draft declarations — one dealing with political issues, the other with economics — have been tabled at the preparatory meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement summit

South Africa and the United States are singled out for a particular hammering, and the world's major economic powers are slated for their use of their power and institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank to squeeze developing countries' economies.

The drafts were drawn up mainly by Zimbabwe in consultation with other Non-Aligned Movement countries at a series of meetings in New York in recent months.

The draft political declaration, which runs to 112 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 the governments of Angola, Mozambique and other Frontline states to withstand direct South African military attacks as well as the activities of proxy forces like Unita and the MNR;
- South Africa to pay adequate compensation to Angola and neighbouring states for the economic and other damage sustained as a result of military incursions;
- The immediate granting of independence and national self-determination to the Namibian people under the leadership of Swapo;
- An end to the United States' policy of constructive engagement and its support for Unita against the MPLA government in Luanda;
- The cessation of the arms race between the two major world military blocs, Nato and the Warsaw Pact, and the diversion of funds currently used for this purpose to correct the fact that two-thirds of the world's population lives in poverty, starvation and disease.

The draft political declaration suggests the United States has, among others, become an obstacle rather than an honest broker in attempts to resolve the Namibian and other conflicts.

The lashing received by the United States may reflect a current predominance within the Non-Aligned Movement of a view which came strongly to the fore under Cuba's leadership of the Movement between 1980 and 1983: that the socialist countries of the world are the natural allies of the non-aligned countries, and the major Western capitalist states the source of danger to the principles of non-alignment.

The political declaration also describes apartheid as a crime against humanity and an affront to the universal conscience emanating from the kind of racist ideology which provoked World War II.

The draft economic declaration before the 101

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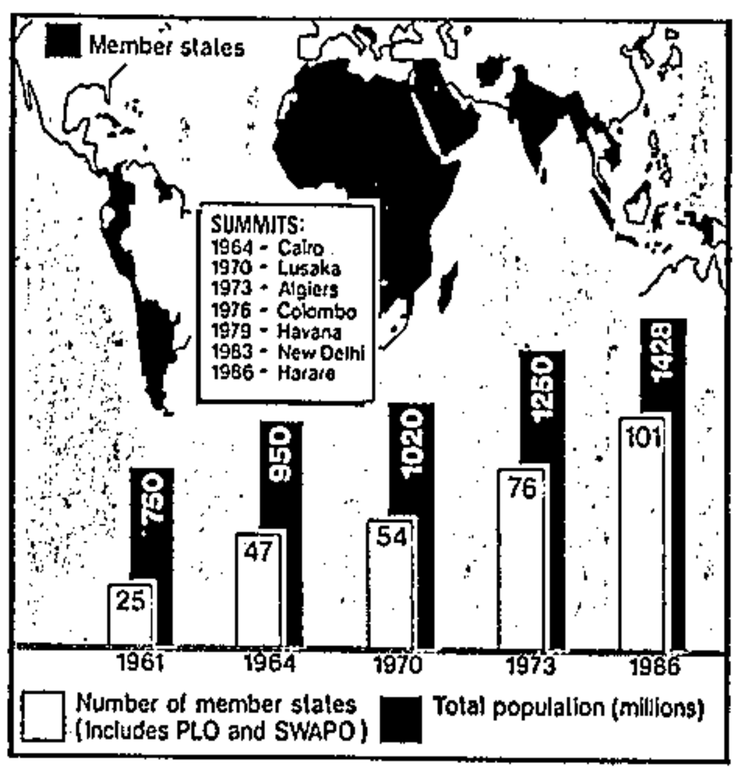
S ON THE NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT

AY IN HARARE

e new leader of the movement, while Zimbabwe soldiers guard the Heroes' Acre national monument

Pictures: HOWARD MINNE, Afrapix



The Non-aligned Movement was conceived at the Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955. Twenty nine nations attended. The first summit was in Belgrade in 1961.

'Nammed' on the street by a dignitary

THERE'S a new word being developed in Harare. It is "nammed".

Being "nammed" is being forced off the road by one of the scores of wailing motorcades of ceremonial motorcyclists, police, security cars and Mercedes Benz sedans carrying one or other of the 101 delegations to the Non-Aligned Movement (Nam) conference from one part of the capital to the other.

Harare this week and next is a peculiar mixture of Christmas and security/logistical nightmare. Every shopowner, restaurateur, hotelier, metal detector manufacturer and whore is making a killing. And the Zimbabwean capital is creeping with security — in uniform, out of it, waving guns or with bulging left-breast pockets, bright-eyed in the morning, bleary-eyed by night.

Housekeepers at the villas specially constructed to accommodate some heads of state and government have not been told who their guests will be. The reason: security. The housekeepers' problem: should the food be halaal or not? It is something they are not allowed to know — yet.

Some 2 000 journalists have descended on a city about the size of Bloemfontein. With a 24-hour bar operating at the press centre at the Harare Conference Centre alongside the swish Sheraton Hotel, the press corps is reported to be content, even if not particularly productive.

Another 8 000 faces from all sorts of foreign climes will have shone their way down Harare streets by the time the feast is over.

All but the sleaziest doss house is off limits to the general public — almost every hotel is accommodating some or other delegation — and if you haven't got a special Non-Aligned Movement ID card, do not try to get past the doorman.

In the city's main shopping mall, First Street, a huge banner strung between the banks and ringing cash tills proclaims "Welcome to Harare".

The major city streets are dripping with bunting, and photographs of President Canaan Banana and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe look down from hundreds of lampposts on the throng below.

The agricultural and industrial sectors have also got in on the act. Not one kilometre from the Conference Centre, the Harare show evinces Zimbabwe's prosperity, ingenuity and colonial past. The wares of its monopolies are displayed alongside those of its emergent black businessmen, and the former British South Africa Police thrill the kids clutching toffee apples with displays now mounted in the name of the Zimbabwe Republic Police.

The Non-Aligned Movement summit conference is, all are agreed, the biggest and most exotic bunfight to come to Zimbabwe since the onset of Ian Smith's short thousand years.

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The Frontline states will be calling for, and will certainly get, strong rhetorical 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 high hopes that the Harare summit might prove capable of delivering a peace package to Iran and Iraq, both of whom are Non-Aligned Movement members, appear to have been dashed by the hard line taken by Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini last week. Peace would only come with the defeat of Iraq and the downfall of its leadership, he said unequivocally.

Draft declarations on the major issues before the summit, which also include the developing world's massive debt crisis and a demand for an end to the arms race between the major powers, were drawn up by a subcommittee of Non-Aligned Movement member states in New York a few months ago.

These declarations came before Non-Aligned Movement officials in Harare on Tuesday this week when the first stage of the conference started. Foreign ministers began their deliberations yesterday. And the cleaned-up declarations and issues come before the heads of state and government summit proper on Monday next week.

Among Non-Aligned members there is no feeling that their relative weakness, or their necessary resort largely only to rhetoric, makes the two-week series of meetings meaningless. Not at all.

The head of the Zimbabwean chapter of the African Association of Political Science, Dr Ibbo Mandaza, remarked this week that "Non-alignment must be viewed as the endless quest for national independence and self-determination on the part of the countries of the Third World in a world in which imperialism and big power rivalry constantly threatens to undermine and render meaningless even political independence itself."

This quest for national self-determination was not inconsistent with mutual respect between nations and a broad internationalism. The Non-Aligned Movement and its survival for 25 years in a hostile environment was proof of its worth, he added.

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The political declaration also describes apartheid as a crime against humanity and an affront to the universal conscience emanating from the kind of racist ideology which provoked World War II.

The draft economic declaration before the 101 members of the Non-Aligned movement calls for:

- Far-reaching steps to be taken to develop a new international economic order capable of correcting developing countries' deteriorating terms of trade, growing debt crisis and exclusion from markets by protectionist trade practices imposed by the wealthier nations;
- An end to usage of organisations like the IMF and World Bank by the major economic powers to force economic changes in developing countries which often have serious social consequences within these countries;
- The demonstration of a clear political will by both developed and developing countries to correct the international economic imbalance which promises disaster for both categories.

African army

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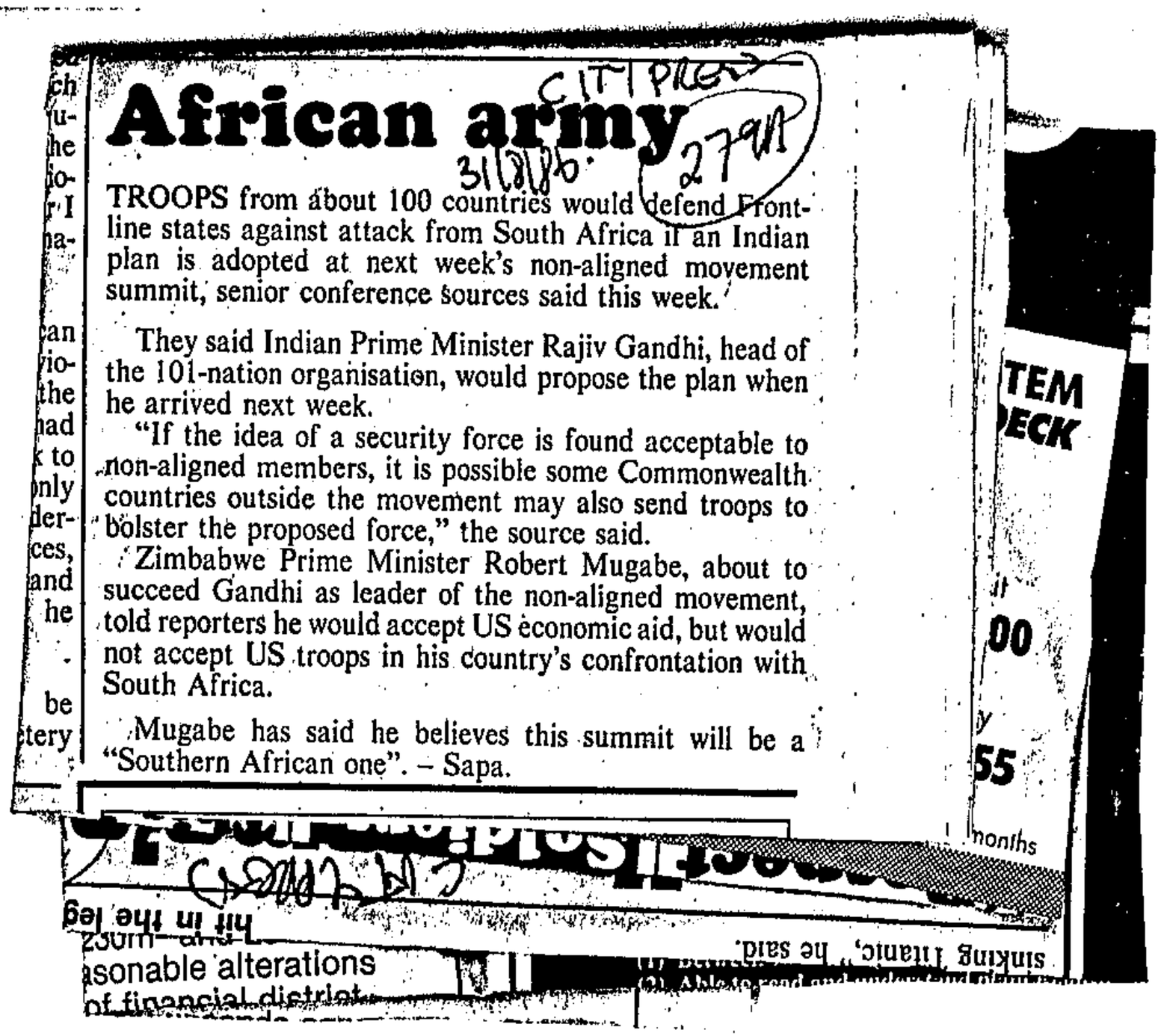
TROOPS from about 100 countries would defend Front-line states against attack from South Africa if an Indian plan is adopted at next week's non-aligned movement summit, senior conference sources said this week.

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.



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SA sanctions retaliation feared

NAM states to start fund for Frontline aid

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 SWA/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 export;
- ☐ Cessation of further investments;
- ☐ An end to support for trade;
- ☐ Prohibition of the sale of Krugerrands;
- ☐ 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 SWA/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. — Sapa.

● MUGABE

Mugabe unaware of pact's renewal

MICK COLLINS and GERALD REILLY

ZIMBABWEAN Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said in Harare he was unaware of the renewing 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 inherited 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 vests, and men's and boys' underpants.

The trade agreement dates back to December 1964 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

WIESBADEN — 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 act against the entire Federal Republic (West Germany)."

Genscher also said SA was pursuing an "increasingly confrontational course" against West Germany.

He said: "SA wrongly describes itself as a member of the free world."

ZDF did not say whether Genscher elaborated on the nature of the alleged threats against journalists.

SA expelled a West German ARD TV journalist this year for allegedly inflammatory and false reporting on black unrest.

The ARD network denied the accusations. It and the West German government protested at the expulsion.

European Community foreign ministers are to decide next month whether to impose punitive sanctions against SA for its racial policies. — Sapa-AP.

Mogae report delayed

IN BRIEF

Non-Aligned Movement will press UN for sanctions

'Evils of apartheid' top summit talks

279A

1/9/86 · STAR

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.

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.

What NAM nations want from SA

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.
- Lifting of 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".

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.

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

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

About 40 leaders in the 101-member movement, from distant Indonesia to neighbouring Zambia, had arrived or were due later yesterday amid tight security for the largest international gathering to date in one of the black-ruled 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 movements 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 difference in their political, economic and social system".

But preparations for todays summit have been dogged by the vast differences within the diverse group to such an extent that, Zimbabwes best-selling *Sunday Mail* 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-Irag war.

NAM indaba starts today

HARARE — The inaugural session of the eighth conference of heads of state or government of non-aligned countries begins at 9.30am today at the Harare International Conference Centre.

Indian Prime Minister, and outgoing chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, will open the meeting and then invite Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe to give a keynote address.

After Mr Mugabe's address four representatives of the NAM regional groups and representatives of liberation movements will make statements — Sapa.

BUY DIRECT FROM

US will not bail out Frontline — official

STANLEY UYS

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 upswell in the US to bail out the Frontline states from the folly of sanctions."

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

The requirement was for a "harmony 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 $812bn 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.

It mandated Peru to organise a consultative conference of experts from developing countries to discuss their debt problems.

Most Asian countries have had little difficulty in repaying foreign debt and attracting new loans.

Latin America has been wallowing in a debt crisis since 1982.

Africa, with its greater lack of economic infrastructure and lower income levels, has been even worse affected. One proposal is that Western creditors should convert the debt of Africa's poorest nations into aid donations.

The draft criticises the IMF and urges it to take a longer-term view when recommending economic adjustment policies to borrowers.

"IMF policy should take into account requirements for growth in production and employment and respect the capacity of countries to execute their adjustment plan."

The economic declaration urges the IMF to create extra Special Drawing Rights for use by the World Bank in development loans to the Third World. — Sapa-Reuter.

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 effect 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-ordination 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.

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 had been displaced.

He told the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Harare SA 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-Reuter.

Gaddafi rapped

TOLLGATE HOLDINGS

NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT

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 strident 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

Mugabe

Gandhi

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. ■

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...the Non-Aligned summit in Harare

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Ultimately, the goal would be economic integration, with a common currency for PTA countries and a completely free flow of goods across borders, on the premise that regionally, the members are able to substitute for any export or import markets lost to them with economic action against South Africa.

But at press conferences and in committee debates, the talk has centred less on the economic realities of southern Africa, and more on the military battle on South Africa's borders.

Both Cuban president Fidel Castro and Angolan president Eduardo Dos Santos ruled out completely any deal for withdrawing Cuban troops in Angola before Namibian independence and a total South African pullout. Dos Santos said on Wednesday he was "proud" to have Cuban troops defending his territory. And on Tuesday, Castro ostensibly for the first time put a figure to his force, saying there were 20 000 troops in southern Angola.

There has been talk during the debates and outside at the constant press conferences of a regional defence force or, more ambitiously, a non-aligned defence force, which, like the United Nations peacekeeping soldiers, would be available to back Frontline states against South African raids.

On Monday night, outgoing Non-Aligned chairman, Indian premier Rajiv Gandhi, told Zimbabwean television he would consider such aid if approached.

But the initiative for this, as well as the repeated pleas for more aid to the battle against apartheid, has come from outside the conference hall, from the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and South West African People's Organisation.

All three organisations have been very visible here all week, and each leader has given a lengthy press conference. For all three, the summit has perhaps been the greatest diplomatic stage of their histories, and certainly the most sympathetic. And the summit's position in Harare, a capital only six years old, has provided the immediate inspiration for delegates to support them.

But a victory, simply in terms of independence from South Africa, still has a long way to go, as visitors to the new conference centre have seen.

Just next to the press bar, at which journalists meet delegates for interviews, and exchange ideas through the night, is mounted a stand of Truworth's clothing — safari-suits for women. The beer of choice here is Castle lager which, although brewed by Zimbabwe's Natbrew, is a familiar sight for those who have arrived from South Africa. And the computer technicians, essential to Zimbabwe's coverage of this conference, are South African, and proud of it.

...nd right, an ageing Fidel Castro in caucus with his delegation Pictures: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

A GREEDY, GOBBLING BEAST CALLED DEBT

The other major issue: the Third World's debt crisis

A "VORACIOUS primordial beast" were the words Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe chose to describe the mounting Third World debt on Monday when he opened the Non-Aligned Movement's summit of 102 leaders.

Now at $812,4-billion (R2 031-billion), the debt owed to banks and governments by African, Asian and Latin American countries has begun to "gobble up all the resources of the developing countries", said Mugabe, appealing for an "action-orientated" summit. "To do nothing is suicidal," he said.

In the calm resonance of the purple and gold conference hall, the realities of starvation and disease rarely seemed to intrude. Yet each speaker has conceded that without economic growth, eloquent speeches about political reforms and international human rights bear little weight.

As at others before it, this summit has targeted its woes at the world financial establishment. It is portrayed with broad strokes as a card game in which very few players get to throw the dice, and in which the world bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) always win.

In particular, Third World countries argue that the dollar-linked commodity and agricultural prices — which directly earn foreign exchange for the Non-Aligned countries — work chiefly for the benefit of the country using that currency: the United States.

In addition, high interest rates in the West and protective trade practices have made the debt essentially unpayable, while the drop in commodity prices has cost the Third World $100-billion (R250-billion) over the past few years.

"Within this present system," said Peru's president Alan Garcia Perez, "there can be for us nothing but the vicious circle of debt and poverty. It translates into a kind of economic apartheid."

Latin American countries, by far the world's largest debtors, are not, however, united about their strategies. Peru's debt, compared with Mexico's $100-billion (R250-billion), is a paltry $14-billion (R35-billion). But it produced only $17-billion (R42,5-billion) last year in goods and services. So, said Garcia, "in order to pay the debt of my country, it would be necessary to work tirelessly for almost one year at full effort, and not drink nor eat nor consume anything during that period."

Instead, the Lima government struck out on its own, refusing to pay its creditors more than 10 percent of its export value, which this year has plunged by $400-million (R1-billion), because of the drop in oil prices.

Although Peru's appeal for others to follow their example is unlikely to meet with much success here this week, its initiative on the issue has made Garcia a strong contender to follow Mugabe into the chair of the Non-Aligned Movement.

More extreme than Peru's approach has been that of Cuban president Fidel Castro, who on Tuesday thumped his fist on the lectern shortly after telling the summit that the Third World should unilaterally scrap its debt, which had become "the Aids of the world economy".

"Our countries are not debtors, but creditors," said Castro. "Capitalism was financed by the colonies. They have taken much more from us than the total amount of the debt."

He estimated the Third World last year paid $300-billion (R750-billion) servicing their debts, $100-billion (R250-billion) of which was the result of interest rate increases.

Nicaragua, like Cuba, has been hard hit by a US economic blockade, and claims that the United States is lobbying against the Non-Aligned countries' strategies for alternative co-operation.

"The United States is against any idea of ours, like a Latin American IMF," said Pedro Blandon, Nicaragua's Deputy Minister of External Co-operation, in an interview. "They don't want to lose the upper hand."

The country's debt has leapt to $5-billion (R12,5-billion) from $1,6 billion (R4-billion) when the government seized power in 1979. Now, said Blandon, "Banks won't lend to us, because they say we are not credit worthy. We are not credit worthy because banks won't lend to us."

Probably the most important printed pages to emerge from the summit contain the economic declaration. It spells out in the first 65 pages why the following 48 pages of resolutions might not work. "No substantial progress has been made in implementing them," it says, "because of the absence of a positive response from the major industrialised countries."

This time around, it will all be different, or so the economic ministers assure the delegates — there will be a standing committee to co-ordinate multilateral agreements and to negotiate with the West on behalf of poor countries.

There will be massively increased co-operation to offer new alliances and markets.

In addition, they appeal to the West to increase foreign aid, liberalise the IMF, double the World Bank's authorised capital and increase aid to Sub-Saharan Africa.

"Before, there were too many different economic strategies," said *Djibril Diallo*, information director of the United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa. "Often, Africans did not have any input into them."

In Africa, where countries are digging out from the grimmest famine of their history, "there's a political will to solve the debt crisis as there's never been before. You have young, dynamic leaders, a new breed of pragmatic people who are demanding total control over their continent."

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like, after two minutes of questioning. He took Phillip and the friend home.

Pat's interrogation was also over. Dinner time had arrived and — presenting her with pen and paper and orders to compose a full biography and account of her political views — the interrogators had de-camped. Four pages later they returned to announce they were taking her back to the Monomatapa. But Phillip was gone. After vain attempts to locate him by phone the escort gave her a lift to a friend's home. On the way they invited her to a cocktail party. She made her excuses and they left.

The following morning Inspector Makwara collected us both and took us back to the Central Police Station, to collect Pat's papers and clear up the confusion. He did so with Poirot-like efficiency. Escorting us to the press accreditation centre at the Monomatapa he assured us all would be all right, and left.

Phillip got his accreditation.

The accreditation official accused Pat of being a spy.

If she wanted to be accredited, he said, she would have to contact the Secretary for Information, Justin Nyoka. She got him on the phone. "You're not the woman we are looking for," he declared, asking her to summons another official from the accreditation room. She was given her accreditation.

On Monday Pat and Phillip covered the Non-Aligned Summit at the Sheraton conference centre. Until a protocol offical in the press centre fixed Pat with a beady eye. And said: "Don't I know you from somewhere?" She protested: "No." "Would you come with me," he asked in that familiar fashion. "There's a man who wants to see you both."

It was Justin Nyoka. He was sitting at the cafeteria with the press corps, sipping beer.

"I am stripping you both of your press accreditation," he announced. "And you are to leave the country immediately.

"I am not giving any reasons.

"And there is no appeal.

"And if you call a big press conference we will be forced to consider you an enemy of the people and the government of Zimbabwe and will be forced to tell all we've got on you."

After pleading — "please do, we'd like to know what we're supposed to have done" — he confiscated our cards and summonsed two officials to take us to the airport ... who took us to the basement of the Sheraton Hotel.

The questioning started. What were we doing without press accreditation, an official asked? And accused us of entering the country illegally, indicating we would not be allowed to leave in a hurry.

A telephone rang and we were summonsed up to hotel reception. Another anonymous official announced there was nothing wrong with us. That our press accreditation was withdrawn. But that we were not being deported. And we were free to go.

Within an hour of our return to our friend's house in Harare the Zimbabwe News Agency announced that we were South African spies.

We caught flight ZA161 to Johannesburg, departing Harare at 8.30 am on Wednesday.

At 4pm the South African government announced that journalists were not allowed to look at the Security Forces.

Sweet normality.

IN HARARE, IT'S APAR

VIVIENNE WALT reports from the Non

ONE thing has become clear during this week's summit meeting of 102 African, Asian and Latin American leaders: geography is not everything.

It is now generally thought by some of the 1 000-plus journalists and the several hundred delegates that Allan Boesak's hasty invitation on Tuesday to attend the summit was an attempt to return the issue of apartheid to centre stage.

Up until then, no speaker had failed to mention his — there are no women among the heads of state — condemnation of the government down south, or his solidarity with the exiled opposition and the beleagured Frontline states.

But the real drama had taken place around issues in which numerically far more people are involved — those of monstrous foreign debt, American intervention and religious fundamentalism.

Yet, if the revolt in South Africa has provided the glue to bind together these disparate interests, it could be the most effective adhesive available.

The foreign ministers' pre-summit meeting, which ended last Friday, approved a sanctions package against South Africa in its southern Africa declaration, which more or less mirrors the Commonwealth resolution — an end to technology transfers, oil product exports, further investments, the promotion or support of trade, the sale of Krugerrands, agricultural imports from South Africa, and business between the Zimbabwe government and companies in South Africa.

In addition, it includes the notion of a solidarity fund, aimed at taking the pressure off the Frontline states through material and financial aid to them, when South Africa begins to hit back with counter-sanctions.

It is here that the details will have to go beyond the rhetoric dominating the plenary sessions in the conference hall. And behind the scenes, one of the key people here this week to work it all out is Bax Nomvete, secretary general of the Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA), an economic alignment of eastern and southern African countries, and a shift away from South-focused trade.

The foundation of the PTA in 1984 came a jump ahead of other counter-measures to preclude an economic collapse with the imposition of sanctions. Although strongly pro-free trade, Nomvete admits the PTA will set up an alternative economic bloc to South Africa and help undermine the Southern African Customs Union. "The treaty was created in direct economic opposition to South Africa," he said in an interview. "We saw sanctions coming and we did something about it."

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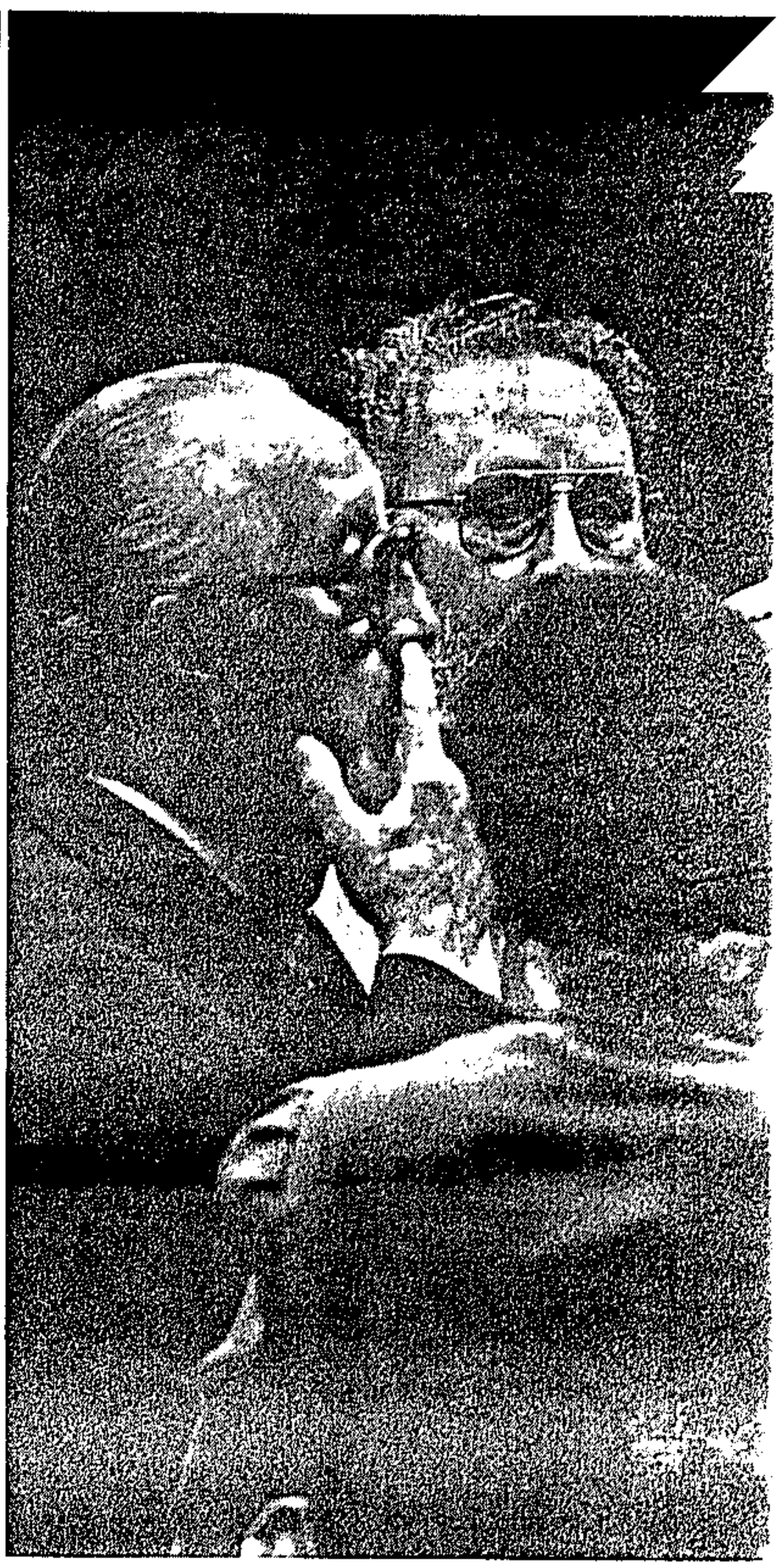
But at debates, realities

VIVIENNE WALT is in Harare on solo assignment for NewsDay in New York. She kindly prepared these special reports for the WEEKLY MAIL after our own correspondents were refused accreditation



TWO elder statesmen of the Non-Aligned Movement in Harare this week: Left, a buoyant Yassar Arafat of the PLO during a session of the summit, and right, an ag

THE CHARGE: RIFFLING THROUGH PAPERS IN HARARE DURING A WEEK WHEN I WAS IN EAS

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 conference, accused of 'spying' for South Africa. Here's their own version of their madcap brush with officialdom

FRIDAY, August 29, was the day we walked into Franz Kafka's world.

But perhaps that is unfair .... on Justin Nyoka.

Even Kafka never matched what Zimbabwe's Secretary of Information offered us in explanation of our crime: "It is guilt by association for whichever one of you is not the guilty one." It was the touchstone of *The Trial*. Our trial.

It began innocuously enough, walking off Flight SA328 at 3pm on that Friday. We were waved through customs and immigration by friendly Zimbabweans offering a contrast to the kind of bureaucrat one contends with at home. Our main preoccupation till then had been a contingent of about 10 khaki-clad Americans on the 'plane who looked like they had come to terminate Colonel Ghadaffi with extreme prejudice. Prejudice there was and it was extreme, but Ghadaffi was not the victim.

It came about two hours later, in the block-like Monomatapa Hotel, in the form of two men in crimpelene suits who introduced themselves with that familiar question which brooks no reply: Would you come with us? The invitation was directed at Pat. We just want to clarify a few points, they said.

Leaving Phillip bewildered in the press accreditation room she was squashed into the front of a van and driven off into town. Terrified, she broke into tears. Her escorts were indignant. "Why are you crying? Do you think we are like South African police?" It was to be a theme of the evening — crying and that question. After three hours of it one of them was to say: "We know you South Africans ... you are tough nuts to crack."

At room 24 of the Central Police Station the key question was put. Are you a South African spy? It was another rhetorical question — they all were. And out of the questions emerged the story. The previous week, they claimed, a mysterious figure was discovered riffling the press accreditation files for the summit. Challenged, she had identified herself as "Patricia Sidley". And so, a week later, when Pat Sidley presented herself at the accreditation centre in the hotel, they arrested her. They had got themselves a "South African spy".

Pat — the real one — protested ineffectually. She had been in the Eastern Cape the previous week, on union business for the Southern African Society of Journalists, a fact easy to double-check. They did not believe her. She had not been in Zimbabwe in more than a decade, and her passport showed it was so. They accused her of using a second passport. She begged for the ladies'. A woman guard was summonsed to accompany her. Pat wept her way down the corridor, her guard advising her kindly: "Don't cry, it will all be all right — but you must tell the truth."

Back in the hotel Phillip had been anxiously questioning officials: "Is there any problem?" "No," said one, adding, suspiciously: "Do you expect there to be a problem ?" It signalled he was joining Pat in Franz Kafka's world.

A friend, who was putting them up in Harare, arrived at the hotel. She was sitting with Phillip, waiting for developments. And they came, in the form of two more crimpelene-suited officials. "Would you come with us ?"

It was a saloon car this time, with escorts back and front. They made the same journey, to the Central Police Station. Lengthy discussion and questioning followed. What has happened to Pat Sidley, asked Phillip? Why, they demanded? The question seemed to offend them.

They came in relays, the questioners, all refusing to identify themselves. None of them knew where Pat was, or what Phillip and his friend, the hostess, were doing there. They wanted to know what he was doing there. He wanted to know what he was doing there. They didn't know what he was doing there; what they wanted to know was what he was doing there. He was there trying to find out what he was doing there. Which they didn't know.

Eventually he was bundled into a van — with his Zimbabwean friend — and taken to another police station. It did not have any telephones. But it did have a man with a name. The first official to identify himself: Detective Inspector Makwara. Of the Homicide Division.

"There is no crime here," he announced, Poirot-

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Star 8/9/86 (27A)

SA 'retaliation'

NAM establishes fund to counter

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

HARARE — The eighth Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit ended in the early hours of yesterday morning with a series of moves aimed at increasing economic, military and political pressure on the "racist regime" in Pretoria.

Within the Southern African context, the most significant decision here yesterday was the creation of the Action For Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund.

The fund will be used to strengthen the abilities of the Frontline states to "resist South African aggression", to help the "liberation movements", to apply anti-South African sanctions and to alleviate the effects of South African retaliatory action.

In addition, the NAM summit confirmed that it would:

● Renew its appeal for comprehensive, mandatory United Nations economic sanctions against South Africa.

● Send a delegation of Ministers to the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany and Japan to press them to agree to these sanctions. A committee consisting of representatives from Algeria, Argentina, Congo, India, Nigeria, Peru, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe was set up to manage this sanctions "task force".

● Ask member states to apply their own modest, voluntary sanctions package, in effect an extension of the package decided on at the Commonwealth mini-summit in London last month.

● Renew pressure on the international community to force South Africa — by way of mandatory, comprehensive sanctions — to grant independence to Namibia within the framework of United Nations Resolution 435.

While much of the argument, discussion and rhetoric during the week of preparation for the summit and during the week-long summit itself centred on topics like disarmament and the new international economic order, the major theme of the conference was the situation in southern Africa — and the main enemy was the "racist regime" in Pretoria.

At his post-summit Press conference, Mr Robert Mugabe, chairman of the NAM for the next three years and Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, said the summit was a "tremendous success".

The NAM, he said, had emerged with a "real programme of action" on Southern Africa.

Mr Mugabe said the most important achievement of the summit was the creation of the AFRICA Fund and he called on NAM member states to contribute generously to help Southern African states "resist the onslaught of apartheid".

Zimbabwe was confident that the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries would be assisted by the NAM to "fight apartheid" and to "resist the adverse effects" on their own economies of sanctions.

Quite clearly, the NAM strategy on Southern Africa is aimed at persuading South Africa's main trading partners to agree to mandatory UN sanctions, to create an infrastructure that will enable SADCC countries to cope with the effects of these sanctions and to adopt voluntary sanctions of their own.

This approach was confirmed by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the organisation of Frontline states, who told representatives of the world's media on Friday: "There is no doubt at all that sanctions against South Africa without the participation of the racist regime's main trading partners will not be effective at all ... They will be sanctions applied against us.

"We are ready to join in this if and when the rest of the international community participates.

"That is why there must be co-operation and co-ordination between the Congress of the United States, various organs in Britain, West Germany, France and Japan.

"If all these come together, then, of course, sanctions will be very meaningful. If they do not, we must forget about it and wait for the explosion, because that is coming, as sure as death ...

"Without the racist regime's major trading partners participating, there are no sanctions at all."

In response to a later question, President Kaunda said that there was no question but that the NAM wanted "effective" international sanctions against South Africa.

"If Zambia and Zimbabwe tomorrow applied sanctions of their own without the major trading partners of the racist regime doing the same, it would be suicidal on our part because it would be meaningless ... for sanctions to succeed, we need international action."

However, Mr Mugabe was quite clear that Zimbabwe would apply the Commonwealth sanctions as soon as the Commonwealth Secretariat had worked out the details.

"I am expressing no doubt", he told his Press conference, "that sanctions will be applied, but they may not be applied by everybody.

"We (in Zimbabwe) have decided to apply them and we will apply them."

Mr Mugabe said the NAM decisions were not compulsory and that the NAM sanctions package did not necessarily translate into action by member states.

Summit backs chaos in SA

By The Star's Africa News Service

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 had 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.

Frontline states pressure Banda on links with SA

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.

Frontline states pressure Banda on links with SA

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.

September 2, 1986

Frontline threats to close border over claimed aid to MNR rebels

Malawi warns Banda

The Star's Africa News Service

Maputo

Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique have threatened to close their borders with Malawi if it does not stop aiding Mozambique rebels.

President Samora Machel of Mozambique has also threatened to place missiles on the Malawi border if it continues to support the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) movement.

He was speaking after a two-hour meeting in Blantyre yesterday at which he, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, are said to have confronted Malawian leader President Kamuzu Banda with claimed evidence of his government's support for the MNR at South Africa's behest.

At a news conference in Maputo last night, President Machel accused Malawi of co-operating with the South African military — who, he claimed, had transferred MNR bases to Malawi.

He said the three leaders had gone to speak to Malawi in the name of all the Frontline states, which include Tanzania, Angola and Botswana.

He added that the decision to go to Malawi had been taken at the meeting of Frontline leaders held in Luanda in August at which they had drawn up a strategy for "the total liberation of Southern Africa".

In Harare, President Mugabe said he and President Kaunda had impressed on President Banda that their countries had committed themselves to the sanctions agreed on at the Commonwealth mini-summit in London.

Extra cost

"In these circumstances, if South Africa retaliated by closing the border to our goods, we would also close our border to the flow of its exports to the countries that lie to our north — and that includes Malawi and Zaire," Mr Mugabe said.

Malawi has previously denied allegations that it is supporting the MNR, and has pointed to the fact that since the rebels cut the railway line through Mozambique to Nacala — previously one of Malawi's main export routes — it has had to route most of its foreign trade through South Africa at huge extra cost.

To get to South Africa, the traffic must pass through Zambia and Zimbabwe. In addition, some of Malawi's trade goes through Beira after being sent by road to Zimbabwe through the Tete region of Mozambique.

President Machel's threat to use missiles against Malawi is the first suggestion that his government has such weapons.

He said he had concrete evidence of Malawi's involvement with South African militarists in the destruction of Mozambique.

It was Pretoria, he claimed, which had defined the cutting of railways and the destruction of bridges and roads in Mozambique as the way to make Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zaire dependent on South Africa.

SM 16/9/86

'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 possibly dramatic turnabout 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 tha South Africa refused 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 continuing support of MNR, says the report.

"A final assesment of it will have to wait. But South Africa has yet to gain political influence in the region commensurate with its military and eco-

SA pressure could be counter-productive

THELMA TUCH

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

He told an SA Institute of International Affairs meeting at Witwatersrand 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.

Weisfelder 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.

'Let West shoulder the burden'

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Shridath Ramphal 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 programme of sanctions, but it was in Brussels and Washington that major decisions had to be taken.

He accused the Western media of distortion by implying that Frontline states had to take substantial action but were dragging their feet.

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.

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

"THE VITAL VIEWPOINT"

BUSDAY 23/9/86 279A

Reagan responds to SA sanctions with Frontline aid package

MASSIVE US and Allied economic aid to Frontline states, aimed primarily at reactivating the beleaguered Beira Corridor, is set to be included in President Ronald Reagan's response to Congress' anti-SA sanctions Bill this week.

The move is part of a new programme worked out between Washington and its European partners to reduce Frontline state dependence on SA.

Foreign Affairs deputy minister Ron Miller last night described as "totally inappropriate" the Reagan Administration's coupling of US aid to Southern Africa and sanctions against Pretoria.

But, he made it clear that Pretoria welcomed any moves to build up the corridor, which links Zimbabwe and the Mozambican port of Beira.

Senate sources said the Reagan administration intended to request as much as $500m for the project — ten

HAMISH McINDOE
and SIMON BARBER

times the Southern Africa aid level — with the lion's share of funds devoted to the Beira project.

Details of the project are expected to be discussed when Secretary of State George Shultz visits the region next month.

The State Department confirmed yesterday that Shultz's visit could include a meeting with African National Congress president Oliver Tambo.

As matters stand, the Beira project is arousing much controversy from US political quarters that militantly oppose any aid to Marxist Mozambique.

Some Reagan advisers, citing Pretoria's continued support for the MNR, fear the move could lead to serious conflict with SA.

But Miller dismissed speculation that aid to reactivate the corridor would be interpreted by government as "an act of war".

Rand Afrikaans University's Institute for American Studies director Carl Nöffke said the effect of the aid to the projects still had to be evaluated in the light of Reagan's policy to reduce Soviet exposure in the area.

He said: "The biggest problem is not MNR activity in the area but the deplorable state of facilities."

See Page 6.

Reagan plans alternative to SA sanctions

US weighs $500-m aid for black states

2794 STAR 23/9/86

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 tough sanctions 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 in Lusaka 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-Salaam. Rapid work would also be funded on the northern Mozambican ports of Beira and Nacala.

Priority would be given to the development and repairing 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

● REAGAN

HAMISH McINDOE

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 punted 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 $4bn 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 fascilities 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.

POLICE deny

$500-m aid plan for 'ungrateful' black states seems doomed

279A STAR 25/9/86 B&P

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

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 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.

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

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 emphasised 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 programmes.

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

In a letter to their Senate colleagues, the two Republicans — both of whom voted for the sanctions Bill — pointed out this week that 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's Robert Mugabe polished his international image with some adroit handling of tricky situations during the non-aligned summit in Harare last week, reports HOWARD BARRELL

ZIMBABWE Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has emerged from last week's summit of non-aligned nations in Harare with his stature considerably enhanced after what many delegates saw as his accomplished handling of proceedings.

Mugabe's triumph lies not just in his celebrated diplomatic put-down of Libyan leader Moamar Khadaffi's strong attack on the Non-Aligned Movement (Nam) in the conference hall. Rather, he showed himself able bring together, with authority and ease, the views of the Nam's 101 members.

He was able to defer the contentious issue of where the next summit should be held. Nicaragua and Indonesia have been the main contenders, with the socialist-inclined countries favouring the former and the more Western-orientated countries pushing for the latter. A final decision on the next summit venue is scheduled to be taken by a meeting of Nam foreign ministers in Cyprus in 1988.

Mugabe sat stoically through Iran's outraged verbal attack on fellow Nam member Iraq in the conference hall, and, with a mixture of humour and firmness, smoothed Khadaffi's ruffled desert robes.

On the other hand, Mugabe defended strongly the high number of verbal attacks on the United States from the summit conference floor. This did not represent any imbalance in the Nam's attitudes towards the US and the Soviet Union. Instead, he told journalists, the bad record of the Reagan administration over the past three years in Nicaragua, Granada, El Salvador, Angola and South Africa had in no measure been matched by the Soviet Union.

Delegates and many observers expect Mugabe's next three years as Non-Aligned Movement chairman and, hence, as foremost spokesman for the developing world to be characterised by a far more workmanlike approach than that of his predecessors.

Mugabe's influence on the Nam, hitherto largely a talking shop treated with undisguised contempt in some Western government circles, could go some way towards transforming the movement into more than merely a rhetorical and moral force.

He worked actively throughout the conference to distil a programme of action for Nam and scored some successes.

And he proved to be nearly indefatigable. When the week-long conference proceedings finally ended at 3.30 on Sunday morning, Mugabe still had the energy to be lucid at a pre-dawn press conference

He listed the summit's establishment of a fund for Southern Africa to help cushion the effect on the Frontline states of the fight against apartheid as the "most important achievement" of the summit.

A team of Nam foreign ministers — from Algeria, Argentina, Congo, India, Nigeria, Peru and Zimbabwe — is to visit Western industrialised states to press them to agree to a far-reaching sanctions package

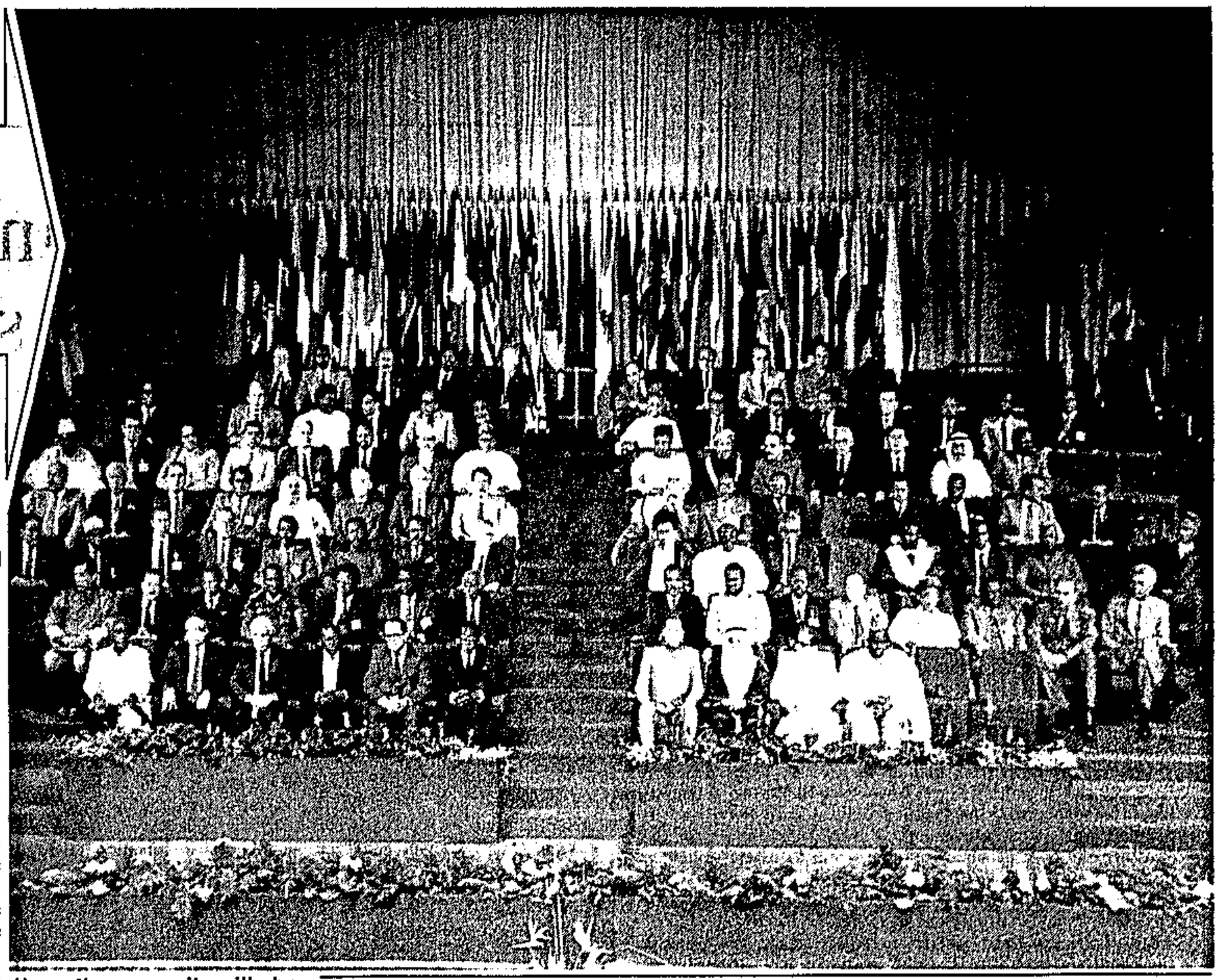
In this sense, the summit succeeded in placing even more international emphasis on the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. The hope that it would do so was one of the major reasons the summit was held in Zimbabwe.

Mugabe told journalists he favours the establishment of a Nam secretariat which would make for tighter administration of the hitherto highly amorphous movement as one of a number of "modest and moderate reforms". The current coordinating bureau of ministers and officials was inadequate to keep the movement operating efficiently and effectively.

Mugabe also told journalists he was in favour of Nam decisions being taken by two-thirds or three-quarter majorities, rather than the current system, in which decisions are taken by "consensus interpreted as unanimity".

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

VIVIENNE WALT reports on the Great Protocol Crisis



How the summit will be remembered ... blurred, slightly out of focus and with some leaders having to be shifted around in defiance of the laws of alphabetic order for reasons of diplomacy, long legs and personal habits

Offical picture courtesy of Ziana

AT every summit, there is an official photograph, a memory framed on office walls after the flags have been lowered, the conference hall has been abandoned and silenced, and the private jets have whisked away the dignitaries.

At the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Harare last week, the official photograph historically captured these 102 Third World leaders, out of focus and dwarfed by the drapes behind them and the flowers in front. But despite the photographer's technical incompetence, the rejigging of the seating plan provides a lesson in the state of the world, 1986.

Arranged alphabetically, the greatest problem for the Zimbabwe protocol officers in seating the group has been how to keep apart two warring parties: Iran's President Sayyed Ali Khamenei and Iraq's Saddam Hussein at-Thakriti. As it is, they have been brought separately on to the stage and are pictured sitting at opposite ends to each other, with Gambian President Dawda Kairaba Jawara having shifted one seat up for President Khamenei.

For no apparent reason, Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat has also been moved, from his place between Pakistan's President Zia al-Huq and Panamanian President Nicholas Ardito-Barletta, to sit on a middle aisle, where he slumps down in his seat, his chin in his hand.

Perhaps the officials knew of Arafat's reputation among the journalists of not being able to sit still for long. Looking bored next to Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe, Arafat several times fidgeted with his headscarf, and dropped his earphones noisily down the steps, leaning into the aisle to retrieve them.

The Zimbabweans, far shorter than their colleagues in West Africa, found themselves unable to accommodate the seven-foot Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, and have moved him to the edge of the stage, where all alone, he crosses his legs on the stairs.

And President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, founding father of the Frontline states, has been moved graciously from the back row to the front, so as not to be too upstaged by the newcomer, Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, who sits in the middle as the movement's new chairman.

In an interview with the popular Zimbabwe magazine, Prize Africa, an Harare prostitute called Gutsai, who charges clients 15 to 20 Zimbabwe dollars for her all-night company, said before the summit that she had had her hair permanently waved and her wardrobe revamped in readiness for the high-earning delegates. "I'm making myself marketable for the summit," she told the reporter. "I'm going to make a killing, young man."

But the Zimbabwe government, known to be very hostile to prostitutes, rounded up before the summit those they could find, and ordered others off the streets. "It was so bad," said one young Harare woman, "that if you happened to be out alone at night, you could get picked up by the police."

Nevertheless, other businesses were free to earn as much as they could, and one of the great beneficiaries of the conference was a company called Copy World. Setting up shop in the press centre with three photocopying machines, the entrepreneurs charged 30 Zimbabwe cents a page to provide for the more than 1 000 journalists the crucial conference documents.

The reporters, shut out from the plenary sessions, were obliged to pay up to 75 Zimbabwe dollars for the two central papers, the economic and political declarations, if they wanted to know what the summit was about.

Perhaps embarrassed by this violation of their socialist sentiments, and perhaps because most reporters came as government employees from countries who are deeply in debt, the Zimbabwe officials on the third day established a competitive service, issuing for free a limited number of speeches in the press centre.

It was all a far cry from the previous Non-Aligned summit in 1983, hosted by former Indian premier Indira Gandhi where, according to Zimbabwe's Moto magazine, "Speeches were always circulated and put into each journalist's locker well before they were made."

Locker? What locker?

Zimbabwe's journalists, while granted greater access than the foreign press to delegates, had their problems too, some of them not new.

For example, it used to be simple deciding who to address as comrade. "At first it was only members of parliament, Zapu and Zanu, not the independents," said a representative from Ziana, Zimbabwe's news agency, when asked about the issue. But suddenly, 102 leaders, their entourages, organisations, observers and guests had to be individually judged for the title of endearment.

"We think all Nam members should be comrades," he said. "But, well, you know, some are more comrades than others."

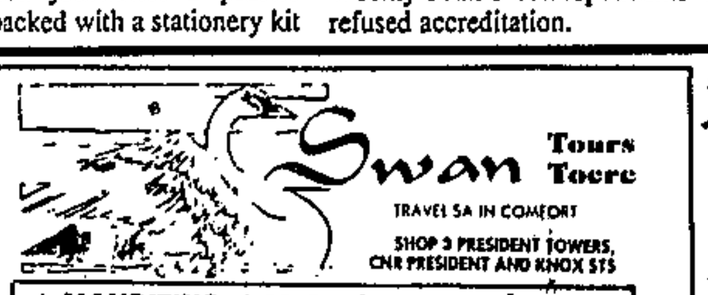
With great comradeship, leaders, including Pakistan's President Zia al-Huq, were given several column inches in the Zimbabwe Herald during the conference. Comrade Zia, said the page-wide headline, just days after the Karachi administration had jailed Pakistani opposition leader Benazir Bhutto, "Supports the Freedom Struggle."

The Zimbabwe government did not skimp in their public relations. They handed each journalist a plastic briefcase, packed with a stationery kit and glossy colour brochures on the country's economy and agriculture.

Towards the end of the week, a surplus of the kits became apparent, and early on Thursday morning a small riot erupted outside the press canteen, when the conference centre's service workers were invited to take the overflow. Boxes of the kits were ripped open, two colleagues punched each other as they tore at one kit, and a policewoman was called to restore order.

When asked what was going on, one worker said, "We've come for the cases."

● Vivienne Walt was in Harare for the Nam summit on sole assignment for Newsday in New York and prepared this report only after Weekly Mail's correspondents were refused accreditation.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26/9/86

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 figures 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 $4 billion to $5 billion (about R8 billion to R11 billion) a year and called for $5,3 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 for increased lending to debtor countries but said the World Bank should look at new ways to generate flows from official channels. — Sapa-Reuter.

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 terror 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 ar*rangements within the Trevi* Group for regular up-to-date as*sessments of terrorist threats* and to target the main leaders and organistions.

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.

SADCC: curbs will hit us

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 is 'gloves off'

South Africa's veiled threats to use neighbouring states as a shield against economic sanctions have now become specific.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has made the first direct threat of South African retaliation against its neighbours for sanctions imposed by third countries.

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star's Africa News Service

It came in the form of Mr Botha's warning this week that the South African transport system would not carry American wheat imported by neighbouring states if the United States Congress overrode President Reagan's veto of its sanctions against the Republic.

When the Senate voted on Thursday to support the stand by the House of Representatives, the rejection of the veto was confirmed. South Africa's neighbours are now waiting to see if Pretoria will carry out Mr Botha's threat.

Mr Botha's statement has the appearance of a threat of retaliation by Pretoria rather than a warning of an unavoidable consequence of American sanctions, for there is no practical reason why South African Transport Services could not still transport American wheat to neighbouring states, even if Pretoria were boycotting it.

There was an immediate reaction yesterday in Swaziland, when a local newspaper reported fears that South Africa would block a large cargo of American wheat already on its way.

However, the American Embassy quickly issued a statement denying that the wheat was on its way to Swaziland.

It explained that the American and Swaziland governments had been discussing a grant of American agricultural commodities to Swaziland "to offset the impact of a change in the US sugar-quota system", which apparently has reduced Swaziland's allocation.

One of the commodities being discussed was wheat, but no agreement had yet been reached, the embassy said. Discussions were still going on with several governments.

Mr Botha's threat appeared to be more rhetorical than real, however, for he did not talk about SATS refusing to carry wheat imports to the neighbouring states from countries other than the United States.

In other words, SATS would still transport wheat bought by, say, Botswana from Canada.

HOME-GROWN

As far as can be ascertained, neighbouring states, in any case, buy little wheat from the United States. They are believed to get it mainly from South Africa, Canada and Australia.

It could not be established, however, whether any of the wheat sold by South Africa to neighbouring countries (150 000 tons this year) has included wheat bought by South Africa from the United States (156 000 tons) or whether the Republic supplied only home-grown wheat to its neighbours.

The biggest consumer of wheat in the region, apart from South Africa, is Zimbabwe, which uses 240 000 tons a year. Of this, between 50 000 and 100 000 tons is imported from Australia, Canada, Europe and the Argentine. None has been bought from the United States.

Mr Botha's statement, nevertheless, represents the most explicit threat yet made on behalf of the South African Government to deflect the impact of anti-apartheid sanctions on to neighbouring states.

It differs in an important respect from previous statements that sanctions might force South Africa to repatriate migrant workers from neighbouring countries. The migrant workers would have to make way for South Africans put out of work by sanctions. However, a refusal to carry American wheat to neighbouring states would be political rather than a logistical.

4/10/86

BUSDAY 6/10/86

279A

African bark without bite

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

☐ MUGABE ... in favour with Pik Botha

RECENTLY I called on the general manager of Barclays Bank of Zambia at its head office in Lusaka. After keeping me waiting for nearly an hour, the urbane Francis Xavier Nkhoma sent for me and apologised. He lit a cigar and smiled.

"When I saw your calling card I thought Bhagat was some old English name. So I told my secretary: 'While he is waiting outside, serve Mr Bhagat a cup of tea and then throw a stone at him'.

"She was shocked. She said: 'Sir, I cannot throw stones at visitors, it is not done.' I said: 'No, that's perfectly OK. Bhagat is English. These days when you throw stones at the English you are merely defending your national rights'."

I have just come from Harare where, thanks to the Non-Aligned Summit (NAM) throwing stones at the West is no longer a weird hobby but has become the fastest-growing industry in recent times.

Shooting about in cars imported from SA, lounging around in villas designed in SA and sipping South African wine, the leaders from 90 countries took a casual bash at "the major trading partners of the racist régime" and, with equal ease, advocated sanctions.

That these resolutions — dripping with easy piety — should have been passed in Harare is a capital joke. Ever since the Rhodesians got their UDI act together, Harare has been the world's centre for sanctions-busting expertise.

And even though Johannesburg is now rapidly taking over, there are enough experienced businessmen in the Zimbabwean capital who could have instructed the visiting heads of state on how 60 countries co-operated between 1965 and 1980 to make a joke of the phrase "comprehensive mandatory sanctions".

In fact, there was no need to meet the experts. To learn about the efficacy of sanctions all that the NAM delegates had to do was to keep their eyes open and count the number of Renaults, Peugeots, Toyotas and Mercedes on the streets that looked between six and 21 years old.

All this would explain why sanctions won't work; to understand why sanctions won't be applied, at any rate by the Frontline states, the visitors would have had to look deeper. Of the eight real Frontline states (Tanzania is not a Frontline state), five have made it clear they will not be imposing sanctions: Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique. The other three — Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe — say they will.

Angolan sanctions don't mean much: outside the Yugoslav-run duty-free shops there is hardly anything you can buy in that country, and the black market the Zaireans run in Luanda is so vicious that an egg ends up costing you five US dollars.

To understand what is happening to Zimbabwe over sanctions, one has to grasp the complicated game Robert Mugabe has been playing with Pretoria ever since he assumed power in 1980. Early on there was an arrangement whereby Zimbabwe could send its exports through SA; in return, Zimbabwe promised not to house any ANC bases.

Then there was the preferential tariff agreement which allowed Zimbabwean goods to sell in SA at a tariff of between 10% and 15%. Initially, this was a concession SA made for the beleaguered Smith government; after independence, however, it was renewed by Mugabe and has been renewed twice again: in 1983 and, most recently, on July 31 this year, three days before the Commonwealth summit at Marlborough House.

All these deals are struck by officials either in Pretoria or in Harare. The details are not published in the newspapers in Zimbabwe and even businessmen are often kept guessing. This is the "secret" side of the game.

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

Initially, Pretoria refused to sign the deal. Intermediaries — black and white Zimbabweans — scurried south only to be told that the deal would not go through unless two black Ministers visited Pretoria. This was impossible, so the Zimbabweans begged and scraped till finally Pretoria agreed to send a team of officials to Harare.

There are some who feel this delicate game of abusing above; licking below, ended on May 19 this year when the South Africans bombed the ANC offices in Harare. It was as if SA had broken the rules; after that the Zimbabweans could no longer be certain of the South African response. Accordingly, they see the rhetoric getting more and more emotional after that date: on Soweto day, July 16, Mugabe spoke publicly of "killing the Boer".

In the first week of August, without consulting his cabinet, he announced at Marlborough House that he would go along with Commonwealth sanctions. On August 8, on his return from London, he gave a media conference where he reaffirmed his stand on sanctions, passionately declaring that his people would live on "one meallie meal a day" if necessary.

On August 29, at his media conference on the eve of the NAM summit, Mugabe committed Zimbabwe to sanctions which NAM would agree to over and above the Commonwealth package.

At this same media conference he tried to pretend that the July 31 preferential tariff agreement was merely a "routine matter" which had been signed by officials ("I was not aware it had been signed") and said it would be overridden by the London decision to impose Commonwealth sanctions.

He fooled nobody. That renewal was not a routine matter and Commonwealth sanctions are not going to be imposed in a hurry. Indeed, the game now is to pitch higher and higher, to ask for universal mandatory sanctions, so that you are not obliged to impose any sanctions at all "till everyone agrees".

There are other reasons to believe that the sanctions rhetoric is just a distraction. True, Mugabe is an idealist and would dearly like to be seen as the man who led the West into the struggle against SA.

But he is also a pragmatic man who has behaved circumspectly so as not to damage Zimbabwe's economy. And as Pik Botha told a black Zimbabwean intermediary recently: "We are pleased with Robert. We want him to be held in high esteem throughout the world. It is better that we should trade with tough 'radicals' than with puppets like Banda."

On August 6, when the South Africans cracked the whip again by closing the border at Beit Bridge and trucks began to pile up, the contingency planning committee of the Zimbabwean government, headed by Finance Minister Chidzero, met for the first time and asked for the most basic data — i.e., the effects of sanctions on jobs, trade.

It is easy to argue that this unpreparedness is typical of Third World incompetence; easy but wrong. It is further evidence that Zimbabwe is not going to rush into anything as foolhardy as sanctions.

Foreign journalists and other Western "observers" in Harare do not see sanctions as an issue where opinion is divided on tribal lines.

During the NAM circus, I busied myself winning the confidence of a couple of Zimbabwean intermediaries who shuttle between Harare and Pretoria. From those businessmen I learnt a quite different story.

It is well known that politics in Zimbabwe is divided on tribal lines, in particular that Mugabe runs his Zanu (PF) government by cleverly balancing the interests of the three main Shona tribes: Karanga (25% of the population), Zezuru (21%) and Manyika (11%).

Prominent Karangas include Simon Muzenda, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister of Security, the Minister of Justice, the army Chief of Staff and the air force commander. Everybody concedes the Karangas "made" Mugabe; what is less well known is their extreme pragmatism and the links several top Karangas have with SA.

The pragmatism of the Karangas over sanctions is heartening. For however desirable it may be to bring down the racist régime south of the Limpopo, this is not a realistic prospect for the Frontline states. After hearing Mugabe's Soweto day speech about "killing the Boer", Samora Machel remarked: "If Mugabe goes on like this, in 10 years' time Harare will end up looking like Luanda or Maputo."

In 1965 Zambia excused itself from the obligation of imposing sanctions on Rhodesia on the quite reasonable ground that sanctions would destroy its economy. In 1973, however, Ian Smith closed the border for a few weeks. When Smith decided to reopen the border Kenneth Kaunda would not play ball.

The international community promised to help out Zambia financially. Most of these promises were never kept and Zambia suffered tremendously. In 1978 Kaunda was forced to reopen the border.

With this experience behind him, Kaunda is naturally more cautious. Though he enjoyed himself lashing out at Sir Geoffrey Howe in Lusaka, and later at his media conference at the Churchill Hotel in London in the first week of August, Kaunda had already begun to backtrack on sanctions.

At the SADCC meeting at Luanda he refused to answer newsmen's questions on air links. In Harare he went so far as to say that without the "major trading partners of the racist régime" joining in it would be "meaningless" and "suicidal" for Zimbabwe and Zambia to impose sanctions.

Then he went on to suggest that the US hold talks with the Frontline states, a brilliant delaying tactic. As we have learnt — and as we knew all along — Ronald Reagan will have none of that.

Though the Zambians survived the Seventies without trade with SA, it will not be so easy today.

A day before I left India for Africa, I found myself on a plane to Delhi sitting next to a new MP, an old friend of Rajiv Ghandi. The talk came round to sanctions.

"There's a fire burning at home," he muttered in Hindi. "All we do is to go abroad and yell." At first I was impressed by his forthright stance. I had expected him to be full of idealistic guff.

Thinking back on it, I realise that in his honesty he was naive. Rajiv knows better. Politics is all about making a noise when you can. When you get tired of rioters throwing stones at home, it is a good idea to go abroad and throw some stones yourself.

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.

9/10/86

SADCC nine to talk strategy

USDAM 2791

MBABANE — 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.

African states are asked to share food

The Star's Africa News Service

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."

sunrise news

US plans boost for Frontline states

279A 8/9/86

By Alan Dunn,
The Star Bureau

STAR 11/10/86

WASHINGTON — The United States is pressing on with a plan to lessen Southern African dependence on South Africa.

While the Reagan Administration watches for reaction to the sanctions imposed last week, officials are working on a strategy to boost the vulnerable economies and develop or repair the transport systems of the Frontline states.

The American Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Charles Freeman, said this week that the US hoped South Africa would recognise the inter-dependence of Southern African states and that it was not to South Africa's advantage to disrupt economic links tying the region together.

Mr Freeman said in a radio interview that it did not make sense for goods to be transported more than double the distance through South African ports when they could be exported by African countries through Tanzanian or Mozambican ports.

"And it is on that that we plan — with our European partners and Japan — to concentrate our efforts over the coming years," he said.

The State Department proposed recently to President Reagan a five-year aid plan for Southern Africa involving R1,2 billion. But it ran into immediate problems among some US senators and is likely to be received coolly by lawmakers in the present American climate of budget cuts.

Mr Reagan did propose a regional aid plan in trying to avert sanctions last week but avoided mentioning dollar outputs.

"I am committed to present to the next Congress a comprehensive multi-year programme designed to promote economic reform and development in the black-ruled states of Southern Africa," Mr Reagan said.

The Beira corridor, a road, railway and oil pipeline from Zimbabwe to the Mozambican port of Beira, are understood to be a priorities in the plan. The northern Mozambican port of Nacala has apparently also been targeted for aid.

Tanzania's port of Dar-es-Salaam and its transport network would be developed as well.

The Administration says the question of whether Frontline States suffer as a result of the sanctions depends entirely on how South Africa reacts. State Department fears are that, if Pretoria does retaliate, they would suffer "substantially".

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 he intended to "campaign relentlessly" to get foreign countries to step up humanitarian aid to South Africa to balance the effects of limited sanctions on ordinary people.

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

DD 279A 13/10/86

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 Machel'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 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 generalised 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 drags 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 staged "by the South African militarists".

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, Zambia and Zimbabwe 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 incessant 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 wanted revenge for the unanimous international condemnation it suffered by intensifying sanctions against its neighbouring states and expanding the war to

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 were "typical of what the SADF had come to expect from such conferences".

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 Force are on record at the highest level in this country that they wish to live in peace with their neighbours.

"But the SADF is also on record that it will not tolerate terrorist attacks on innocent South Africans launched from neighbouring states."

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A Frontline wrist-slap for Zaire's Mobutu

Zaire's president Mobutu Sese Seko

17/10/86 279A WEEKLY MAIL

By HOWARD BARRELL, Harare

THREE Frontline state leaders are due to meet President Mobutu Sese Seko at the weekend to warn him against continued Zairean 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 could mean neighbouring states cutting Zaire's transport routes to South African ports and railway systems.

A significant portion of Zaire's trade passes through South African ports, but must first traverse neighbouring black African states, notably Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Mobutu's previous undertakings 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 Kamuzu Banda over his continued support for the South African-backed Mozambique national resistance forces (Renamo) fighting Mozambique's Frelimo government.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe

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-Beira 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 inevitable sanctions and trade war with South Africa.

17/10/86 BusDay

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.

The hope in Pretoria was that Machel could be persuaded to revive the committees which had been set up under the Nkomati Accord to deal with problems between the countries, including those sparked by the accusations that South Africa was covertly supporting Renamo and counter-accusations that Mozambique was again allowing ANC guerrillas to operate from its territory.

It is relevant to note that only last week President PW Botha had expressed the hope that the Nkomati pact could be revived for the sake of regional peace. Botha made the point in the heart of the ultra-right wing stronghold of Potgietersrus at about the same time as his neo-nazi foe, Eugene Terre'blanche, was calling for

João Henderson (right) is treated in Nelspruit hospital.
Pictures by Wendy Schwegmann, Reuter, and Walter Dhladhla, AFP.

tougher action against Machel and his Frelimo government.

Seen against that background, Botha's espousal of the Nkomati Accord cannot be dismissed as mere cant or Machiavellian deception.

Analysts in South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs further anticipated that Machel, under the threat of escalating civil war at home — signalled by the fall to rebels of towns in northern Mozambique — was considering peace talks with Renamo.

But they believed he would first have to face and overcome resistance from the radical wing in his cabinet.

only man strong enough to carry through the talks, an appraisal endorsed by diplomatic observers. The second was that neither side could win in the war and some kind of political compromise was necessary.

South Africa's Foreign Affairs department yearned, it seemed, once again to play the role of peace-maker, as it did in October 1984 when it persuaded both Frelimo and Renamo to sign the Pretoria Declaration.

In that largely forgotten declaration, both sides pledged themselves to work for a cessation of armed conflict and for a political solution.

The compromise rested on an important premise. It was spelt out in article one of the Pretoria Declaration. It read: "Samora Moisaes

Later, after the collapse of the peace talks, Renamo was to castigate South Africa's Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, as an "unconditional ally" of Machel's government.

Similar sentiments were expressed in Renamo notebooks captured by Frelimo troops who overran Renamo's main base at Goronzona in August last year. The notebooks were later released to the press in Maputo by Frelimo.

But the notebooks, which were written by secretaries of the Renamo leader, Alfonso Dhlakama, also contained entries of a different sort. They purported to convey messages from the then Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, to Dhlakama, assuring him that "Renamo still has friends in the South Africa military".

in the Department of Military Intelligence — of covertly supporting Renamo in defiance of the Nkomati Accord.

South Africa's military — as distinct from police — leaders are believed to have been less enthusiastic about dealing with Machel as a self-proclaimed Marxist.

Their view, it is conjectured, was that there was no point to concluding a truce with Marxists: that they should be destroyed and defeated, not feted as potential allies.

The military view of Machel as a Marxist who could not change his ideological spots was seemingly confirmed by the resurgence of ANC activity from Mozambique since the beginning of the year. According to the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, the recent border land mine explosion was the 23rd attack on South Africa from Mozambique since January.

Significantly it was Malan who led the verbal attack on Machel in the wake of the land mine blast. The psychological assault was the prelude to economic war, as manifest by Pretoria's decision to terminate the recruitment of thousands of Mozambican workers and to repatriate all those lawfully in South Africa as soon as their contracts expire.

Thus there may be men in South African military circles who are pleased to see the end of Machel. But it does not automatically mean they were responsible for his death.

If there is rejoicing, it is as likely to be pleasure at Machel's bad luck as at a sabotage mission successfully accomplished.

As a well-placed diplomat remarked, it is hard to see how Machel's death will benefit South Africa. His potential successors and co-members of the Frelimo politburo — the diplomats named are Joaquin Chissano, Marcelino Dos Santos and Sergio Vergio — are likely to adopt a harder line toward South Africa.

Harare: fears about M'bique security

PRESIDENT Samora Machel's as yet unexplained death on Sunday has thrust the Frontline states and the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) into a serious crisis.

The effect of Machel's death has been to cast further doubt on the stability of Mozambique's Frelimo government and, hence, the security of crucial non-South African trade routes.

The timing and uncertain circumstances of the crash have also raised serious questions over the lengths to which the Pretoria government may be prepared to go to prevent its neighbours from exercising a meaningful degree of political and economic independence.

Added to Machel's death is that of Alcantare Santos, Mozambique's Transport Minister, a key figure in the SADCC's transport commission.

The deaths are particularly serious for Zimbabwe, the economic and industrial hub of the Frontline states

By HOWARD BARRELL, Harare

and the SADCC.

Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's government has pinned its slim hopes of reducing trade route dependency on South Africa, and thereby of surviving sanctions in reasonable shape, on the Mutare-Beira corridor.

The passage is currently being guarded against attacks by the South African-backed Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) by more than 5 000 Zimbabwean troops, with Frelimo's agreement. The corridor carries a fuel pipeline, road and railway, and would be Zimbabwe's major trade artery if South Africa closed its borders.

Attempts to upgrade the capacity of the corridor are being hampered by the security situation, which has deteriorated considerably in northern Mozambique since late September when Malawi, apparently giving way to pressure from the Frontline states to end support for the MNR, "expelled" several thousand MNR fighters, who entered the northern Mozambique provinces of Tete and Zambesia some 150km north of the Mutare-Beira corridor.

Two other railways to Mozambican ports — from Zimbabwe's south east to Maputo and from Malawi to Nacala — are out of action as a result of MNR attacks.

The installation of a South African client MNR government in Maputo would be a devastating blow to Zimbabwe, the Frontline states, the SADCC and the entire campaign for sanctions against Pretoria. It would also substantially change the character of the growing war in Southern Africa.

There has been some reasoned speculation in recent weeks that the South African military's objectives on Mozambique have shifted from merely destabilising Frelimo via the MNR, to actually replacing it as government. The loss of the charismatic Machel would serve the strategy suggested in this scenario.

At the time of the fatal plane crash, Machel was returning from a confrontation he, Kaunda and Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos had held with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko over the latter's continued support for South African- and US-backed Unita forces. The scale of Unita's activities has rendered inoperable the railway line from Zambia's copperbelt, through southern Zaire to the Angolan port of Benguela, a natural route for Zambian and Zairean trade.

Its closure means the use of more distant South African railways and ports.

That confontation was further proof of the extent to which the political, military and economic struggles between South Africa and its black-ruled neighbours are now wholly interdependent.

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African 'illegals' repatriated

Crackdown on 22 000 foreigners

BUS DAY 30/10/86 2791

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

And a crackdown has begun on the 1,3-million illegals believed still to be in the country.

Home Affairs Director-General Gerrie Van Zyl said yesterday the majority of those repatriated were sent back to Mozambique (13 000). An average of 1 800 workers a month had been repatriated to that country over the past few years.

The others were returned to Botswana (5 000), Zimbabwe (2 000), Lesotho (1 500), Swaziland (400), Malawi (22), Tanzania (3) and Zambia (1).

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 has begun for the 1,3-million illegals the Ministry of Manpower estimates 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 re-

● To Page 2

Crackdown on 22 000 Frontline 'illegals'

● From Page 1

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

The Department of Home Affairs had 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 repeatedely 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."

GERALD REILLY

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."

FIN MM 31/10/86.

BEIRA CORRIDOR

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 Co-ordination 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. ■

SADCC to upgrade railway

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

4/11/86 DD

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SADCC in bid to raise $1bn

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-Reuter)

REGIONAL RELATIONS

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.

The death of Mozambique's President Samora Machel, and the installation of Joaquim Chissano as his successor, has raised fears of increasing conflict throughout southern Africa (see *Current affairs*). Chissano has dedicated himself to pursuing the war against the Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR); and the infiltration of African National Congress (ANC) members from Mozambique was underscored by yet another fatal landmine blast, near Barberton, last Sunday.

Chissano has said the Nkomati Accord 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 "destabilising" 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 (Consas), naturally orbiting around the region's powerhouse, SA. Foreign policy stressed that the route to SA's international acceptance lay through Africa. However, Consas 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 SADCC members the use of the Benguela 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 SADCC'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 co-operation 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. Attempts will 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 Zimbabwean ministerial team, led by deputy premier Simon Muzenda, and including Defence Minister Kadungure and Security Minister Munangagwa, 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 its 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 imponderable 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 bans 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-Salaam.

The compelling conclusion is that peace and stability in Mozambique is a prerequisite for effective sanctions against SA by the Frontline states. This raises the question of whether a military response is on the cards. If the Moscow 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 Frontline states can confidently look to Beira, Nacala and Maputo as their natural, most economical outlets 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. ■

THE WORLD THIS WEEK

The voters trim those Reagan coat-tails

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

AMERICAN voters this week put an end to Republican control of the Senate, proving that President Ronald Reagan's coat-tails do not stretch as far as he had hoped.

The implications for policy — including southern African policy — are significant.

It will be days before the final results of all the national and local results are confirmed, but the Democrats have certainly converted a 53-47 minority to about a 55-45 majority: That means the Republicans hand over all the powerful committee chairmanships to Democrats.

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 replaces conservative Richard Lugar, who surprised many by proving an effective operator in bringing sanctions against South Africa and pushing Ferdinand Marcos out of the Philippines to Hawaii.

Ironically, Pell himself does not inspire much hope for enlightenment. He has been an extremely laid-back leader 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 sub-committee avoided holding hearings on southern Africa because they thought the topic too explosive politically.

But times now are different. South Africa is on the agenda. And that means inevitably even a laid-back chap like Pell will be pressed by the whole of the Democratic Party, not to mention its black voters, to take up the southern Africa issue with something approximating enthusiasm.

A new chairman of the Africa sub-committee will have to 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 Nicaraguan government (*aka* the "contras"). Kerry also fought for sanctions against Pretoria.

If he gets the chairmanship, the Africa sub-committee 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 Nancy Kassebaum, as Republican chairperson of the Africa sub-committee, who piloted the repeal 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 called the security and terrorism sub-committee, which held hearings on "terrorism" and the ANC and Swapo several years ago. With 99 percent of the votes counted, he was running 9 000 votes short.

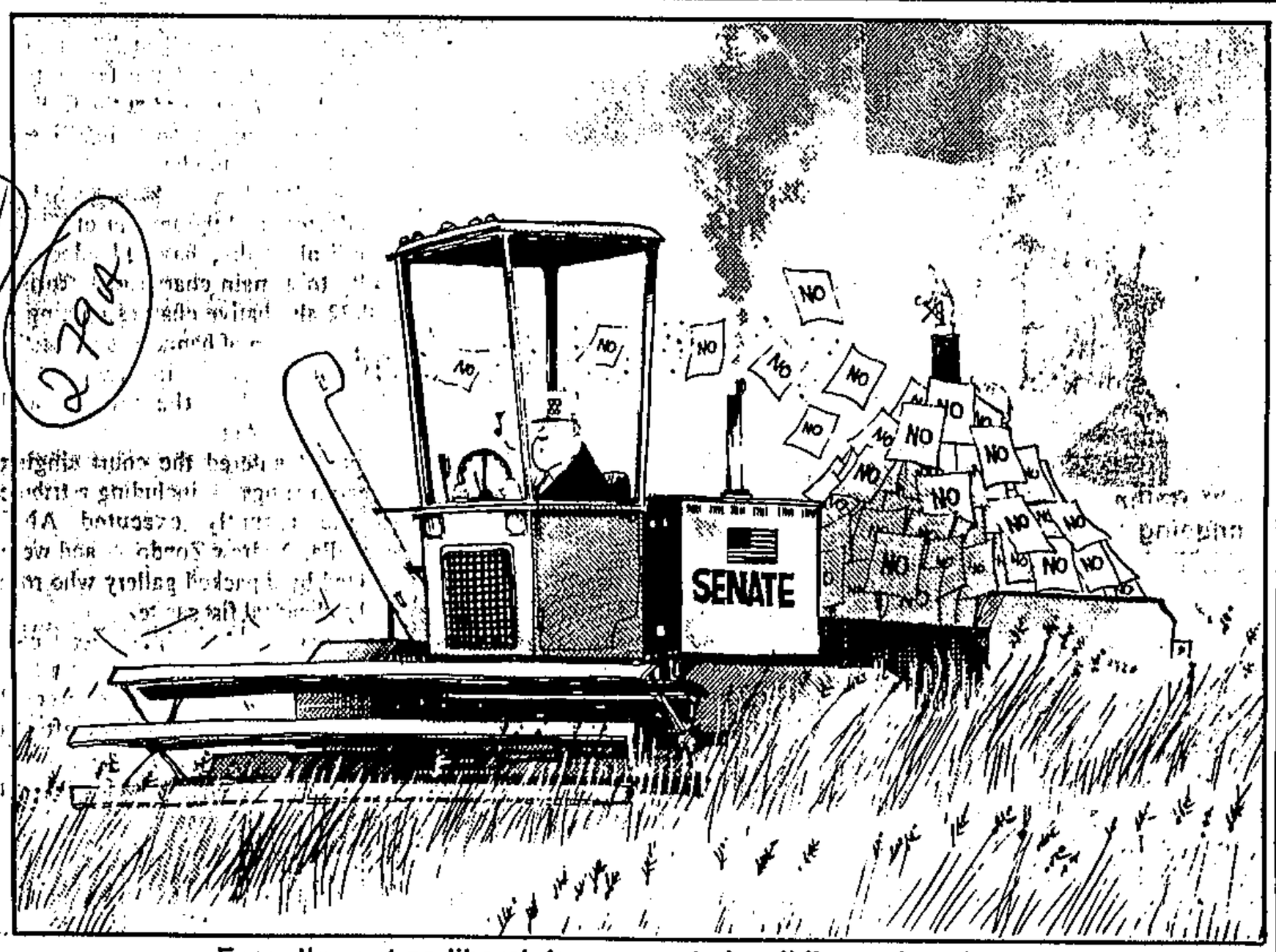
There was not one over-riding ideological reason why Democrats beat Republicans. The Republicans were vulnerable in different ways in different races.

In Denton's case, the incumbent himself was weak. But in farm states, it was Reagan's farm policies that were unpopular.

More Republican incumbents were standing in the Senate, so they were more vulnerable. And an incumbent president usually loses some congressional seats in an "off-year" — *ie* when the president himself is not standing.

Reagan's first big political defeat was, in fact, the South Africa sanctions vote. This election marks another. As a lame duck, he will have to choose issues carefully to avoid further setbacks.

But America, perpetually fighting elections, will look to the '88 presidential election almost immediately. Democrats flushed by victory will be jockeying aggressively for the nomination. And that outcome will depend as much on personality as reaction to the so-called "Reagan revolution".



Even the not-so-liberal farmers voted solidly against Reagan

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MONDAY to FRIDAY

5:00	AM	NEWS
5:10		Daybreak Africa
5:30		NEWS Summary
5:35		Daybreak Africa
6:00		NEWS & Newsline
6:30		VOA Morning
7:00		NEWS & Newsline
7:30		VOA Morning
8:00		NEWS
8:10		Daybreak Africa
8:30		NEWS Summary
8:35		Daybreak Africa
9:00		News & Newsline
9:30		VOA Morning
9:57		NEWS Summary
6:00	PM	NEWS
6:10		Nightline Africa
7:00		NEWS
7:10		African Panorama
7:30		Music USA

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 and talk of conspiracy could yet produce the match for which the tinderbox of southern Africa is waiting."

SA 'needs neighbours

POLITICAL and economic co-operation by SA and its neighbours could result in a reasonably positive economic scenario for the whole of Southern Africa over the next five years, Development Bank of Southern Africa CE Simon Brand said yesterday.

Addressing the Unisa School of Business Leadership in Johannesburg, Brand said SA should resist lobbying pressures to move into a siege economy, despite new financial and economic pressures from the international community.

He said government should instead retain its commitment to the approach, set out by the Economic Advisory Council, emphasising the improvement of productivity, encouragement of domestic savings, training, removal of restrictions to individual incentive and correct allocation of resources.

Economics Reporter

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 Machel 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

Banda **Mugabe**

are some in his Cabinet urging restraint.

While Harare's own calculations suggest that the economy would be hard hit by the severence 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 Commonweath 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.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Witch's brew

Whatever the truth in the escalating war of words — accusation and counter-charge — between SA and Malawi on the one side, and Mozambique and Zimbabwe on the other, it is clear that there is a very real deterioration in regional relations.

Concrete evidence of this on the side of the Frontline states is likely to take two main forms. The first is the announcement by Harare, before the end of the month, of a package of economic sanctions against Pretoria. The second is the expected reversal of Zimbabwe's policies earlier this year of reducing its military commitment in Mozambique.

The Zimbabwe view — reported by the State media this week — is that the MNR rebels are trying to cut Mozambique in two and to establish their own administration north of the Zambezi River. The government-owned *Herald* newspaper, reporting "sources" who have been briefed by the Mozambique leadership, accuses Pretoria of massive assistance to the rebels, arguing that without major support from outside, the MNR would not have been able to mount the attacks of battalion strength that it has been doing in the past month.

At the same time, Zimbabwe officials say that the MNR is vastly exaggerating its real achievements. A spokesman for the National Railways denied MNR claims that it had cut the Mutare-Beira railway line in four differ-

THE WORLD THIS WEEK

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 Ramphal 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 Ramphal 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.

President Kenneth Kaunda

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.

ay November 25 1986

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.

FINMAIL 12/12/86

SOUTHERN AFRICA

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.

FINANCIAL MAIL DECEMBER 12 1986

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 backwardness for the forseeable 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. ■

PAGE 10

BUSDAY 24/2/86.

Was Kaunda about to do an about face?

$ 27/2

HARARE — A private grief appears temporarily to have eclipsed wider international issues in Southern Africa when news of the death of President Kenneth Kaunda's fifth son, Maszungo, 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

Own Correspondent

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.

Zimbabwe stalling on anti-SA sanctions

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.

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 communique 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 date, 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 package.

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-Reuter.

FW MAIL 26/12/89

FRONTLINE STATES 279A

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 Feruka 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 Nomvete 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

DD 27/12/86
279A

JOHANNESBURG
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 Commonweath 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 policy-makers to face the truth of just how little room they have for manoeuvre.

President Kenneth Kaunda's decision to rescind the steep increases in food prices will give him no more than temporary respite, 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 Zimbabwean 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 contingency planners.

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

MR MUGABE

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 publicly for a tough sanctions package, Western diplomats say that economic ministers in both countries are pleading for "a more pragmatic and cautious stance ..."

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 preaching 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 actors in the frontline campaign.

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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 those states with close trading ties with South Africa to diversify into increased intra-regional trade.

The PTA secretary general, Mr Bax Nomvete, says his organisation will help the frontline states to find alternative sources of supply to replace South African goods, 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.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA

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.

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

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Imports from SA would provide relief

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

While Mr Kaunda, the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, and the Zimbawean 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 pleading for "a more pragmatic and cautious stance ...".

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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.

31/12/86 BUSDAY

Rand appreciates against Frontline currencies

THE rand has fared well against the currencies of the Frontline states during the past year.

Economists say that in most cases this reflects on the poor economic performance of these states.

The greatest appreciation was against the Zambian Kwacha. At the end of last year the exchange rate was one rand to 2,06 Kwachas. Yesterday a rand could buy 5,43 Kwachas.

The heavy devaluation of the Kwacha started when the Zambian government abandoned the official exchange rate in October 1985 as part of its economic reform package to reduce the country's reliance on copper.

Economics Reporter

The fall in the world price of copper and Zambia's foreign debt burden, which accounted for 43% of export earnings in 1985, has resulted in economic stagnation.

Against the Zimbabwean dollar the rand has appreciated from 0,619 to 0,746 dollars. The Zimbabwean economy, after growing by about 6% in 1985, is expected to slow down to 2,5% this year and could decline further in the coming year.

The slowdown in growth is partly due to the plight of the agricultural industry which continues to be affected by the drought.

The Botswana Pula declined marginally against the rand. The rand's value against the Pula has risen from 0,80 to 0,82.

Botswana's economy has been experiencing strong growth in recent years on the back of a buoyant mining industry which provides 50% of state revenue.

However, the Bank of Botswana keeps its currency low to avoid distorting Botswana's balance of payments position with SA, its major trading partner.

Angola's Kwanza deteriorated from a rate of 10,99 to the rand to 12,99. The fall in oil prices has resulted in a slump in foreign exchange earnings while the war has disrupted the local economy.

Comparison with Mozambique's currency is meaningless. The offical rate changed from 15,56 Meticias to the rand to 18,99 but the currency is almost worthless, and on the black market one rand will fetch over 1 200 Meticias.

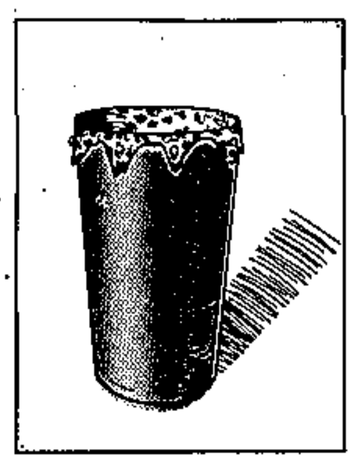
S.A.D.C. GENERAL.

1987 DECEMBER

JANUARY - ~~APRIL~~ DECEMBER

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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, writes 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 Minster 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 1[illegible] some 7% higher t[illegible]

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.

SADCC's recent performance has if anything been rather worse than that of the sub-Saharan region as a whole, though Botswana and Zimbabwe have been partial exceptions to this. In its 1986 macro-economic review SADCC notes that during the first five years of the Eighties, the only SADCC member-state to experience steady real growth in income per head was Botswana.

While there has been an improvement since early 1985, only in Zimbabwe was the recovery strong, but growth has slackened markedly in the last year. The survey concludes that in the short term, prospects for the regional economy are dependent upon factors — such as drought and the international economic environment — beyond the control of member governments.

To these factors, of course, can be added the political dimension. SADCC estimates that Pretoria's destabilisation policies had by 1985 cost the region no less than US$10 billion — equivalent to one-third of

Mugabe

Kaunda

SADCC's total exports or 10% of GDP over the last five years.

Looking into 1987, it is difficult to envisage any improvement in the situation. The international economic environment is deteriorating once again, and primary product prices seem likely to remain depressed for the rest of the decade.

The once-off terms-of-trade benefits of lower oil prices will be replaced by higher energy prices that will benefit only one regional economy (Angola), while imposing a new burden on the BoP of the other countries — a burden that could well be exacerbated by higher transport costs as a result of the regional political and military tensions.

Even those countries, such as Zimbabwe and Zambia, which have produced bumper harvests following good rains in the last two

Zambia caused by subsidy cutbacks.

It is no exaggeration to say that three economies — Mozambique, Angola (aside from its oil enclave) and Zambia — have deteriorated to the point where severe and permanent damage to the economic infrastructure is occurring. In both Angola and Mozambique economic recovery is dependent on a political or military solution to their civil wars, while in Zambia deep-seated and long-term structural change to the economy is essential.

President Kenneth Kaunda's IMF-inspired programme is currently on a knife-edge following his dramatic backdown in the wake of the copperbelt food-price riots. Indeed, World Bank and IMF strategies in Africa which appeared to be making good headway — with Ghana, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia, Nigeria and even Tanzania swallowing the IMF medicine — could be at risk if domestic political opposition forces the Zambian president to change tack at this crucial juncture.

On the face of it, Zambia has no alternative but to stay with the fund and the Bank — it has allowed its options to narrow to the point where it has virtually no room for manoeuvre — but the fierce reaction of the man in the street who has experienced falling living standards for the past decade may force Kaunda into new compromises that will undermine the entire fund strategy.

The harsh reality is that he is paying the price for 10 years of serious economic mismanagement with unhealthy reliance on copper and foreign borrowing.

While the economic outlook is far brighter in Botswana, Malawi and Zimbabwe, 1987 growth will be slower than in the last two years. Botswana, which boasts the fastest-growing economy in Africa, is forecasting a slowdown in GDP growth from an average of 12% annually in the 1980-1984 period to less than 5% over the next few years, though even this is dependent on an end to the drought and substantially improved agricultural output.

The slowdown is explained by the fact that the one-off windfall effects of the diamond industry development are coming to an end.

In Zimbabwe growth is estimated to have slowed from 7% in 1985 to 3% in 1986. Economic forecasters disagree on the 1987

But real incomes are likely to continue their decline in Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia. Economic 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 depreciation in the kwacha should start to pay export and agricultural dividends before very much longer.

On the whole, downside risks seem likely to predominate especially if, as is all too possible, the sanctions confrontation not just within the region but between SA and the industrialised economies escalates. ■

SA on Frontline agenda – again

Kenneth Kaunda

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 son, 30-year-old Masuzgo, died at a hospital in Lusaka after a long illness.

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. – Sapa.

UK focus on the Frontline states

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

279A

8/11/87 NJ M

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 changed' 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 Co-ordinating 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 systems and markets.

Britain to boost aid to frontline states

9/18/87

279A

Dispatch Bureau

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The sources conceded that British foreign policy was "developing as circumstances changed" 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 African states through the Southern African Development Co-ordinating 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 Zimbabwean and Mozambican 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, Sir 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 tic European trading yesterday er the weekend realignment of cur-cies in the European Monetary tem (EMS). The gold price shot up re than $6.

rs in Frankfurt said the monetary lignment after a week of intense culation had rid the market of ch uncertainty and allowed it to us attention on the fundamental akness of the dollar.

German Finance Minister Gerhard ltenberg did not believe the dollar change rate would stabilise until the economy showed signs of improv-

ers said the dollar had been support-in the past week by massive sales of rman marks against other curren-s in the eight-nation EMS. With the alignment, dealers said, this help as no longer needed.

lew York, there was little money arket reaction to the Federal Re-rve Board's expected purchase of 00m of bills for customer account. e bill purchase is seen as reflecting reign central bank intervention in pport of the dollar. The Bank of apan has reportedly also bought dol-rs.

ondon, the pound and gold and silver ices rose against the weaker dollar. rices surged above $19 a barrel for e first time in almost a year.

'Conspiracy was for real'

MAX DU PREEZ

LUSAKA — The document exposed by SA last year, which alleged a conspiracy between Mozambique and Zimbabwe to destabilise Malawi, was authentic, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has said.

A senior Zambian government source said Kaunda had personally told Malawian President Kamuzu Banda that the document was authentic and that he had been approached by former Mozambican President Samora Machel and Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe for his co-operation in the anti-Malawi campaign.

● KAUNDA

The document was found by SA security forces in the wreck of the aircraft in which Machel died on October 19. It contained a transcript of a meeting between Machel and Zimbabwean Cabinet Ministers Emmerson Munangagwa and E R Kandungure as well as Zimbabwean Army Commander Rex Nhongo and others.

The Zimbabwe and Mozambique governments later vehemently denied the conspiracy and said the document had been forged by SA.

But the source said Kaunda told Banda he had refused to co-operate with the plans, which included the closing of the Zambian border with Malawi.

Machel was quoted in the transcript as saying: "President Kaunda did not guarantee the closing of the border with Malawi. We put the question today and

● To Page 2

Banda told: conspiracy was for real

● From Page 1

his answer was not satisfactory."

The conspiracy, aimed at forcing the MNR out of Malawi, included the blowing up of bridges and roads in Malawi linking it to neighbouring states and starting a Malawi Liberation Front to overthrow the Banda government.

The source said the conspiracy had increased the tension between Kaunda and Mugabe.

He said Kaunda and his government had resented Mugabe's pressure on Zambia to implement sanctions against SA and cut all air links.

[illegible] economic deterioration on the continent.

"The US is not interested in civil rights for Africa's millions. For Mr Shultz, the need for democratic institutions ends south of the Limpopo River.

[illegible] vering" action against communist intervention in Africa.

"Meanwhile, the SACP and the ANC laugh at him." — Sapa.

● See Page 3

SADCC members 'are committed to sanctions'

STAR 27914 15/11/87.

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 retards 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 loss of revenue due to adverse trading terms and "a huge erosion of its lean 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

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 SEJAMOTHOPO MOTAU report.

SOWETAN Africa News Service

GABORONE — South Africa's black-ruled 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 Makoni, executive secretary of the SADCC, claims these countries adopt the attitude that any suffering from sanctions or South African countermeasures will be worth it if the pain assured the elimination of apartheid and long-term peace and stability in Southern African.

He made this 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 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 against South Africa not to 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 SADCC 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 SADCC was gearing itself for such counter-measures but scoffed at the assertion that "SADCC cannot be viable without South Africa."

Strategies to counter any South African punitive action will most certainly top the agenda when the nine SADCC 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 SADCC from the United States, presently at a disappointingly low level, and close co-operation among the members, SADCC would survive any counter-action from South Africa.

Participants at the closed sessions also "deplored" US aid to Jonas Savimbi's Unita and expressed strong concern about the plight of South African journalists, particularly the blacks who were characterised as "underemployed, undertrained and overwatched."

SOME of the delegates at the conference were (from left): Mrs Reabonye Mpotokwane of the Botswana Government, Mrs Scholastica Kimaryo of the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef), Mrs Kgopodiso Mokama, a housewife, and Mrs Fenela Raftary of the British High Commission's office in Gaborone.

PRESIDENT of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana (right) with Mr Elias Nlloedibe, a member of the 'Pan Africanist Congress' mission in exile.

THE Chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Johnson Mlambo, addresses the African-American Institute conference.

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 Tshwete, former Border president of the United Democratic Front, addresses the conference. He represented the ANC.

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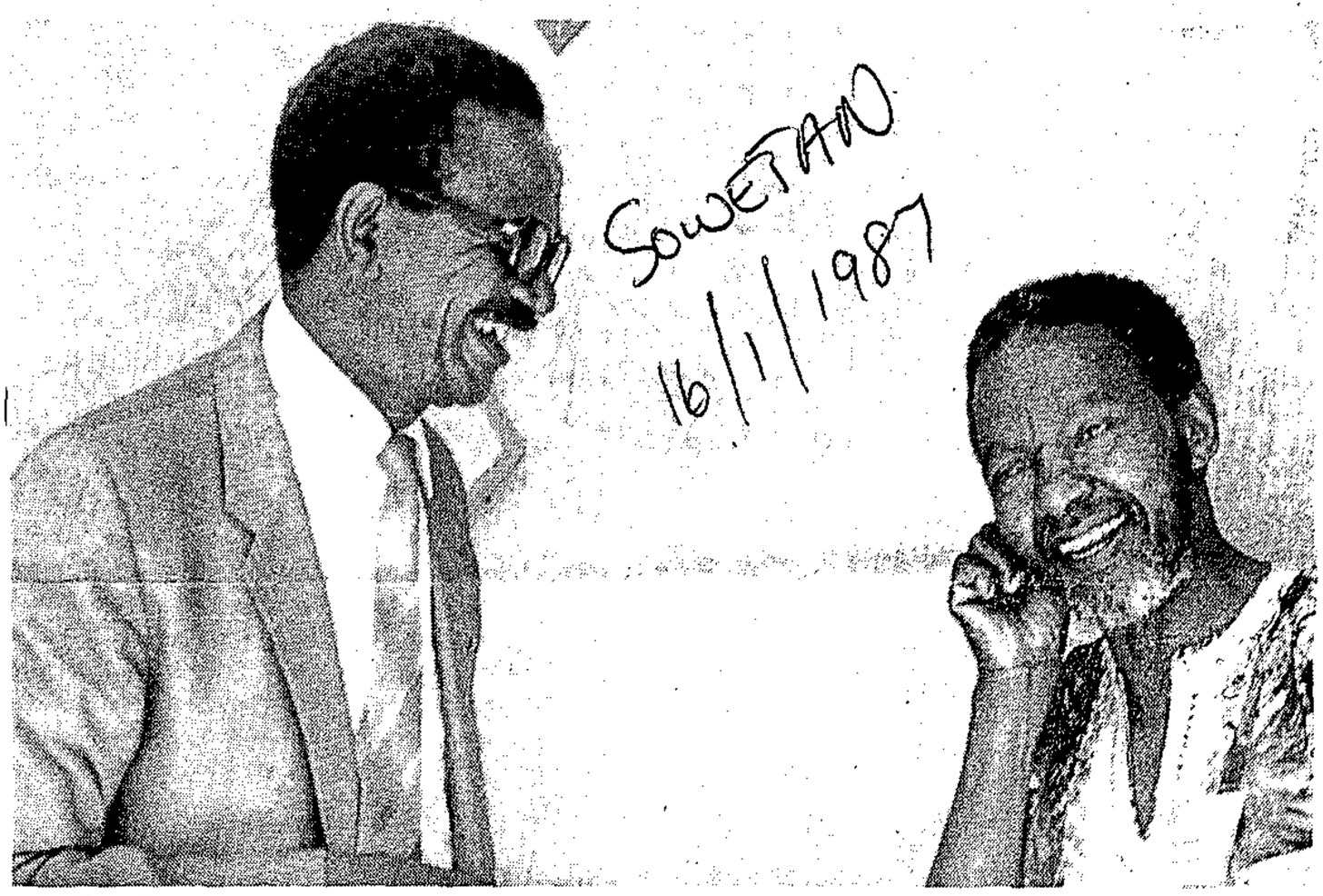

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Mr STEVE Tshwete, former Border preident of the United Democratic Front, addresses the conference. He represented the ANC.

CITY PRESS 18/1/87 279A

'Screws are tightening on SA – outside and inside'

By ZB MOLEFE

SOUTH AFRICA will be faced with intensified pressure for change from two fronts, the African-American Institute conference heard in Botswana this week.

The first signal of this changed mood surfaced at a Press conference addressed by former US Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young after a session of the five-day conference – attended by over 135 government, church, labour and political leaders.

"We must bring pressure to bear that does not destroy property or persons. South Africa is headed down the road of chaos," said Young, now Mayor of Atlanta, Georgio, US.

And internationally renowned US academic Professor Gwendolyn Carter in an interview with *City Press* predicted that SA will be faced with untold pressure from its black community.

Carter and another scholar, Professor Thomas George Karis, came into international prominence when they wrote a definitive history of SA's black political struggle.

"It is clear that the Democrats in the US Congress are going to have firmer measures against South Africa. The doors are now open for that," said Carter – citing President Ronald Reagan's defeat on his veto on sanctions against SA.

Carter and Botswana President Quett Masire, who officially opened the 17th AAI conference in Gaberone on Monday, called for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders as a prerequisite for peace within SA and the Southern Africa region,.

"The best for South Africa is to let Nelson Mandela out. He would be the best person to build bridges," said Carter.

Some of the people attending the conference – which placed much focus on SA – read like a who's who in labour, government and political circles in the US and Africa.

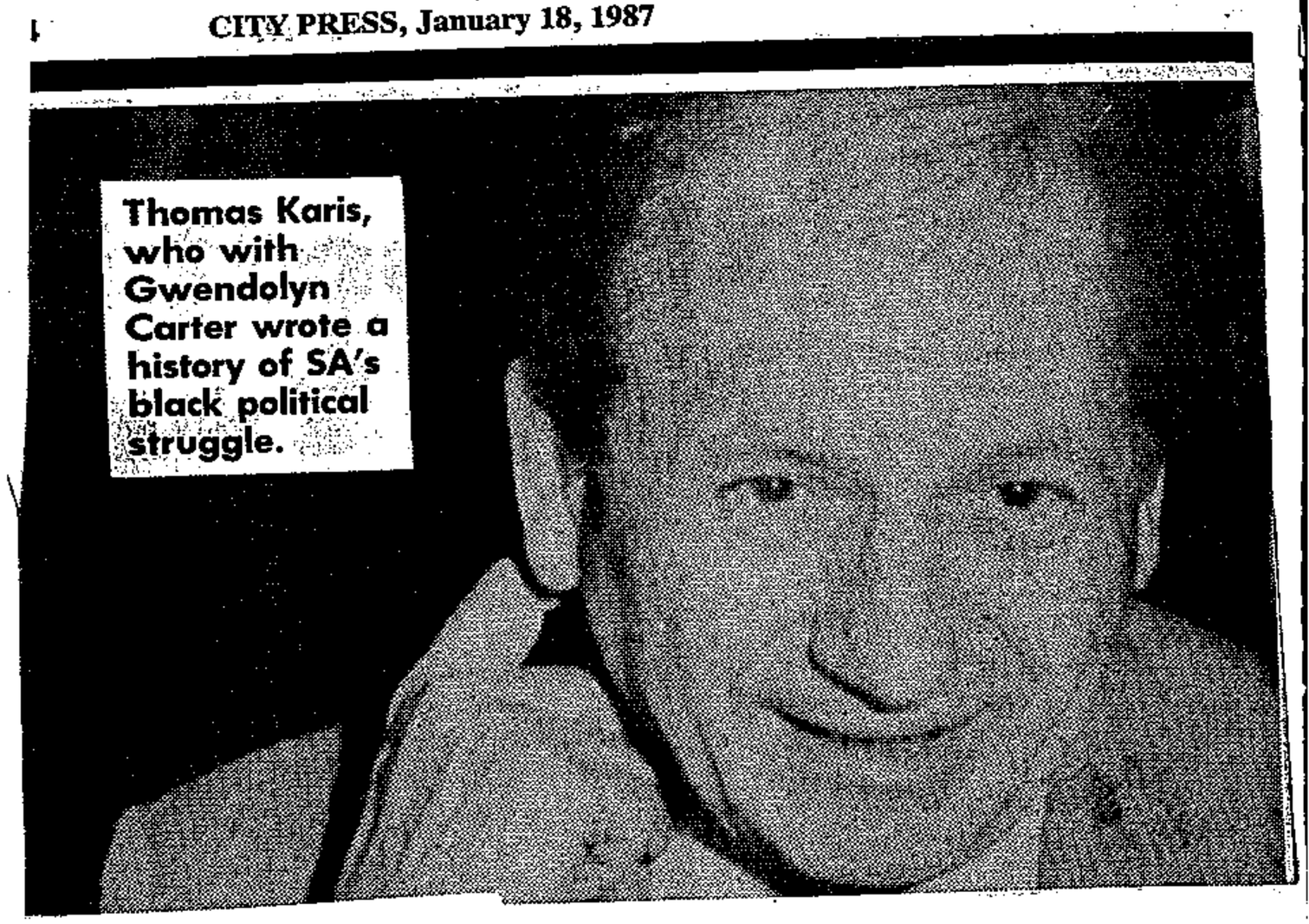
They included US Democrat Walter Fauntleroy, Democrat Select Committee on Hunger member Micky Leland, IRC Group president Donald McHenry and Tanzanian Foreign Affairs Minister Benjamin Mkapa.

Soweto Civic Association chairman Nthato Motlana was also present, as was Pan Africanist Congress chairman Johnson Mlambo and PAC administrative secretary Joseph Mkwanazi.

Addressing the conference, Leland received a thunderous ovation when he said more and more Americans recognise Africans as individuals like themselves struggling to live in dignity.

"As Americans were moved to end the denial of freedom and civil rights in the US two decades ago, they are moved to support the effort to end apartheid today," said Leland.

Leland said despite the Press concorship by the SA government, "Americans see almost daily the violence inflicted by that government upon the people, curbs on black schools, families living separately and being forced to move from place to place."



Thomas Karis, who with Gwendolyn Carter wrote a history of SA's black political struggle.

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 towards 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 sortly after Mr Mugabe left on a visit to China, Korea and India. — (Sapa)

F:NMWL 23/1/87 279R

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Western shifts

The doubling of British military aid to Mozambique and US Secretary of State George Shultz'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, Shultz 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 led to a deterioration in the already frigid relationship with SA's partners," 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 them out of the consequences of any overhasty 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 Frontline 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 Frontline States the confidence to act independently remains to be seen.

Frontline states' 'Berlin airlift'

HARARE — 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 Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund Committee of the Non-Aligned Movement, which was launched in Harare last year.

Sizing up the cost of destabilisation

2791A 854 Jan. 1987

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER,
Gaborone

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 Faunteroy.

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 Mlambo.

Expected from South Africa were, *inter alia*, Barclays Bank MD Chris Ball and SA Perm MD Robert Tucker; Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Assocation; 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 $11-billion (about R25-billion) a year for five years for an economic recovery programme, only $8,5-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.

Strategy to oppose SA

HARARE — As Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney arrived here yesterday for a four-day solidarity visit, the Frontline States published a R1,4bn 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 practibility 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 only tangible 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.

MICHAEL HARTNACK

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 pressing internal economic problems made immediate enforcement of sanctions impossible. Botswana has unequivically opted out of sanctions because of its geographical positon.

A plan for the first joint limiting task force for a defence against SADF incursions is included in the strategy.

It also includes spending R42,9m 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 to not oppose the NP in certain seats, Stephens said: "I don't want to be part of a 'gang-up' against the Nats when there are a lot of

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

Initially against the agreement with the PFP, he now sees it as "mustering 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 in the Transvaal will be made known after a

AN UNDERTAKING by the OK Bazaars not to give cus- of industrial shares, which it source said

Huge incentives an attraction

Southern Africa brimming with profit prospects

THELMA TUCH

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.

Descibing 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

HARARE — The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) has earmarked an increase in productivity and trade promotion as priorities in its aim to lessen economic independence on SA.

On the eve of the organisation's consultative conference in Gaborone, Botswana executive secretary Dr Simba Makoni said yesterday member states saw the need to boost the productive sectors of their economies.

SADCC was formed at the turn of the decade to reduce economic dependence on SA.

Member nations Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Angola and Malawi were assigned tasks in different economic areas.

It aims to boost local production, and to attract foreign capital into the area.

Its success has so far been limited by a shortage of capital, ongoing civil conflicts in several of the countries, and SA's overwhelming economic strength in the region.

Simba said member states were hamstrung by a shortage of capital goods, skilled manpower, machinery, raw materials and technology.

"Currently, the economies of most SADCC member states are characterised by decline or stagnation in food and agricultural production, low industrial output, balance of payments problems, a rising external debt service burden and serious shortages of foreign currency," he said.

The theme of the Gaborone conference, which starts today, is "Investment in Production."

"Increasing attention is being paid to promote productive activity and trade to make increased use of infrastructure provided," a conference report said. — Sapa.

Botswana to host SADCC

The Star's Africa News Service

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 5, will be the biggest gathering of foreign dignataries 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.

Spotlight falls on Gaberone

Quett Masire

Kenneth Kaunda

SADCC AIMS TO REDUCE THE RELIANCE ON SA

REVELATION NTOULA reports

NEXT week's meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference in Gaborone will be the most decisive since the inception of the organisation seven years ago.

The meeting will take place against the background of the crucial issue of sanctions against SA, the likelihood of the Republic's retaliation to those countries openly supporting sanctions, particularly neigbouring black states, and the continuing conflict in Mozambique and Angola.

The meeting – scheduled for Wednesday, Thursday and Friday – will be attended by heads of state or their representatives of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Swaziland and will be chaired by Botswana President Quett Masire.

At least 400 delegates representing African, Western and Eastern nations, donor agencies and observers are expected to attend the three-day conference.

There is little doubt that Pretoria, which is viewed by most member states as "sinner number one" in Africa, will feature high on the agenda and that deliberations on current political and economic developments in Southern Africa will be a dominant feature of the conference.

Among the leaders who will attend are Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, new Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, African National Congress President Oliver Tambo and representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress.

When the SADCC was launched in Lusaka in 1980, the express purpose of its member states was to reduce their economic dependence on SA – especially in transport and communication.

The organisation was formed out of concern by less developed member states that absolute dependence on apartheid SA was a dangerous situation which needed to be rectified.

The SADCC has at the same time repeated its stance that it is not anti-South Africa, but rather anti-apartheid and against the Republic's dominace of their economies.

Although some member states talk to Pretoria, SADCC as a whole has always refused Pretoria's overtures. The organisation has made the abandonment of apartheid by SA as a precondition for the country's acceptance into the fold.

The organisation's dependence is greatest in the transport field where SA has 75% of the sub-continent's railways and the most efficient ports.

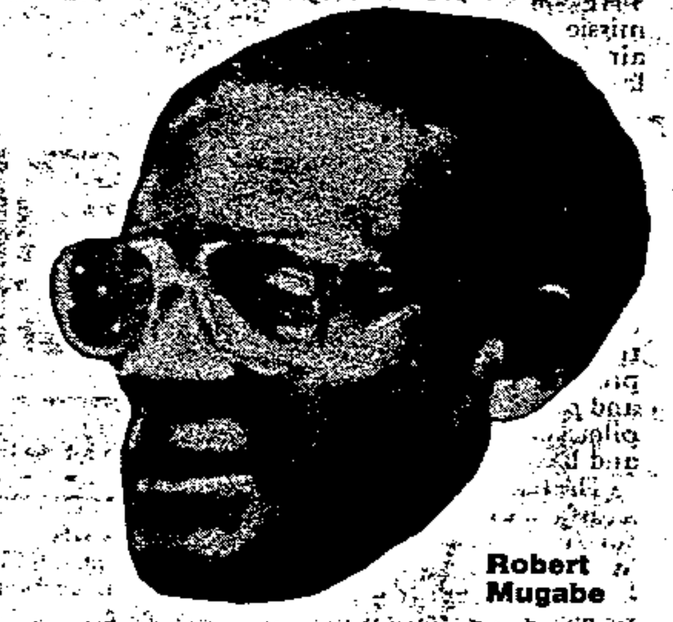
The key to reducing this reliance lies in SADCC plans to improve Mozambique's roads, railways and ports as well as those of Angola to give better sea access to land-locked countries like Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and Swaziland.

Latest figures show that in the priority transport and communication sector, SADCC has raised R750 million towards implementing some 115 projects. It is believed that almost all the capitals of member states are now in direct satellite communication with each other.

Backing up the idea of dependence on SA, some SADCC members use last year's Lesotho coup – which they maintain was subtly engineered by the Republic's border blockade – as an example.

They maintain that it would be equally easy for SA to influence and direct the course of political events in economically weaker countries like Swaziland and Lesotho, and to a lesser extent Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Joaquim Chissano



Robert Mugabe

The current tension between Botswana and Bophuthatswana resulting from the latter imposing restrictions on the movement of Batswana and goods passing through the homeland, is also quoted as South African designed and aimed at further crippling the already ailing Botswana economy.

SA's anger at the imposing of limited sanctions by the United States, the pulling out of giant companies like Barclays Bank, IBM and the likelihood of similar withdrawals leaves the real threat of the Republic taking it out on highly vulnerable countries like Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana for, although being against sanctions for personal interests, have done nothing on the international scene to persuade others not to pull out.

1/2 PRICE SALE

SPACE TO LET

Grain fund for SADCC

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.

Ziana news agency reports a Z$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 Z$50m is needed for food reserves for Lesotho alone.

In 1984-85 Frontline states, making up the majority of SADCC members, got 876 000 tons of grain through food aid programmes and imported 961 000 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 Z$20m.

Frontline states plan to build 15 10 000-ton silos at a cost of Z$75m.

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

2 78A 3/2/87 Star

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 with 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 on 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 officialy 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 "destablisation 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 vital Beira corridor which the SADCC wants to strengthen as an alternative to South Africa's transport routes to the sea.

Black dependence on SA basis of top talks

GABORONE — Southern Africa's black states, struggling to shake off their economic dependency on South Africa, tomorrow open key talks with Western backers buoyed by widening support as the threat of sanctions hangs over the region.

The two-day meeting, which will be attended by 300 senior delegates, is the annual get-together of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and its 34 aid-donor nations to review the past year and define new goals.

SADCC includes Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe

Nearly all depend heavily on SA for trade and transport routes and SADCC's efforts to break those links have been given added urgency as Pretoria has threatened to pass on the effects of international economic sanctions to its weaker neighbours.

SADCC has drawn up a $2 billion (R4,4 billion) development programme and has received, or been pledged, funds for more than half the projects.

● President Ronald Reagan is proposing a $93 million (R194 million) increase in aid to a group of impoverished African nations

SADCC to talk of more aid

By COLLEEN LOWE MORNA, Harare

PREPARATORY meetings for the crucial annual consultative conference of the Southern African Development Co-ordination 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 businessmen and SADCC officials, and the usual yearly meeting with the 34 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 the 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 focussing 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 sphere now to start moving on.

And they're hoping that companies divesting from South Africa will look to the region instead. — IPC

2794 W/Mail 30/1 5/2/87

Nordic deal will improve SADCC network

By Michael Tissong,
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 to 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.

Electridade 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 R29 million and the estimated construction period is two years.

Call for world action

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Two of the four speakers who opened the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) called for international implementation of sanctions against South Africa.

Botswana's President Quett Masire shared in the criticism of South Africa while USAID director Mr Peter MacPherson declared it was "time for positive action not more sanctions".

Dr Ibrahim Tabakovic, chairman of the Yugoslavia Committee for Co-operation with Developing Countries, said the region "finds itself in the centre of wider concern caused primarily by the unacceptable and aggressive behaviour of the Pretoria regime".

"Yugoslavia shares SADCC's conviction that comprehensive sanctions by the international community are the only remaining peaceful means which could lead to the elimination of apartheid and resolution of the crisis in this region.

"The call for sanctions has the full support of the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the irrepressible resistance to the racist regime in the country."

Dr Tabakovic also said Yugoslavia would continue to give assistance to the Frontline States and liberation movements of Southern Africa.

Yugoslavia offered sincere support to the aspirations of SADCC for "independence and undisturbed development, free of both material and spiritual poverty, political pressures and economic subjugation".

The Commonwealth general secretary, Sir Shridath Ramphal, said sanctions were the "best means of peaceful protest".

"It will work over time and nothing hurts or angers Pretoria more."

Masire attacks SA policies

GABORONE — Botswana's President Quett Masire opened the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) yesterday with a scathing attack on South Africa.

He told about 3 000 people at the Trade Fair Grounds that South Africa was going ahead with its destabilisation policies despite condemnation.

"Only last week, as most of you were packing your bags to fly here, another invasion of southern Angola was mounted.

"The violence of apartheid, both within South Africa and in the region as a whole, did not abate last year. The apartheid regime intensified internal repression with the imposition of a national state of emergency, a virtual military occupation of the black residential areas and the severest Press gag of all time." — The Star's Africa News Service.

R200-m pledge to SADCC as aid chief hits sanctions

By Michael Tissong,
The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — America has promised the equivalent of nearly R200 million for projects in countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

USAID director Mr Peter McPherson made the pledge at yesterday's opening session of the conference while making it plain that further sanctions and recrimination against South Africa would be counter-productive.

The meeting was dominated by Western countries though the Soviet Union and China sent large delegations but kept a low profile during the consultative conference.

The theme of the conference was investment in production, a call on private enterprise to invest in the nine SADCC countries — Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Angola.

Nordic countries have already pledged involvement in some of the projects outlined by the SADCC secretariat.

After his address Mr McPherson expressed reservations about Angola, Zimbabwe and Tanzania benefiting from the aid but his American administration did not see the aid as specific but to the region as a whole.

Mr McPherson said the SADCC's accomplishments since 1980 had been impressive: "Our presence here is an expression of our confidence in the SADCC and our commitment to its future."

He added that America gave the equivalent of between R400 and R500 million annually in food and development aid to SADCC countries.

"We have asked our Congress for about R200 million in additional assistance to be committed over the next 18 months."

He said apartheid must end to achieve progress and Southern Africa needed to reduce its "unhealthy dependence" on South Africa.

"However, it would be tragic if the future of this region was mortgaged by counter-productive recriminations or further sanctions which would jeopardise the economic future of all the parties in this sub-continent.

"It is now time for positive action, not more sanctions."

Star (279A) 6/2/87

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 a 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.

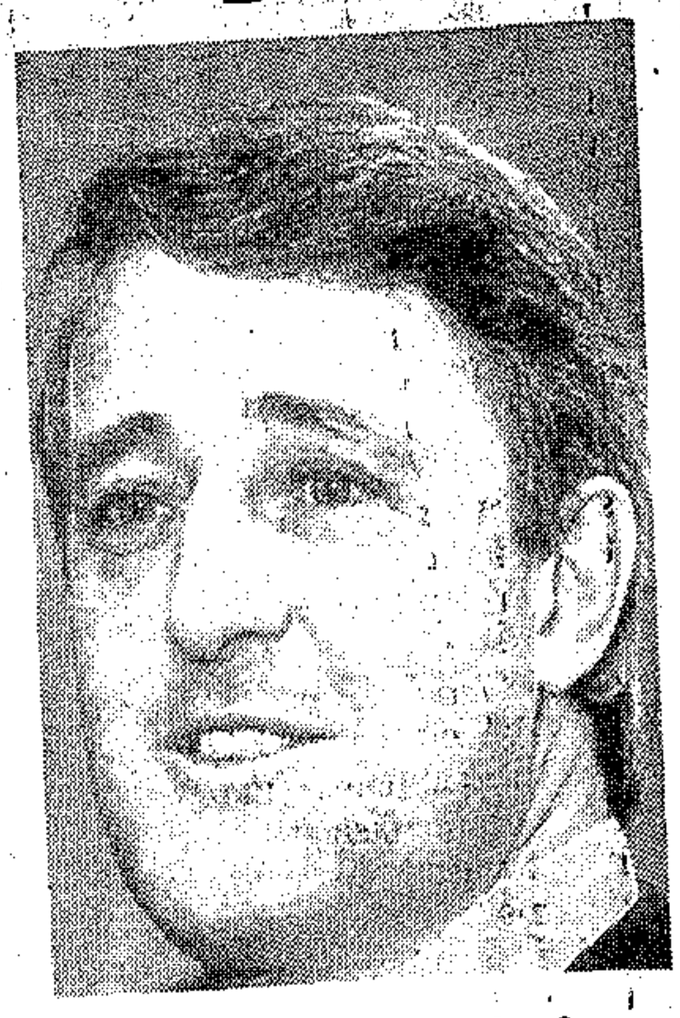
It was during Mr Mulroney's visit that Zimbabwe's main newspaper, *The Herald*, said it was becoming clear that Zimbabwe and its allies were not going to go blindly into uncharted territory but were closely studying possible repercussions and counter-measures which could follow sanctions.

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 be 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.



Mulroney . . . advice taken?

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.

Contingency plans

In December, Energy Minister Mr Kumbirai Kangai said there was about two months' supply in stock and while he did not reveal what they were, he said the Government had contingency plans to deal with the situation should the pipeline from Beira experience problems.

As is well known, pumping problems on the pipeline because of sabotage of power installations in Mozambique forced Zimbabwe to import fuel from South Africa in December and January. A total of 34 000 tons was ordered.

It is not so well known that Zimbabwe has for some time been importing some of its fuel requirements from the south, mainly to serve outlets in Matabeleland.

This reduces pressure on the internal transport system which would otherwise have to rail or truck fuel right across the country from the Mutare storage depot.

It is believed that a recent order of 8 000 tons of fuel fell into this category of supplementary fuel deliveries, some of which has been railed from Maputo through South Africa.

Sanctions and the conseuqences that could flow from their adoption will be debated again this week during the Gaborone meeting of SADCC countries and donor agencies.

And no doubt a talking point will be Mr Mulroney's advice that at present, sanctions would be better left to the industrialised world.

— The Star's Africa News Service.

Commonwealth plea: Help the Frontline states

COLLEEN LOWE MORNA reports from the SADCC conference in Gaborone

A PLEA for more assistance to Frontline states was sounded here yesterday by Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Shridath Ramphal.

Speaking at the opening of the 1987 annual consultative conference between donors and officials of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, he noted that "to want to help the SADCC is to want to end apartheid".

In recognition of the brunt likely to be borne by South Africa's neighbours over the coming months, the Non-Aligned Movement recently set up an emergency fund to which $70-million (about R150-million) had already been pledged.

"The readiness of countries who are themselves in need of aid to come to the assistance of those so terribly harassed in this region ... must call forth from the rest of the world a specially generous response," he said.

He praised the pledge by the US — the first donor country to speak yesterday — of an extra $93-million (about R200-million) to the region over the next 18 months, but added: "We can and must all try to do more."

Since the inception of the SADCC, over $2-billion (more than R4-billion) had been pledged or committed to the nine-member regional group which aims to ease economic dependence on South Africa through regional cooperation.

But according to Ramphal, "total external assistance to SADCC remains modest in relation to the requirements of this region and to their urgency."

Botswana President Quett Masire noted that the "violence of apartheid, both within the borders of South Africa and in the region as a whole, did not abate during 1986, despite sanctions measures adopted by Western nations.

Over the last year, South African commandos had attacked Gaborone, Lusaka and Harara, he said, Southern Angola had been invaded and goods to and from Zambia held up over a two-week period in retaliation for the position of Frontline states on sanctions.

Internally, Masire told the packed audience in Gaborone's new and sprawling Boipuso hall, Pretoria had clamped a national State of Emergency, imposed a "virtual military occupation of the black residential areas" and slapped on the press "the severest gag of all time". — IPS

SADCC wants aid in going it alone

THE Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) has invited businessmen to join its campaign to end economic reliance on South Africa.

Officials of the nine member countries met some 200 local and foreign businessmen in Gaborone on Wednesday, a day before the SADCC's annual consultative conference.

The organisation — which likes to see itself as primarily economic in character — has in the past concentrated on infrastructural products. It is now shifting its focus to production and trade, executive secretary Simba Makoni said. And production, he added, "is not the primary pursuit of governments".

But the SADCC is also cashing in on the current political climate to inject a sense of urgency into the new move. The mounting crisis in South Africa, an SADCC document says, "makes it imperative for us to strive for greater self-sufficiency in production and trade".

"Although the SADCC was not formed to confront South Africa, it offers an alternative focus for economic progress and development in Southern Africa."

In practice, according to a conference organiser, participants at Wendesday's meeting fell into three categories:

- Half already had investments in the region but wanted to find out "if the scene is really changing".
- A "sprinkling" comprised companies which have sold their South African interests and are looking for "greener pastures" in the Frontline states. General Motors, for example, is reported to be anxious to secure the locomotive maintenance and supply contract along the Beira corridor.
- A large group of foreign and local companies were looking to "exploit opportunities" provided by donor funds.

Over $2-billion has been pledged or committed to the SACDC since its inception and donors were expected to make major new announcements at the conference yesterday and today.

Although delegates stressed that political uncertainty makes the region a high risk area, officials pointed to progress on the Beira corridor as an example of the possibilities. This project is an SADCC priority and has proved a favourite among Western donors.

It has also provided lucrative contracts for local and foreign companies and made investing in Mozambique something of a fad among Zimbabwean businessmen.

Because South African capital is so deeply entrenched in the region, there was no attempt to exclude South African-owned companies. But privately, officials expressed fears that the new initiative might benefit sanctions-busters — an aspect which is being monitored by Zimbabwe.

- SAPA reports that the United States is going to donate $93-m (almost R200-m) to the SADCC in response to criticism that it is not offering help to South Africa's neighbours.

The money will be used to develop transport, private enterprise and regional trade.

US warned of refugee crisis in Southern Africa

9/2/87 (279A) Star

By Neil Lurssen
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 2,8 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 recognise 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 350 000 refugees, Mr Armacost said.

"Offensives by the South African-supported insurgent movement Renamo and Government counter-attacks have devastated Mozambique's economic infrastructure, transportation routes, health centres 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 it self.

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 organisations 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.

2-79A

West pledges millions to SADCC projects

By Michael Tissong,
The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) ended in Botswana on Friday, with greater commitment to Southern African economies coming from Western countries than Eastern Bloc countries.

The Western countries — mainly Britain, the Nordics, Canada and America — pledged millions of rands towards projects outlined by the SADCC secretariat.

Most of the money will go towards infrastructural development, including the building of road and railway networks and the rehabilitation of ports, mainly in Mozambique: Beira, Nacala and Maputo.

Millions of rands were also earmarked for technical training.

The Eastern countries, including the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, mainly reaffirmed their commitment to projects they run on a bilateral arrangement with certain countries in the SADCC region.

The SADCC region consists of Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Tanzania.

The theme of the conference was "Investment in Production", and was construed as a call for foreign investment in local private enterprises.

A day before the SADCC meeting was convened, private businessmen from the nine SADCC countries met to discuss closer relationships.

None of the money generated by the SADCC secretariat in terms of aid was meant for the governments in the region. It was all earmarked specifically for regional projects.

The United States representative, Mr Peter McPherson, said his country recognised the development potential of the region and offered R200 million.

In granting the aid, America seemed to overlook the strained relationship it has with Angola, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Mozambique.

Mr McPherson said the US saw it as regional aid, not aid to countries it had problems with.

The head of the Soviet delegation and deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for External Economic Relations, Mr P J Koshelev, said the Soviet Union had economic and technical relations with six of the nine SADCC countries. Excluded were Swaziland and Malawi. An agreement with Botswana is to be signed soon.

He said the Soviet Union was involved in 60 projects in the six states, including 11 industrial, seven agricultural, 18 infrastructural and 14 social ones. The Soviet projects were mostly in Angola and Mozambique.

Mr Koshelev said the Soviet Union was "ready to co-operate with the private sector subject to approval of such co-operation by governmental bodies of SADCC member states and SADCC leadership".

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) announced that it had approved 20 projects for the SADCC worth about R190 million, with others worth an additional R170 million expected to be approved by mid-1987.

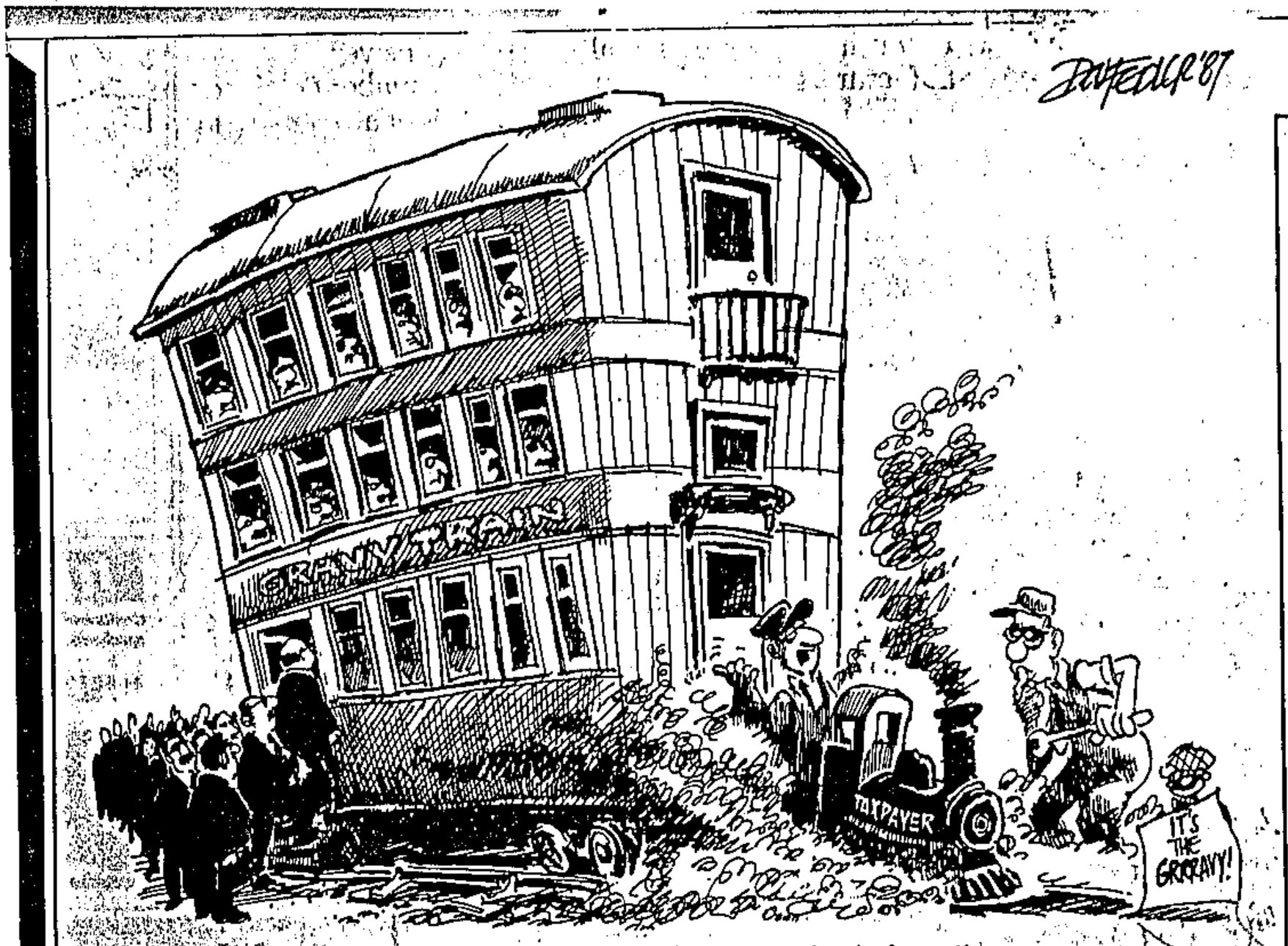
World Bank representative Mr Jochen Kraske, the director of the country programmes in Eastern and Southern Africa, said the bank's new commitments to SADCC countries would be R1 100 million this year.

"Our commitments to SADCC countries last year amounted to about R900 million. The bank's affiliate, the International Finance Corporation, which provides long-term financing in loans and equity, has invested almost R500 million in 25 companies in SADCC countries."

Mr Kraske cautioned that the debt problems of some SADCC countries were preventing a free flow of capital into the region.

He noted that with the breaking of the drought in about 20 African countries recently, food production had improved.

The exportable food surpluses already achieved by Zimbabwe and Malawi were followed last year by Zambia's best maize harvest in a decade. As a result, Zambia has realised self-sufficiency.



"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 destablisation by South Africa, speakers noted at the SADCC conference. MICHAEL TISSONG, Argus Africa News Service, reports from Gaborone.

Argus 9/2/87

SADCC condemns SA destabilising policies

279N

THE common theme running through speeches made at the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) in Botswana was condemnation of the South African Government.

Almost every representative condemned the destabilisation policies and recalled the "death and destruction" wreaked by the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the neighbouring states.

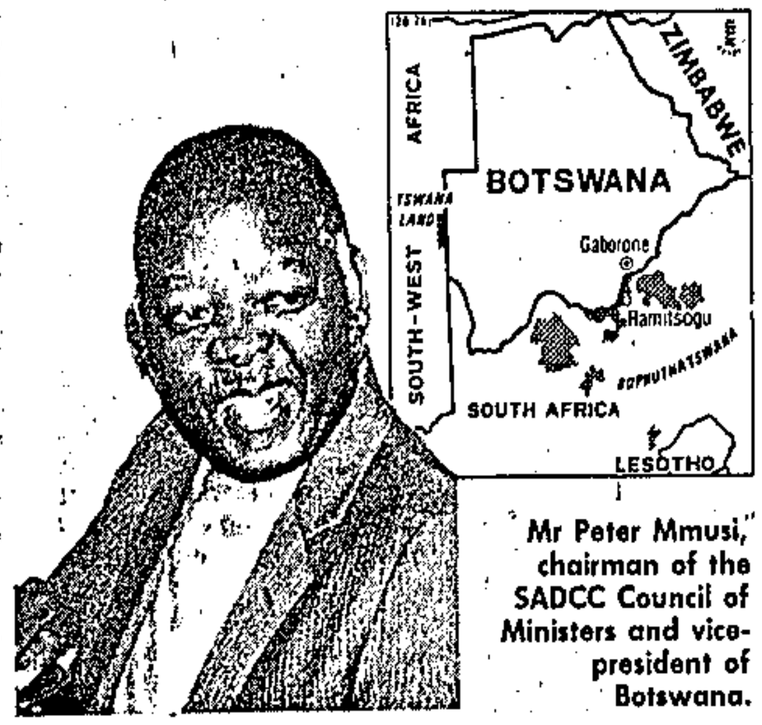
The conference, held in Gaborone late last week, was represented by 39 countries, 21 international agencies and two liberation movements of South Africa — the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC).

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 at economic independence of the Southern African countries were being sabotaged by military destabilisation by South Africa.

South Africa has denied the destabilisation charges but Frontline states have said the charges are proved by the capture of a South African soldier near Angola's Cabinda oil installations and the killing of South African soldiers carrying mines near a railway line in Southern Zimbabwe.



Mr Peter Mmusi, chairman of the SADCC Council of Ministers and vice-president of Botswana.

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 banks, and donor agencies poured millions of rands into the SADCC projects aimed at economic independence of South Africa.

The countries, banks and agencies peppered their aid and loans with calls for sanctions against South Africa, but spokesmen of the SADCC countries were silent concerning their own involvement in sanctions.

Mr Peter McPherson, the director of America's U S 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 Gaborone and Maputo were totally dependent on South Africa for electricity.

Impose sanctions

The secretary general of the Commonwealth, Sir Shridath Ramphal, said it was the duty of the international community to impose sanctions because they were less vulnerable to counter-action by South Africa.

Yugoslavian Dr Ibrahim Tabakovic, said the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the oppressed people of South Africa wanted sanctions against the country.

The projects supported by banks and donor agencies were mostly infrastructural. They included the building of roads, railway networks, the rehabilitation of harbours and the creation of hydro-power plants. They also included technical training.

While the rich Western countries, including America, Britain and the Nordic countries were willing to flash eight-figure cheques to fund the projects, the Eastern block countries seemed reluctant to part with their cash.

This reluctant attitude contrasted with the eagerness with which the Eastern block countries gave weapons to guerillas during their liberation wars.

Now that the guerillas have taken over the reins of government, the Eastern block countries seem prepared to leave them to their own devices.

Fight apartheid

The eager attitude of the Western countries has also been construed 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 to take whatever money came from the West if it could be constructively used to fortify the SADCC countries during the international fight against apartheid.

Chairman of the SADCC Council of Ministers and Botswana vice-president, Mr Peter Mmusi, said the next consultative conference would be in Arusha, Tanzania, in February next year.

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S THAT THIS

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 SADCC 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 knowlege of the two men named, the statement said.

Media spokesman Chris Badenhorst later issued a statement on behalf of Botha denying SA had threatened Botswana. — Sapa.

WORLD

Frontline states get R80m aid

● CHALKER

JOHN BATTERSBY

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 stress 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.

279A

Britain's 10-year target to 'free' front-line states

12/2/87 N M

London Bureau

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British aid to Mozambique has quadrupled in three years and — in the past 12 months — has included modest military aid and training programmes.

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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 line 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.

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12/2/6N/M 279A (8)

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Rail crisis: crucial meeting today

TOP officials from South Africa and Botswana meet today 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 Zaire.

At the core of the dispute is a conflict of will between Pretoria's nominally independent and strategically situated outcast state of Bophuthatswana and the internationally-recognised states of Botswana and Zimbabwe.

But for the intervention of South African Transport Services (SATS), which is committed to the free flow of rail traffic, the trains might have been brought to a halt already, to the disadvantage of all.

Bophuthatswana's geographic position gives it a relevance far beyond the pariah 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 along the border with Botswana. It is through that piece of territory that the railway line linking South Africa with Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Zaire passes.

At the beginning of the year Botswana was due to take over from Zimbabwe Rail the administration of that portion of the line which runs through its territory. That meant its railway staff would have to take trains across the border into Bophuthatswana and onto Mafikeng, where SATS staff would assume responsibility.

Bophuthatswana, however, demanded that Botswana train drivers and railway staff apply for visas before bringing the trains across.

Botswana, fearing that Bophuthatswana's demand was a strategem to force it to recognise Bophuthatswana, decided to postpone its takeover of Zimbabwe Rail rather than confer *de facto* recognition on Bophuthathatswana.

But then Bophuthatswana raised the stakes by demanding visas from Zimbabwe Rail staff. Zimbabwe, too, baulked at the thought of applying for visas and giving indirect recognition to Bophuthatswana.

The prospect of a major breakdown of the flow of goods between South Africa and its black neighbouring states loomed, conjuring visions of material piling up on the Botswana side of the border by truckloads. At least one train with 15 to 20 trucks crosses the border each day,

By PATRICK LAURENCE

according to Leon Els of SATS.

But SATS intervened to prevent the crisis, sending its railway men to collect the trains and bring them across Bophuthatswana to Mafikeng.

That, however, was an interim solution for two months only to enable the parties to the conflict to resolve the situation permanently.

Theoretically there are three possible durable solutions to the conflict.

First, Bophuthatswana can be persuaded to withdraw its demands for visas, or, conversely, Botswana can be induced to agree to apply for them. South Africa can bring a lot of leverage to bear on Bophuthatswana and, to a lesser extent, Botswana. For the moment, however, both territories seem to have adopted entrenched positions.

Second, Botswana can build a new railway turn-about point at Rakhuna 5km inside the Botswana border to avoid the journey through Bophuthatswana to Mafikeng. Rakhuna would feed into Zeerust in the Western Transvaal via a 22 km by-pass line, thus averting passage through Bophuthatswana, Els explained. But at a minimum cost of R500 000 per km that would be a expensive exercise which Botswana may not be able to avoid or complete quickly enough.

Third, Bophuthatswana and Botswana could meet for bilateral talks to try to find a mutually amicable compromise. That is the approach favoured by South Africa.

But whether Botswana will agree to talk officially to Bophuthatswana is another matter.

No easy solution is in sight.

The issue is further complicated by the warning delivered to Botswana by South Africa last weekend over the alleged presence in Botswana of two African National Congress guerrillas, Jacob Zuma and Lambert Moloi. Zuma is said to have been active in Mozambique until South Africa demanded his expulsion.

South Africa warned Botswana that it reserved the right to take whatever steps it deemed necessary, presumably, including armed force.

Botswana's President Quett Masire denied that the two men were in Botswana.

Nevertheless, the raised political temperature is not congenial to today's talks.

A young boy mourns for a relative allegedly killed by *kitskonstabels* in Grahamstown's Tantyi township. The funeral of four victims was held last weekend.

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

Tutu 'anti-Jew' claims a smear says Goldberg

By FRAN BUNTMAN

THIS week's reports of "anti-Semitic statements" allegedly made by Archbishop Desmond Tutu emanate from a source characterised as "highly suspect" by Aleck 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 datelined Jerusalem.

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 publicise the remarks out of fear that Tutu would be angry and would become even more anti-Jewish".

The identical "quotes" appeared this week in South African newspapers. However, while the Boston paper gave its source as the INB, the Johannesburg paper cited a newsletter, which in turn credited a Washington columnist as its source.

Tutu has denied ever saying such a thing, and Goldberg this week called the Boston report "a total lie". Tutu had met with the Board only once, last year, and there had been "a cordial exchange of views".

Goldberg said he had tried to investigate the INB, and discovered neither the Israel Censorship Board nor the Israel Press Office had ever 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 an American journalist has also investigated the INB and alleged a connection between the report and Rabbi Meir Kahane, an ultra-right Israeli political leader who emigrated from the US several years ago. A number of ultra-right groups have consistently attempted to undermine Jewish support for the anti-apartheid movement, both in South Africa and internationally.

RAIL LINKS

F/M 13/2/87 (279A)

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. ■

Feb 1987

Sanctions climbdown

PLANS for sweeping 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.

FRONTLINE STRATEGY COLLAPSE AS KAUNDA & CO 'QUIETLY DROP PLANS'

Sunday Times Reporter: London

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has conceded to Western diplomats that the measures he has threatened against Pretoria could endanger his own beleagured regime.

He is now privately opposed to pursuing sanctions.

And, according to a report in today's London Sunday Telegraph, Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, who warned his countrymen to prepare for great sacrifices in an "all-out economic war", has also been forced to climb down under pressure from his Finance Ministry and leading party supporters.

Diplomatic correspondent Norman Kirkham and Harare correspondent Patrick Bishop report that no other state in Southern Africa dependent on Pretoria for its supply routes has been able to implement any of the measures decided at the Commonwealth mini-summit in London last August.

The collapse of the strategy and a current "miniboom" in the South African economy are proving to be an embarrassment for Commonwealth leaders.

They insisted on tough sanctions against Pretoria in the face of strong opposition from Mrs Thatcher.

President Kaunda threatened last year to withdraw from the Commonwealth unless Britain lined up behind the rest of the member countries.

He adopted a package of measures including cutting air links and banning South African agricultural imports.

Stringent

He claimed the British Prime Minister "worships platinum and gold", accused her of "kissing apartheid" and wept during one outburst against British policy delivered to Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffery Howe during a tour of Southern Africa.

Despite abandoning plans to impose sanctions of his own, President Kaunda will use Zambia's current presidency of the United Nations Security Council to press the UN to adopt the package of measures vetoed by the United States Congress last autumn.

There will also be a further attempt to persuade the Commonwealth to adopt an even more stringent boycott than already proposed when heads of government meet in Vancouver this October.

President Kaunda's change of heart, say Western diplomats, has been forced by fears that the economic hardships that a boycott would inevitably provoke could cause unrest and ultimately topple his regime.

Last December a government order to remove food subsidies on maize meal sparked off riots in Zambia's Copper Belt in which at least three people died.

He was forced to restore the subsidy and bring down prices which had risen by 100 percent.

Since the Commonwealth meeting, Prime Minister Mugabe has threatened repeatedly to go it alone with a sanctions package in Zimbabwe.

Defiance

But so far he has breached his self-imposed deadline for putting the threats into practice four times.

Western diplomats report that in a rare show of defiance politicians and advisers in the Ministeries most affected have warned Mr Mugabe not to embark on a sanctions war with Pretoria.

They have drummed home the drastic consequences for Zimbabwe's economy should South Africa retaliate by closing its borders to Zimbabwean trade.

More than 90 percent of Zimbabwe's exports and imports pass through South African territory.

Mugabe is believed to have received further discouragement when he met Kaunda at Lake Kariba on December 30.

At the same meeting the new President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, told him that he could expect no support from him if he went ahead with sanctions.

Mugabe remains committed, however, to at least token sanctions.

Pretoria could also dramatically deepen Zambia's chronic economic difficulties by closing down supply routes.

Links

At present most imported goods on sale in Zambia come through South Africa.

Neither Zimbabwe nor Zambia have made much progress in developing alternative links to the Indian Ocean.

Diplomats say that even the most promising route — the road and rail link along the Beira Corridor through Mozambique — will take 10 years before it can work efficiently.

Mozambique is currently racked by a civil war between the government and rightwing Renamo guerrillas, who carry out regular attacks on all rail routes in the country.

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 Botswanans and Zimbabweans.

HAMISH McINDOE

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.

□ COLEMAN . . . dissuaded from using the word "civilised"

America wants to recolonise Southern Africa

SIMON BARBER in Washington

WASHINGTON is suddenly flooded with bits of paper covered with advice and proposals on what the US and its allies should do about South Africa.

We have the report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on SA (SACSA) and its sundry dissenting opinions. We have the Agency for International Development's (AID) "assistance strategy for disadvantaged South Africans".

We have "an initiative for economic progress in Southern Africa," also from AID. Last but not least, erstwhile Congressional sanctioneers have issued a variety of SADCC aid bills and an accompanying mound of self-laudatory Press releases.

A lot of trees have died to make this possible. Does their death have any meaning and, if so, will it do any good? The forest of words can be summed up very briefly: the sovereign governments of the Southern African region are incapable of ordering their affairs in any manner compatible with Western interests and moral well-being and must therefore, in effect, be recolonised.

That overly redolent expression is not used, of course. Nor has it crossed the minds of most of the authors that recolonisation, albeit in a sophisticated and deceptive form, is what they are suggesting.

But then, pace Marx and Lenin, a lot of colonialism has been guileless and unintended. Often, too, it has been not such a bad thing.

The SACSA report is driven by a sense of good, old-fashioned "mission civilisatrice" — one of France's more high-minded excuses for empire. The panel's co-chairman, William Coleman, the Gerald Ford administration's top black appointee, talks candidly about "our" obligations "as part of the civilised world" to fight against the "hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos" of SA.

To achieve this, the savage Boer must be tamed, largely by further economic sanctions, and black South Africans elevated into well-trained, democratic capitalists so that one form of barbarism will not be replaced by another.

Coleman was dissuaded by his colleagues from using the word "civilised" in virtually every paragraph and instead channelled his excess missionary zeal into a personal addendum at the back of the study. This at least took an edge off the epic condescension that pervades the work notwithstanding.

Most readers of the report will be real or imagined experts in the field for whom its formulations and prescriptions will be nothing new. These experts have thought and spoken about SA in the same idiom themselves for so long that they have lost touch with the *weltanschauung* the idiom fundamentally expresses. It might be useful to look at the document through the eyes of someone utterly new to the subject.

The subject, the neophyte learns, is a distant, violent land comprised of basically two "communities" — a white, technologically advanced but "uncivilised" and profoundly oppressive minority, and a large, impoverished, oppressed and backward black (painfully explained in a footnote as non-white) majority.

The white group's intransigent desire to remain the country's masters and its fears of being swamped by the understandably angry majority are heading towards a murderous denouement in which, the neophyte is warned, "possibly millions" could die.

In terms of direct American interests, our innocent reads, the country is not of major importance. It does produce a number of needed minerals and it does sit in a strategic location, but neither implicit threat is "sufficient cause to determine US policy".

Nor is there much chance that the local civil war will "precipitate a major confrontation with the Soviet Union". What is "at stake" — i.e., what the fuss is presumably about — is a lot of lives, "the future political and economic viability of the entire southern third of the African continent" and "history's judgment of the US".

Our reader thus learns that the US and "other nations committed to civilised values" are in the thrall of an historical imperative, a manifest destiny perhaps, to save these tragic, faraway, but intrinsically unimportant people from their otherwise base, bitter and degraded selves.

Since "no responsible American political leader supports the use of US military power in Southern Africa" (one traditional method is out, in other words), the question is how? The answer, the newcomer discovers, is to train and somehow convince the natives, black and white, to think and act if not like us higher beings, then at least the way we want them to.

For the minority group, this entails some fairly serious behaviour modification, which must start with "finding ways to dispel the lack of knowledge that prevents many South African whites from understanding the depth of despair that fuels black unrest, the justice of black demands and the strong concern of most black leaders for the future welfare of SA and all of its inhabitants".

The next stage is to "provide whites with reasonable assurances that they will not be unjustly victimised (is there a just way?) by a post-apartheid government". That done, we can move on to encouraging encounter groups between blacks and whites "to discuss and debate alternative political formulas and negotiating processes".

With any luck, the minority will respond to treatment by unbanning opposition groups, releasing political prisoners, dismantling remaining apartheid laws and entering "good faith negotiations". If not, there is always radiation therapy in the form of additional sanctions — it may devastate the patient, but proponents believe it may sometimes kill the cancer as well.

The problem with the majority is rather different. It owes its lack of civilisation to deprivation. Also it has grown suspicious of missionaries. So it must be undeprived more generously and enthusiastically than ever before, but always with care to ensure that "black South Africans are involved in setting the agenda, shaping the direction and implementing programmes . . ."

The trick, when civilising, is to make sure the civilisees think it's all their very own idea. SACSA endorses the projects already developed by AID and outlined its five-year $125m "strategy for disadvantaged South Africans". These include "aiding the development of future South African leaders in the short to medium-term through education, training and scholarship programmes, as well as through institutional development".

Democratic values are to be instilled by the National Endowment for Democracy, whose mandate is obvious enough but whose activities remain somewhat obscure.

The joys of capitalism are to be inculcated by helping small black businesses and by efforts to enable black entrepreneurs to buy the assets of departing US corporations. This being an even-handed operation, funds will also be going to training trades unionists in the skills of collective bargaining.

One of SACSA's more novel ideas, reflecting perhaps the high percentage of lawyers on the panel, is to place special emphasis on training black lawyers. Given that SA's legal system is one of the few chinks in apartheid's grim carapace, it is hard to quarrel with this. But our innocent reader might also be forgiven for seeing it as another subconscious attempt to turn SA into America, a heavily overlawyered country if there ever was one.

Coleman concludes in proconsular tones that his enquiry has been like an expedition into the heart of darkness, "a searing and shattering experience".

He has nonetheless come away fired with a conviction that "the recommendations contained in the final report are in the best interests of all South Africans, black and white. They are achievable, and should have the support of the nations of the Western civilised world as well as those other parts of the world that reject race as a "criterion of human value".

Based on the evidence presented him, our neophyte might agree that the inhabitants of SA have proved singularly inept at ordering their affairs on a "civilised" basis.

Studying AID's regional intitiative, he might be similarly persuaded about SA's neighbours. But he would also likely end up wondering if the millions in question were all so useless, so bankrupt, so incapable of converting self-interest into some kind of *modus vivendi*, that they might not be able to solve their problems if left to their own devices.

Can the West, he might ask himself, really order these peoples' lives? Does it really have the resources, the political will, even the attention span, to carry through these bold interventions? And will not the interventions themselves create backlashes utterly contrary to their intent? These questions are scarcely addressed in the mounds of paper. Until they are, the trees will have died in vain.

SADCC in agreement this time

W\ Mail
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By COLLEEN LOWE MORNA, Gaborone

WITH the exception of a few notes of discord, donors and officials of the Southern African Development Co-ordination 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 "co-operating 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 at the talks.

The United States — which normally takes a backseat at SADCC meetings and has come in for some tonguelashing over its Southern African policy — this year requested second slot in the speakers' list.

US aid chief Peter McPhearson, one of the highest-ranking US officials to address an SADCC conference, announced amid great fanfare that the US plans to spend an extra $93-million (about R200-m) 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 "private sector-orientated reform policies 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", McPhearson made it a point in a second-speech to say that it was not meant to "compensate for the negative effects of further sanctions or counter-sanctions".

Privately, SADCC officials complained about the US's divisive tactics, and continued reticence 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.

Ports, rail systems 'inadequate'

Frontline States' dependence on SA to continue

THELMA TUCH

FRONTLINE states' plans to free themselves from dependence on SA's harbours and transport system 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 Mozambique 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.

Pretoria 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 Soweto Civic Association chairman Dr Nthato Motlana.

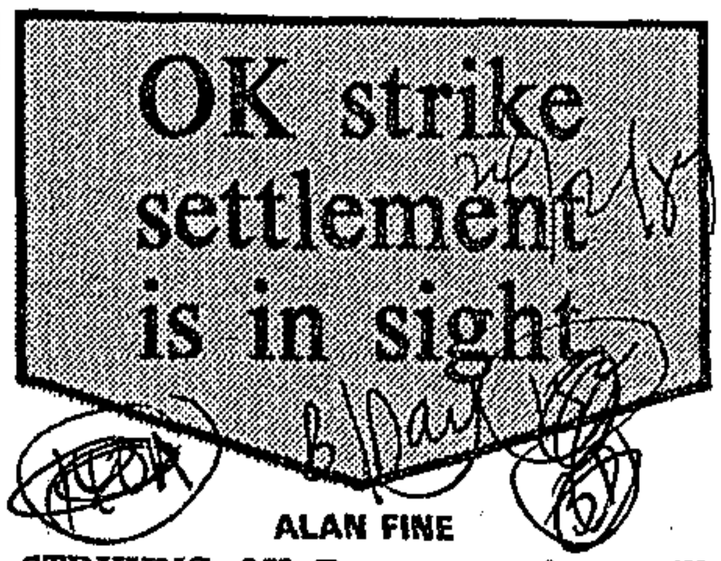
Yesterday they met representatives from the American Chamber of Commerce.

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.

OK strike settlement is in sight



ALAN FINE

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.

More strikers than ever last year

GERALD REILLY

A RECORD number of 323 858 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 CNA.

There were a total of 643 strikes and 150 work stoppages last year.

Manhours lost through strikes totalled 1 161 846, while stoppages accounted for 147 112.

Van der Merwe said the greater use made of the Industrial Court last year was a welcome development.

More than 2 000 cases were referred to the court — double the number for the previous year.

Nearly 70% of the cases were settled before evidence was called.

Van der Merwe said: "There is a greater maturity developing in the labour field."

Z-794

Southern Africa aid plan cut heavily

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — United States congressman 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 rathole".

A boycott buster bound for Beira

279A W Mail 2026/3/18

On April 1 the company charged with developing the trade route through Zimbabwe to Beira opens its doors. Its objective: to make the Frontline States less dependent on South Africa for trade. Head of the operation is a Zimbabwean who once helped bust sanctions for Rhodesia, but is now dedicated to fighting Pretoria's stranglehold.
CHARLES RUKUNI reports

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:

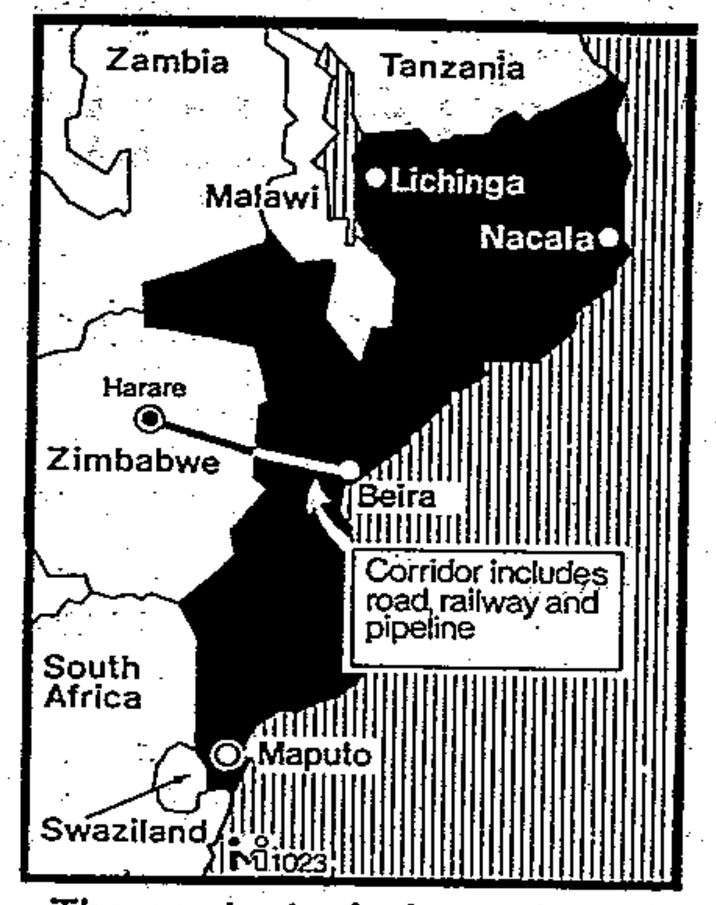
"As far as I am concerned Mozambicans have a great potential: All they require is some direction and a suitable operating framework.

"Once these are provided they are capable of running their infrastructure perfectly.

"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 to systematically destroy 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 $Z3-m (about R4,5-m).

"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, private medical facilities, car hire, translations, legal advice, that will be 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 Mozambican 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.

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NEIGHBOURING STATES

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 hinderences. 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

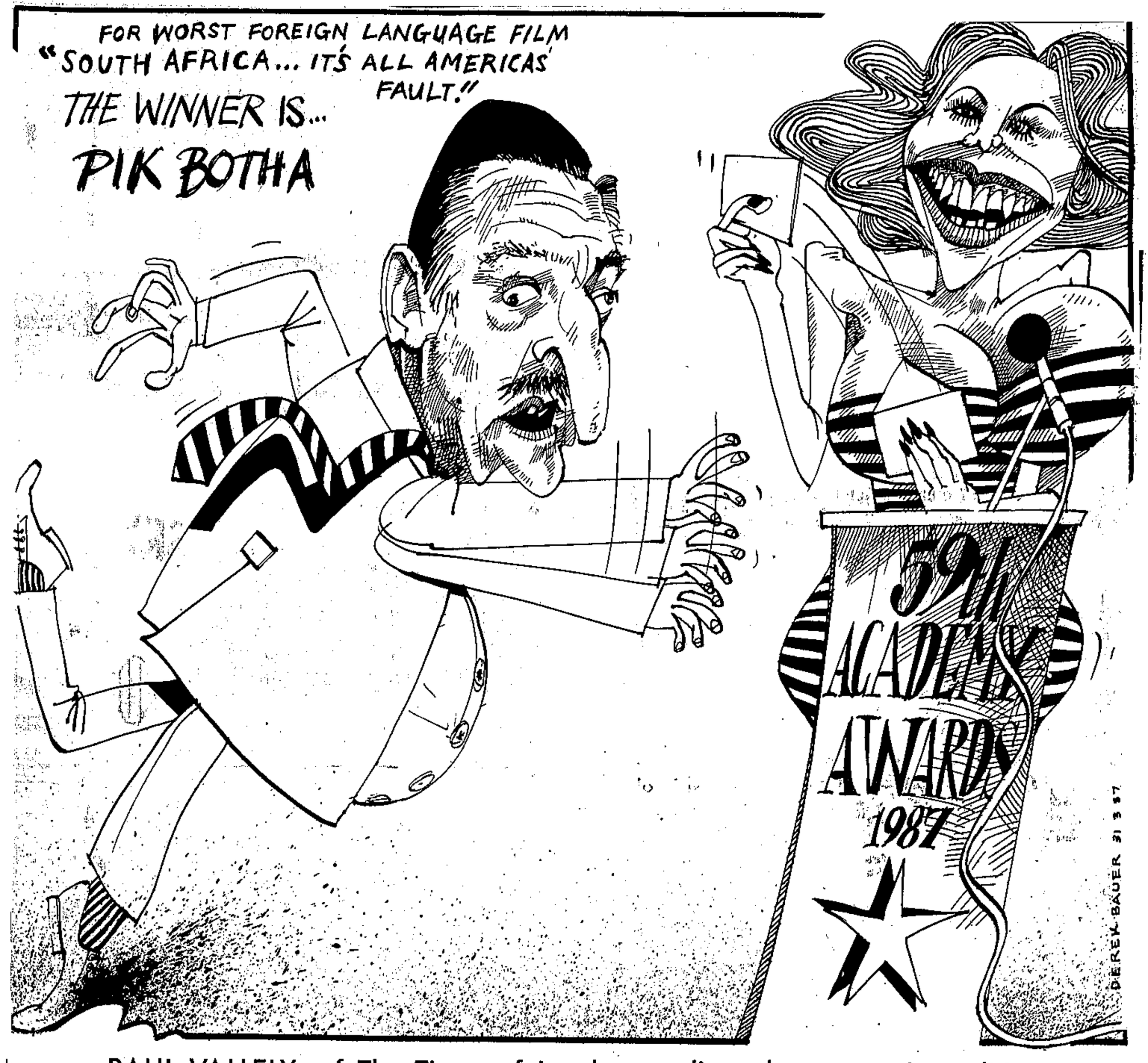
Malawi and Mozambique are ranked equal fourth (after SA). For all its woes Mozambique has a remarkably pragmatic attitude towards foreign investment. Its keenness to attract investors is exemplified by the passing of an Investment Act and the establishment of an office specifically for investment promotion.

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, occassionally 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. ■



PAUL VALLEY, of The Times of London, outlines the economic realities behind what he calls the frontline states' crumbling alliance against Pretoria.

Shy of sanctions?

ARGUS 1/4/87

Dateline: LONDON

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 retaliation, said Pretoria, merely the imposition of sensible customs regulations.

For all the rhetoric and posturing, South Africa's black neighbours seem decidedly reluctant to impose sanctions. It is now three months since the last of Robert Mugabe's deadlines 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 Chissano 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 grounds that its economy was inextricably entwined with that of its immediate white neighbour.

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 suprised Kaunda and Mugabe. Mozambique, which provides the only alternative route to the sea, has for the past five years been the main target of South African destabilisation and would be highly vulnerable to economic pressure.

In spite of the best endeavours of the Southern African Development Co-ordination 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 Lusaka. "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.

More significant than the immediate problems is the uncertainty over the possible South African response. Diplomats in the frontline states predict a three-phase reaction by Pretoria.

"First they would just slow down imports and exports as a kind of warning," said one. "Then they would probably increase pressure on Mozambique and Botswana. In the final resort they would just close the border."

Much will depend on the timing

Mugabe and Kaunda, however, remain 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 South African election in May there will probably be no response at all," said one South African businessman. "But if they do it before, then Botha might well go off bang."

ARGUS 14/4/87 (279)

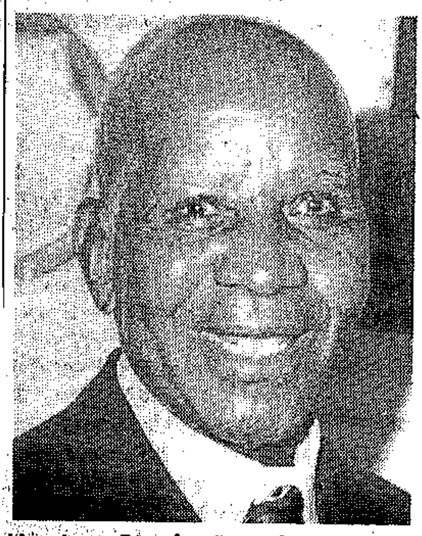
TURMOIL: The southern part of Africa, above, — ravaged by war and famine.

SUFFERING: *The victims of war, left — a woman with her child in a refugee camp.*

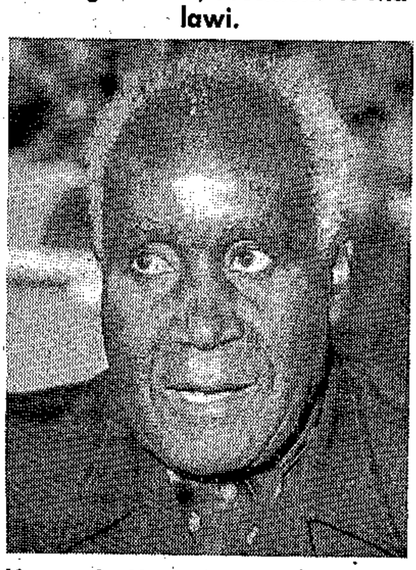
ARGUS 14/4/87 (279)

Turmoil engulfs Southern Africa

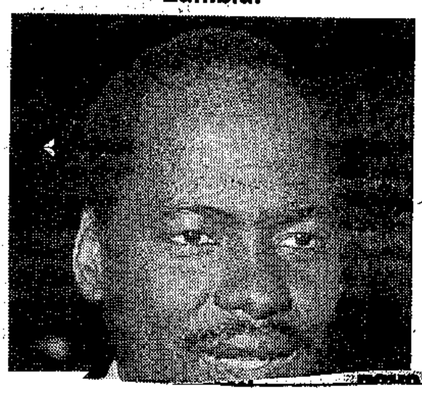
Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe.



Hastings Banda, President of Malawi.



Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia.



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.

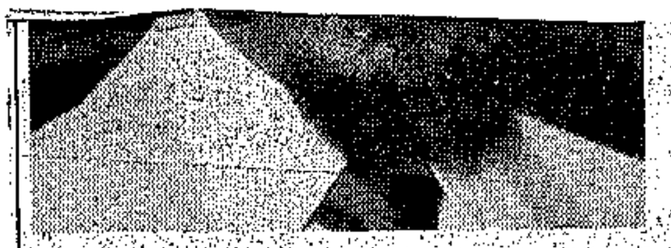
The countries directly affected by the growing crisis in Southern Africa are:

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 last month 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 inside Zambia's Western Province. This week the Zambian 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 by Zapu party dissidents. Former nationalist leader Ndabaningi Sithole 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 Sithole supporters were helping the MNR and that Mr Sithole himself had had 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 guerilla 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-



Joaquim Chissano, President of Mozambique.

Eduardo dos Santos, President of Angola.

Tanzania — Faced with a growing economic crisis, Tanzania has decided to help the Frelimo 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 Kaporo. 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

ropean countries. The Soviet Union is said to be pouring huge quantities of arms into Angola in preparation for another offensive 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 Etosha 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 here that Angola was keeping 97 000 refugees, Botswana 5 000, Lesotho 4 000, Malawi 150 000, Zimbabwe 60 000, Swaziland 30 000 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.

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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,

Mr Robert Mugabe

Dr Kenneth Kaunda

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.

Zimbabwean's 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. Half the trains on Zimbabwe's lines at any time are South African.

"South Africa can supply whatever Zimbabwe needs, cheaply," said a diplomat. "It's a godsend."

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Zimbabwe, Zambia 'abandon' sanctions

Own Correspondent

HARARE — Plans to impose broad economic sanctions against SA had been privately abandoned by Zimbabwe and Zambia, Western diplomats here said yesterday.

The two countries were among those who led the Commonwealth call for sanctions.

They still vocally supported punitive measures against Pretoria but had belatedly realised that to cut their own links with SA would be economic suicide, the diplomats said.

Neither country was prepared to admit this in public.

Orginally, the end of 1986 was set as a deadline for imposing sanctions. The call was renewed at a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa in February.

Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has said he needs more time and more talks with other African countries.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was waiting until the other Frontline states, such as Botswana, Mozambique and Malawi also agreed to impose sanctions against SA.

Meanwhile, Kaunda said yesterday SA had tried to overthrow his government through Zambian businessmen who approached the army for assistance in carrying out a coup, SAPA-REUTER reported.

Kaunda told a news conference in Lusaka that the plot failed when loyal army officers reported it to him.

He gave no indication when the alleged plot took place and did not say whether the Zambian security forces had arrested anyone in connection with it.

"Some soldiers in the army, young officers, have been approached by SA and Zambian businessmen to take over power. But some of these loyal young men came to me and reported and that is how we discovered the plot."

Kaunda said the conspirators had wanted to introduce a multi-party system in Zambia but this would have been unworkable because of tribal conflicts.

He gave few details of the businessmen but said they were black.

Heunis and Worrall gird for battle.

Malawi plays high stakes in Africa peace gamble

By DAVID WILLERS
London Director of the South Africa Foundation

THE venerable 460-ton Ilala 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 Hegelian 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 place as 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.

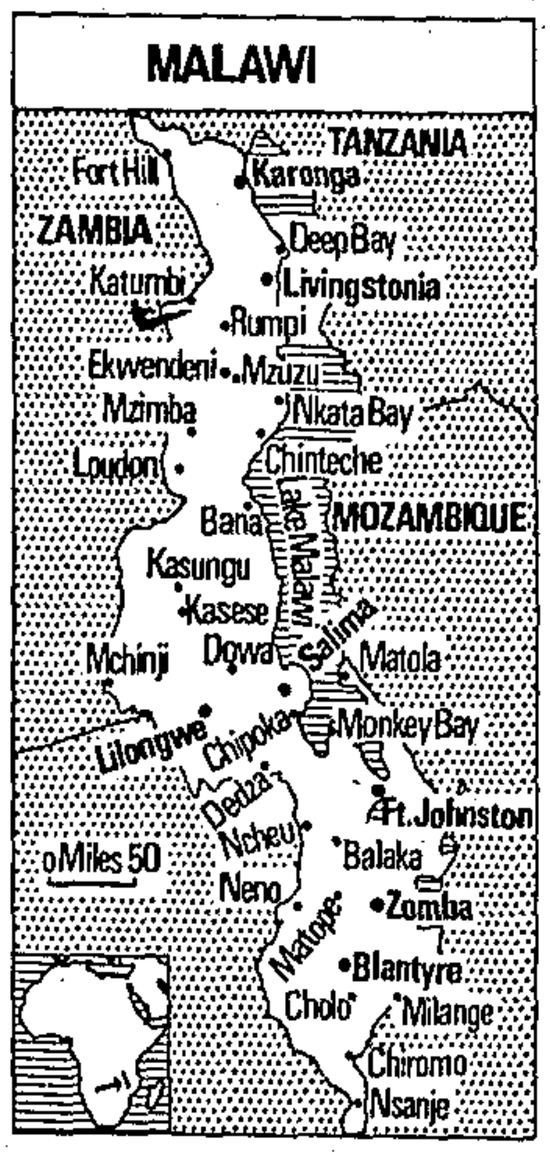
This is not to say that the wisdom of President Banda's "business as usual approach" with Pretoria is questioned, rather that one detects an underlying African solidarity with the attitude towards South Africa adopted by Malawi's neighbours.

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 amoeba-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 or Tanzania for that matter) or expelling them.

The stakes are high for Dr Banda, and getting higher by the day, but he is clearly determined neither to be 'Finlandized' by Pretoria, nor intimidated by his neighbours.



The change in Malawi's posture dates from last September, when Presidents Mugabe, Kaunda and Machel 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 cruellest 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 enjoying official Malawian support towards inclusion in the central government of Mozambique. Much will depend on the success or otherwise of efforts by Alfonso Dhlakama, the MNR President, to transform the MNR into a movement enjoying popular legitimacy.

Secondly, Malawi will not break relations with South Africa, believing that there is very little difference between the activities of trade missions (operated by its neighburs in SA) and its own embassy.

Cards falling Banda's way

What is likely to happen, however, is that Malawi will become more discriminating 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 that 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 apparant 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.

Britain had asked Killen to call in to see Foreign Office Minister Baroness Young in connection with the matter.

Killen said at the meeting: "Countries in Southern Africa have been informed many times of SA concern about their territories being used by terrorists to plan and execute acts of violence in South Africa.

"In the particular case of Zambia, they have been sent a direct message warning them of the terrorist presence and what was being planned."

Killen said the SADF men in Zambia on April 25 had been on a reconnaissance mission. — Sapa.

Plans to re-open Benguela line

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 apprently laid before the Transport Ministers in Lusaka yesterday.

The sources said no proper inspection of the line had been carried out and it was imposible to say exactly how long repairs would take or how much they would cost. — Sapa-Reuter.

Panicky Frontline states warn SA on raids

By DAVID JACKSON in Gaborone and NORMAN ELLIS in Harare

ANTI-SOUTH AFRICAN mania 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 officers 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 collusion" with South Africa;
- Nervy Botswana this week detained newsmen — including Sunday Times staff — for being "South African spies" after they arrived in Gaborone to report on a mystery murder attempt on a South African anti-apartheid campaigner by a man claimed to be working for British MI6;
- The SADF staged its biggest ever paratroop drop within five kilometres of the Botswana border — this after senior South African security officials insisted the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court bomber came through Botswana.

Blasts

The regional jitters follow a series of bomb blasts, assassinations and night raids on people reportedly linked to the ANC in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Swaziland 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 yesterday led the South African Department of Foreign Affairs to repeat its earlier warnings that South Africans should take the utmost precautions travelling in neighbouring states.

Tourists are advised to travel in recognised parties and businessmen told to inform host countries of their arrival. All camera and other equipment should be fully declared and care should be taken about taking photographs near Government institutions or bridges.

Children

The raid on Maputo on Friday night has meanwhile added another ratchet to the spiral of tensions.

The commandos apparently attacked three private residences and an ANC facility near the Polana Hotel. Killed in the raids were Antonio Pateguerna and his wife, Susan Pinto, relatives of the armed forces chief Armando Pateguerna.

The attackers — English and Portuguese-speaking — operated in four squads of four men each and fled afterwards by boat.

Reports indicate the attackers first locked the couple's children in a room before cold-bloodedly slaying their parents.

The raids occurred while Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and Chinese Foreign Minister wu Xuequian were visiting Maputo.

The United States and Frontline governments have accused South Africa of being responsible for "brutal murder" and

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Black states warn SA on raids

From Page 1

earlier bomb blasts in the capital. This was rejected by Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

In Harare, Zimbabwe's Minister of State for Security, Emmerson Munangagwa, interviewed yesterday after the raid on Maputo said he had advance details of new South African plans to attack Zimbabwe.

He added: "It is coming here again. I have just seen the list of targets they intend to attack." He did not reveal details.

Neither could once placid Botswana escape the mood of hysteria — sharpened by the

major SADF 44th Parachute Brigade exercise near its borders this week.

The tension was heightened by a bizarre incident in which a man claimed to be working for British MI6 on behalf of the South Africans allegedly tried to murder Mr Ronnie Watson, an anti-apartheid campaigner and a member of the well-known Watson family of Port Elizabeth.

A British national, Mr Steve Burnett, will appear in a Gaborone magistrate's court on Wednesday charged with attempted murder.

Meanwhile, there is mounting anger among Botswana's British expatriate population following the gunning down of a 35-year-old British citizen, Mr Brian Archibald, at a BDF roadblock near Francistown earlier this month.

Mr Archibald, who was returning from a business trip to Harare with his wife and three young children, was shot after an apparent altercation with a soldier — at the sixth roadblock the family had encountered on the same day.

A statement issued yesterday on behalf of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said the Mozambique Government had been warned that it should act against ANC terrorists who persist in murdering South Africans.

FRONTLINE ECONOMIES

The lifelines fray

279A

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.

Botswana is the sole exception to the regional sub-Saharan rule of blighted economies. The future looks bleak — Zambia and Mozambique are virtually basket cases, and Malawi and Zimbabwe enjoy only relative prosperity. All of which makes nonsense of imposing sanctions against SA.

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 rank 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-copper 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 overblown 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 realise 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 more than 40% 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 these economic reforms — but with some 35% of the total budget devoted to military spending, he has an uphill task.

Zimbabwe's Mugabe

In a package of measures announced recently, Prime Minister Maria Machungo set out to reverse the worst excesses of Mozambique-style socialism — devaluing the currency by 80%, reforming wage policy so that efficiency bonuses will now be paid to effective workers, announcing swingeing price increases and steps to cut parastatal 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.

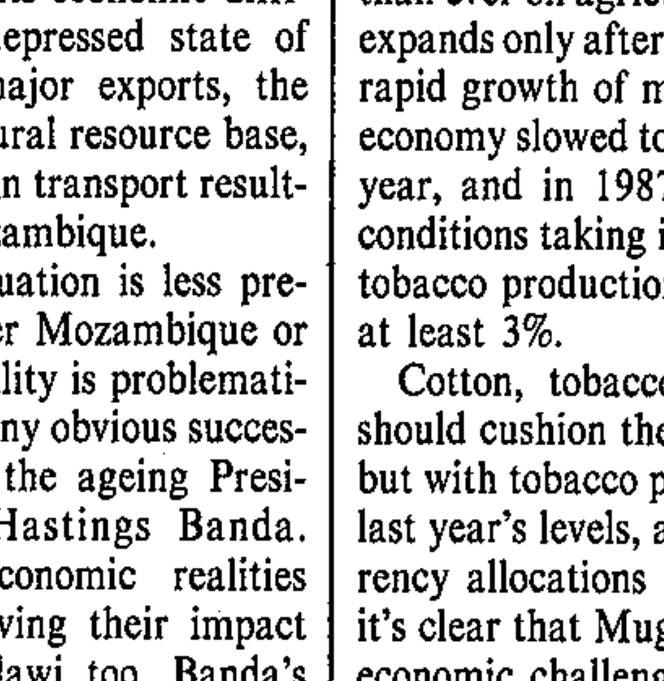
But Chissano will only turn round the Mozambique economy if his economic pragmatism is accompanied by political realism in the search for a political settlement to the civil war. With recent successes on the battlefield and the increased number of troops from Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe now opposing 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 civil 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 Seretse Khama and the Quett Masire administrations.



Mozambique's Chissano

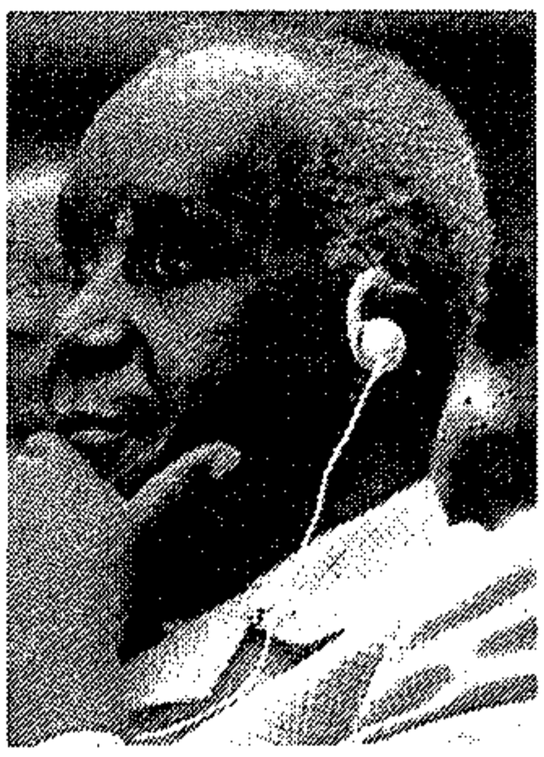
Zimbabwe — arguably the strongest of the frontline economies — is facing a difficult two years. Real economic growth has averaged some 3% annually since independence seven years ago — barely keeping pace with population expansion. Harare has become more dependent than ever on agriculture so that the economy expands only after a good rainy season. After rapid growth of more than 9% in 1985, the economy slowed to a snail's pace of 0,2% last year, and in 1987 — with severe drought conditions taking its toll of grain, cotton and tobacco production — GDP will decline by at least 3%.

Cotton, tobacco, ferrochrome and gold should cushion the worst effects of drought, but with tobacco prices a good 40% down on last year's levels, and industry's foreign currency allocations having been cut by 40%, it's clear that Mugabe is facing his toughest economic challenge yet.

Mugabe is currently seeking assistance from the World Bank, but its conditionality will force him into policies that will be unpopular with the radical Left, whom he is also likely to alienate by imposing only limited economic sanctions against SA, rather than the full-blooded package which Mugabe is known to support.

While much continues to be made of the contribution that the Beira Corridor can make — contingent on the rehabilitation and upgrading of road and rail links from Mutare to Beira, and expanding port facilities — two conclusions are evident. The corridor, even when it reaches full capacity in the Nineties, will not allow the frontline states to sever transport links with SA. It simply isn't a complete substitute for Durban and Port Elizabeth. Secondly, the region's economic problems are far more deep-seated than a shortage of transport capacity.

Botswana excepted, regional economic prospects are bleak. More worrying than the immediate outlook is the fact that there are few grounds for optimism about longer-term prospects. It will take a decade or more to rehabilitate the economies of Mozambique and Zambia, while both Malawi and Zimbabwe have a difficult period ahead of them, and thereafter growth is likely to be sluggish. The clear implication is that unless bold new economic strategies can be conceived and financed, the frontline states face serious social and political strains in the Nineties. All eyes will be watching Zambia as it seeks respite. ■



Zambia's Kaunda

US to cut frontline aid after bomb?

CAR Times 22/5/87

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 bombings in Johannesburg.

The proposal was offered by Senator Larry Pressler, a conservative Republican, who was among the tiny minority who opposed the comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act last year.

Even he was stunned by the support his motion received in the Democrat-controlled chamber, according to his press adviser, Mr Tim Hurd.

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 necklacing to be eligible for American assistance.

RECOVERY ... Bomb blast victim Constable Frederick Ernst is visited in hospital yesterday by Lieutenant General de Witt.

The proposal was adopted as an amendment to foreign-aid legislation that would give SADCC $50 million (R100 million) in the current fiscal year.

The version of the legislation approved by the House of Representatives contains no similar anti-ANC proviso, 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.

Michael Hartnack reports from Harare that comment is not expected from the Zimbabwean government on the US vote.

The Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, has consistently denied harbouring guerilla 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 to Congress on which frontline states are transgressing on the guerilla-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 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 spokesman 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 initially denied its involvement in the blasts, but later said it would not confirm or deny it till it had more details.

"As far as yesterday's bombings are concerned, we still have not yet received information from commanders of Umkhonto We Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) inside the country," an 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

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struggle. It is clear even from the election and the views of the government as represented by P W Botha that the government is quite adamant that there cannot be anything positive. The struggle will hot up," he said.

Police have said they believe the bombs could have been brought from Botswana, but this has been strongly denied by the Botswana government.

The wife of Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and high-ranking police officers toured both hospitals yesterday to visit the injured.

Constable Christoffel Botha, one of the policemen injured in the blasts who underwent an emergency operation and had a foot amputated, was still in a critical but stable condition, police said.

Constable F Ernst, Sergeant M S Mellow and Const W Kutuswana were out of danger while Ms Clarissa Torro, the only civilian still in hospital, is reported to be out of danger.

Mr Leon Mellet, spokesman for Mr Vlok, said there was an extensive manhunt on for the "murderers".

He said the minister did not doubt the blasts were the work of the ANC, as they were "typical of the kind of tactic the ANC would use and they show the cowardice and callousness typical of the ANC".

He said they were designed to be detonated in the same way as the car bomb that killed 22 people and injured more than 200 in Pretoria four years ago.

□ While the ANC is no longer the only organization responsible for explosions, this week's blasts were entirely consistent with the ANC's modus operandi, said Mr Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand.

ARGUS 27/5/87

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.

CHT Times 29/5/87 279

OAU calls US vote to cut off aid 'unfriendly'

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The United States Senate has quietly shelved a resolution that would have exhorted South Africa not to negotiate with the ANC till it had disavowed "the use of necklacing and terrorism".

No senator objected when the Senate majority leader, Senator Robert Byrd, asked that debate on the motion be "indefinitely postponed".

The resolution was offered by seven Republicans, including minority leader Senator Robert Dole, and was dropped after the Senate last week voted 77-15 to deny aid to SADCC countries harbouring 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" till it had renounced terrorism and severed its links with the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

ADDIS ABABA. — The secretary-general of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) yesterday described as 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-ordination Conference (SADCC), which is seeking 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 when the whites accept conditions for real dialogue with the blacks," Mr Oumarou said.

He urged the SA government to fulfil three 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 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.

The OAU chief executive said he had asked 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-Reuter

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.

MG 3/6/87 2791

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 860km 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.

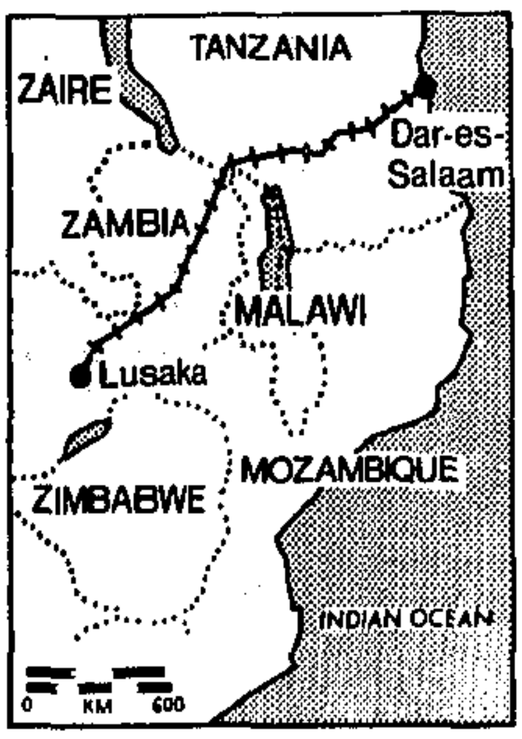
The line's design capacity is 2,5-million tons of goods a year, but in the financial year to June, 1986, it carried less than one million tons. General manager Standwell Mapara, however, predicts more than 1,1-million tons for the current year and insists that there is some spare capacity. Tazara also 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 hauling most of Zambia's exports and about half its imports, as well as some trade for Zaire, Malawi and even a tiny amount from Zimbabwe.



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 R1-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 above his desk of the Tazara bridges blown up in 1975 by Rhodesian commandos.

Stiff competition from road, rail, pipeline

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.*

SADCC rejects economic dominance under any flag

ARGUS 8/6/87 2791

By
JOAO SANTA RITA
The Argus Africa News Service

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 *Africa Report*, Dr 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 equally unacceptable tomorrow when the ANC is in power in South Africa for the nine states of Southern Africa, which constitute the SADCC at the moment, to be as dependent on South Africa as they are today. We have made it clear that the relevance and validity of the SADCC will not end the day that the people's flag is 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 South African economy, but even after an ANC takeover the nature and format of the post-apartheid 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.

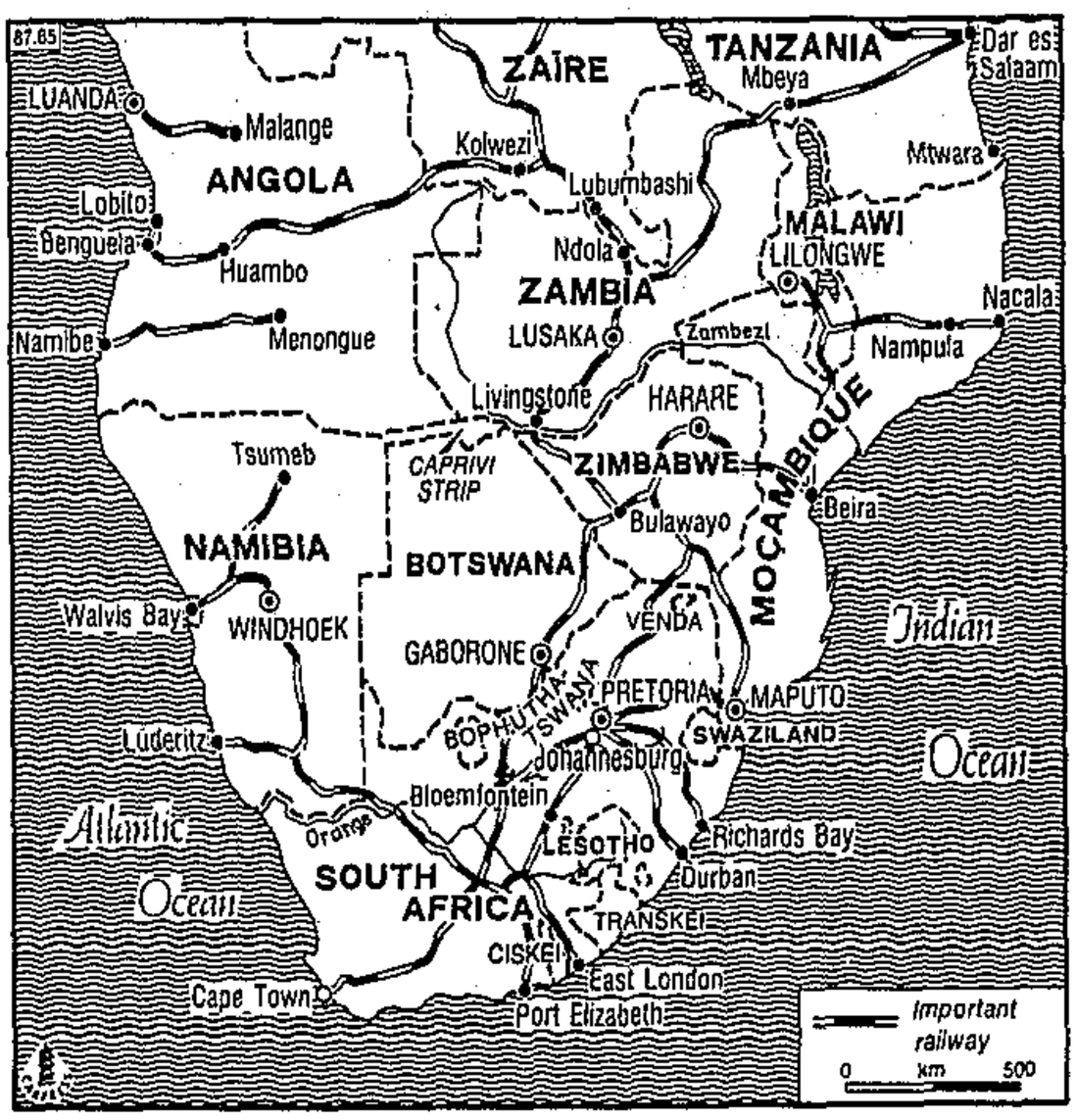
"The only problem is that these are factors which would have a bearing on a rational and logical authority, but the Botha regime is irrational and illogical and will do things that harm itself if only to demonstrate a point that it is more powerful," wrote Dr Makoni.

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, Zimbabean 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 most 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 Unita rebels had received R30 million over a 12 month period, he said.

"In 1986, US AID committed a programme of R60 million for Southern Africa, split between R34 million for the victims of apartheid and R26 million for the nine independent states of southern Africa. Put R26 million for the rest of the SADCC member-states side-by-side with the R30 million for the Unita bandits and you can begin to understand the perspective of the US administration towards SADCC and its activities," wrote Dr Makoni.

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Senator wants SADCC aid ban lifted

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 effort" 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 77-15 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 conferees from the House of Representatives and Senate meet to resolve differences between their respective versions.

He said: "We are strongly urging the conferees 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

Mr Pik Botha

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 Zambia. The call 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 terrorists 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 Manchester, 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 out 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 eventually 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 toward further change, and I agree . . . that all communities must be able 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 300 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.

Replying to a question on a phone-in programme, he said: "About 300 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 over 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 etcetera." — Own Correspondent and Sapa

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'ACKS by the Mozambique Re-
ence Movement (MNR) on the
ntline states' vital road, rail and
ipeline links with the sea may
n to fade next year as the rebels
severe logistical problems,
a Corridor Group company
rman Denis Norman predicted
week.

an exclusive interview on his
rn from an extended visit to
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he MNR want to desmonstrate
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rman believes peace talks
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rent reference to the refusal of

The Beira Corridor is almost on track

MICHAEL HARTNACK in Harare

Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano to countenance any overtures to the insurgents because they are said to be merely a front for South African "destabilisation".

Offensives

Military sources suggest Zimbabwe maintains a fluctuating force of between 7 000 and 13 000 men in Mozambique, guarding the Beira Corridor and launching occasional offensives against rebel strongholds.

Some observers put the cost of the operation as high as R2m a day, and its foreign currency content is having an obvious effect on Zimbabwe's dwindling exchange reserves.

But Norman reports that work on the Beira Corridor is now beginning to pay off handsomely. The route is set to double the volume of Zimbabwean goods carried, with repercussions for the economies of all SA's northern neighbours.

"We will be up to 1,5-million or 1,8-million tons this year," Norman predicted. That is 25% of Zimbabwe's total imports and exports. In 1986, after more than 10 years of civil war and neglect, the route could handle less than 10% of the country's world trade, leaving the other 90% dependent on South African Railways and Harbours.

Norman, a one-time president of the Rhodesia National Farmers' Union and a former Minister of Agriculture in Mugabe's first post-independence cabinet, is reluctant to be drawn into political and military issues surrounding the corridor.

He stresses that the link is being rehabilitated because it is Zimbabwe's shortest and most logical outlet to the sea, not as an act of economic defiance to SA.

'Breakthrough'

Mugabe has been one of the strongest advocates of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Pretoria, however, and the business community here fears an eventual economic confrontation.

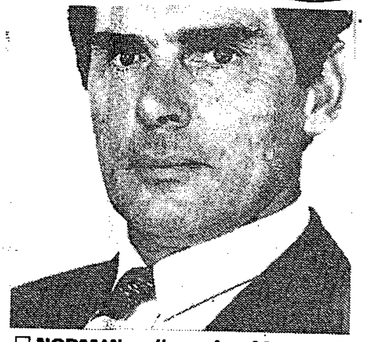
Norman disclosed that upgrading the railway line from the Zimbabwean border city of Mutare to the port of Beira will be complete this month — "a major breakthrough". The Beira oil terminal was also almost complete.

A minor delay had occurred over signing contracts for reconstruction of wharves being financed by the European Economic Community. If this work was completed on schedule, Zimbabwe would meet its objective of being able to route 60% of its current level of world trade through Beira by 1990.

Meanwhile, Norman said his recent European trip had revealed keen support for Mozambique's plans to rehabilitate the rail line from Chicualacuala (formerly Malvernia), on its border with south eastern Zimbabwe, to the deep water harbour at Maputo.

At the height of United Nations sanctions against Ian Smith's Rhodesian government, this route carried 90% of Rhodesian trade. It has been closed continuously by rebel sabotage since August 1984.

Norman believed the additional Mozambican officers now being trained at Nyanga battle school in Zimbabwe — with the aid of British instructors — would enable Chissano to dispatch extra troops to guard the Chicualacuala-Maputo route. Britain recently strengthened its military training team here in order to double the output of Mozambican officers to 360 a year.



☐ NORMAN . . . "couple of knocks"

Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government has joined the US in pledging financial support for repair of the Chicualacuala line — the Frontline states' best hope of one day achieving total independence of South African routes.

Military observers point out, however, that the line runs within 90km of South African soil for much of its length.

Norman described as "hopelessly wrong" reports from Lisbon that the Beira Corridor Group company had recently to defend the value of its shares on the London market. It was not listed either in London or Harare, Norman noted.

The company had issued debenture stock, in units ea Z$5 000, to some 230 investor of whom had a stake in the nomy of the Frontline states the stock had been issued in are, but Zambian, Botswanar Malawian interests were nov ing given a chance to invest.

In its few months of exis the company had already pla useful role, channelling inq and directing expertise.

It had acted as a catalyst "used its good offices" in, fo ample, freeing a logjam ove supply of building material Beira. The company did not sign contracts or receive aid f

Norman shared concern a the massive influx of refu from the Renamo-held areas o ral Mozambique into the re lised Beira Corridor.

"It is a haven, and a source some of the food relief coming said Norman.

"Whether the problem beco uncontainable or not, I would like to say.

"It is going to be a social p lem for the Mozambican auth ties, but it is not going to hinder efforts."

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Harare, Norman noted.

The company had issued only debenture stock, in units each of Z$5 000, to some 230 investors, all of whom had a stake in the economy of the Frontline states. All the stock had been issued in Harare, but Zambian, Botswanan and Malawian interests were now being given a chance to invest.

In its few months of existence the company had already played a useful role, channelling inquiries and directing expertise.

It had acted as a catalyst and "used its good offices" in, for example, freeing a logjam over the supply of building materials to Beira. The company did not itself sign contracts or receive aid funds.

Norman shared concern about the massive influx of refugees from the Renamo-held areas of rural Mozambique into the revitalised Beira Corridor.

"It is a haven, and a source for some of the food relief coming in," said Norman.

"Whether the problem becomes uncontainable or not, I would not like to say.

"It is going to be a social problem for the Mozambican authorities, but it is not going to hinder our efforts."

SA may 'assist' Africa's rebels

Cape Times 29/6/87

2794

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.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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 subcontinent 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 apologise 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 to 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 and 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 fiery conservative Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, who called for an accounting of US dollar aid to Southern Africa since 1985 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 in 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 Pisani, 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 Servive that are now playing the major policy-makers on Mozambique," Mr Du Pisani 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 agreement.

"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

GEN MALAN

inoperable if "circumstances dramatically change", Mr Hough said.

In a strongly worded statement, the offical 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 Zambesia 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 from Washington 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.

The meeting came after the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, had asked Dr Koornhof to find out from Dr Crocker why he had repeated his allegations about alleged South African involvement in Mozambique.

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 assitant secretary was still "convinced that South Africa is supporting the Renamo (NMR) 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 guerilla 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 uneasy over general's sabre-rattling

CAPE TIMES 2/7/87 879A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Defence, General Malan's, aid offer to movements fighting Marxist governments in Southern Africa was yesterday strongly rebuked by some senior foreign diplomats in South Africa.

Significantly, however, the United States and Britain would not comment on General Malan's statement. Holland and Austria also did not comment.

Mr Jan Lundvik, envoy to the Swedish legation, said he regarded General Malan's statement with "grave concern".

Mr Lundvik noted that similar statements from the South African military leadership were usually followed by security actions.

A senior diplomat from a major European nation said General Malan's statement highlighted the rift between the military's "openly interventionist" approach to South Africa's regional policy and the "classic diplomacy" of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

He said pre-emptive military strikes were justified if "sovereign rights" were threatened. "But I believe many cross-border security actions have been made without consulting Foreign Affairs," the diplomat said.

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 $5,5bn 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 co-operating with the South African government.

The language was included as an amendment to a $9.4-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

'Necklace' Bill given the nod

WASHINGTON — The US House of Representatives approved a Bill this week to bar US aid to southern African countries supporting necklacing.

This was included as an amendment to a $9,4bn Bill to provide US government agencies with additional funds for the government spending year to September 30.

The Bill will provide $50m in US aid to the nine members of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The amendment said no SADCC member would be eligible for aid unless President Ronald Reagan certified that the country had not advocated necklacing, had provided assurances it was taking action against those who practised it and was not knowingly allowing guerrillas who practised necklacing to operate in its territory. — Sapa-Reuter.

INTERNATIONAL

US draws up priority lists on R100-m aid to Africa

The Argus Foreign Service

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.

growth, the ...
Police Public Relations

Too rigid laws harm trade for SADCC

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Rigid immigration and customs regulations are frustrating the spirit and intent of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) in the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC).

Zambia's International Trade Fair general manager, Mr Maurice Sakala, said yesterday that heads of government of the regional grouping should take a closer look at the cumbersome procedures which have restricted smooth intra-PTA trade.

He said mistrust of each other and jealous tendencies among governments caused reluctance to dismantle restrictive barriers.

Regional economic organisations should allow free movement of goods, capital and human resources with minimum obstacles, he said.

"There is a need for the liberalisatin of trade among PTA member states for the promotion of economic development in the region," he said.

PETER VALE

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 barrack, than 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 destabalise 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-ruled states. It arises from two interpretations of recent African history, and two contrasting views of what's in store for this region.

White 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 humiliation of all blacks forever. Both sides perpetuate these distortions by seeing things in absolute black and white terms, as it were.

SA evidently believes that its primary security interests are best served by keeping these states endemically weak, so that they can offer no support to the external wing of the ANC. For their part, the frontline states have a commitment to the destruction of minority white rule. The conflict is inevitable.

What's to be done? One option is to continue on the present track and have regional relations slide into further chaos. The result is increasingly porous borders with continued, costly tit-for-tat behaviour from both sides. However, unlike isolated SA, the frontline states are able to strengthen their respective arsenals. Indeed, this is already under way with the sale of British small arms to Mozambique, the installation of an early-warning system in Botswana and Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's reported purchase of 14 MiG 29 interceptors.

Over time, such hardware will increase their military confidence to a point where, outraged by Pretoria's continued destabilisation, a regional war erupts with tragic consequences.

A second option is the cosmetic job. As Nkomati's dismal record shows, this is no solution. The accord papered over deep differences between Pretoria and Maputo. Understandably, this solution is favoured by those in Pretoria accustomed to reaching for the trigger. Accords like this enable them to both involve themselves formally with these states and at the same time to carry on covert involvement in dissident groups. Formal involvement means they can try to control the course of political events in neighbouring states, especially the scope of the links between these neighbours and the ANC. But — and Nkomati proves the point — the weaker states in the partnership have no guarantee that the stronger won't cheat. When cheating is revealed, confidence in this type of arrangement goes out the window.

Nkomati's total impact, as the brouhaha over the Machel aircrash demonstrates, has been to deepen the anguish between the two. As worrying is the exposed position of the Chissano government and the growing commitment of the Harare government to Mozambique's defence.

In southern Africa, another option — confidence building — is, as yet, untried. Confidence building has the two sides of a divide involved in semi-formal, on-going forums which can instantly open communications in times of crisis, or in settling disputes. The best example of the former is the so-called "hotline" between Washington and Moscow installed after the 1963 Cuban missile crisis. There is no practical reason why this cannot be repeated in southern Africa. Settlement of disputes can best come by building confidence, as shown in central Europe throughout the Seventies when Nato and the Warsaw Pact were extensively involved in talks on troop reductions, troop locations and the like.

Basic idea

This model may be difficult to replicate in southern Africa, because of the lack of formal diplomatic recognition, but some interesting permutations of the basic idea suggest themselves. For example, with the consent of all the parties, a group of arbitrators could become involved in settling disputes between SA and its neighbours. It is surely possible for both sides to agree on six prominent southern Africans — from the legal profession, say — to engage each other when crises arise, and to suggest means and ways of settling these without resorting to violence? If successful, this kind of co-operation might grow into a more permanent structure.

The many skilled professionals in Pik Botha's service must see both the looming crisis which faces the region, and realise that the cosmetic option has no future. Isn't it time that they took a serious look at new initiatives which put the tools of their trade ahead of National Party rhetoric?

SADCC seeks to break SA's grip on region

LUSAKA — Ministers of nine southern African nations meet tomorrow to discuss once more the issue which dominates the economic life of the region — 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 not go ahead with a plan to sever 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 co-operation 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 Afican 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 $5.4 billion calculated for projects in the 1985/1986 year.

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 re-opening of the war-hit Benguela railway through Angola is under study. — Sapa-RNS

Sowetan 4/8/87 279A

Ramphal issues sanctions warning

HARARE — The Secretary General of the Commonwealth, 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.*

Sowetan 4/8/87 2791

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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 destablisation 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.

279A Star 6/8/87

Neighbours view SA with fear, revulsion

GERALD REILLY

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 protestations of goodwill and offers of assistance.

South Africans should see southern Africa not as an enemy, but 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

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.

For the moment it looks as if the Nkomati Accord has again been saved. After wining 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 Kremlin-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-orientated organisations like the End Conscription 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 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 Angola, 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, flimsy 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

PROFESSOR P SMIT, chairman of the Council of the Africa Institute of South Africa, explores alternatives to polarisation and violence as the only prospect for the short-term future of Southern Africa.

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 drawns 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.

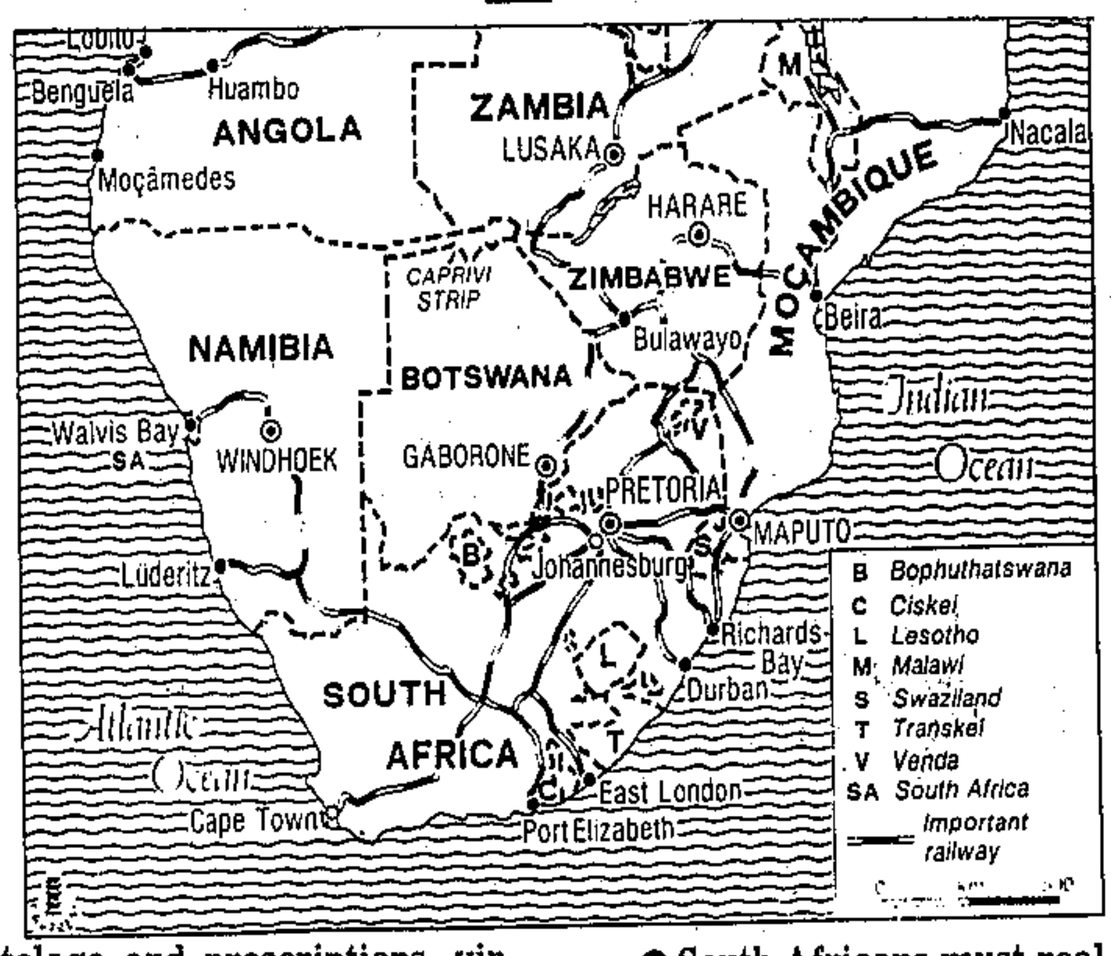
Realities

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, virtuallly regardless of the cost in human sacrifice or economic efficiency.



● 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-orientated 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 1985, this economic hinterland clearly warrants careful attention.

A coherent and farsighted 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 close 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.

(iii) (aa) Interest is payable on reducing balance and will vary over the period of the loan. The initial amount in interest payable is R4 324 325 during November 1986.

(bb) R8 648 648 per annum.

(iv) (aa) 20 years.

(bb) November 1986.

(3) Yes.

(a) From own revenue and other sources still being investigated.

(b)

	(i) Soweto	(ii) Dobsonville	(iii) Diepmeadow
30 June 1985	R114 525 405	R 9 288 648	R49 158 919
30 June 1986	R114 525 405	R 9 288 648	R49 158 919
30 June 1987	R125 977 945	R10 217 513	R54 074 811

(4) Not applicable.

Botswana/Swaziland/Lesotho: customs revenue

411. Mr W J D VAN WYK asked the Minister of Finance:†

(a) What percentage of the Republic's customs revenue was paid over to (i) Botswana, (ii) Swaziland and (iii) Lesotho as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) what amount of customs revenue was paid over to each of these countries in 1984, 1985 and 1986, respectively?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(a)

	1986-87
(i) Botswana	5,529%
(ii) Swaziland	2,846%
(iii) Lesotho	3,426%

Note: The precentages have been calculated on the combined income of customs duty, excise duty, surcharge and miscellaneous for the financial year 1986-87.

(b)

	1984-85
Botswana	R180 544 000
Swaziland	R130 409 000
Lesotho	R151 498 000
	1985-86
Botswana	R174 429 000
Swaziland	R136 576 000
Lesotho	R161 086 000
	1986-87
Botswana	R232 796 000
Swaziland	R119 811 000
Lesotho	R144 259 000

Newsprint imported

412. Mr W J D VAN WYK asked the Minister of Finance:†

(a) How many tons of newsprint were imported in each of the latest specified five years for which information is available and (b) what was the rand value of these imports in each such year?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(a) and (b)

	Ton	*R (value)*
1982	284,8	184 183
1983	150,2	54 384
1984	441,0	202 829
1985	110,6	171 694
1986	590,9	451 697

FRIDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER 1987

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

[Reply *bound in Annexures of House of Assembly see M/119—1987.*]

219. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister

of National Health and Population Development:

(1) (a) How many community health centres were there in each province as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) what (i) was the staff complement of each such centre and (ii) were the functions performed by the staff of these centres as at that date;

(2) whether any further community health centres are planned; if so, (a) how many in each province and (b) when are they due to be completed in each case?

Detainee: nature/cause of injuries

238. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of Law and Order:

With reference to his reply to Question No 70 on 23 February 1987, (a) what was the (i) nature and (ii) cause of the injuries of each detainee which required treatment in hospital and (b) which of these injuries were sustained (i) prior and (ii) subsequent to the detention of these persons?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) (i) A variety of injuries, *inter alia* broken limbs, arm and hand injuries, head injuries, groin injuries, eye injuries, gunshot wounds, jaw injuries and dog bite wounds.

(ii) Because these injuries are unrest-related, it is, with the exception of gunshot and dog-bite wounds, difficult to ascertain what caused these specific wounds.

(b) (i) As far as could be ascertained, all the injuries were sustained before or during arrest.

(ii) Falls away.

Group Areas Act

310. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(a) How many notices were served in terms of section 41 of the Group Areas Act, No 36 of 1966, during the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available and (b) (i) on what dates, (ii) in which towns or areas and (iii) in respect of what specified properties was each such notice served?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(a) Since 1 September 1986 notices have been issued in respect of 41 premises and forwarded to the relative offices of the SA Police to be served. Confirmation has not yet been received in respect of all notices and it is therefore not known how many have already been served.

(b) (i) to (iii) Fall away.

Annual reports

384. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) (a) (i) How many annual reports were produced in 1986 by his Department and/or statutory bodies falling under his Department and (ii) in respect of what bodies were these reports produced, (b) what was the cost of producing each such report, (c) how many copies of each report were printed and (d) who undertook the printing of each report;

(2) whether the printing of these reports was put out to tender; if not, why not; if so, (a) what was the (i) lowest and (ii) highest tender submitted, and (b) what was the amount of the successful tender, in each case;

(3) whether any copies of these reports were sold; if so, (a) how many, (b) to whom, and (c) at what price, in respect of each report;

(4) in respect of each of the latest specified five years for which information is available, (a) what was the total cost to his Department of these annual reports, (b) how many copies were printed, (c) how many of these reports contained (i) full colour and

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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 Johnnie 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 Eduardo 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 hardline 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. Makitini will want to receive assurances that no Nkomati-style accord is contemplated.

Meanwhile Zimbabwean fears of a repetition of the May 1986 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

Sowetan 18/9/87

SA Press Association

DAR-ES-SALAAM — The six Frontline States of southern Africa held a one-day summit in Tanzania 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 meeting in Vancouver, Canada, and for his own subsequent talks with US President Ronald Reagan.

"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 attend the meeting in Canada — Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The other two Frontline States — Angola and Mozambique — are former Portuguese colonies.

Except for Britain, the Commonwealth is broadly in favour of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, a move long advocated by the Frontline States.

Five Frontline leaders were present at the Dar es Salaam meeting. Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos was represented by his foreign minister, Alfonso Van-Dunem.

The Frontline leaders, who last met in Lusaka at the end of July, were joined by Johnny Makatini, the director of International Affairs of the African 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 Ali Hassan Mwinyi 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. — Sapa.

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CITY PRESS, September 20, 1987

SADCC OPTIMISTIC ABOUT O

CP Correspondent

OPTIMISTIC speculation in the nine member Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference about the possibility of oil being present in the region – which could mean almost total independence from South Africa with regards to this important energy source – is continuing.

Since the emergence of the international sanctions, which calls for comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa, the SADCC has been looking into the possibility of averting the effects of South African retaliatary sanctions.

Self-sufficiency in energy has been one of the major concerns of the SADCC group since its inception in 1980, mainly to save scarce sources of foreign exchange, but also to ease dependence on South Africa for its energy needs.

Never before has the contract signed between Mozambique and BP in November 1984, which provided for geological and seismic studies to be carried out by December 1986.

The first 18 month period of research was carried out with 2 000 kilometres of seismic profiles. A total of R5-m was spent to show that potential deposits of hydrocarbons exist in an area where the ocean is only 350 metres deep.

Under the terms of the contract, the exploration company will drill one hole during the first six months of next year, at an estimated cost of R20-m.

The contract was signed by the Mozambican Minister of Mineral Resources, John Kachamila, ENH director Mario Marques, the chief executive of overseas explorations of BP, David Harding, and the vice-president of the IFC, Makarend Dehejia.

Angola and Tanzania

Energy trends vary as regards to oil products. Angola, as the only oil exporting country in the sub-region, has increased its consumption, as has Lesotho by about 50 percent in the ten-year period from 1975-1985.

Botswana and Lesotho have also increased consumption significantly. The other countries of the region have either registered small changes or a decrease, the largest in Zambia, with about 30 percent reduction over the 1975-1985 period.

Some 70 percent of petroleum consumed in the SADCC region is used for transport.

In 1980 most of the member states spent more than 50 percent of their export earnings on imports of oil products – and virtually no change had taken place since then.

The annual SADCC oil bill was about R16 00 million in 1987, but there is reason to believe that the on South Africa against possible retaliatory action by the SA, should international sanctions be fully imposed.

The latter is of particular importance, as Botswana relies 100 percent on oil imports from South Africa and could effectively be held hostage – as was done in December 1985 with landlocked Lesotho, when Pretoria imposed a border blockage of all goods imported by Lesotho.

The major constraint in attempting to assess the hydrocarbon potential of Botswana, is the widespread cover of geologically young sands.

This obscures the bedrock geology of the major sedimentary basins in the Kalahari area in northern and central Botswana, according to Dr G Chiepe, former Minister of Mineral Resources. The latest information provided by the PCIAC project will encourage further exploration and development by foreign oil companies.

From the viewpoint of petroleum, the aerial-magnetic survey had provided most encouragement by the identifications of a series of extensive sedimentary basins under the sand of the Kalahari Desert.

Botswana's oil potential has also caught the imagination of the European Economic Community. The 12 nation grouping, a major importer of Botswana beef, announced in August last year that they would provide R3 million towards geological surveys.

The Kalahari Desert cover 80 percent of Botswana, averaging 100m in depth. The areas identified as possibly oil and gas areas are the Western Kalahari, and the Passage Basin, positioned centrally in the desert, south of the town of Maun in the north of Botswana.

In July this year, a 25 member team ended a large geology expedition at Tshane, in the desert areas of the Western Kalahari. This team of sonic experts are to begin seismic tests soon – the first really serious step in oil prospecting.

Soon after sonic tests in the Ncojane Basin, a separate test for gas and oil will be launched over the Ncojane and Nosop Basins. This will be an aerial test of a highly sophiscated nature, financed and overseen by the EEC delegates based in Gaborone.

The sonics and EEC expeditions have the same thing in mind: compilation of a data file that will entice the multinationals to go into the desert and start drilling.

During the years 1982 to 1985, Zambia spent more than R8,8 million on oil and gas prospecting programs in the Kafue basin, the Luangwa Valley, the Luano – Lukusashi Valley and the Mweru – Wa-Ntipa area in western Zambia by the Hydocarbon Unit of the Ministry of Mines, with the assistance of foreign experts.

The magnetic surveys conducted during these years provided vital information on the general configuration of the areas, while the gravity profiles gave details of the thickness of the sedimentary rocks that normally contain oil.

The worst fuel shortage to hit Zambia in nine months hit it in January this year, focussing anew on the importance of oil exploration being carried out in Zambia.

Zambia's annual fuel import bill currently stands at about R550 million. But early last November, after months of consistently bad economic news, Zambia was visibly cheered by reports that drilling for oil would start in three places in the Chama district in Eastern Zambia, in May this year – a project costed at R10 million.

In addition, it was announced in the Zambian capital of Lusaka in January, that the Zambian government had signed an agreement with the giant American oil company, Mobil, to join the American giant Placid Oil in the hunt for oil.

In April, Mobil Oil, started covering an area of 38 000km. The contract calls for cumulative expenditure of R52 million over a four year period ending in 1991.

Mobil was the second American oil company to undertake an oil explorations venture in Zambia. Placid Oil commenced in March this year, drilling for oil in Eastern Zambia. Whether oil has been found as yet is kept secret.

Geo-Source, an American prospecting company contracted by Placid Oil, started drilling for oil in May and it would last until December to accertain whether the commodity was there or not.

Geo-Source has been prospecting for oil in the Chama district since July 1986, and more than 800km have been covered, and data collected so far has shown some potential and prospects appear to be quite bright.

Placid Oil representative in Zambia, John Huges, said recently that initial studies were promising.

These hopes were further brightened shortly after when President Kenneth Kaunda indicated at a Press conference in Lusaka that oil in the Chama district may soon be flowing – the first and only official indication to whether oil fields do exist in Zambia.

The African countries south of the Sahara, particularly those in the southern African region, need a political and economic strategy that will provide for the development of their

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TIC ABOUT OIL

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The African countries south of the Sahara, particularly those in the southern African region, need a political and economic strategy that will provide for the development of their economies as a whole, now and in the future.

The SADCC has, since its inception in 1980, sought just such a strategy and to draw up a plan of action that would allow member states to attain self-sufficiency and to reduce economic dependency in the long run.

The growing energy needs of the development sectors in these countries have caused financial circles in most SADCC countries have got themselves into greater and greater debt, in order to maintain industrial activity and development.

It is therefore essential to increase energy production in the SADCC by implementing regional projects and to bring major economic benefits to the region. Oil exploration has clearly been put forward as a major project in attaining these objectives.

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 exploriation 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 neighbouring states' oil installations, the dependency of several landlocked SADCC members on South African ports and routes for oil supplies, and impending sanctions.

figure for 1987 is slightly higher than in 1984.

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

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20/9/87

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 freeing up $98 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-ruled nations co-operating to find ways of lessening their dependence on South Africa. — Sapa-AP

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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 denies 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 bitterest critics on their home ground but it is thought she will gamble on appealing directly to their 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 — visit to South Africa itself.

PHONE EAST LONDON 26141 19/10/87 W 279A

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 front-line 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 tip 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 front-line 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-stricken 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.

"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".

SUB-SAHARAN POVERTY

A recipe for failure

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 sanctioneers 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.

Bash SA's economy with sanctions, and impoverished sub-Saharan Africa will shake.

"The answer to many of the problems of sub-Saharan Africa," says De Kock, "lies in increased economic co-operation 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-orientated 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 for 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. ■

US placed conditions on aid programme

States had to denounce violence in South Africa

WASHINGTON — Seven countries of the nine-member Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (Sadcc) economic group were in September forced to denounce violence inside South Africa before a supplementary United States aid package totalling $150 million (R300 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 Sadcc 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 Sadcc 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" inside South Africa as a pre-condition to get American financial assistance under the supplementary appropriations/southern African 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 15.

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 Swawziland 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."

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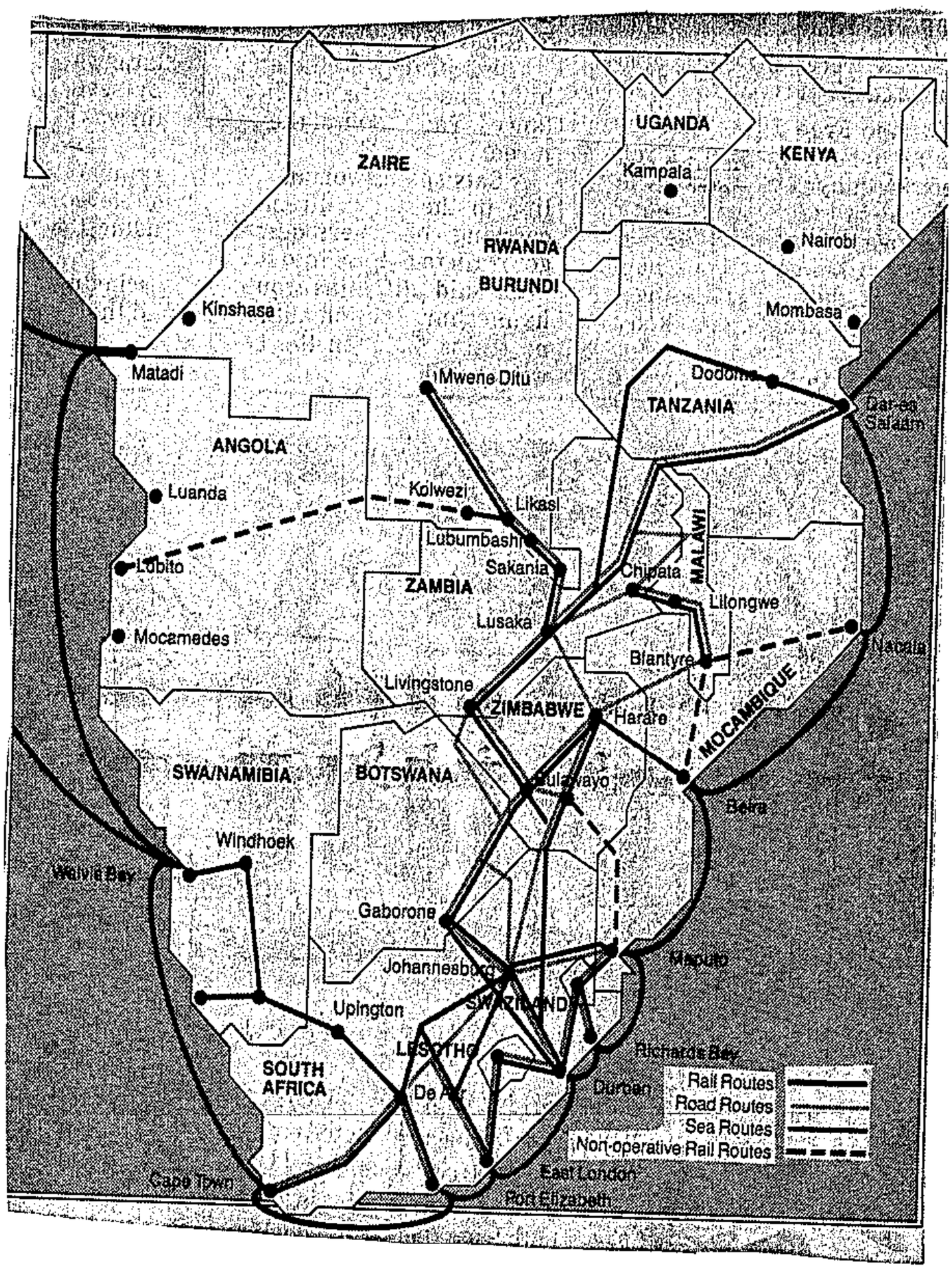
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Dar-es-Salaam
ANGOLA
Kolwezi
Likasi
Luanda
Lubumbashi
Lobito
Sakania
Chipata
MALAWI
ZAMBIA
Lilongwe
Lusaka
Mocamedes
Nacala
Blantyre
Livingstone
ZIMBABWE
Harare
MOCAMBIQUE
SWA/NAMIBIA
BOTSWANA
Bulawayo
Beira
Windhoek
Walvis Bay
Gaborone
Maputo
Johannesburg
Upington
SWAZILAND
LESOTHO
Richards Bay
SOUTH AFRICA
Durban
Rail Routes
Road Routes
Sea Routes
Non-operative Rail Routes
Cape Town
East London
Port Elizabeth

Front line trade may soon be back on the rails

Zimbabwe's reliance on South African railways will end in 1988 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 Chicualacuala (formerly Malvernia), tearing up rotten wooden sleepers and twisted metal rails, and replacing them with modern permanent way.

But to complete the full 500 km stretch through rebel infested territory to Maputo's under-utilised deep-water harbour calls for the deployment of a 10 000-man corps of guards. Zimbabwe, with up to 11 500 troops already deployed in the 300 km Beira corridor, has made clear that it cannot itself provide that level of extra manpower for the "Chicualacuala-Maputo corridor".

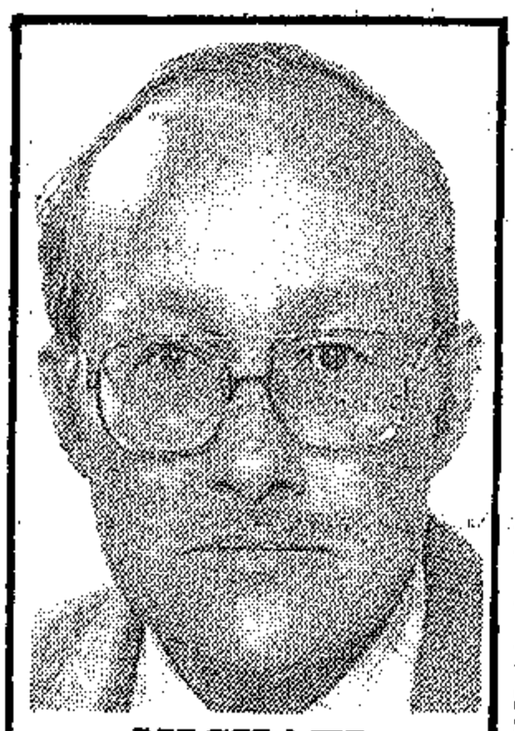
Sources here say the Mozambicans are calling in British help to train and muster what amounts to an additional "special force" to prevent a repetition of the wave of sabotage which in August 1984 forced the line to close.

Until then, it carried between 55 and 75 percent of all Zimbabwe's imports and exports, making Zimbabwean participation in a boycott of South Africa a feasible idea. Today, despite crash rehabilitation of the "Beira corridor" 80 percent 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 defensible against Renamo attack than the steeply-gradiented track between the Zimbabwean border city of Mutare and Beira. There, dense coastal forest and a cowed civilian population help the rebels.

For much of its 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.



MICHAEL HARTNACK
Harare

"It's certain the line will be attacked, but once the track is revamped 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 R46,6 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 R40 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 millions, leaving a handsome margin for Zambian, Botswanan, Zairian and Malawian consignments. When the shallow 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-ordination Conference (Sadcc) said in Harare last week that but for South African "destabilisation" 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 Maphanyane of Botswana, one of the leading experts in the Sadcc secretariat in Gaborone, said the five ports — Maputo, Beira, Nacala, Dar es Salaam and Lobito — had a rated annual capacity of 24 million tonnes, while the total imports and exports of the nine Sadcc member states plus Zaire amounted to only 10 million tonnes.

Mr Maphanyane told a seminar on transport problems organised by the Zimbabwe national chambers of commerce that in 1975 more than 90 percent of Rhodesia's illicit world trade went through Beira and Maputo, but only ten years later the situation was revolutionised by "destabilisation", so 98 percent of Zimbabwean trade, plus 64 percent of Malawian trade had to be routed through the Sats

Mr Maphanyane 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 service for international traffic because of deterioration in the physical infrastructre, sabotage and other security problems, and sometimes because of poor management nad maintenance capability." he said. "Benguela, Malawi-Nacala, Malawi-Beira 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 creak as a result of chronic foreign currency shortages. Instead of the R36 million it requested in the last 1986 quota period and the first one in 1987, the Reserve Bank allocated it R5,1 million.

It needed at least R9,6 million a year for spares to service its locomotives and rolling stock, 50 percent of which were now out of action.

Zimbabwe recently signed a lease agreement for ten South African locomotives.

12/85: R 27.50

12/85: R 36.37

12/85: R 36.37

12/85: R 35.71

Mould Maker

Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +450.0% Real +58.6% Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 21.96

13.85	23.09	22.94	28.04	26.26	25.29	25.07	24.30
8.28	17.02	18.86	31.74	34.50	38.64	41.86	45.54

Mould er

Current Hours: 46 Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +316.0% Real +19.9% Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 23.07

19.23	26.21	26.86	29.66	27.66	26.49	26.17	25.53
11.50	19.32	22.08	33.58	36.34	40.48	43.70	47.84

Mb1 Hoist OP

12/72	1/78	1/79	6/81	6/82	10/83	7/84	4/85
M.D.	AMND	INCR	M.D.	INCR	AMND	INCR	INCR

410-CEMENT PROD:E - Page 2 68

Time to discuss SADF's role in sub-continent

ST TIMES 7/9/87

Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

THE loss in action of 10 South African servicemen beyond our borders in Angola, which was disclosed to the public this week, has raised urgent questions about our interventionist military role in the sub-continent.

White 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 becoming ripe for public debate. Some would argue 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 increasingly fitful and sporadic guerilla 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 still doing in Namibia? Why have we dragged our heels in getting out?

There is also some reason to believe that the SADF is now also directly involved beyond our borders in the Angolan civil war — on the side of Dr Savimbi's Unita rebels, as well as backing Unita with supplies and armaments.

MNR rebels

South African assistance has transformed Unita into into a military threat to Luanda of an order which has prompted the MPLA government to call for and receive South African assistance in the form of the MNR rebels.

It is well known what happened a year or so later, with the MNR scourge being unleashed by Pretoria on a already tottering Mozambique.

Flower, a police officer in his early career, oirs of Ian Smith's intelligence chief, Ken Flower *, are published, as they have been recently, and a whole new perspective on events opens up.

Flower, who died just before his book came out in Britain, recalled receiving a high-powered military delegation from Pretoria in March, 1979, headed by General Magnus Malan, then chief of SADF. Mr P W Botha had taken over as premier the previous year.

As Flower noted at the time, it was plain from what the South Africans said that Vorster's diplomatic "detente" was out and that military influence would henceforth dominate Pretoria's domestic and foreign policies.

No compromise

There would be no further compromise over Namibia, where South Africa expected to be in control for at least another decade. It would suit the South Africans to keep southern Angola destabilized, helping Unita and further hindering Swapo, as Flower told his government. The South Africans expected Mozambique to become an active ANC base and so would respond accordingly.

ceive massive Soviet 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 "destablilizing" 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 memwho was very much in the British tradition of non-partisan service to the government of the day, was retained by Mr Robert Mugabe after the latter's 1980 election victory, as noted in this column recently.

He immediately told Mugabe that he had handed over control of the MNR organization to South Africa. But he got one thing badly wrong, he related in his memoirs, in advising the new prime minister that South Africa "would not be so stupid or so shortsighted" as to pursue a policy of destabilization of Zimbabwe.

Motive

Flower, admitting this major error of judgment, ultimately concluded that Pretoria believed it had an interest in wrecking the economy of its neighbours to ensure the failure of black government — and so confirm the superiority of white government.

Is this really the underlying motive for destabilization?

Obviously, there are other considerations — including the discouragement of our neighbours from allowing the ANC to use their territory as military bases against South Africa. But Mugabe's Zimbabwe has never allowed such bases and Mozambique sent the ANC packing at the time of Nkomati.

In the remote border and bush conditions of southern Africa, furthermore, movements of guerillas back and forth will continue to some extent, whatever the official attitude of neighbouring governments and whether or not Pretoria is intent on destabilization.

So let us hear the case for destablilization, openly and honestly stated. And let us hear the case against it.

It is time for a vigorous public debate about the SADF's regional role, and some discussion of alternative political and diplomatic strategies which would be less calculated to sow mayhem and misery around us.

* *Serving Secretly by Ken Flower (John Murray).*

Cape Times
7/9/87
279A

'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-ordination 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

16/11/87 Star 279A

HARARE — Leaders of the six Frontline states today condemned last week's "illegal entry" into Angola by the South African President, Mr P 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 communique 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 (Organisation 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 communique.

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

Star 17/11/87 279A

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 Unita 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.

CALL TO OAU

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 nations, 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-Reuter.

Frontline states seek world aid for Angola

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In practice, diplomats say, such assistance is likely only from the Communist Bloc, which has already committed 35 000 Cuban troops, an unknown number of senior Soviet commanders and large quantities of arms and other aid.

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 Unità 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 30 000 waiting in Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter

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 Lisbon, 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 Belgique (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$500m.

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. ■

SUMMIT ANGRY AT PW'S VISIT

Press 22/11/87

279A

CP Correspondent

THE frontline states were outraged by Saturday's announcement that South African State President PW Botha had recently been in Southern Angola accompanied by a number of his Ministers.

After a four-hour summit meeting on Sunday, the six frontline leaders called it an "illegal" and "heinous act".

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, of Angola, Quett Masire, of Botswana, Joaquim Chissano, of Mozambique, Ali Hassan, of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda, of Zambia and Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe issued a communique afterwards.

The communique said Botha's "uncalled for entry into Angolan territory" was "yet another demonstration of South Africa's deep involvement in the continued aggression and occupation of parts of Angola".

"It further demonstrated that the war being fought in Angola is not between Fapla and the Unita surrogate forces, but clearly a war of invasion, aggression and destabilisation by South Africa, using Unita bandits and other mercenary forces as an integral part of its regular army," said the communique.

At a Press conference after the summit, Kaunda was asked whether he as chairman of the frontline, was going to sound out the opinion of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Reagan on the matter.

"The summit has a clear message to all leaders in Western countries," Kaunda replied. "No doubt I want to hear what those two and the other leaders have to say about this. How it is done is left for each leader."

Frontline diplomats were incensed at the news.

Mozambican officials at the summit were both dismayed and intrigued.

On the one hand, one of them said Botha's action showed "total disregard for most norms of state to state relations".

On the other hand, it showed there were "serious problems" inside South Africa's establishment.

Top officers of the Angolan army, Fapla, viewed the whole affair as a total commitment on the part of Botha.

The presence of South Africa's Finance Minister, Barend du Plessis, among the group which entered Angola, sparked off speculation about the South African Defence Force demanding more money from the government.

There was, however, general agreement on one point – the death of white South African soldiers in Southern Angola may be the immediate cause of Botha's action and of a growing white opposition to South Africa's regional military involvement.

There was also a shared sentiment that Botha's action means more, not less war.

Fapla's Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Antonio Franca dos Santos, said he expected more heavy fighting between Fapla and the SADF in the coming weeks.

"We are now fighting mainly in Kuando-Kubango province, but we expect fighting to break out in Cunene province soon.

Discussions of the recent Commonwealth summit in Vancouver, as well as on Govan Mbeki's release earlier this month was expected to take place at Sunday's summit, but the six leaders turned their attention to the war in Angola.

At the opening session of the meeting, Kaunda showered praise on Fapla, saying Botha's entry into Southern Angola, was "a clear indication of how effective Fapla have been".

Meanwhile, Angola is making a few gains out of Defence Minister General Magnus Malan's admission that Unita had been "saved" by the SADF.

For the Angolan authorities what seems to be of utmost importance is Fapla's capacity to withstand a possible new "massive offensive" from the SADF's troops now stationed in Northern Namibia.

It seems that the Angolan government's point of view is that, in the coming weeks, South Africa will try to weaken Fapla substantially so as to gain ground and time diplomatically. – Ano.

Interview Angolan govt – Chikane

By SELLO SERIPE

THE South African media should make an effort to get interviews with Angolan government officials, rather than accepting what Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi 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.

SA deathtoll in Angola climbs to 23

By REVELATION NTOULA

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 Jacob Carel van Heerden (20), of Bethal, and Lance Corporal Johannes Jacobus Redelinghuys (20), of Randburg.

Both were fatally wounded in the same action in Angola's Cunado-Cubango province, an SAFD spokesman announced.

The losses of the SADF and South West Territorial Force is 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 230 Angolan, Cuban and Russian forces were killed in the skirmish, while Luanda claimed to have killed the same number of South African and Unita forces.

SADF aircarft, according to Pretoria, has been flying combat, intelligence, reconnaissance and other missions into Cuando-Cubango as part of the operation with Jonas Savimbi's SA-US backed Unita movement.

The aim, the SADF has said, was to drive back the annual Fapla offensive in which Angola is trying to overrun Unita.

Further major battles between South Africa and Angolan troops were "unlikely," according to sources close to the government.

From Luanda, however, Angola's Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Franca dos Santos, told the Mozambican news agency Aim that the Angolan army was preparing for further major battles with the SADF in the next few weeks.

The unbreakable bonds that tie them to SA

279A

ARGUS 24/11/87

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 been unmatched by any significant action.

An article in the bulletin of the Africa Institute by Erich Leistner, director of the institute, has detailed for the first time the comprehensive dimensions of the interdependence between the countries of Southern Africa.

Intertwined

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 rehabilitation 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 7 800 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 50 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 recieves about 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 1985, and a third of Mozambique's foreign exchange earnings in 1986.

□ 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 vacinnes against 42 animal deseases 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.

D/D 26/11/87 279A

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 game ranger, Adamson Mushala, who was killed by government troops in a gunbattle 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 added.

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

With Britain helping behind the scenes, there are signs of a closer relationship between the two governments after years of suspicion and hostility.

ARGUS 9/12/87

279A

Rail link forges friendship for Malawi, Mozambique

JOHN MORRISON of Reuter reports. Dateline: BLANTYRE

LANDLOCKED 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 of State Mrs 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 organisation 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.

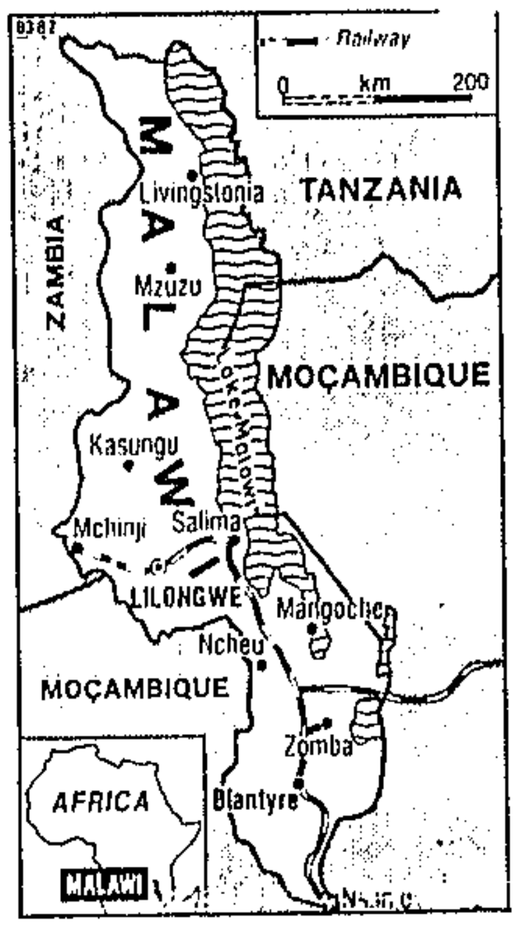
Malawians were shocked and angered by the incident, but after issuing a formal protest note decided that business with Mozambique would go ahead as usual.

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 unpublicised here. When Mrs Chalker announced that Britain would give R2,6-million to buy non-lethal equipment such as radios 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 Mijiga told reporters.

279A

Zulu chief wins R12000 damages

Frontline must pay

DR Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, was granted damages of R12 000 against the editor and the 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 Becket, editor of *Frontline*, and Saga 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.

"The Zulu leader is not everyone's cup of tea, he is nauseatingly pompous and self-important. His 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 A Gordon SC, who appeared for him, did not contend this was actionable. Mr Gordon dismissed it as being the sort of abusive comment a public figure 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 destabilisation of its 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 Hanekom, a Zimbabwe citizen, was released last Friday, one week before the end of her 38-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 destabilisation operations in Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

The others in the ring were her husband Derek Hanekom, released from prison last year after serving a two-year sentence, and Roland Hunter, still serving a five-year sentence.

Hunter, she said, had been personal assistant to Colonel Cornelius van Niekerk, who worked out of a building in Pretoria.

Van Niekerk headed "Operation Mila", the code-name for the South African programme of support for Mozambique National Resistance rebels, or Renamo, fighting the Frelimo government, she added.

"Operation Mila was the model project — regarded as effective and cost-efficient — for other operations being run with the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) in Lesotho, Unita in Angola and dissidents in Zimbabwe," said Hanekom.

The spy group had got hold of detailed documents and information laying out:

- The use by a civilian organisation of the Hillbrow post office tower to broadcast propaganda for the "Voice of Free Africa";
- Consignments to Renamo of brand new AK47 assault rifles (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 have been restricted in terms of Emergency regulations

Spies' secrets are revealed

●From PAGE 1

- The use of a company, known as "Frama Intertrading", which had an aircraft at an airfield near Johannesburg, as a front to transport officials involved in "Operation Mila";
- The use of R5 000 to fit out Renamo leader Alfonso Dhlakama and some of his aides with clothing suitable for them to attend a conference in West Germany in 1983;
- The payment of wages to senior Renamo officials in camps in the Transvaal, two near Phalaborwa and one north of Pretoria;
- 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.

Hanekom said the information the group had been able to provide to Mozambique in 1983 may well have been a factor in South Africa's decision to sign the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique a few months later.

The 30-year-old Hanekom said the severity of the charges against the three were reduced because top members of South Africa's State Security Council felt they could not risk releasing the highly sensitive documents to court officials, even at an *in camera* hearing.

Instead, the two Hanekoms were charged merely with offences under the Internal Security Act, with possessing banned publications of the ANC and distributing the utterances of listed people. Hunter was charged under the Defence Act and Protection of Information Act.

The Hanekoms now plan to settle permanently in Zimbabwe.

Explaining her motivation for becoming part of the ring, Hanekom said: "I am a Zimbabwe citizen, and I have a very strong loyalty. But the future of Zimbabwe is dependent on what happens in South Africa.

"If any of what we did assisted the Frontline states to better equip and defend themselves, then, for me, any length of time in prison was worthwhile.

"I did what I had to do. There was a sense of moral duty. If it was in any way possible to release information, then it was a duty to do so," she said.

ritzburg violence find a place to sleep on the floor o

ce until detainees free

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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

No Frontline pressure on ANC

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 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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Cape Times 26/1/88 2.79A

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 after 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' — Page 2**

279R SPMC 27/11/88

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 R3,5 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 R35 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 Britian'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' 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 said Whitehall referred to the visit of Mr Franz Josef Strauss as "an unguided missile whose target was unclear". — Sapa

'Peace parley' call by Strauss

Own Correspondent

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 Stauss 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.

D/D 28/11/88 (2790)

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 $55-million in aid to southern Africa, but is increasing this to $100 million under its policy of allocating 0,036 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 $1,9-billion in Australian exports in 1986/87. — Sapa-RNS

29/11-4/2/88 (279A) w/mail

In Lusaka next week, a new Commonwealth push on SA

A Commonwealth meeting in Lusaka next week aims to push all parties involved in South Africa towards the negotiating table. DEREK INGRAM reports

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. Their task: 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.

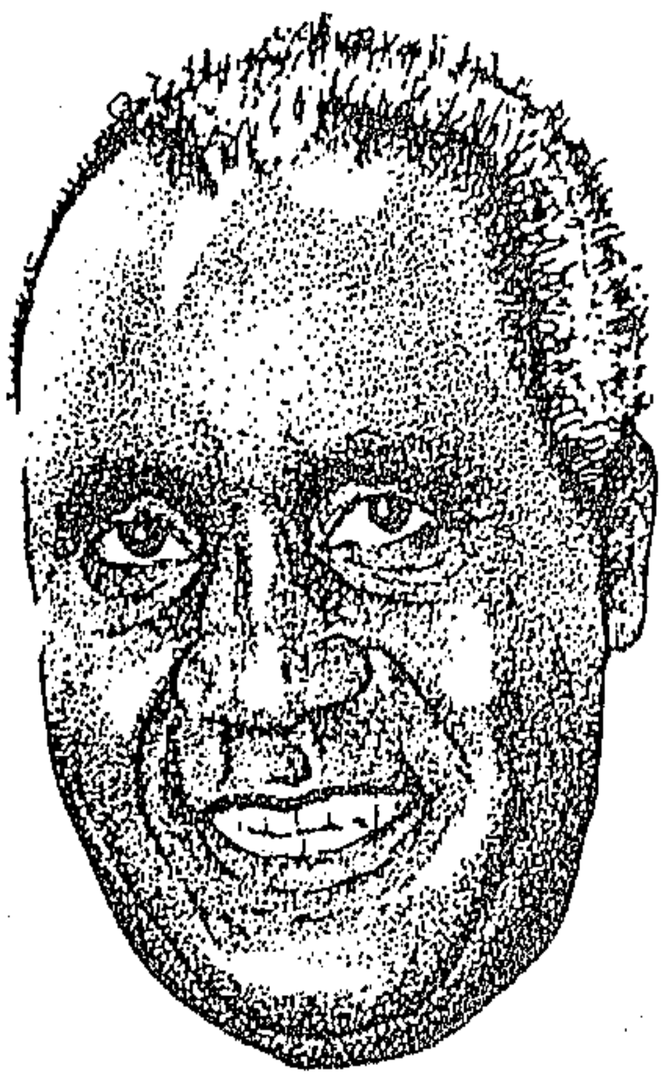
The ultimate object is to get back to a point where a dalogue can be achieved between all the parties involved: the South African government, political movements such as the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and Inkatha, and whites of all viewpoints.

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.

However, she is boycotting the foreign ministers' committee, arguing that there is no need for more diplomatic machinery. So eight countries are involved: Australia, Canada, India, Guyana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The British dissented from five sentences in the Okanagan statement. In essence, their objection is to that part of the group's remit which calls for the "wider, tighter and more intensified application" of sanctions.

The eight are putting a review of sanctions high on their priority list, in particular an examination of South Africa's relationship with the international financial system.



Kenneth Kaunda ... opening Monday's summit on SA

They also intend to lay further plans to reach out into South Africa itself to expand contacts with all the widely differing views there as well as stepping up programmes of education aid.

Under what is called the Nassau Fellowship Programme, Commonwealth countries are offering increasing numbers of scholarships to South Africans. By the end of 1988, more than 1 000 South African victims of apartheid will be on courses held under Commonwealth auspices at levels ranging from basic instruction in exile centres in such places as Dar es Salaam to postgraduate study.

The eight will also work out more detailed plans to secure the Frontline states against alleged 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 censorship.

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 Vancouver decision to leave the committee.

The foreign ministers will emphasise that, except for the passages on sanctions, Britain fully supports all the other parts of the Okanagan 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

GWL-ARGUS 30/1/88 279A

Billion dollars of new aid pledged for black Africa

ARUSHA (Tanzania). — Western contributors have pledged one billion dollars of fresh aid to black states in Southern Africa seeking to reduce their economic dependence on white-ruled South Africa.

A communique 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-Reuter.

Nordics to help Frontline states

C/Press
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279A

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 trade boycott of South Africa, implement the UN Security Council mandatory sanctions package and increase 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 Mwananshiku 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

C|Press 3/11/88 (279A)

'Apartheid is killing region's children'

NOTHING less than the destruction of apartheid was required to ensure the survival of children in Southern Africa, Mozambique Minister of Education, Gracia Machel, said in Harare this week.

At a workshop on child survival and development in the Frontline states, she told writers, artists and intellectuals the world was becoming used to the fact that people were dying in Africa.

"People must never get used to it. When things like this happened in other regions, something was done to stop it."

She said that by 1980 Mozambique had reduced its mortality rate for childern under five years old to 270 per thousand.

However; as a result of war, the mortality rate for under-fives had risen to 375 per thousand by 1985.

She said three categories of child-mortality in Mozambique were caused by South African economic and military destabilisation.

Some children died because of direct military action, others as a result of a combination of drought and the security situation and others from malnutrition and disease as a result of a breakdown of rural health facilities.

Turning to the "survivors", she asked what chance they had of developing into normal adults.

Many had seen their parents killed by armed bandits. Some had to move to accommodation centres.

Other children had experienced such severe famine that their intellectual faculties were imparied.

Mozambique had few resources and it had become necessary to divert much of these to defence and security "because we want peace and want to be a sovereign country".

"If we are a poor country and we do not have many resources, and these are going to defence, what is left for giving to the community and specifically to children?"

The same held true for Angola.

"The problem of our region is apartheid. Unless we get to the source of the problem, we cannot have very good results."

Four nations are willing to lend a hand

Star 6/2/78

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

27AA

Frontline states ready to talk coexistence — Kaunda

President Kaunda "pessimistic"

AAM leader Mr Robert Hughes is "concerned"

The Star's Africa News Service and Sapa

LUSAKA — 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 Naude.

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."

SADCC 'very rich but under-developed'

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 potentail nor meeting the needs of the nine SADCC countries.

Jaycox said the World Bank was trying to assist SADCC countries with funds to help acnieve 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

Denis Norman ... "inefficiency at government level is hindering progress."

'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 organised 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'

HARARE — The head of the European Commission's southern African division, Dr Wim Blonk, believes the greatest challenge facing the private sector in southern Africa was 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 Blonk says.

Businessmen in the region have a large SADCC market and access to the Common Market. — Sapa.

W/E ARGUS 13/2/88 2794

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 on 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 Edvard 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:

■ PRESIDENT Botha, while endorsing the idea of a regional conference in a speech on February 5, seemed to wish to restrict the participants to the governments of the region. He spoke of his government's wish to "play its part in the solution of the region's problems" but said that he wanted to the talks to be extended to include other issues such as "matters of health (the fight against Aids), food production, economic development and measures to maintain peace and order".

■ THE Front Line states (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) are not likely to be willing at this juncture to enter into any negotiations with Pretoria over wider issues such as economic cooperation.

Their immediate concerns are four-fold: The achievement of Namibian independence; withdrawal of South African troops from Angola; the ending of South Africa's trans-border military attacks, and of its alleged destablisation policies towards its neighbours, and the lessening of their economic and communications dependency on South 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 and 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 Staes and the Soviet Union, Cuba and the governments of the region.

For the present, the Americans wish is 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 should not attempt 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

14/2/88 Albers 279A

CP Correspondent

SEVERAL Southern African churches have appealed to churches in the Nordic countries – Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden – to support the strenghthening of Mozambique's defence capacity.

The appeal came during a four-day Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference which ended in Granovolen 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 the means for its effective self-defence.

The conference, on church co-operation between the SADCC and Nordic regions, was attended by 80 delegates from Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

Archbishop Khotso Makhulu of Botswana was the moderator of the conference.

Mozambique was represented by Rev Mbanze of the Christian Council of Mozambique.

Thabo Mbeki, a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC also participated.

According to the final declaration, the delegates from the Nordic churches said they appreciated the urgency of the call. They agreed to carry the appeal back to their churches for discussion, and also to bring the plight of Mozambique to the attention of the Nordic governments and public.

The declaration said the conference was "united" and had a "common understanding" on the questions of 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 Norweigian Press.

The goverment had already devoted time to the subject.

The question of Norweigian defence support for Mozambique aroused considerable interest recently when Foreign Minister Thorwald Stoletenberg 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, Thorerik Gulbranden, asked the Minister for Development Co-operation, Vesla Veltsen, if she 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 faced", and of the fact that Mozambique was one of the main recipients of Norweigian 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 Veltsen had responded with an emphatic "No" when asked if Norway might provide non-lethal military equipment to Mozambique.

Meanwhile a major Norweigian solidarity organisation, the Norweigian 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 Mocambique 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.

Eskom's pragmatic dreamer has master-plan

Southern Africa 'could become economic giant'

Eskom chief executive Mr Ian McRae.

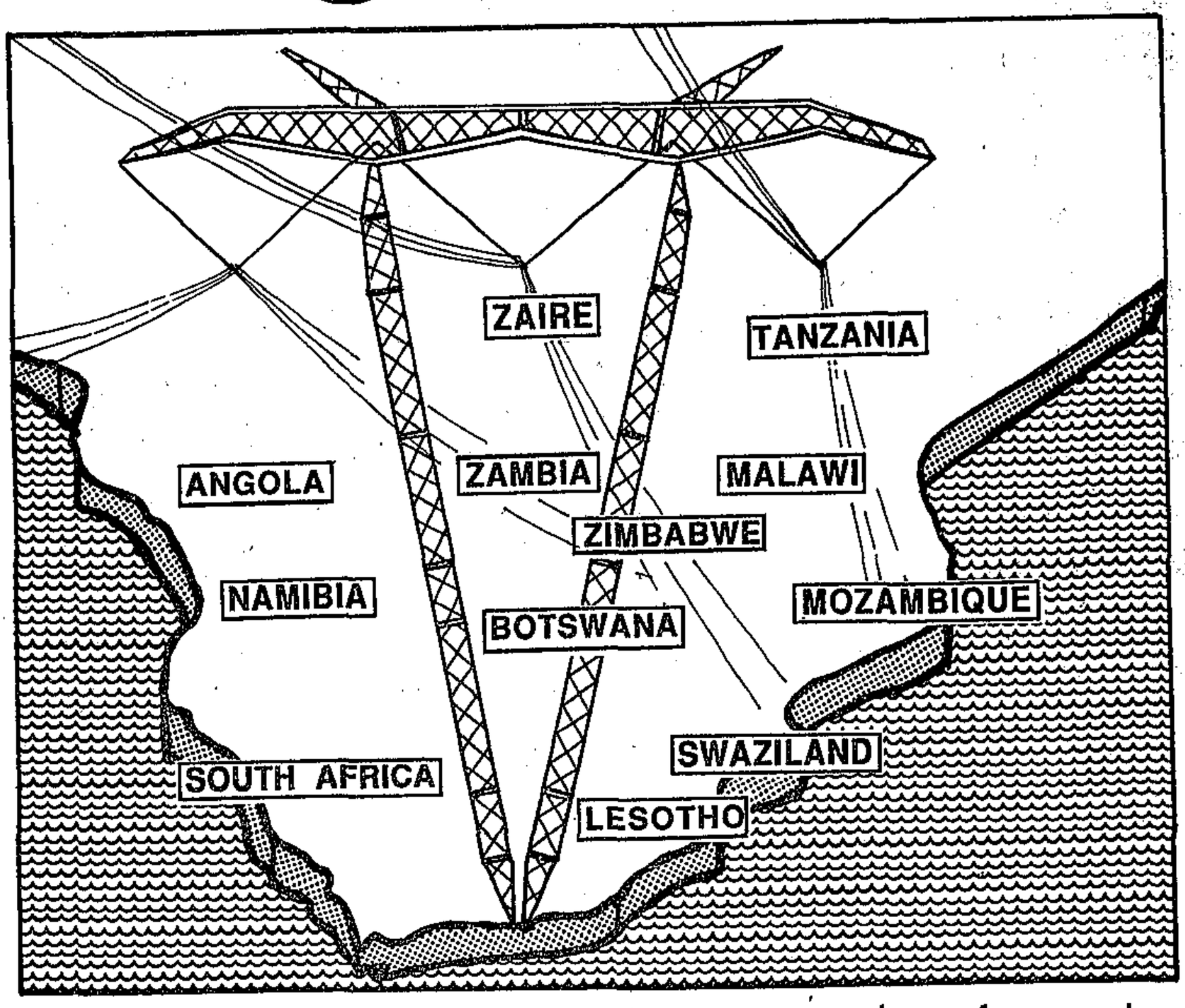
The view from the executive suite at Megawatt Park, the sprawling head office of Eskom, north of Johannesburg, takes the eye as a panorama of quiet Highveld suburbia that peters out in a summer haze after a few kilometres.

When Mr Ian McRae, the chief executive, looks out on the panorama, the horizon pushes north as far as the equator and the scene transforms into a thriving economic powerhouse that embraces the whole of southern Africa.

Undaunted by the current din of political conflict, Mr McRae (57), as an engineer, views the future in pragmatic terms.

He is convinced about the inevitability of the ultimate emergence of co-operation between the neighbour nations to unleash the untapped economic potential of the entire sub-continent.

When Mr McRae talks about the unleashed power of the subcontinent, he is talking about the boundless opportunities to be reaped by a pooling of raw energy resources to turn the motors of future development in the region.



The future Southern Africa as Mr Ian McRae sees it — a two-way exchange of energy embracing the whole region as far as the Equator bringing economic prosperity to all its nations.

He will be drawing a mental sketch of the whole of southern Africa as a huge beehive of economic activity — an industrial honeycomb formed by a criss-cross pattern of electricity power lines all linked to a huge power grid striding over national boundaries and spreading out from the Cape to the equator.

Mr McRae is convinced that, even though the nations of the subcontinent may quarrel over political issues, especially on public platforms, a pivot of optimism may yet be found in the common necessity of economic advancement shared by them all.

"The entire sub-continent is aware of the potential disaster unless there are radical improvements in economic development.

"The sub-continent has a simple choice — economic stagnation caused by political division, with growing unemployment and worsening poverty, or economic dynamism stemming from co-operation in the non-political sphere."

The potential role of Eskom to feed energy across national boundaries came to Mr McRae when he was assigned to sort out electricity supply problems in Namibia and saw the possibilities of feeding power from the hydro-electric plant at Ruancana, not only southwards, but also north into Angola.

The vision came into sharper perspective in the 1970s when he was assigned to work out plans for South Africa to import supplies from the huge hydro scheme on the Zambezi at Cahora Bassa in Mozambique.

It was an early demonstration of the opportunities for mutual bilateral advantages in the two-way flow of power across national borders.

Mr McRae is convinced that it is the economic attractions of two-way flows of energy between the neighbours of southern Africa — not only electricity but also raw materials from the sprawling coalfields, know-how and high-technology — that will finally win acceptance of a master-plan for the whole sub-continent.

"At the moment," he reflects, "it is political conflict that dominates the headlines. Behind the scenes, however, there are numerous encouraging developments that are bringing the vision of co—operation nearer and nearer."

Among them is the appointment of a special joint committee, drawing members from South Africa as well as Portugal and Mozambique, to plan the restoration of Cahora Bassa — knocked out of action by sabotage.

The chairman is Mr McRae — and the venue of meetings swings between Lisbon, Pretoria and Maputo without a trace of political fuss.

Another pointer to the spread of multinational co—operation in energy affairs, says Mr McRae, is the huge Lesotho Highlands water and hydro-power scheme on the border with South Africa.

Eskom is also engaged in discussions concerning the development of power stations inside Swaziland to make it more self-reliant.

Discussions have also recently started about power generation in Botswana.

Further north, Malawi has shown its keenness to become an important energy exporter to its neighbours, taking advantage of its network of rivers to launch hydro-electric schemes.

"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," says Mr McRae.

"We have already established close working relations with six neighbouring countries and progress is encouraging. All of them see the tremendous benefits of two-way energy deals."

The next ambition is to expand the round-table talks to bring in all nine member nations of the Southern African Development and Co-ordinating Conference — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique and Swaziland. Plus, perhaps, Zaire.

"That brings in the so-called Frontline States, and the timing for talks may not look right at the moment. But such a conference may not be as distant as one may think," says Mr McRae.

CAPE TIMES 18/2/88

Soviets hope for SA revolt dropped

LONDON. — The Soviet Union has virtually abandoned hopes of revolutionary change in South Africa in the foreseeable future.

A study, written by Kurt Campbell, a director at Harvard University's centre for international affairs and released here yesterday, says the USSR has begun to explore political outcomes which underline the need for negotiations.

Mr Campbell says that following the coming to power of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the long-term future of the Soviet Union in the Southern African region has come under serious review.

The reassesment, he says, can be traced to a speech by Mr Gorbachev to the 27th Party Congress in which he said: "We are in favour of stepping up a collective search for ways of unblocking conflict situations in ... Southern Africa and in all the hotbeds of the planet. This is what the interests of universal security demand insistently."

While not abandoning the traditional base of Soviet influence in the region, for the most part in Angola, the USSR's initiatives are no longer limited to the military arena.

It continues to provide the ANC with moderate military support but carefully avoids fanning the flames of revolution in South Africa, he says. Meanwhile, it retains secretive and lucrative commercial liaisons with the South African authorities in the sale of gold and diamonds.

SA's relations with Mozambique nose-dived

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 no longer 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 stand.

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.

Fifth death

ANOTHER South African soldier has died in Angola, bringing to five the number of deaths announced by the Defence Force this week. Last night the SADF announced that Lance Corporal William Arthur Frederick Price, 19, of Pretoria, had died in south-east Angola.

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 60 troops, downing two aircraft and destroying more than 20 tanks and armoured 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 Joaquim Chissano after talks with the French Foreign Minis-

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ter. Mr Chissano said South Africa's offer to participate in a Southern African "summit" was pointless until there had been further changes in South Africa.

Mr Botha said: "In view of President Chissano's stand, the South African government has come to the conclusion that such a conference would indeed not have much hope of success before certain changes have taken place in Mozambique.

"For example, that country has never had an election and it is also becoming increasingly important that the Mozambique government should give attention to the security issue in Mozambique before such a conference can take place."

Reacting to remarks about South Africa's support for the MNR, he said it was known that Mr Chissano told the Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr Frans Josef Strauss, that South African elements were not the prime source of support for the MNR.

He had listed support from Portugal, France, Brazil and other countries as the most important.

In a communiqué on the latest fighting in southern Angola, the Luanda Defence Ministry said Angolan casualties in the battle, begun last Sunday, were 25 dead and 36 wounded, with five Soviet-built Angolan army tanks destroyed.

The claims were dismissed by the SADF, although it was admitted that another teenaged South African soldier, Lance Corporal William Arthur Frederick Price, 19, had died in Angola, bringing to five the number of deaths announced by the SADF this week.

Pik Botha and Magnus Malan give angry warning to Frontline:

'Enough is enough'

(279A)

Star 20/2/88

Messina

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 farmhouse on the banks of the Limpopo River — and to the attack yesterday on a branch of First National Bank at Oshakati in Namibia.

Mr Botha effectively declared that South Africa's regional detente policy was dead.

And General Malan vowed to "eliminate" the ANC.

Certainly, he vowed, the next time terrorists crossed the border South Africa would take follow-up action.

The two Ministers were speaking on the banks of the swollen Limpopo River at the scene of the rocket attack on the farmhouse outside Messina.

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.

News of the attack at Oshakati reached them while they were inspecting the scene at Messina. General Malan said he and Mr Botha 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 wherever the ANC may be in Africa, we will do the necessary. I am afraid we will have to think in terms of crossing the river next time."

Mr Botha said it was important to add that Zimbabwe had been given a chance. South Africa had urged Zimbabwe to try to find those responsible for the Messina rocket attack.

He said the response had been that South Africa was telling a pack of lies, and the matter was treated as a joke.

Then he added: "The South African Government has now had enough of this. We have just had enough."

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 our problems in peace. Now they have demonstrated they are not interested.

"They think we are going to lean over 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.

DAVID BRAUN
Political Correspondent

● FROM PAGE 1.

Mr Botha said there would be no peace and prosperity in southern Africa while there was violence such as the Messina and Oshakati attacks.

"We will have to act against the violence, even if it means more boycotts and sanctions.

"If we have more boycotts and sanctions, which we do not want, it will hurt our economy and delay our economic recovery — but to give in to pressure of this kind (of violence) means the whole of southern Africa will be governed by violence."

Mr Botha and General Malan made appeals to the ordinary people of Zimbabwe to resist terrorists using their territory to cross into South Africa.

Mr Botha said it was in their interests to stop such terrorists — or else they would have to pay the price.

General Malan said he had nothing against the people of Zimbabwe. "But there is one thing I will do. Wherever the ANC is, we will eliminate it. If Zimbabweans find themselves in between, I feel very sorry for them."

SADCC admits the reality

Robin Drew reports from Harare

South African investment plays a major function in the economies of seven of the nine member states of SADCC, the organisation's executuve 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 P W 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 fatuous 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 Mulaisho, 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 projected 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.

SA forging links with the Reds?

Sowetan 10/3/88

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FOCUS

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 Nel, 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 Stremlau 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; destruction of the white-run economy would be a disaster; and Moscow has few contacts with whites in South Africa.

Moscow faces 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 Vagris, 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 "a 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 crack 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 2,5 billion dollars (about R5 billion) in weapons over the 1984-1985 period, and also armed Mozambique.

Mr Limberg said the

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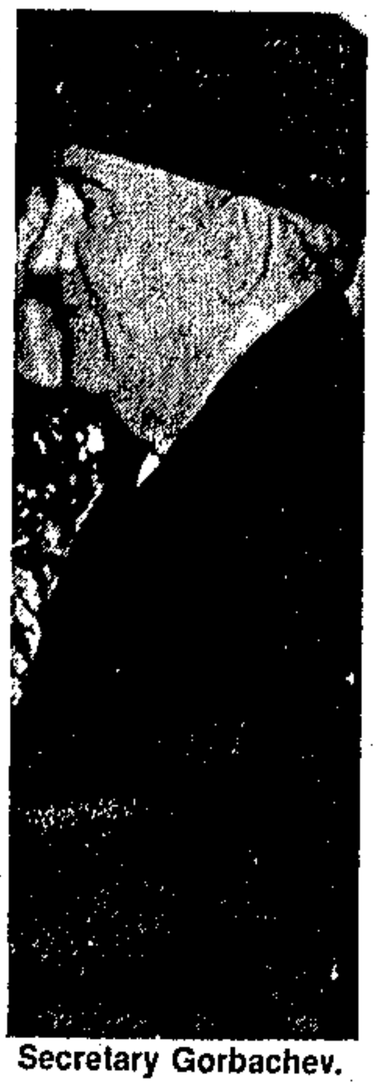
MINISTER Malan



Secretary Gorbachev.

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•From Page 8

10/3/88 Sowetan

SA forging links with the Soviets?

Soviets now seem to feel that "regional conflicts are the way the United States bleeds the Soviet Union." He made his comments at a recent seminar on Soviets and Southern Africa at John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

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While analysts doubt the Soviets will abandon Angola, its client state, they think the Soviet attitude could lead to some kind of political compromise between Angola's marxist government and the rebels controlling part of the country.

"This opens up opportunities, like settling outstanding conflicts," Mr Davis said.

Mr Chester Crocker, the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, has been conducting talks with the Angolan Government to try to arrange a pullout of 40 000 Cuban troops from Angola. He hopes to co-ordinate the removal with South Africa's grant of freedom to Namibia.

Mr Brink, in his article, urged South Africans not to be blinded by his government's traditional prejudice against the Soviet Union. By doing so, they may be "missing the boat of history at a crucial time," he said.

The South African embassy denies there is any relationship between Pretoria and Moscow. But the two countries are thought to have indirect ties through the international diamond cartel. —Sapa.

THE 10 MAN

Sowetan 18/3/88

Sharpeville: 3 British black MPs in demo

271A

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 £20 000 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.

'Boycott must not hit Frontline states'

HARARE — Southern Africa Frontline states must be exempted from international plans for sanctions against SA, former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm 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

MIKE HARTNACK

talks about sanctions but it is not prepared 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 Ramthal was among those who said they would not have been prepared to sit down with Botha.

Fraser and General Olusegun Obasango of Nigeria said failure by SA's major trading partners to take concerted 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

29/3/88 (279A)

By Inga Molzen

At least nine South African Defence Force raids into neighbouring states, in which 146 people have died, have been acknowledged by the SADF since 1981.

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 *The SA Barometer*, Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan warned that South African security forces would "sniff out" any African National Congress (ANC) guerillas in neighbouring states and wipe them out.

At a general election meeting on April 8 last year, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha claimed the ANC was planning to disrupt the elections.

He warned neighbouring states South Africa would take "whatever action" necessary to stop them. The next day, three people died and two were injured in Gaborone in a mystery bomb blast for which no-one has claimed responsibility.

BOTSWANA

June 14 1985: The first known raid by SA into Botswana. Twelve killed, six injured in the Gaborone raid after 10 targets were attacked at night.

May 19 1986: Helicopter-borne SA troops storm a housing complex, an alleged ANC "transit facility" at Mogaditsane, outside Gaborone. A Botswana citizen is killed, three people injured.

June 15 1986: SADF blamed for an attack near SA border on a house in which an old woman was killed and a man and a child wounded. SADF denies responsibility for the attack.

April 8 1987: Three people killed and two injured in Gaborone when a bomb in an SA-licensed minibus explodes in a parking lot. SA Department of Foreign Affairs denies complicity in the explosion.

March 28 1988: SADF commandos kill four people, claiming they were ANC insurgents in a Tsholofelo, Gaborone house.

ZAMBIA

May 19 1986: Dawn attack on Lusaka forms part of a three-prong attack involving Gaborone in Botswana and Harare in Zimbabwe. Alleged ANC targets attacked at Makeni, 15 km south-west of Lusaka, by two SAAF 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 "reconnaissance mission" of "terrorist installations" in the town.

ZIMBABWE

December 18 1981: Zanu-PF headquarters destroyed by bomb. SA accused, but denies the allegation.

August 1982: Zimbabwe security forces shoot dead three members of a 17-strong SADF group, whom SA said had been on an "unauthorised foray" on a detention camp in south-eastern Zimbabwe, and who had hoped to free comrades there. Zimbabwe alleges the soldiers were preparing to attack strategic targets.

May 19 1986: "Bloodless" raid on an empty house in the suburb of Ashdown Park where, in 1981, ANC representative Joe Gqabi was assassinated. In central Harare, a small ANC diplomatic office 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 their own deteriorating internal security situation".

SWAZILAND

August 18 1986: Manzini offices of a Scandinavian-backed organisation, which organised scholarships for Swazis and SA refugees, raided by 10 men. Files on students taken, guards shot at. SAP says allegations on Swazi raid unfounded.

Four insurgents who crossed the border from Swaziland shot by the SAP. A fifth wounded.

October 1986: Three people, including two suspected ANC members, shot dead in a Mbabane house.

December 12 1986: In two raids, five people, including a Swiss 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 concerning recent alleged incursions by SA soldiers into Swazi border areas.

August 1987: In the past year, The Star reported that in a series of raids by mystery hit squads at least 11 ANC members had been killed. SA did not formally admit responsibility for these attacks, except for the mistaken abduction of the Swiss couple who were returned with some embarrassment.

LESOTHO

December 9 1982: Forty-two people killed — 30 of whom are alleged ANC members, the others are Lesotho civilians including women and children — after SA troops attack 12 alleged ANC targets in business areas, wealthy suburbs and poor areas of Maseru.

The ANC's Lesotho representative Zola Nguini is killed in the attack as is SA national Jacqueline Quin.

The SADF, in justifying the raid, claims the ANC was planning a Christmas campaign of "deeds of terror" inside SA and 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.

October 1985: Responsibility for an explosion that damaged a house in Maseru is denied by SA.

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 Matola, 15 km from Maputo. Thirteen ANC members and a Portuguese electricity engineer are killed and at least three captured. Two SADF members killed.

October 1982: Mozambique accuses SA of setting up a base, complete with powerful radio equipment, in Malawi from which the MNR launched attacks on Mozambique. SADF denies the allegations.

December 9 1982: Mozambique says special commandos from SA working with the rebel MNR planted the explosives which blew up its main oil-storage depot at Beira.

May 23 1983: SAAF jets bomb and strafe buildings in the suburbs of Matola and Liberdade in the Mozambican capital in retaliation for the Pretoria bomb blast which killed 17 and injured more than 200 people. Mozambique reports six people killed, including two women and two children, and 40 wounded, almost all of whom are Mozambicans. SADF says its planes destroyed six ANC bases, killed 64 people including 41 ANC "terrorists" and destroyed a missile site of the Mozambique Defence Force.

October 17 1983: "Special task group" place a bomb which blows in 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 of flats did house some of its members, but that the bomb attack had hit a clinic and library used by SA refugees and injured only civilians.

October 1985: SADF's General Constand Viljoen says in a television interview that the military wilfully and without permission from the Government had flouted terms of the Nkomati Accord. This followed the discovery of diaries at a MNR base.

April 10 1986: SADF denies the dropping of two bombs by plane near Massingir dam.

November 1986: MNR operations in Tete and Sofala being led by SA reconnaissance commandos and Portuguese commandos from Natal, Maputo claimed.

May 1987: Mozambique's official news agency AIM says three people were killed during an attack by SA commandos on three different ANC targets. AIM claims it is the first direct attack by SA on Mozambique since the signing of the Nkomati Accord in March 1984. SADF refuses to comment on the "unsubstantiated allegations".

ANGOLA

In the 1981—1985 period, the Luanda government accused SA of 3 182 territoral violations, 160 air raid attacks, 230 airborne assaults, 74 land attacks and four naval landings.

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 Zimbabwe border.

On February 12 the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, 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 Naathan 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

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Spill-off from nuclear détente

This analysis of the dynamics of regional political amd military developments in southern Africa was written by the *FM*'s Washington correspondent. It is based on an interview with a high-ranking US official with a policy role in the region.

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 out 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 Alfonso 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 no-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 — 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.

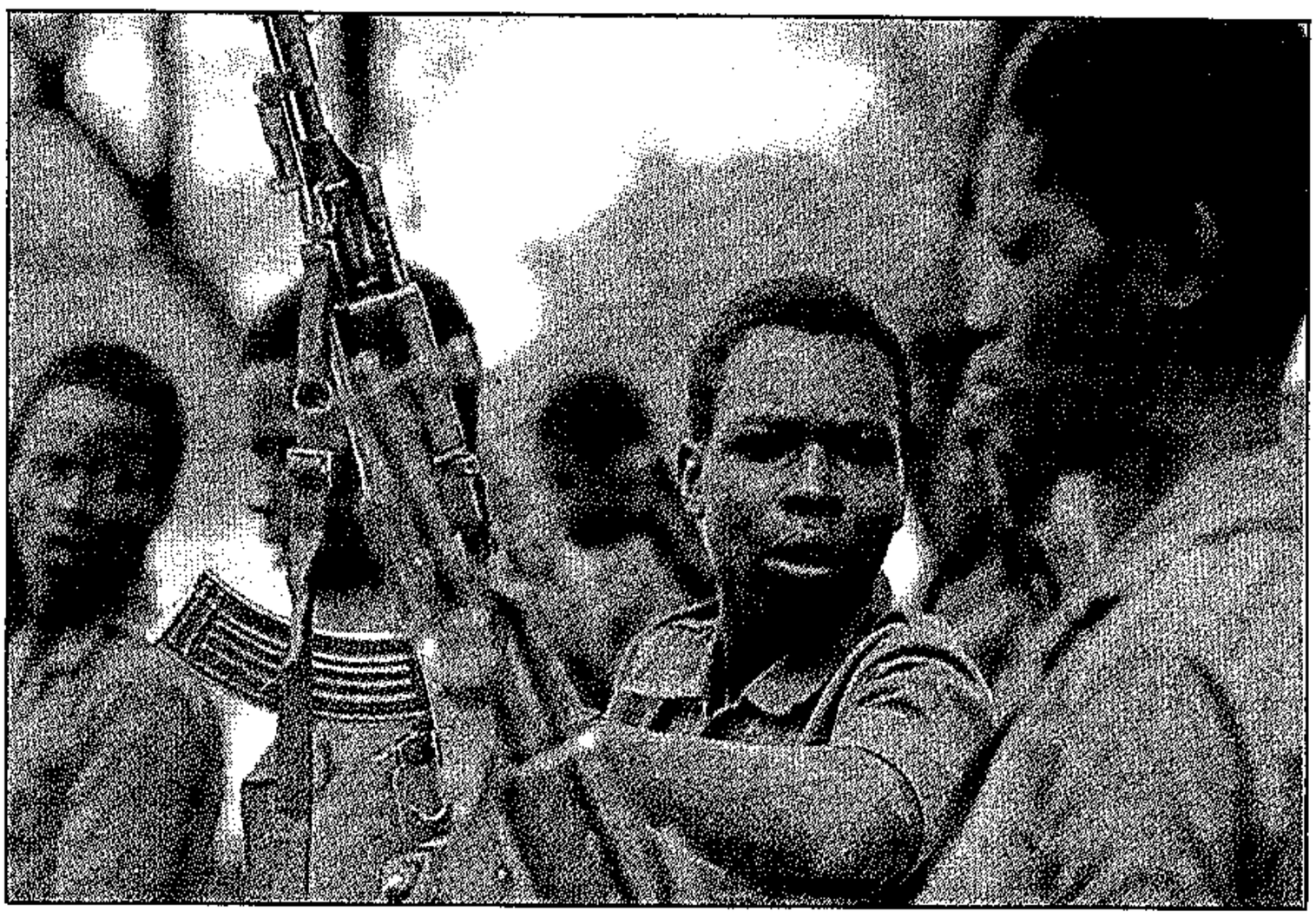
"The South African military certainly are building up in Namibia and in a sense if you have a presence you do not have to have a policy. But it is also true that they have not been tested there seriously in a long time. Swapo has been whittled down substantially in recent years; its real threat is not military but political. That part of the region is a see-saw. 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 neuralgia 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 a number of regions, Afghanistan being only one. That is 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. ■



Unita militia ... too much to ask to ditch them?

Frontline aid should build SA links — Oppenheimer

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.

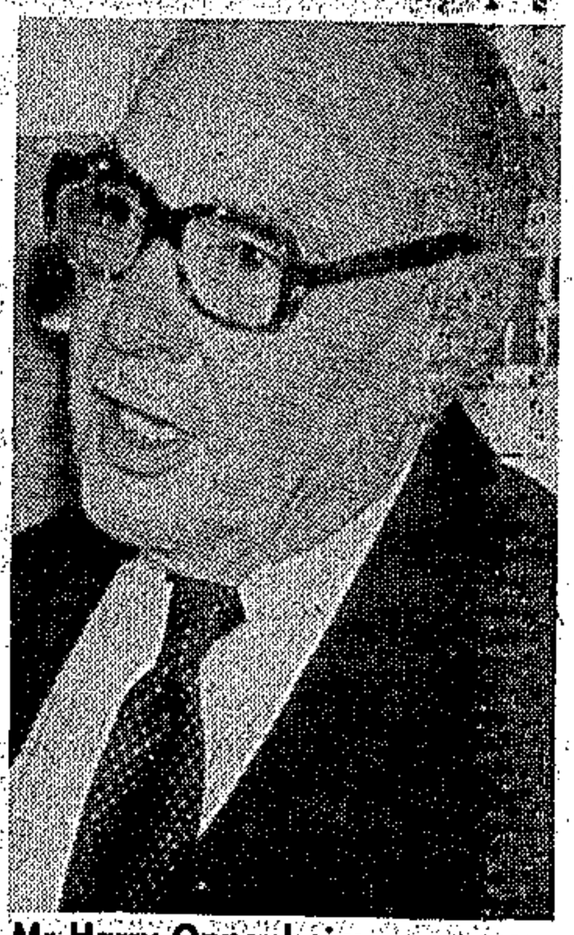
In an article in the latest issue of the news analysis magazine, *Inside South Africa*, Mr Oppenheimer said aid tied to attempts to make the Frontline states independent of South Africa could have a "damaging and possibly dangerous" effect on relationships in the Southern African region.

"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 colonialism.



Mr Harry Oppenheimer ... certain kinds of aid to Frontline states "dangerous".

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.

SA denies responsibility

African fury at car bomb assassination attempt in Maputo

Professor Albie Sachs is carried to hospital after being severely injured in yesterday's blast.

Maputo

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 Ismhail 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.

PFP lashes UN ambass

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

The absence from his post of South Africa's Ambassador to the United Nations during a critical time for the country last month has been criticised by the PFP.

Mr Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party Foreign Affairs spokesman and MP for Durban Berea, commented this week on UN ambassador Mr Les Manley's absence from New York during the March 8 Security Council debate on mandatory punitive sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Manley was visiting his fiancee, Miss Charlene Victor, in Paris, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed today.

Miss Victor had been transferred from the UN posting after her relationship with Mr Manley was made public in January.

About three weeks before the debate, Mr Manley had obtained permission for a period of absence from his post but had not informed his superiors the visit would coincide with the debate, sources in the department said today.

As soon as his absence was discovered, Mr Manley was ordered back to New York by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

Mr Swart said that, only days before the debate, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha had claimed credit
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The attack was the latest in a series carried out against ANC members outside South Africa. At least six ANC members, including the ANC's Paris representative, Mrs Dulcie September, have been killed outside the country this year and two died in car bombs in Botswana and Zimbabwe in 1987.

The official Mozambican news agency AIM 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 internal 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 Prof Sachs's car on to 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.

'Horrible'

A US citizen, Ms 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," Ms 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.

Eksteen's job 'in jeopardy'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Mr Riaan Eksteen's position as Director-General of the SABC was in jeopardy today after an unfavourable 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 largly 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 inititiative.

Mr Dave Dalling, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on the 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.

Region's manpower ministers hold talks

MBABANE — Swaziland will host the SADCC (Southern African Development Co-ordination 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 preceeded by an SADCC training council meeting yesterday and today. — Sapa.

Regional power play

279A

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 34 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 north-western Zimbabwe and northern Botswana. Financed to the tune of more than US$3m 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.

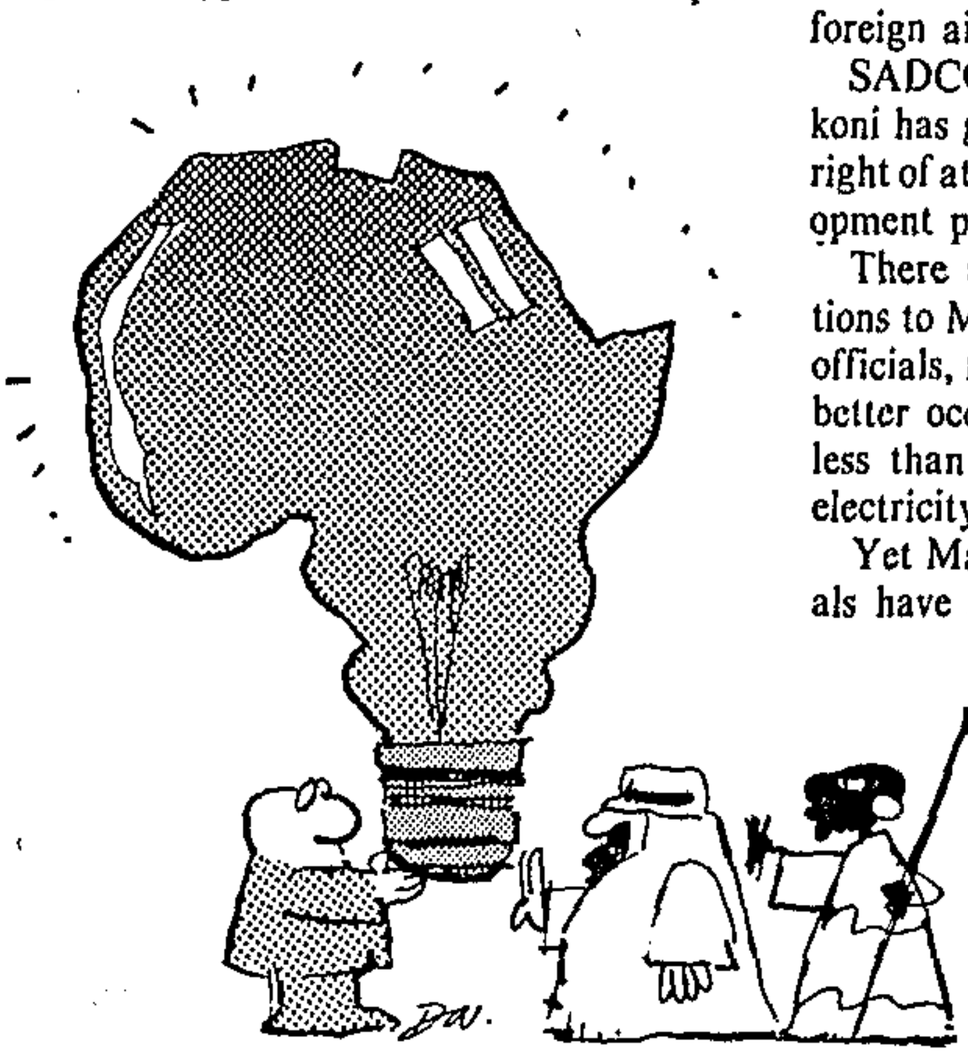
Reduction of dependency on SA's electricity is a prime objective of SADCC. It recently announced South African destabilisation had cost the region $970m in transport and energy costs, and stressed that energy was a major focus of attention.

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 Lesotho Highlands Water 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 editorials 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 (279A)

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. Star 45786

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.

REGIONAL CONFLICT

The process of non-peace

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.

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 too 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 conjuction 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.

Peace, in itself, is a fetching prospect. Only in a subcontinent where peace reigns would, say, Eskom'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 summitry, 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.

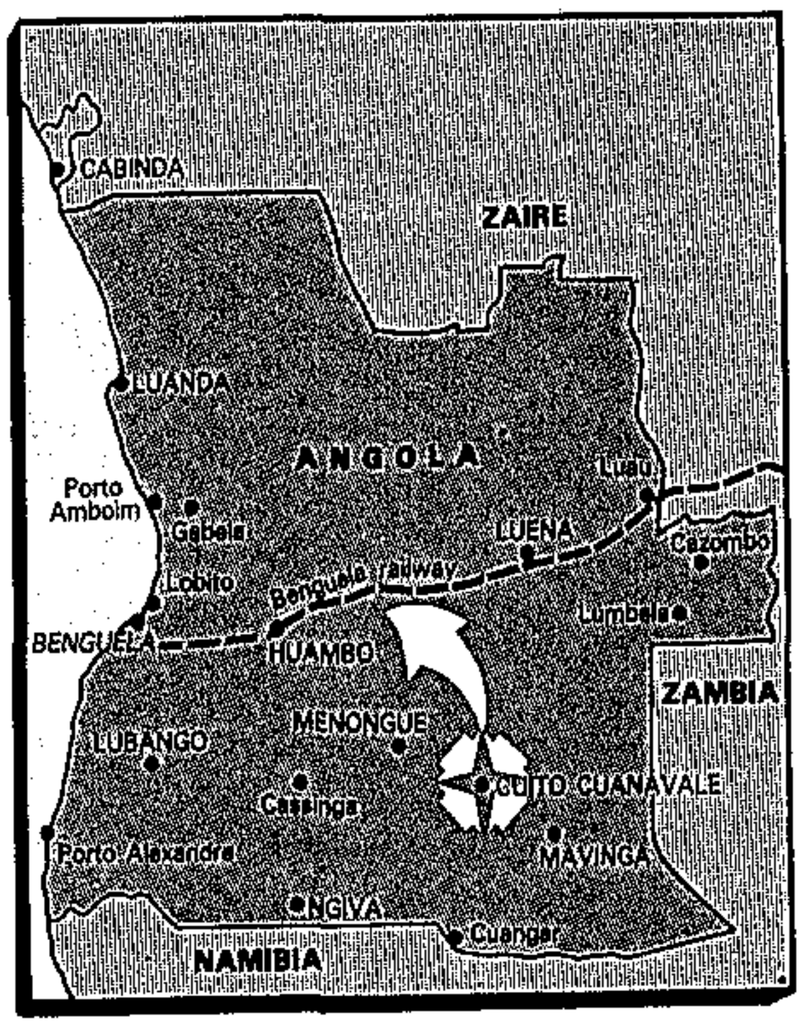
In short, the initiative for peace is coming largely from abroad. Meanwhile, far from rushing to accept the olive branch which is being proffered, SA appears to be playing the role of a coy bride. In the field, the SA-Unita alliance appears to be in the superior position, having repulsed the MPLA offensive 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 Swapo cadres operating from Angolan soil; and one 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 Pisani 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 important, it wants to keep Swapo 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 Swapo cadres fighting alongside Angolan troops.

Consequently, Schrire ventures: "SA would not be unhappy to see the peace process fail."

Du Pisani 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 reconciliation 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 heartily 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 Pisani, 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 Swapo 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 Pisani: "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 timetable envisaging a phased Cuban troop withdrawal over one or two years — and that the ball will be placed firmly back in SA's court.

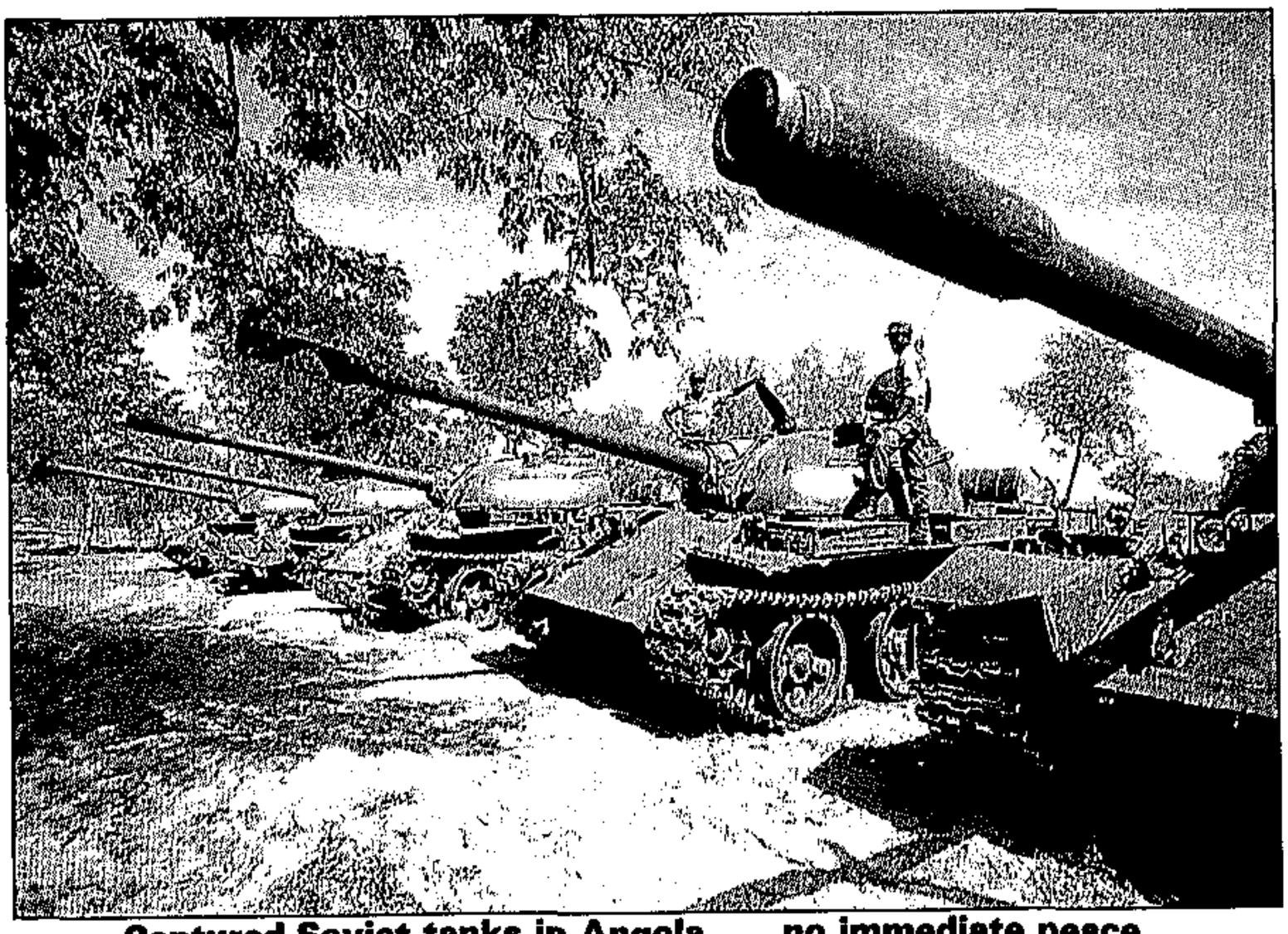
SA will then either have to seize it and run with it or stall for more time as it has habitually done in the past.

In the absence of any dramatic political breakthrough, Du Pisani 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 iteslf.

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. ■

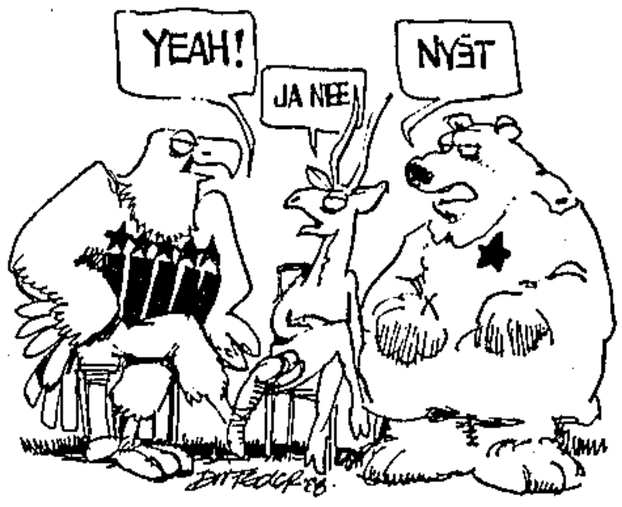


Captured Soviet tanks in Angola . . . no immediate peace

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-President George Bush's chances in the November presidential elections — should anything substantial come out of the sensitive deliberations. That is a dimension which observers at home should remember in assessing realistic prospects for peace in southern Africa (see *Leaders*). Facing the serious threat of more comprehensive sanctions imposed by the Democrat-controlled US Congress, SA's negotiators in London, lead 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 the failure of his policy of constructive engagement — 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 "before 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 had shot down two Russian-built MiG fighters and had killed 67 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 regional peace initiative involving SA, the US, Britain and the various regional players, according to analysts close to government. As the *FM* went to press no major breakthroughs were expected; but the broader implications of the contact between SA, the US, Cuba and Angola are probably significant.

Coupled to the latest talks, aimed at ending 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 minister, Jacinto Veloso, was in Cape Town last week to ask President P W Botha to meet Mozambique's leader, Joachim Chissano. Moves to revive the Nkomati Accord follow reports of a fast deteriorating security and economic situation in Mozambique and recent revelations in the US of gruesome atrocities by the Mozambique National Resistance 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 Esterhuyse, says that even the *possible* solution of regional conflicts in southern Africa may have a positive influence on the anti-sanctions lobbies — particularly within the British government where PM Margaret Thatcher is under increasing pressure to justify 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 are signs of progress towards regional stability. 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.

Esterhuyse says "cautious initiatives" are currently coming from some African countries 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 dynamic new factor into the regional initiatives. As far as the Angolan initiative is concerned, the less said in public about a possible settlement, the better the chances will be that "something meaningful" will occur, he believes.

Esterhuyse emphasises, however, that SA must accept that its path to the West is through Africa — and that there are countries 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-rand exchange rate, American exports to SA rose from $1 158,3m in 1986 to $1 281,2m in 1987. Imports from SA were sharply lower, as might be expected, down from a near record $2 476,2m in 1986 to $1 399,0m last year.

Thus, on the surface, SA managed a minuscule 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 doubled its import flow last year. Other products which have kept their market share or increased sales, despite the shrinkage of American demand, include ferromanganese and chromes, wood pulp and nickel.

South Africans, in turn, appear more in-

Development Programmes. The main aim of a Population Development Programme refers to a balance between population size, socio-economic development and natural resources. This places emphasis on demographic programmes (including growth control programmes) as well as development programmes. One can therefore not refer to population development initiatives in Southern Africa as only population growth programmes.

Co-operation between South Africa and the TBVC-states

Substantial progress has been made with discussion between South Africa and the TBVC-states regarding the implementation of Population Development programmes.

Since 1984 SATBVC discussions on population development matters took place in the Multilateral Working Group on Population Development. Substantial SA-TBVC population development co-ordination was established in this working group. To strengthen the negotiation South Africa took the initiative to host the first SATBVC ministerial meeting on population development during February 1987. At this meeting Ministers politically committed themselves to the implementation of Population Development Programmes in the different states. The Ministers further, to strengthen co-ordination, decided to upgrade the Working Group on Population Development to the status of a Multilateral Technical Committee on population development and to establish Bilateral Technical Committees in the RSA and each of the TBVC-states.

During 1987 substantial progress was made between South Africa and the TBVC-states with regard to the implementation of Population Development Programmes in these states. Approval at political level to implement a Population Development Programme in each of the TBVC-states has been obtained. Transkei, Ciskei and Venda have excepted programme structures and is in the process of establishing personnel components. Bophuthatswana on the other hand has thought it fit to establish a separate department for population development.

Co-operation between the RSA Government and Selfgoverning Areas

Progress regarding the implementation of Population Development Programmes was also made in the Selfgoverning Areas. To establish population development discussion and subsequent co-ordination between the RSA Central Government and Selfgoverning Areas, Ministers involved in population development met during March 1987 to discuss joint actions.

The Ministers at this meeting decided to establish a joint Technical Committee between the RSA Central Government and the Selfgoverning Areas. They further decided that joint co-operation should be strengthened by the establishment of Bilateral Technical Committees between the RSA Central Government and the Selfgoverning Areas.

The aforementioned structures materialised during 1987.

KaNgwane, Lebowa, KwaZulu and QwaQwa accepted the implementation of Population Development Programmes at Cabinet level and is presently planning the implementation of population development structures and personnel components.

The RSA Central Government is further negotiating with Gazankulu and KwaNdebele to obtain political commitment for the implementation of a Population Development Programme.

(2) (a) Falls away.

(b) Falls away.

Resignation of qualified nurses

902. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

Whether, during the latest specified period of three years for which figures are available, any (a) White, (b) Coloured, (c) Indian and (d) Black qualified nurses resigned from employment in hospitals falling under his Department; if so, how many in each case in each specified year?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

This information was furnished by the different Provincial Governments:

ORANGE FREE STATE

Yes.

	1985	1986	1987
(a) White	261	205	209
(b) Coloured	0	2	7
(c) Indian	0	0	0
(d) Black	71	74	114

NATAL

Yes.

	1985	1986	1987
(a) White	424	404	440
(b) Coloured	29	33	23
(c) Indian	35	59	56
(d) Black	172	143	102

CAPE PROVINCE

Yes.

	1985	1986	1987
(a) White	559	587	567
(b) Coloured	175	203	173
(c) Indian	3	3	10
(d) Black	96	101	121

TRANSVAAL

Yes.

	1985	1986	1987
(a) White	1 055	943	858
(b) Coloured and	51	32	29
(c) Indian			
(d) Black	276	308	283

Zimbabwe/Zambia/Zaïre: traffic tonnage handled

934. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

What was the traffic tonnage handled by South African harbours for (a) Zimbabwe, (b) Zambia and (c) Zaïre in 1980, 1983, 1985 and 1987, respectively?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

Financial year	(a)	(b)	(c)
1981/82	732 544	137 706	316 320
1983/84	415 113	238 095	312 537
1984/85	541 368	161 224	310 885
1986/87	963 589	61 668	227 512

Record is only being kept since the 1981/82 financial year.

Experiments on animals

948. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) Whether any universities in the Republic are conducting experiments on animals for research and other purposes; if so, (a) which universities and (b) what is the nature of the experiments;

(2) whether any control is exercised by the State in this regard; if so, what control?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) Yes.

(a) No official records are kept of universities which are conducting experiments on animals.

(b) (i) Training in respect of medical and veterinary professions;

(ii) research in connection with the diagnosis and treatment of sicknesses in the medical and veterinary world;

(iii) diagnostic tests in respect of disease conditions in man and animals; and

(iv) testing of substances for use by man, animals and plants.

(2) No, but various state departments and interested organizations are at the moment, preparing a code of ethics for the humane treatment of animals used in research, training, diagnosis and testing of substances in the Republic. Before this code is finalised, it will be discussed with all interested parties including the Committee of University Principals, with a view to the implementation thereof. Control is being exercised over the ill-treatment of animals through the Animal Pro-

SA is winning market battle, says SADCC

Star 12/5/86

279A

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.

This — in their eyes lamentable — state of affairs is slammed in a hard-hitting editorial in the second issue of *Southern African Economist*, a publication owned and published by SADCC Press Trust, an organisation established by the nine-nation grouping of independent black-ruled southern African states.

The commentary says: "In 1979 Mr P W Botha floated the idea of a constellation of southern African states, under Pretoria's leadership.

"That idea was misbegotten. But today, without any obvious help from its promoters, it is being fulfilled in trade terms as 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 added: "We cannot accept that where racist and totalitarian 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) co-operation 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 door of each country have stiffened, so that now they open only outwards to let out exports and most reluctantly inwards 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.

279A B/day 16/5/88.

SA trade routes 'lead to destruction'

HARARE — Independent southern African states are sponsoring their own political and economic destruction by using trade routes through SA, a senior Zimbabwean government minister said yesterday in Harare.

Senior Minister of Political affairs in the President's Office Maurice Nyagumbo told a Political Science Students' Association conference at the University of Zimbabwe that some people might not understand why there was so much determination to abandon SA trade routes.

"The crux of the matter is that southern African states, Zimbabwe included, find themselves in an absurd contradiction in the milieu of SA-linked trade relations.

"The duty that we, as Frontline states, pay for the passage of our our goods through SA constitutes most if not all of the funds that equip and sustain the MNR and Unita and any other puppet organisations which in turn sabotage the sovereignty and the very economic institutions we are striving to consolidate and uphold.

"Paradoxically, independent southern African states are actually sponsoring their own political and economic destruction and in effect this is self-destruction.

"The situation cannot and should not be allowed to continue," he said.

The conference, titled "After Unity: Whither Zimbabwe" is being addressed by a number of prominent Zimbabweans of varying viewpoints.

Nyagumbo told the meeting Zimbabwe's achievement of national unity was "an instructive model to the anti-apartheid forces of liberation both in and around Africa."

He said December's unity accord between Zanu-PF and Zapu-PF and the recent amnesty should enable greater development to take place. — Sapa.

ARGUS 17/5/85

Socialism in retreat, says Malan

279A

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. Premier Gorbachev says so himself."

Latest statistics from the US showed that Afghanistan had cost the Soviets $2,5-billion over the past five years. Arms aid to Cuba had cost $6,4-billion and Angola had taken $4-billion out of Russian coffers.

"Angola seems to have been an extremely expensive experiment in the exportation of Marxism. Today Angola is in social and economic chaos, Cuba lives on Moscow's mercy and Swapo is generally viewed as a mistake."

The scene and its players in Southern Africa had changed dramatically, he said.

But while the Soviets could pull their troops out of Afghanistan, 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 these 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 Bonteheuwel, 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 Broederstroom who wanted to overthrow South Africa with violence.

Malan lashes out at Frontline states

Political Staff 279B
Star 19/5/88

While South Africa was prepared to live with the Marxist policies of its neighbours it would not accept the exportation 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 puts the interests of Africa first and that does 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 this country had no interest in destabilising its neighbours, that it had no desire to control the governments or organisations in southern African states and that it had no expansionist ambitions.

But these 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.

DD 24/5/88

OAU declaration calls for unity in struggle against SA

ADDIS ABABA — African foreign ministers were putting the final touches to a declaration recommending sanctions against South Africa yesterday.

The declaration will also call for unity between guerilla groups fighting apartheid and urge the UN Security Council to hold a special meeting on southern Africa.

The declaration, timed to mark the 25th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) tomorrow, will go to African heads of state meeting in the Ethiopian capital from Thursday.

The OAU assistant secretary-general, Mr Yilma Tadesse, said the declaration would give priority to armed struggle against the South African Government by the main liberation movements.

These were: the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in South Africa, and the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) in Namibia.

There were also calls for the ANC and PAC to re-unite.

"They (the liberation movements) will have to step up the armed struggle and the OAU will try to do the best it can to help them," he said.

In his report to the ministers on Sunday, the OAU Secretary General, Mr Ide Oumarou, suggested African states revive the idea of setting up a OAU defence force.

He proposed bilateral talks with frontline states on possible military assistance.

He appealed for more member nations to send troops to southern Africa to help defend the frontline states against attack by South Africa.

"When the armed struggle gathers momentum, South Africa will be seeking scapegoats outside its frontiers for problems at home," he said.

"It will no longer be the limited commando raids.

"The frontline states are going to be constant targets for aggression.

"Unless member states are prepared to struggle side by side with their brothers in South Africa, just as Tanzania and Zimbabwe are doing in Mozambique, it is pointless to talk about the liberation of Namibia and South Africa," Mr Oumarou said.

The OAU has often discussed proposals for a multi-national force to be stationed in southern Africa to help defend the frontline states and crush apartheid in South Africa.

Until now such proposals have been coolly received by larger and more influential states in the organisation.

Mr Oumarou accused the OAU's 50 members of complacency in the face of the South African military presence in Angola and attempts by South Africa to destabilise other frontline states.

"The question of the collective security of Africa has been treated over the years with a certain amount of disinterest, and yet both real and potential threats to the security of the continent are there for all to see."

He reminded members of the OAU's 1976 Mauritius declaration, which stated that "an attack on any frontline state was to be regarded as an attack on the rest of Africa".

The OAU declaration, which will be formally adopted by this week's summit, is expected to highlight the organisation's successes and failures since its foundation in 1963, and map out a new strategy for the future.

South Africa figured prominently in the draft declaration, which pointed to the OAU's inability to defeat apartheid in South Africa and bring independence to Namibia as the organisation's main failures.

Mr Oumarou said the white minority government in South Africa had so far refused to dismantle racism in South Africa and give independence to Namibia because it had not seen any real need to change the status quo.

South Africa's efforts to destabilise its black neighbours had so far destroyed $30 billion worth of infrastructure in the frontline states and claimed more than one million lives.

Mr Tadesse said the OAU would again recommend that sanctions against South Africa should be comprehensive and mandatory.

Delegates said the emphasis, however, would be on a short list of economic sanctions which opponents of a full trade embargo might agree to.

These would include barring the sale of oil, the purchase of South African gold and all credits to the South African Government.—Sapa-RNS

Kinnock to visit Frontline States

Star 25/6/85

Q79A

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 counteracting 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 Gaborone, 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 28/6/88

279A

SOWETAN Foreign Service

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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 dependance 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.

279A

A front-line season of disasters for SA

By PETER WELLMAN
in Harare

THE South African Defence Force can't move around the frontline states unchallenged anymore, chasing down their enemies.

Two minor South African Defence Force disasters in the last two weeks (in Botswana and Zimbabwe) have compounded the major one at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola, and diplomats in the Fronline States say Pretoria's generals and politicians are at loggerheads with each other as a result.

In Botswana, Corporal Johannes Basson went on trial last week for the attempted murder of policemen. He was captured in a bungled mission, presumably against African National Congress targets, by five South African commandos

In Zimbabwe, Charles Dennis Beahan, also known as Henry Peter Coleman, faces charges under the 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 centring 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 politicans, 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 attempt 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 preceeded 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

Trade barriers must go

Star 11/7/88

279B

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.

15th BIRTHDAY

SADCC accuses SA

279A Bday 11/7/88

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.

2791A

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.

LAWYERS' AID

SOWETAN, Tuesday, July 12, 1988

SA 'using terror tactics' against SADCC

Sowetan 12/7/88

2790

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 Conferenece 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 wil 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 "terrorism 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 bank-notes he was trying to smuggle out of the country, it was reported yesterday.

SA may try to topple countries — report

Star 13/7/88

BY SUE LEEMAN
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 Co-ordinating Conference, which plans to open a number of major new and repaired transport routes then.

However, if 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

Star 14/7/89

279A

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.

Mrs Glenys Kinnock . . . refuses to wear gold in case it was mined in South Africa.

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.

W/Mail 15-21/7/88

Much fighting talk about SA, but the real foe is Maggie

The Kinnock tour of Africa produces plenty of sharp talk about apartheid, but the barbs are really aimed at 10 Downing Street.

DAVID BERESFORD
reports from Harare

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 timeous for him. The apartheid issue is, of course, Kinnock's strong suite against Margaret Thatcher — the prime minister being seen to be vulnerable on the issue, largely as a result of her obdurancy over sanctions. And the Oppostition leader has lost no opportunity to hammer her.

Standing on the Zambian border looking at the South African flag fluttering over a military base in the Caprivi Strip, he described her as uncharitable, uncaring, disingenuous and lacking in "moral obligation" and accused her 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 "animals" and "cowards" remarks with a reference to Thatcher as the "main apologist for Pretoria".

Thatcher appeared to have been stung by Kinnock and attempted to counter, accusing him of breaking Westminister convention by attacking her in foreign countries. Anticipating that the expiry of the stay of execution for the Sharpeville Six would also be used against her by the Labour leader, she moved to show a more sympathetic attitude towards the condemned prisoners, inviting Joyce Mokhesi, the sister of one of the six, Francis Mokhesi, into 10 Downing Street for coffee and announcing she was standing by to make a final plea of clemency to PW Botha.

But Kinnock did not falter, looking increasingly buoyant as he hurried from state banquets to waiting aircraft. He is an outstanding speaker and won enthusiastic responses from his audiences.

There were, of course, pitfalls along the way, notably the undemocratic nature of several of the states he was visiting and lauding.

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 as to the mismanagement of black African economies he met with more enthusiasm. They triggered him on one of his hobby horses — the iniquities 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 white South Africa.

"South Africa is a state willing to use terror for its deliberate purpose of destabilisation, a systematic campaign of violence against the innocent which shatters the pretence of the civilisation on which the apartheid regime from time to time likes to pride itself," he said.

"Since the South Africans deliberately set their hands to the policy of wholesale destabilisation right across the whole spectrum of the frontline states in the early part of this decade, a million children have died directly because of that destabilisation, the waste of resources and the direct violence particularly in Mozambique ... It is not an exaggeration to accept the idea that has been offered by several of the aid agencies and independent agencies who describe what has been going on in the last eight or nine years as a holocaust."

Stressing, as always, the need for sanctions to prevent an even greater conflagration, Kinnock nevertheless emphasised his own and his party's opposition to the use of political violence — warning the African National Congress that it was likely to prove counter-productive.

The Kinnocks inspect the remains of a Botswana house attacked by SA commandos Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, Afrapix

'Change will result from internal struggle'

Attack S African destabilisation, Frontline states told

STV 18/7/88

279A

LONDON — Southern Africa's Frontline states will remain uneasily 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 ascendancy, 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

Cape Times 20/7/88

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 from 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 1981 nearly 700 000 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 comprehensive 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 organization 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.

● Kinnock mocked for 'losing cool' — Page 7

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."

"He will 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 lack of action by this government. The prime minister earns the reputation of being an appeaser of the apartheid regime."

Visibly enraged, Mrs Thatcher roared straight back: "He knows I condemn apartheid. I totally disagree with him about sanctions and unlike him I am not prepared to sit in this House comfortably and impose starvation 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. They urge comprehensive sanctions but they do not themselves impose sanctions from their own countries because of the poverty it would cause 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 "commend 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 FAUVET 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 enourmous 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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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 enourmous 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.

the chairmans...

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 thwart 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. — Sapa.

Millions allocated to better services in Vaal

By STAN MHLONGO

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 sewerage; R2-million on water systems and R413 000 on recreation, investigations into libraries and into dumping grounds for refuse.

Vereeniging, Evaton, Meyerton, Vanderbijlpark, Roshnee, Rustervaal, Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong and Bophelong 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 12 years of civil war.

Societé Générale de Belgique, which owns 90% of the railway through a subsidiary, said it planned to send experts to survey the 1 347km of line between the Atlantic port of Lobito and Dilolo 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 interests 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.

Societé 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 Societé Générale had had contacts with each of the parties involved in trying to revive the railway. — Sapa-Reuter.

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 communique 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 bandits" by the "Pretoria 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.

B/Dev 2 FIA 11/8/88

Mugabe voices misgivings about Angolan peace accord

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — President Robert Mugabe fears the Angola-Namibia peace accord could lead to an intensification of SA "destablisation" 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.

Frontline six welcome the ceasefire

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 R4bn 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 Herstige 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 Tibaijuka, of the University of Dar es Salaam, said these "macro-economic" 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

Tibaijka 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 (Enda) deputy director Joshua Gwatira said food aid to the SADCC region had doubled between 1980 and 1986, totalling one million tons a year. — Sapa.

Political comment in this issue by Ken Owen. Newsbills by Kevin Davie. Headlines and sub-editing by Michael Moon. All of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

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 neighbouring 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.

279A Star 18/8/88

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 6 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 destabilisation 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 organisation to deal specifically with displaced people. It was felt that there were enough aid organisations in the field. — Sapa-Reuter.

279A

Transport projects hit by SA sabotage, says lecturer

HARARE — Lack of skilled manpower, outdated infrastructures and sabotage by SA had resulted in fewer than 20 of the proposed 207 Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference transport projects being completed by 1987, Zimbabwe University lecturer Daniel Tevera said.

Last year the 207 SADCC transport and communications projects costing US$4,2bn included development of civil aviation, ports and water transport, roads and railways, telecommunications, postal services and metereology, Tevera said in the June issue of the Zimbabwe Science News.

In spite of inadequate skilled manpower, infrastructures and problems of sabotage, rehabilitation had begun on the Nacala route from Lilongwe (Malawi) to the Mozambican coast, and Malawi was already using this route for exports, he said.

The Tazara route, which carried about 45% of Zambia's import and export trade via Dar es Salaam, was facing serious financial problems.

"At the beginning of 1987, the chairman of the Tazara board of directors reported that a further US$179,63m was required to complete the rehabilitation exercise," he said.

The line was pivotal as an alternative to southern routes for Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi.

The Beira Corridor project, upgrading rail and road routes from Mutare to Beira and the port facility itself, would require US$351m.

Tevera judged SADCC transport projects to have little impact in promoting regional integration.

"Axes of integration should be developed by providing linking routes, for example, between Tanzania and Mozambique and between Angola and Zambia," he said. — Sapa.

SADCC ponders its 'economic nightmare'

22-28/7/88 W/Mail 279A

The SADCC summit in Maputo criticises trade relationships which 'make us the perennial objects of charity'. PAUL FAUVET reports from Maputo

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 SADCC, 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 SADCC 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 SADCC businessmen. Participants had identified constraints on investment, including bureaucratic inefficiences, 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 still remained heavily dependent on the South African rail network, but there were encouraging signs that this was beginning to change.

Traffic at Dar es Salaam and Beira ports has risen sharply — from 1,6-million tonnes in 1986 to two million tonnes in 1987 in Dar es Salaam and from 1,35-million tonnes to 1,8-million tonnes in Beira.

The other key railways in Mozambique, the Nacla corridor in the north and the Limpopo line in the south, are expected to re-open to international traffic by 1989.

Food security remains a major SADCC headache. The report noted that the 1987/88 estimates showed that for all member countries, the combined availability of staple foods fell short of requirements by 1,01-million tonnes. Only Zimbabwe is producing a grain surplus.

The report stated that SADCC's efforts had been "significantly undermined by South African destabilisation", particularly aimed at Angola and Mozambique.

Joaquim Chissano

Direct South African raids on SADCC members, plus support for surrogates such as Unita in Angola and the Renamo in Mozambique "sustained an environment of insecurity and uncertainty, conditions inimical to investment and expansion of the region's economies", the report said.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda urged the international community to impose comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

He warned that the West should not think that funding for SADCC was a substitute for sanctions, which he described as a "prime element for imposing peaceful change in Southern Africa".

One of the brightest spots in the summit came when host president Joaquim Chissano announced to loud applause that Botswana had pledged 5,8-million pulas (over R6-million) for the upgrading of the Limpopo railway in Southern Mozambique. This is the first such investment by one SADCC country in another.

The offer is in the form of Botswana-produced concrete sleepers, enough for 100km of track.

Canada gives R9,2-million aid to African refugees

CP Correspondent

THE Canadian International Development Agency is to provide 4,2-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 dollar (about R15,4 million) initiative involving three water projects in Mozambique is being discussed.

The statement says a Canadian MP, Walter McLean, 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 member states.

Although the refu
problem is widespre
Southern Africa,
tance is being dir
victims in Mo
Malawi and Ang

the situation is most serious.

According to the latest statistics issued by the High Commissioner for Refugees in Malawi, there are an estimated 452 000 Mozimbican refugees in Malawi.

Angola currently has a displaced population of 1 533 000 and a total of 79 000 refugees comprising 69 000 Namibians and 10 000 South Africans.

– Ano

Demand for goods and services increasing

'SA links with Africa growing'

Star 4/10/88

279A

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

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.

Next step southern African summit

P W makes plea for peace, development

STV 4/10/88

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

GEORGE — The State President, Mr P W 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 Carlton 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.

"Our attempts 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

IRGU 5 4/10/88 2794

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.

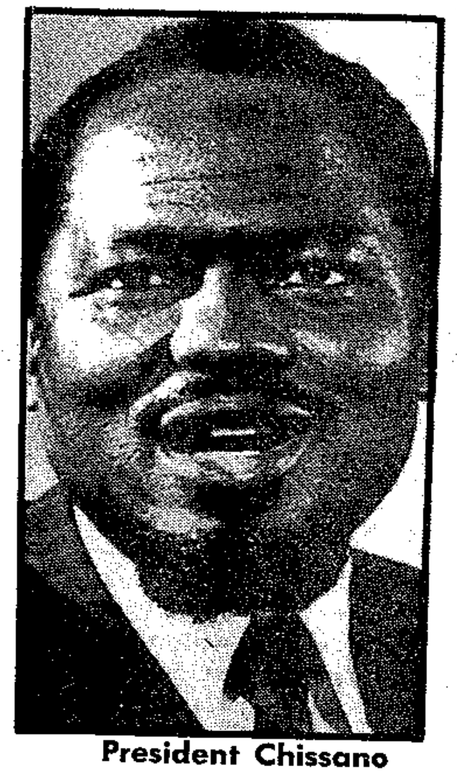
Despite threats of sanctions the demand for South African goods was constantly increasing in Africa. South Africa's most important exports to Africa included food, chemicals and medicines.

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.

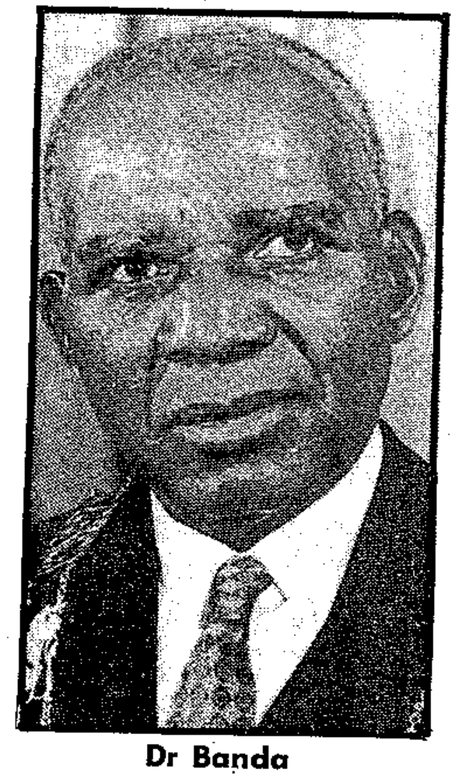
2791

Now for the hard part

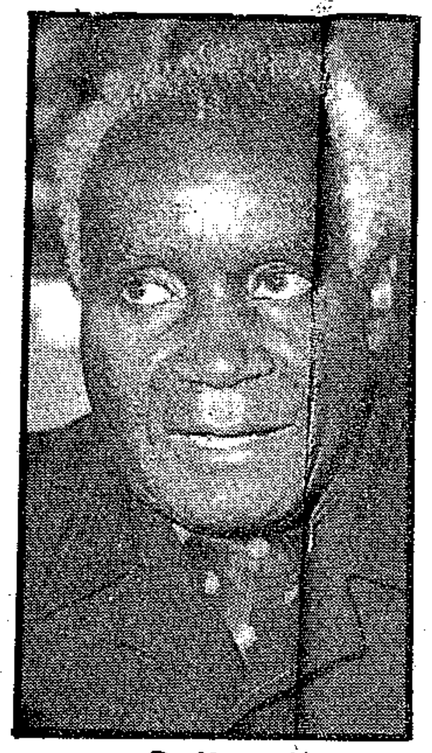
By GERALD L'ANGE, editor of the Argus Africa News Service



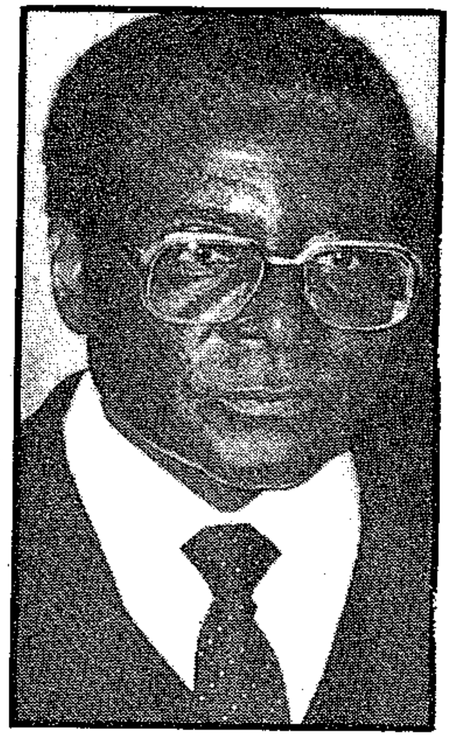
President Chissano



Dr Banda



Dr Kaunda



President Mugabe

President Botha

South Africa has to maintain diplomatic momentum among black states that may be harder to win over

IT has been roses, roses all the way for President P W Botha in his diplomatic ventures into Mozambique, Malawi and Zaire.

Now comes the hard part: maintaining the momentum among African states that may be more difficult to win over.

South Africa's diplomatic drive in black Africa needs another breakthrough if it is not to be in danger of running out of steam. Mr Botha must either have another meeting with a fourth African head of state or, better still, take part in a regional summit.

Participation in a regional summit would have infinitely more political value than a bilateral meeting. It would imply a far greater degree of acceptance, confer a great deal more respectability and open vastly more promising avenues for future exploitation.

Mr Botha said after his talks with President Mobutu of Zaire that hoped the next step would be a conference of all the leaders of Southern Africa. This suggests he has reason to believe he may be accepted soon into a regional conference. The visible evidence suggests the contrary, however.

It indicates that not all Southern African leaders are yet ready to sit down together at a conference table with South Africa, at least not without conditions that Pretoria would find unacceptable, such as insisting that the agenda include the dismantling of apartheid or South Africa's alleged destabilisation of its neighbours.

Some of the leaders may agree to a joint meeting without strings, but not all of them. President Mugabe of Zimbabwe certainly would not.

A regional meeting at some time in the future cannot be ruled out, however, especially if the ground is further cleared by more bilateral meetings or even multilateral meetings with only some of the regional leaders.

Whatever happens next, nothing can detract from the significance of the three visits Mr Botha has made in the past month. By simply making them he has broken a gaping hole in the wall of official ostracism that has for decades separated South Africa from most of black Africa.

It now becomes much easier for other states that have been dealing with Pretoria under the counter to bring these dealings out in the open and for states that have had no direct dealings to begin them.

This is what South African diplomats have been aiming at in their patient and skilful efforts to widen Pretoria's relations in the continent. The hope is that if enough states start treating openly with South Africa, others will be encouraged to follow, creating a snowball effect.

But the going is likely to be much harder from now on.

Mr Botha's meeting with President Chissano in Mozambique was a breakthrough in that it was the first meeting at this level since the Nkomati Accord was signed in 1984. But its significance was lessened by the fact that it was a meeting between leaders whose countries already had trade, labour and semi-diplomatic ties.

The meeting with President Banda of Malawi was in much the same sort of category.

President Mobutu's lavish reception for Mr Botha at Gbadolite last weekend was much more of a breakthrough, for even though Zaire has long relied on South Africa's transport and supply resources the two countries have never conducted open diplomatic exchanges.

Now Mr Botha needs another summit to keep up the momentum and the most promising country is Zambia.

It, too, relies heavily on South Africa for trade and transport. President Kaunda, while maintaining the stiff posture befitting a member of the frontline states grouping, has repeatedly offered to play an intermediary role in black Africa's efforts to persuade South Africa to drop apartheid. And he has already had one meeting with Mr Botha — at the "Marula summit" on neutral ground on the Botswana border in 1982.

There has already been speculation about a meeting soon between Mr Botha and Dr Kaunda. If it were to come off it would do a great deal to maintain the momentum of the South African diplomatic drive.

After that Pretoria would logically turn its eyes to the francophone states, mainly Ivory Coast and Gabon, with which it has long had covert or tentative dealings.

In the meantime, Pretoria will be working to consolidate the new relationships established with Mozambique and Zaire. The presidents of both countries have accepted invitations to visit South Africa and a visit by President Chissano is the most likely next move.

The South Africans would be delighted if Zaire agreed to follow the example of Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe and open a trade office in the Republic. Given the considerable volume of Zaire's trade passing through or coming from South Africa, this would be a logical move.

Whether it will be made remains to be seen, but it would do much to increase South Africa's acceptability in black Africa.

In spite of their deep-seated objection to the South African pariah, many African states have almost as strong an incentive to deal with South Africa as the Republic has to deal with them.

Pretoria hopes to achieve several things:

- Wider acceptance of gradual rather than revolutionary dismantling of apartheid;
- Denial of bases and transit routes to African National Congress insurgents;
- Undermining of the international sanctions campaign;
- Promotion of trade;
- Ending of conflicts in Southern Africa, and
- Opening of new development opportunities.

For the black states, one of the incentives is the chance to tap into the South African industrial and transport infrastructure and draw trade and development benefits not obtainable elsewhere.

In addition, African states hope that through South Africa a peaceful solution may be found to the wars in SWA/Namibia and Angola, ending their fears of the conflicts spreading wider in the region.

More African states see political reconciliation between the MPLA regime and the Unita rebels in Angola as the only way to achieve a lasting peace there. Some think it may also hold the key to independence for SWA/Namibia, so closely linked are the two issues now.

South Africa's close association with the SWA/Namibia and Angola peace initiatives has almost certainly provided the lever for the new diplomatic breakthroughs.

Particularly effective was the impression of good faith that was created by South Africa's troop withdrawal from Angola and its offer to implement the United Nations independence plan for SWA/Namibia from November 1.

If the plan were actually to be implemented and South Africa withdrew from SWA/Namibia, the rewards would be even bigger — perhaps not exactly a stampede by African states to establish relations with South Africa but certainly a much greater willingness to deal openly with the Republic.

Other developments likely to encourage such a trend would include the release of Nelson Mandela, which was raised by President Mobutu in his talks with Mr Botha.

The whole initiative could be jeopardised, however, by

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ARGUS

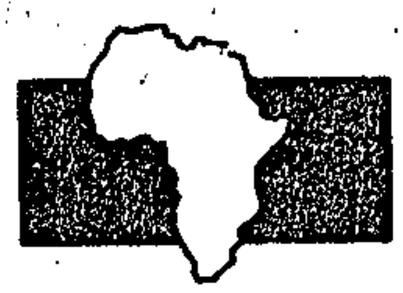
developments within South Africa itself that African states would find unacceptable or a South African Defence Force attack on ANC targets in a neighbouring state.

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 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



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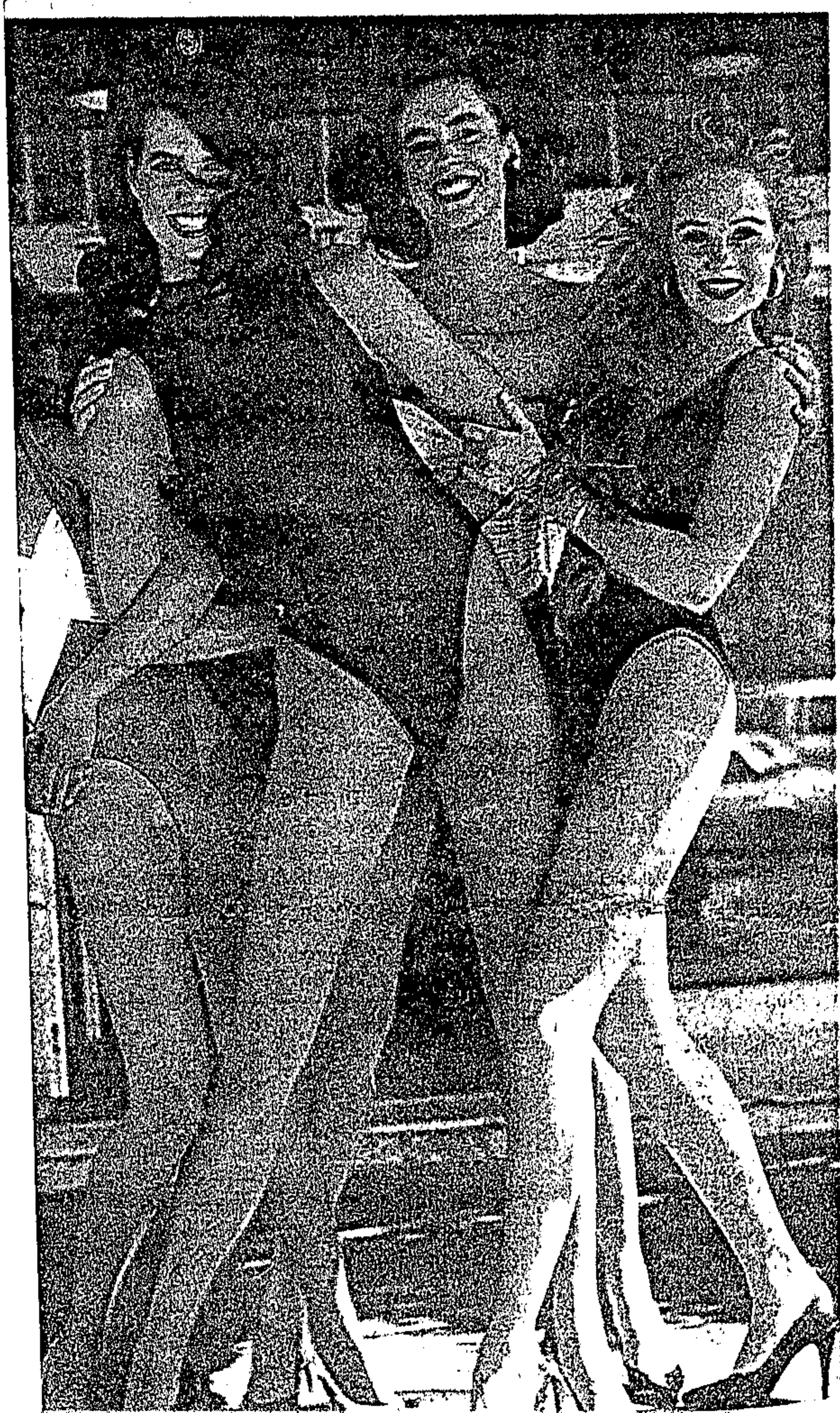

The Argus Foreign Service

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 Beukes, 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 Pik Botha, who accused him of making irresponsible and opportunistic statements to deflect attention from his own problems.

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"Dr 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."

Extra 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.

Woman ang-raped by ight men after ar hijack

e Argus Correspondent

HANNESBURG. — A Kibler rk, Johannesburg, woman s gang-raped by eight blacks Soweto after her car was hi-ked, police reported.

Detectives are hunting for men and have appealed for rmation.

A spokesman said the wom-32, was stopped in Mondeor 12.10pm on the corner of n and Booysens roads. Four n jumped in the car.

They forced her to drive to weto, where they were ed by four more.

The woman was then taken an area near Orlando power tion and raped by all eight n.

he was taken back to Mon-r and dumped.

sengers'

r, ambulancemen say Cor-der Merwe had serious head d may have been delirious.

lieve there is also a chance d his passengers before the appened.

with information or who ccident happen is asked to Moorreesburg police at

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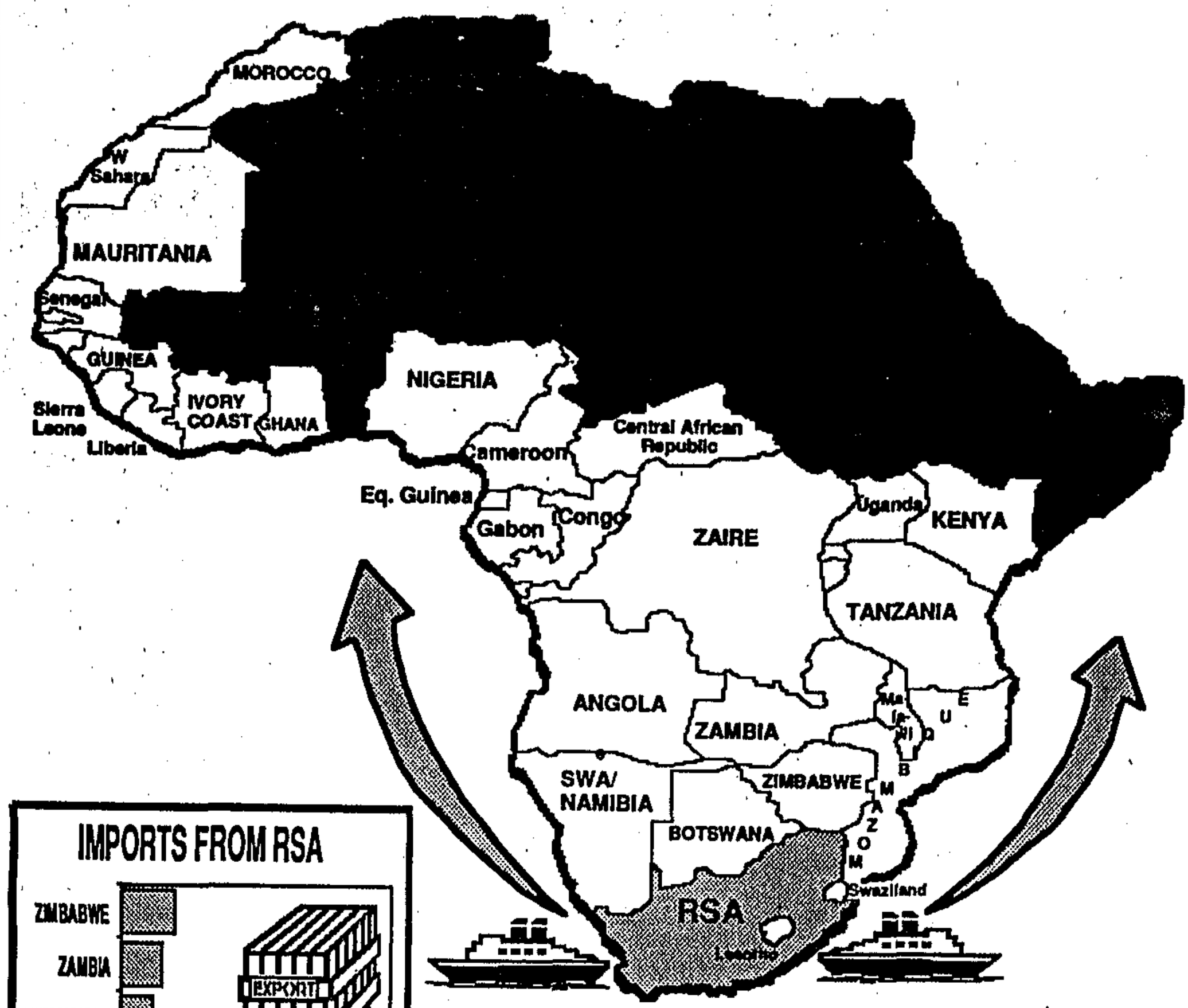
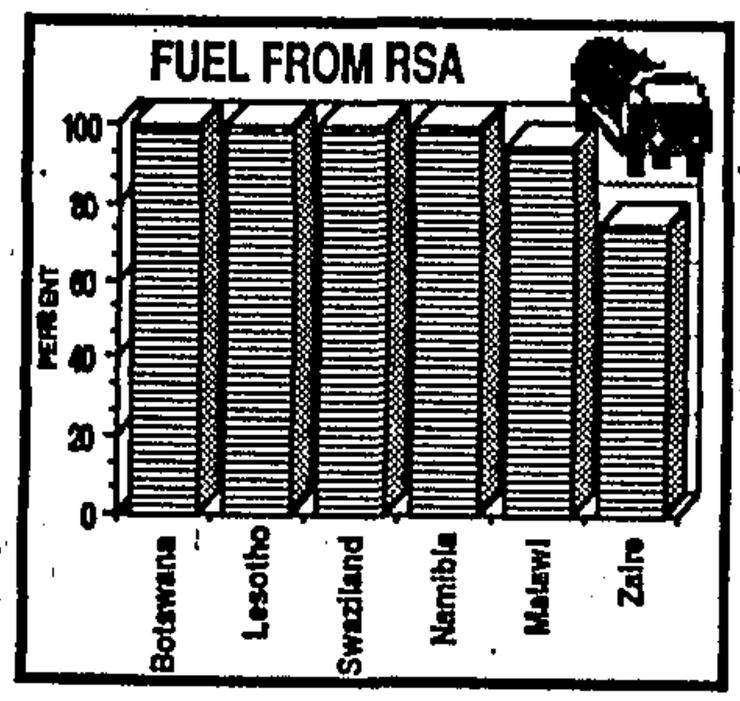
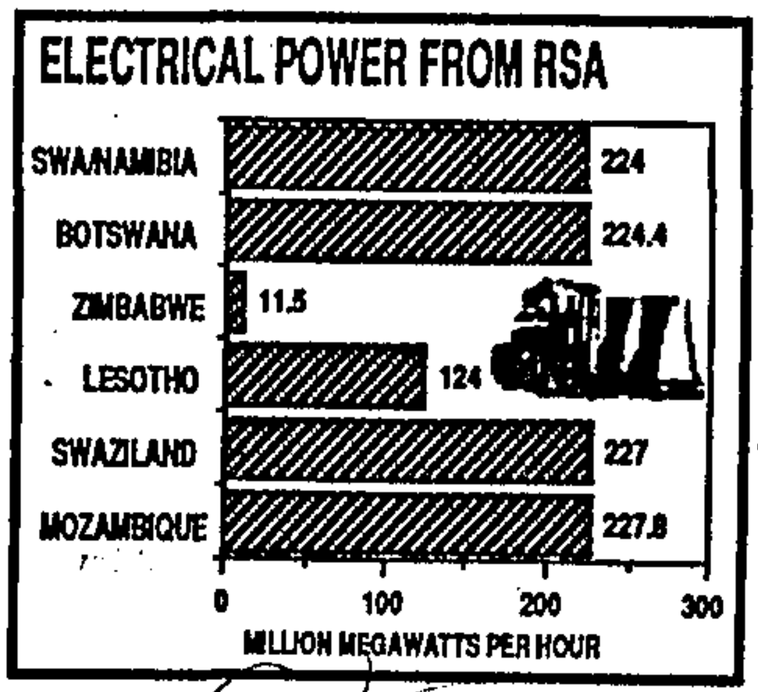
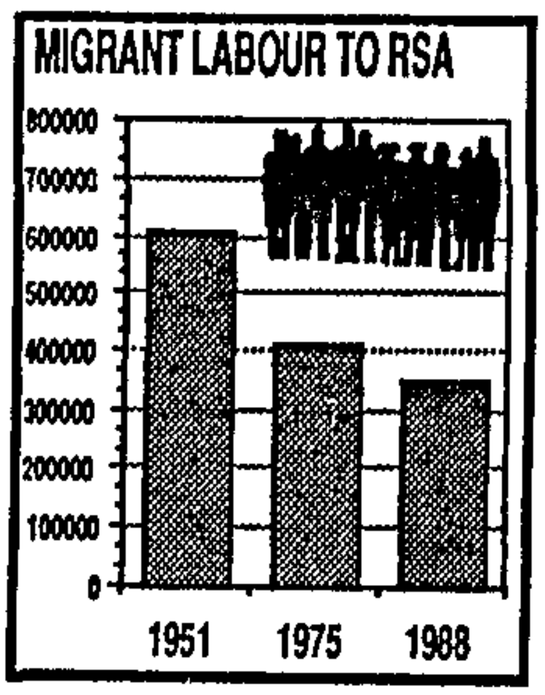
ogrammes Page 3 of Tonight.

Where South Africa trades









Graphic by Liz Warder

Black Africa and the SA connection

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.

THE State President's recent statement that South Africa is the dominant economic power in Africa is borne out by statistics.

Without its products, its power and transport facilities, numerous countries would collapse.

The Africa Institute, based in Pretoria, is convinced that the survival of South Africa's role as the economic power of much of the sub-continent, in spite of political turmoil, stands as a sharp reminder of the potential benefits to be reaped from co-operation rather than conflict.

"The manifold economic interests that South Africa shares with its neighbours are so strong that even vehement anti-South African sentiments are not readily allowed to disturb them," says Dr Erich Leistner, director of the institute.

"International boycotts and efforts to isolate us have reminded South Africans that their destiny is inextricably tied with Africa — not so much by the accident of geography but rather by the composition of the population, by the complex commercial, financial, infrastructural and technological network that joins South Africa with most of sub-equatorial Africa."

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According to the African Institute, with the sole exception of Tanzania, all SADCC members trade with South Africa. The main South African exports are food, machinery, chemical products, fuel, building materials and medical supplies.

A recent Canadian study found that Botswana relied on South Africa for no less than 80 percent of all its imports, Lesotho 95 percent, Malawi 39 percent, Mozambique 12 percent, Swaziland 90 percent, Zambia 15 percent and Zimbabwe 20 percent.

But two-way trade stretches far beyond the frontline states. South African fresh fruit goes to West Africa and Central Africa. Maize shipments have gone to Zaire, the Ivory Coast and Mauritius.

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Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and SWA/Namibia obtain all their petroleum products from South Africa. Malawi gets about 95 percent of its oil from South Africa; Zaire about 75 percent of its needs.

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Eskom, cock-a-hoop over tripartite agreements on the restoration of Cahora Bassa supplies, is convinced that the spread of international power grids across frontiers will be a key factor in bringing about economic unity in the sub-continent in time.

Armed conflict in Angola has also crippled supplies from the Ruacana Falls scheme on the Cunene River because work on a crucial dam at Calueque has been hit. Here, too, recent peace initiatives have rekindled optimism about a return to normal.

Migrant labour has been flowing into South Africa from neighbouring countries for more than a century.

The flow has been striking. From a total of 606 000 recorded in 1951, the number of foreign workers coming in slowed to little above 410 000 in 1975. And 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 Africa Institute blames economic factors as the main cause of the decline: the high technology needs for skilled and more permanent labour, and South Africa needs to tackle its own internal unemployment problems. But politics have also played a crucial role.

The wage remittance system has had huge financial implications for South Africa's neighbours. The institute estimates that 65 000 workers from Mozambique still in South Africa, at a count taken in October, 1986, sent back home about R202-million — equal to no less than one third of Mozambique's foreign exchange income.

It believes that, all in all, more than R1-billion out of earnings was remitted back to neighbouring countries in 1985 — more than three times the total in 1980.

The South African private sector has ploughed millions of rands into business ventures in black Africa — much of it in mining but also in agricultural and manufacturing operations.

South Africa keeps a low profile with its flow of credit 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 and short-term credits.

The Africa Institute estimates that long-term credit guarantees now stand at more than R350-million, with short-term credits running at about R250-million a year.

South Africa, with its sophisticated medical facilities and expertise in tropical diseases in particular, has sponsored numerous medical assistance programmes and handled thousands of vaccinations of patients as far distant as Zaire.

Patients arrive for treatment at South African hospitals from as far afield as Kenya.

There is also widespread assistance for veterinary research programmes tackled by northern neighbours and for the supply of animal vaccines.

Frontline pressure on Maggie

Star 10/10/88 279A

The Star Bureau

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'

Star 11/10/88 279A

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 overwhelmingly 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 MNR guerillas. The destruction of homes, schools, roads, agriculture and health centres has uprooted one in seven of Mozambique's population.

Most people — nearly 800 000 — have fled to neighbouring 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 166 000 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 neighbouring Haraghe 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 Nyatsumba

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 '88" 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 of 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-ordination Conference (SADCC) 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 30 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

Star 11/10/88 (279A)

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 have 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 Songo in early September before Mr Botha travelled to Malawi and Zaire. — Sapa.

The Argus Foreign Service
TUESDAY OCTOBER 11 1988

Botha: Give sanctions the boot

ZURICH. — President Botha has made a strong appeal to European bankers to reject sanctions and to support the infusion of capital into South Africa as part of a type of Marshal Plan alternative.

In a speech to the Swiss-South African Association last night, he also reiterated his view that he would not like to see ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela return to prison, saying that Mr Mandela was still co-operating with the authorities.

Earlier, about 200 protesters demonstrated against his presence in Switzerland, attracting headline news on both Swiss radio and television.

In his speech, Mr Botha appealed for South Africa to be given time to develop constitutionally in its unique way, pointing to the European Parliament as an example of government being possible without interference with, or the destruction of, the distinctive character of the co-operating communities.

He also gave the Swiss-South African Association assurances that Pretoria was managing the South African economy in a way which enabled it to meet its international commitments.

Poverty and hunger

South Africa had two strategies to increase growth performance and employment.

The first was the process of deregulating the economy by removing unnecessary rules and regulations and by promoting the free operation of market forces.

The second was a shift to national industrialisation, which meant concentrating on economic activity with little or no imported content.

It should be obvious by now, he said, that sanctions simply furthered the interests of left and right radicals in South Africa.

President Botha added: "Sanctions are aimed at the destruction of the free enterprise system which in turn would lead to increased unemployment, lower standards of living, poverty and hunger.

"European powers should recognise two factors, if they agree to sanctions. Firstly, they are furthering the objectives of powers hostile both to themselves and to democracy in South Africa. Secondly, they misjudge the people of South Africa if they believe that pressure will influence them to deviate from their course.

"The way to rapid economic and political development and renewal is to ensure that South Africa's economy flourishes.

"It will afford the government the necessary scope to improve social services for all communities. If South Africa is allowed to reach its natural potential, the whole region will benefit.

"With the necessary infusion of capital, a result similar to that achieved by the Marshall Plan in Europe could be realised. I ask you to pass this message on to political leaders."

On Mr Mandela, Mr Botha said there was a misconception about the ANC leader's position.

"The truth is the ANC does not want Mr Mandela out of prison because it suits them to project him as a martyr. The ANC also fears that the release of Mr Mandela might lead to pressure on them for peaceful negotiations," he said.

"If I had my choice, I would not put old people in jail. I would prefer them to be on the outside, but I also have to get some co-operation."

Night-life

As President Botha spoke to an audience composed almost entirely of businessmen, his wife, Mrs Elize Botha, accompanied by Mrs Helena Botha, wife of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, and a party of South African diplomats, took off on their own to sample Swiss night-life.

The two women and their entourage headed off to one of Zurich's most famous night-spots, the Kindli restaurant.

They joined in heartily with the singing, swaying and clapping in time to the music and waving table napkins. The restaurant featured a large band which played jazz and traditional Swiss music.

At one stage in the evening the band played Sarie Marais, to roars of approval from the South Africans.

Mrs Elize Botha signalled her appreciation by pinning miniature South African flags on the band leader, the lead singer and a young child.

● The Mandela family attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, said there was "nothing significant" in the rumours of the possible release of the ANC leader.

SA is inextricably bound to sub-continent

(279A) Star 11/10/88

By MICHAEL CHESTER

Statistics reveal that the Frontline States have great economic dependence on South Africa and anti-apart heid campaigns will not change that.

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TRADE

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Power supplies from the massive Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme were hit by waves of sabotage that finally caused a total breakdown — until recent initiatives were taken in talks between South Africa and Mozambique and Portugal.

Eskom, cock-a-hoop over tri-partite agreements on the restoration of Cahora Bassa supplies, is convinced that the spread of international power grids across the frontiers will be a key factor in bringing about economic unity on the sub-continent in time.

Armed conflict in Anglo has also crippled supplies from the Ruacana Falls scheme on the Kunene River because work on a crucial dam at Calueque has been hit. Here, too, recent peace initiatives have rekindled optimism about a return to normal.

LABOUR

Migrant labour has been flowing into South Africa from neighbour countries for more than a century, especially since SA struck diamonds and gold and the mining industry created phenomenal new labour demands.

The flow has been shrinking. From a total of 606 000 recorded in 1951, the number of foreign workers coming in slowed to little above 410 000 in 1975. And today it is put at around 350 000 — though government sources insist that can be doubled if one counts the number of workers coming in illegally.

The Africa Institute blames economic factors as the main cause of the decline: the high technology needs for higher skilled and more permanent labour, and South African needs to tackle its own internal unemployment problems. But politics have also played a crucial role.

The wage remittance system has had huge financial implications for SA's neighbours.

The institute estimates that 65 000 workers from Mozambique still at work in South Africa, at a count taken in October 1986, sent back home about R202 million — equal to no less than one-third of Mozambique's foreign exchange income.

It believes that all in all, more than R1 billion out of earnings was remitted back to neighbour countries in 1985 — over three times the total in 1980.

AID AND INVESTMENT

The South African private sector has ploughed millions of rands into business ventures in black Africa — much of it in mining but also in agricultural and manufacturing operations.

South Africa keeps a low profile with its flow of credit assistance but by mid-1985 the government had provided development funds totalling R214 million to outside countries in southern and Central Africa and the Credit Guarantee Corporation, based in Johannesburg, is also busy with long-term and short-term credits.

The Africa Institute estimates that long-term credit guarantees now stand at more than R350 million, with short-term credits running at about R250 million a year.

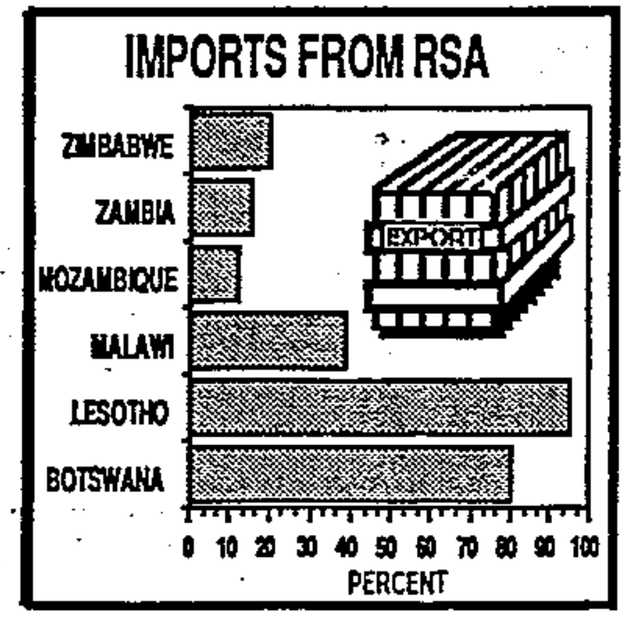
MEDICAL

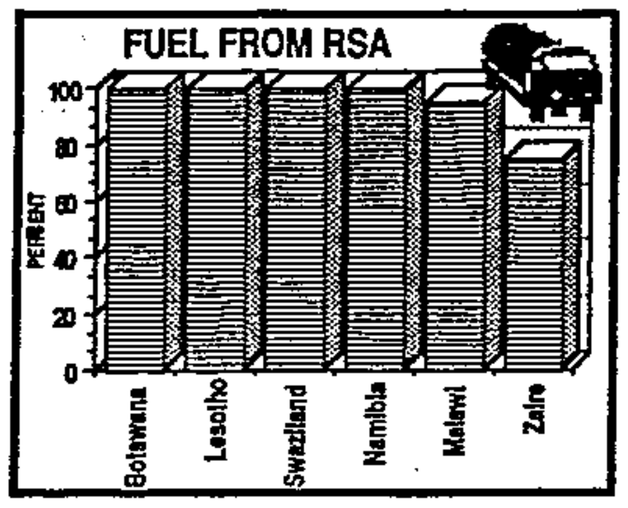
South Africa, with its sophisticated medical facilities and expertise in tropical diseases in particular, has sponsored numerous medical assistance programmes and handled thousands of vaccinations of patients as far distant as Zaire.

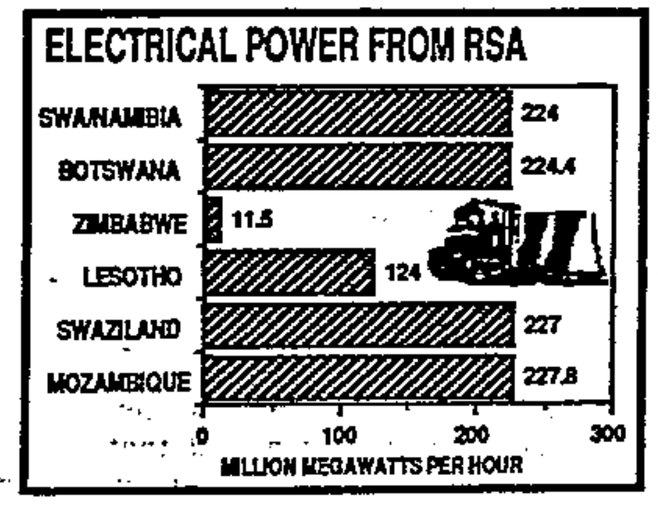
Patients arrive for treatment at South African hospitals from as far afield as Kenya.

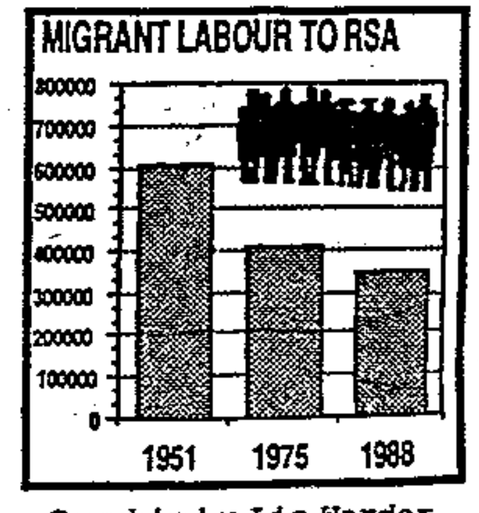
There is also widespread assistance for veterinary research programmes tackled by northern neighbours and for the supply of animal vaccines.

Where South Africa trades









Graphic by Liz Warder

Summit off: Kaunda in Zaire talks

CAPE TIMES 11/10/88 pg 7 A

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 SA-ruled Namibia to withdrawal of a 50 000-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-Reuter

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'

Sowetan 24/11/88 279A

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 Ziana 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 dollars between 1980 and 1984.

"Other costs have been even greater. In all, the estimates aggregate to just under 10-billion dollars (18-billion dollars to 1986), 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 affecting also Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho," he said.

Dr Stoneman said since 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 transport services. — Sapa.

SADCC – 1989

'SADCC chases an 'impossible dream'

Sowetan 5/11/89

279A

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.

DESTABILISATION . . . Mozambican soldiers inspect the wreckage of vehicles at the scene of an ambush in which 18 vehicles were burned and more than 50 people killed.

FOCUS

By GERALD L'ANGE

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 co-operation 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 plagueing 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.

"These two 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 binational 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 Railways 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

279A Sowetan 5/1/89

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 reason for "moderate optimism" in the outlook for Southern Africa's transport.

Despite economic 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 South Africa 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.

"If true co-operation is 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' no development or prosperity will be possible."

Jackson calls for aid to SADCC

2798

LUSAKA — American civil rights leader, the RevJesse Jackson, has called on the United States to effect an aid plan for the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference. — The Star's Africa News Service. Star 10/1/89

Rail link could be a boon for all Frontline states

Star 11/1/89 (279B)

In trying to cut themselves loose from South Africa's transport routes, the neighbouring states are chasing an impossible dream, says an expert. However, their efforts may bring major benefits of a different kind. GERALD L'ANGE, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service, reports.

The Frontline states' aim of divorcing their transport systems from the South African network will probably never be realised.

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● Inside the unlit customs shed at Zobue, on the Malawi-Mozambique border:

"Please open your luggage. What is inside this?"

Opening his travel alarm clock, Mr Kennedy produces two penlight batteries.

"Do you have any more of these?"

"No. I'm sorry, I didn't realise you needed them."

"Yes, we have no electricity here. Please, on your next trip. . ."

□ □ □

● "Do you have any items in your luggage which should be declared at Kinshasa customs?"

"No, just my personal belongings."

"It would be better if you would give me 15 US dollars for the customs man to be sure he does not find anything."

"Fifteen dollars is too much. I have 20 French francs instead."

"You have French francs? Yes, that would be much better."

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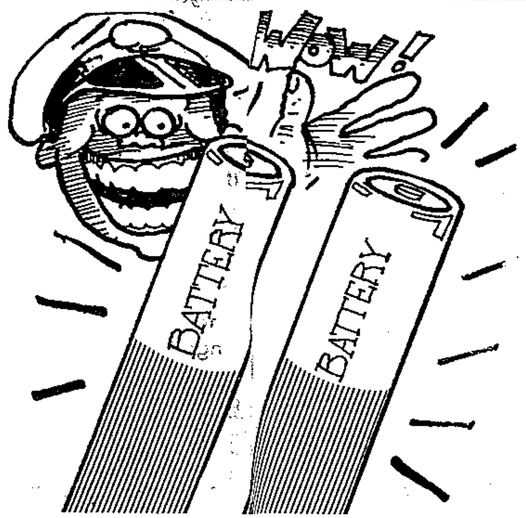

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Imports drop from R630m to R593m

SA trade with Africa shows marked decline

B/Day 16/11/89

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANDREW BUDDEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.

"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.

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

2798

B/Day 17/11/89

MARC HASENFUSS

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 embarassment of these countries' leaders."

Kennedy says SA has been criticised by certain Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) 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 SADCC 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 railed imports and 64% of its railed exports were routed via SA. It is 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."

SADCC PLEASED BY DROP IN TRADE WITH SA

ANDREW BUDDEN

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." B/Day 19/1/89

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.

Star 19/1/89

SADCC to discuss Namibia

LISBON — The Southern Africa Development Co-ordination 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, Bostwana, 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

Star 26/11/89

SS

279A

South Africa has begun reaching out into Africa for crucial supplies of cheap, 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.

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

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

Eskom officals this week downplayed the setback, saying that plans for the southern African grid are a long term matter and political considerations could easily change in the future.

Future needs

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

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

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

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

Every year, eastern Transvaal power stations spew out more than 50 tonnes of sulphur over every square kilometre of the region, and even with improved pollution control methods, that could easily rise to 100 tonnes per square kilometre if fossil-fuel is to light up our lives and power our electric toothbrushes in the 21st century.

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

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

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

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

It is estimated that southern African countries account for more than 75 percent of Africa's huge hydro-electric potential, yet less than 5 percent of that is at present realised.

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

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

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

Capactity

However, the installed capacity of both schemes is about 2 500 MW, a fraction of the power available in the mighty rivers to the north.

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

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

Zaire alone has an estimated hydro-electric potential of 100 000 MW and Angola has an estimated 7 710 MW, and the distance from these huge sources through Angola to the nearest Eskom grid in Namibia is less that that from Cahora Bassa to Pretoria.

An alternative route around Angola would be along an existing power line through Zaire to the copperfields of south-east Zaire and Zambia, and hence through Zambia to Botswana to the Transvaal.

In many ways this would be a more desirable route because it would enable the development of many mining and irrigation schemes along the route and benefit more people.

In Mozambique the installed capacity of Cahora Bassa of 2 075 MW has tapped less than 15 percent of the country's hydro-electric potential.

As Mr McRae has repeatedly stressed, the benefits of a southern African power grid are tremendous for everyone involved. Such a scheme could spread the 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 agricultral self-sufficiency.

Of course, supplies of cheaper, cleaner power would at the same time ensure South Africa's continued economic domination of the sub-continent — and perhaps herein lies part of the problem.

All the countries of southern Africa have combined in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to strive for economic independence from South Africa.

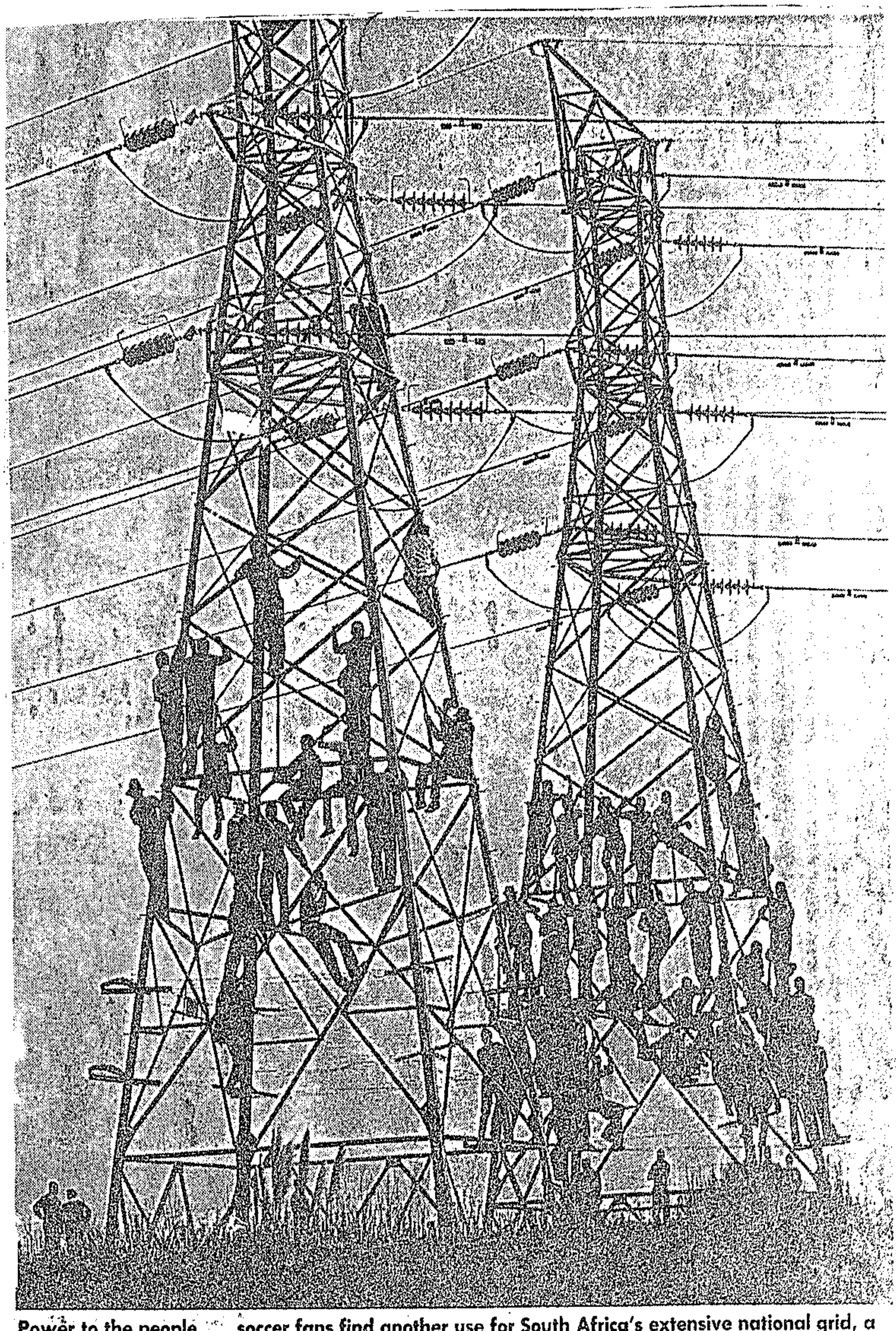
Proposed

The proposed sub-continental power grid aims at increased inter-dependence, to everyone's benefit, but perhaps to South Africa's most of all.

The fact that by the end of the century most SADCC countries will be independent of South African power supplies probably lessens any possibility they might co-operate 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 enormous magnitude for the southern African power grid to become reality in the near future.

P.T.O



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

Star 30/1/89

2790

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 UN-supervised elections later this year, 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 SADCC's 73 million, but it would bring significant mineral riches. At present its economy 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 members 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.

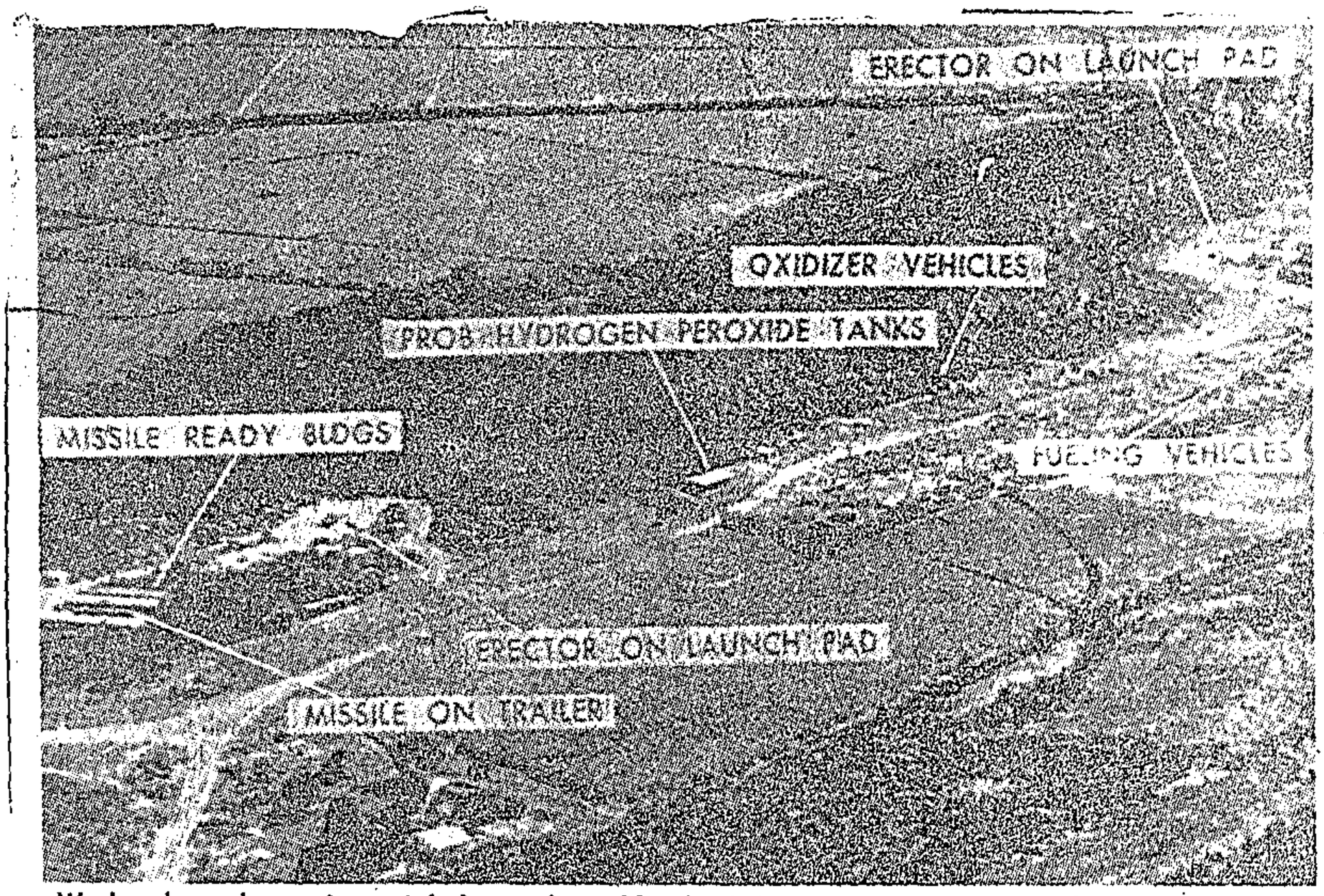
This week's meeting will bring to Luanda hundreds of Ministers and officials from the European Community, the Nordic countries and such nations as Canada, who have made SADCC their favourite channel for aid to southern Africa.

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-Reuter.



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.

Star 30/11/89

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 for the moment what others said during the closed meeting — barred them from saying more 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 Mikhail 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. (279)

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 McGeorge Bundy, President John Kennedy's national security adviser, former Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Andrei Gromyko, and Cuban Politburo member Mr Jorge Risquet.

Yesterday, the US delegation, which also included Kennedy advisers Mr Theodore Sorensen and Mr Raymond Garthoff, visited the graves of Mr Khrushchev and his deputy Prime Minister, Mr Anastas 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 then. They clearly feel that with some more pressure from Khrushchev they could have had the blockade lifted and had trade with the US," 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." — Sapa-Reuter.

Star 30/11/89 (1) (2) (3) 279A

Zaire is one of major customers — survey

SA trade with Africa is on the increase

By James Tomlins,
The Star's Foreign News Service

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It uses SA railways and ports for 45 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.

B/Day 3/11/89 279A

SADCC prepares for '89 donor conference

LUANDA — 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.

Ziana, the Zimbabwean national news agency, reporting from Luanda, 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 1988 conference, which focused on economic growth and the need for structural adjustments as a means of boosting economic development in the region. — Sapa.

B/Day 31/1/89 (279A)

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Star 2/2/89

Namibia will be invited to SADCC

279A

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 Co-ordination 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-Reuter.

HKCWJ 3/2/89 (2794

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.

AK645 3/2/89 2798

AFRICA

Namibia to join African trade club?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Outlet to ports

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

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

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

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

French-trained troops will protect key Nacala rail line

279A

Star 6/2/86

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

B1 Day 6/27/89

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' favourite regional grouping.

"We applaud you," the US delegate told ministers from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

(279A)

"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 mobilised 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-Reuter.

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SA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

BEYOND THE TURNING POINT

ECHOES 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 Harare last week.

A serious setback suffered by South Africa's soldiers in Angola — which included the entrapment, at one stage, of at least 3 000 troops and the decimation of up to 20 percent of the South African Air Force — was seen by participants as the major factor that could end 30 years of continuous war in some parts of southern Africa.

However, speakers from Mozambique, Angola and Namibia stressed that although defeat at Cuito had forced Pretoria to reassess its policy of overt military aggression in the sub-region, it had not abandoned its covert destabilisation strategies.

Some 70 journalists and church workers from South Africa and the frontline states, as well as representatives of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and Swapo, attended the week-long conference organised by the Ecumenical Documentation and Information Centre of Southern Africa (Edicesa).

In the last two years such aggression has 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 Gaborone, Lusaka and Livingstone; assassinations of ANC personnel in Swaziland, Lesotho and Mozambique; a handgrenade attack by a "suspected South African agent" on Botswana President Quett Masire; and a coup ploy, allegedly by South African agents, in Zambia.

"In July 1987 the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) calculated the losses to the region's economy were US$2 000-million greater than the entire foreign aid received by the nine SADCC countries," said Sergio Veira, former security minister in Mozambique and member of Frelimo'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 — described by one newspaper as "days of miracle and wonder" — have produced agreements over the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola; an end to South African aid for Unita; a revival of the non-aggression accord with Mozambique and peace trips by President PW Botha to Malawi and Zaire.

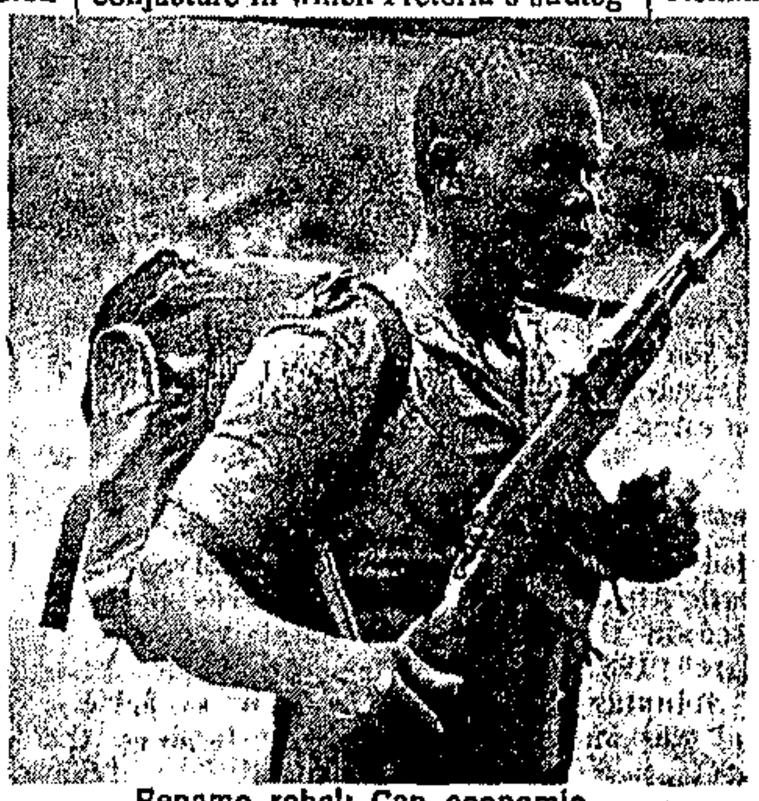
"The development of this situation, with the South African military setbacks at Cuito Cuanavale, and ... the relaxation in international tension have provided an atmosphere for the recent tripartite agreement (over peace in Angola and independence for Namibia)," said Veira.

The battle at Cuito Cuanavale had smashed the myth of SADF invincibility, said Rob Davies, lecturer at the Institute for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo.

Last year marked a turning point in Pretoria's relations with the sub-continent. The combined effect of the Angola pull-out and sanctions pressure led to increased South African business interest in the Frontline states.

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 that the lives of 300 white conscripts would be lost); and highlighted the R4-billion drain that the war, in 1988, 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 conjucture in which Pretoria's strategists appeared once again to place greater emphasis on diplomacy and economic action in the mix of 'incentives' and 'disincentives' through which they sought to advance their regional policy objectives."



Renamo rebel: Can economic interests outweight the military? Picture: AFP

A desperate need to counter the effects of sanctions and a realisation that South African industry would never be able to compete in the markets of the industrialised world had driven businessmen to seek trade and investment in its neighbouring states.

In Mozambique, for example, Anglo American has expressed interest pouring R200-million into a natural gas field; Premier International is already running a series of chicken farms; Sappi is interested in buying a large plantation near the border town of Namaacha; and Samancor has sent large shipments of ferro-alloys for export through the port of Maputo. Said Davies: "These powerful economic interests are capable of exercising restraint on the forces in favour of destabilisation and for this reason are being 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 sabotaging the growing economic links between the two countries.

Mozambican refugees, arrested near the border with Mozambican and deported back to Maputo early this year, have reported they were 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 reorganisation 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 Zimbabwe intelligence networks have monitored radio communication with Renamo, to new and more hidden camps, he said.

Suspicion that South Africa has not completely abandoned its destabilisation strategies found resonance among delegates from Mozambique.

Immanuel Shihwameni, secretary general of the Namibian National Students Organisation (Nanso), 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 2 000 young Namibians have been recruited into the South West African Territorial Force."

Dave Smuts, a human-rights lawyer from Windhoek, noted that despite the demobilisation of the notorious Koevoet counter-insurgency unit South Africa was keeping its 32 Battalion, a unit of mercenaries and Angolan dissidents that 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 not 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 Edicesa conference that the ghosts of Cuito Cuanavale will severely curtail the kind of overt South African aggression that has devastated the sub-continent over the past decade.

3798 Citizen 12/2/89

'I'd talk to PW if change in South Africa was assured'

Frontline chief Kaunda spells out conditions for talks with SA

ZAMBIAN 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 Heunis 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%

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

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

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

The price of unneighbourliness

Star 17/2/89.

BY GERALD L'ANGE, editor of The Star's Africa News Service

South Africa is paying heavily for the destabilisation it is alleged to have carried out in neighbouring states. Whether it was worth the price will become clearer when Commonwealth leaders, influenced by a new destabilisation report, consider tightening sanctions.

When the Commonwealth heads of State meet in Malaysia in October they are expected to examine ways to tighten economic sanctions and other coercive and punitive measures against South Africa.

In this they will probably be strongly influenced by a new report on Pretoria's alleged destabilisation of neighbouring states.

The contents of the report were described as "shocking" by Canadian Foreign Minister Mr Joe Clark when it was presented to the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' meeting in Harare recently.

Compiled by David Martin and Phyllis Johnson, two journalists long preoccupied with the subject, it purports to update the catalogue of South Africa's acts of destabilisation and to estimate their cost to the victims.

Accuracy accepted

Its accuracy appears to have been accepted without question by the Commonwealth secretariat which commissioned it, and by the Foreign Ministers.

Mr Clark categorised the report as "precise information" when asked about it at a news conference.

So the Commonwealth leaders, if they too accept the accuracy of the report, will conduct their deliberations in the belief that the South African Government is to blame for the loss of one million lives, many of them children, in southern Africa in the past eight years.

Those who do not question the report's accuracy will accept that South African destabilisation has cost the Frontline states R88 billion and made more than 3 million people homeless.

These figures appear to have been arrived at through fairly arbitrary "guestimates" and it might therefore be difficult for anyone to challenge them.

Where the figures — and indeed much of the report — are wide open to challenge is in the assumption that everything can be laid at Pretoria's doorstep.

Destabilisation report lays blame at SA's door

279A

The report takes the view that Pretoria is responsible for the deaths of all those killed by the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels since South Africa took over from the Rhodesian government as the MNR's chief supporter.

In this it makes the huge and obviously convenient assumption that the MNR would not have continued to exist without South African support. Pretoria is therefore held responsible, for example, for the deaths from disease of Mozambican children as a result of the MNR's destruction of rural health clinics.

The report goes further and makes South Africa culpable even in the deaths of Mozambicans who died as a result of drought-induced famine.

Sweeping approach

It argues that they might have lived had not the MNR, operating by the grace of Pretoria, prevented relief from getting to them.

Much the same sweeping approach is taken in respect of other countries and other calamities in the sub-continent. South Africa is blamed, for instance, for all the sufferings of Angola and even for some of Zambia's because of South Africa's support for Unita rebels.

The report says landlocked Zambia lost the use of the Benguela railway through Angola "after South Africa's invasion of Angola in 1975 and the resultant war."

The Angolan war was caused by South Africa's invasion? Now there's one for all those who thought it was caused by an ideologically-based power struggle between the MPLA and the opposing groups with whom it was supposed to have shared power pending elections in terms of the Alvor agreement that followed the Portuguese withdrawal.

Argument avoided

Whether Unita would have been able to survive without South African support is arguable, but it is an argument the Commonwealth report carefully avoids.

The report is replete with sweeping and arguable assertions. It does not bother to seek any credibility in Pretoria's denials that it is still aiding the MNR, or its assertion that it sees its own interests promoted more by stable neighbours than unstable ones.

Ironically, the overkill is unnecessary. There is enough evidence of South African skulduggery in the neighbouring states without it having to be exaggerated or invented, as some of the sources accepted without question by Martin and Johnson clearly have done.

There is no doubt that this skulduggery has been widely practised in the region by Pretoria in a variety of forms that could be classified as destabilisation. These range from support for the MNR — at least before the Nkomati Accord if not after it — to the squeezing of trade routes.

There is doubt only about some of the details — about the scale of the destabilisation, the form, the directors, the agents and the effects.

Canadian Foreign Minister Mr Joe Clark chats to ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo at the Harare Commonwealth meeting.

Some of it may be as pernicious in its intent and as vicious in its effects as claimed in the Commonwealth report. But the overall picture presented by the report is grossly exaggerated.

Tougher sanctions

Aside from moral aspects, this may be judged important only to the extent that it might lead to tougher sanctions against South Africa. But few things could be more important to the South Africans who might as a direct result of sanctions suffer hunger, disease and misery as bad as any caused by destabilisation in the neighbouring territories.

Those who directed the destabilisation can hardly complain about its effects being exaggerated, however. Once destabilisation was employed it was inevitable that its scope and consequences would be enlarged in the accounts of the victims — and turned against Pretoria by apartheid's foes.

Beyond that the issue becomes whether the exercise was worthwhile. The destabilisation ostensibly was aimed primarily at preventing the African National Congress from launching insurgency from neighbouring territories, keeping those territories dependent on South Africa's transport routes and discouraging them from implementing economic sanctions against the Republic.

To some extent these objectives have been reached but the price paid has been heavy and may get heavier. The necessity of it all is something to be pondered at the next turn of the sanctions screw.

The Star Finance

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

Star 13/3/89.

279A

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

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

Between 1980 and 1985 the trend reversed: non-oil export earnings fell by 5,5 percent a year. They have since regained some of the ground, but earnings are still lower than at the start of the decade. The region's capacity to import has fallen in parallel.

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

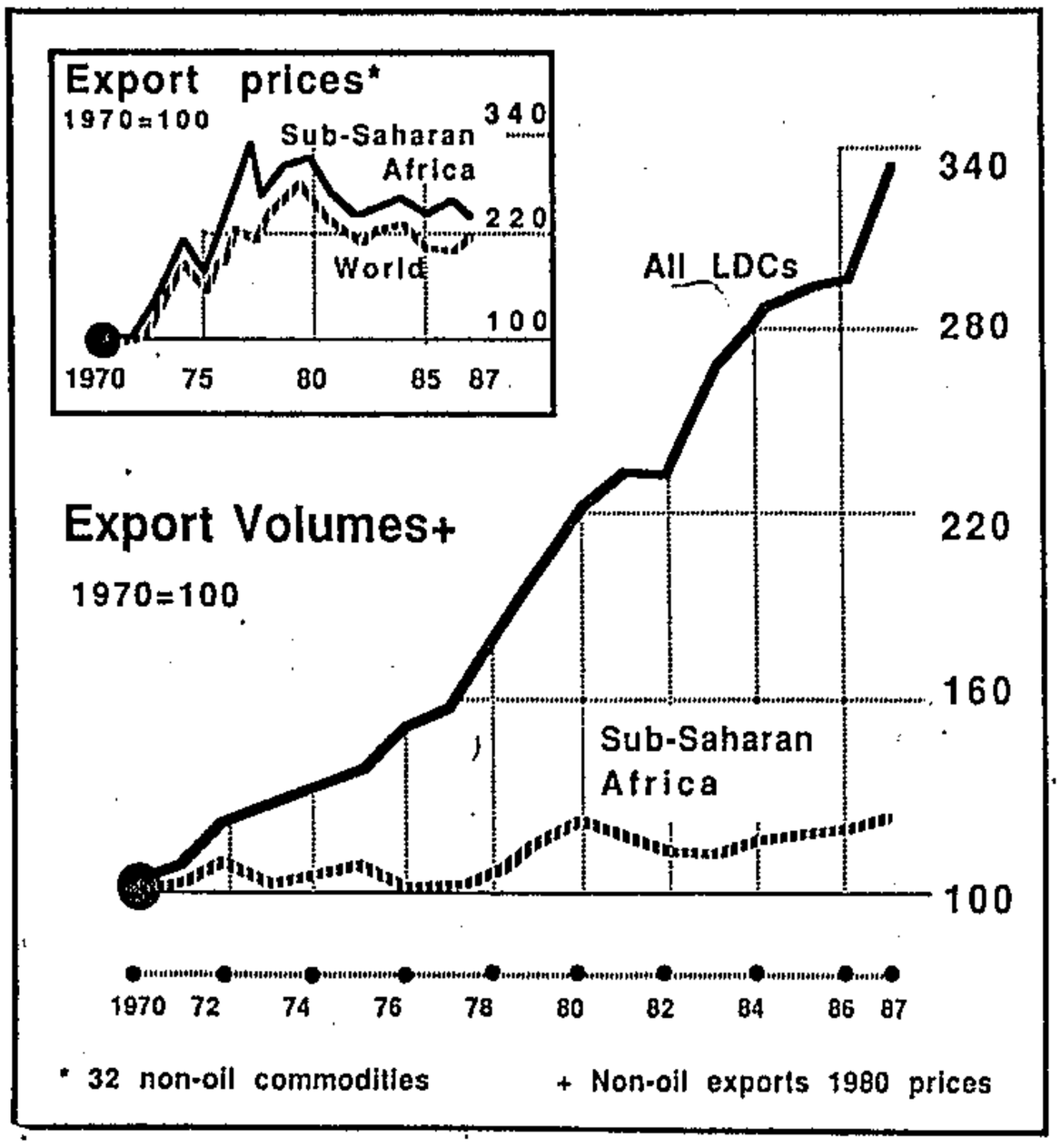
A new joint report from the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme qualifies this picture in important ways. First, a statistical caveat — the biggest of many.

Nigeria

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

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

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

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

The report compares carefully the performance of reforming and largely non-reforming countries, before and after 1985.The "strong reformers" are those with adjustment programmes agreed on with the IMF and the World Bank during 1985-87.

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

Strong reformers

The results are striking. Non-reformers still grew faster in 1985-87 than in 1980-84, but the improvement is smaller. The strong reformers, in contrast, leapt ahead. In 1985-87 they grew on average by 3,8 percent a year — better than their own earlier performance (1,2 percent) and, more important, better than the non-reformers (1,5 percent).

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

(2791)

Frontline talks focus on Namibia

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 Moussa Traore 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 50 000 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

Cape Times 28/3/89 7794

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 in 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, when she is expected to promote the idea of an all-states 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 plan 'a golden opportunity' — Page 2

● Maties say talks with ANC 'a victory' — Page 3

Correspondents travelling on the tour were told that Mrs Thatcher genuinely felt there was "a great deal of room for hope in South Africa" — which is what she told Parliament last week after her meeting with Mr Pik Botha.

Mrs Thatcher will argue against sanctions when she meets Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe and sees President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique.

She will warn that any increase in sanctions will serve only to slow or stop promised dramatic reform in South Africa under the expected leadership of Mr F W de Klerk.

However, Zimbabwe has already said it will reject her arguments on sanctions and her insistence that to secure the release of Mr Nelson Mandela the ANC should 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 in Malawi, 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 Bermuda this morning.

To page 2

Mandla in the lion's den

BELOW: Mandla the Lion Tamer shows who cracks the whip in the lion cage at Boswell-Wilkie Circus. The big cats huddle in a row, looking quite fierce but obeying the commands of 25-year-old Mandla, who is making his debut as lion trainer. INSET: When the hard work is done, Mandla gives one of his stars a gentle pat. — ● Mandla's story — Page 3

Picture: RICHARD BELL

MAGGIE IN MOROCCO ... British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher with her Moroccan counterpart, Mr Azeddine Laraki, in Marrakesh yesterday. Mrs Thatcher's African tour started in the West African kingdom where she was welcomed with flowers at the airport. Picture: REUTERS

Thatcher plan 'a golden opportunity'

Cape Times 28/3/89

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.

But he cautioned that despite the widespread benefits that could accrue to the contending forces, a number of telling obstacles remained in the way of an internationally brokered settlement for the region at this stage.

"There is as very good case for saying that deadlock we find ourselves in at moment could last for a couple of decades, with devastating consequences for society, if the antagonists are foolish enough to turn up this latest opportunity."

Profesor Welsh, who specialises in Southern African 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 halt, or significantly reduce, many of the violent conflicts in the area;
- It could lead to the lifting of sanctions which affect not only South Africa but the region as a whole; and
- It carrjed the prospect of superpowers and others thinking in terms of large-scale aid for 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 Angolan-Namibian settlement which had demonstrated that "this kind of thing can work".

He added that if the US-mediated efforts to reach an accommodation between Israel and the PLO sueceeded this could have "quite a profound demonstration effect for South Africa."

However, Professor Welsh noted that moves towards reaching regional peace faced formidable obstacles.

"The South 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 legalising the ANC or "bringing it out of the cold".

Even if the ANC could be persuaded to forswear — or more likely temporarily abandon violence — there were doubts about whether the South African "would buy this."

"Bringing the ANC out of the genie out of bottle and it might be hard to see how it could be put back in again if things don't go according to plan — this is a tremendous souce of concern."

Professor Welsh said that while it might be less difficult to persuade the ANC than the SA government to come to conference table, it would not be easy to get the banned organisation "to throw away its most powerful bargaining chip" — armed struggle.

A more feasible prospect was for the ANC to say it was prepared to 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 progress could be made on a new 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 P W 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 and Britain.

Referring to the upcoming meeting between Mrs Thatcher and Mr Mugabe, Professor Welsh observed: " The chemistry between the two is not good."

From page 1

It is reported that Mr De Klerk approved the attendance of Nationalist MPs on condition they did not share the same platform as the ANC delegation, led by the organisation's chief of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Both the ANC and South African diplomats are playing down the meeting as no more than an academic event, but Africa watchers consider it highly significant in the present climate of communication and the pressure on both sides to start broaching talks.

Mrs Thatcher arrived at Marrakesh in Morocco yesterday under tight security.

On her arrival, to a welcome of unprecedented warmth from the country's royal family, Mrs Thatcher made clear her determination to use talks with King Hassan to make further progress towards peace in the Middle East.

Mrs Thatcher and King Hassan held at least two hours of talks last night before he hosted a state banquet in her honour.

Her meeting with the king was preceded by the unique honour of lunch with Princess Lalla Latifa, the king's chief wife, her three daughters and sister-in-law, at the princess's palace in the city.

Princesss Latifa is rarely seen in public and granting Mrs Thatcher access to his family in the sumptuous palace is a distinction the king did not even confer on Queen Elizabeth during her 1980 state visit.

The Middle East question and matters of EEC trade — Morocco applied unsuccessfully to join the community two years ago — dominated Mrs Thatcher's discussion with the king.

Before arriving in Morocco Mrs Thatcher had welcomed the establishment of the Arab Maghreb Union, a community of five North African nations of which King Hassan is the president.

In this new role, the king has suddenly acquired wider influence in the Arab world, and the chance for Mrs Thatcher to talk with him was, in this context, particularly valuable.

Mrs Thatcher did however issue a veiled rebuke to the Maghreb for its decision to include Libya as a partner. In an interview published locally to coincide with her arrival, Mrs Thatcher said: "We have strong reservations about the inclusion of Libya, with its record of support for terrorism, not least in Northern Ireland."

Mrs Thatcher leaves Morocco this morning for Lagos where she will meet President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria before heading for Zimbabwe.

Maggie's summit in bush

Capt Times 30/3/89

Z79A

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 ready to respond to genuine change."

While much remained for condemnation in South Africa — apartheid, detention without trial and the suspension of basic human rights — changes for the better should be acknowledged, whether within South Africa or in relations with neighbouring countries, she said.

Sanctions or South Africa's isolation would not achieve the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the suspension of violence and the opening of negotiations about the rightful role of blacks in government.

After three hours of talks with Mr Mugabe at Harare's State House, Mrs Thatcher flew with him and President Chissano to Nyanga Battalion Battle School, 25km from the Mozambican border, where 27 British instructors are training the Mozambican and Zimbabwean troops who are in action against the Renamo rebels.

President Chissano briefed Mrs Thatcher on recent clandestine contacts between top Mozambican churchmen and Renamo "trying to establish what Renamo wants". He urged a two-pronged international peace offensive, simultaneously exposing the savagery of Renamo and bringing pressure on them to accept his current amnesty offer.

Mrs Thatcher pledged an extra R84 million in aid to Zimbabwe and Mozambique during her talks in Harare and Nyanga, including an extra R1,8 million to the British Military Advisory and Training Team, R36 million in Programme Aid to Mozambique, R11 million for Mozambique refugee relief and 15 000 tons of food.

In an address to the troops at Nyanga, Mrs Thatcher pointedly equated Renamo with the IRA and said Mozambique was torn by terrorism "of a particularly brutal kind".

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 R80m, 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.

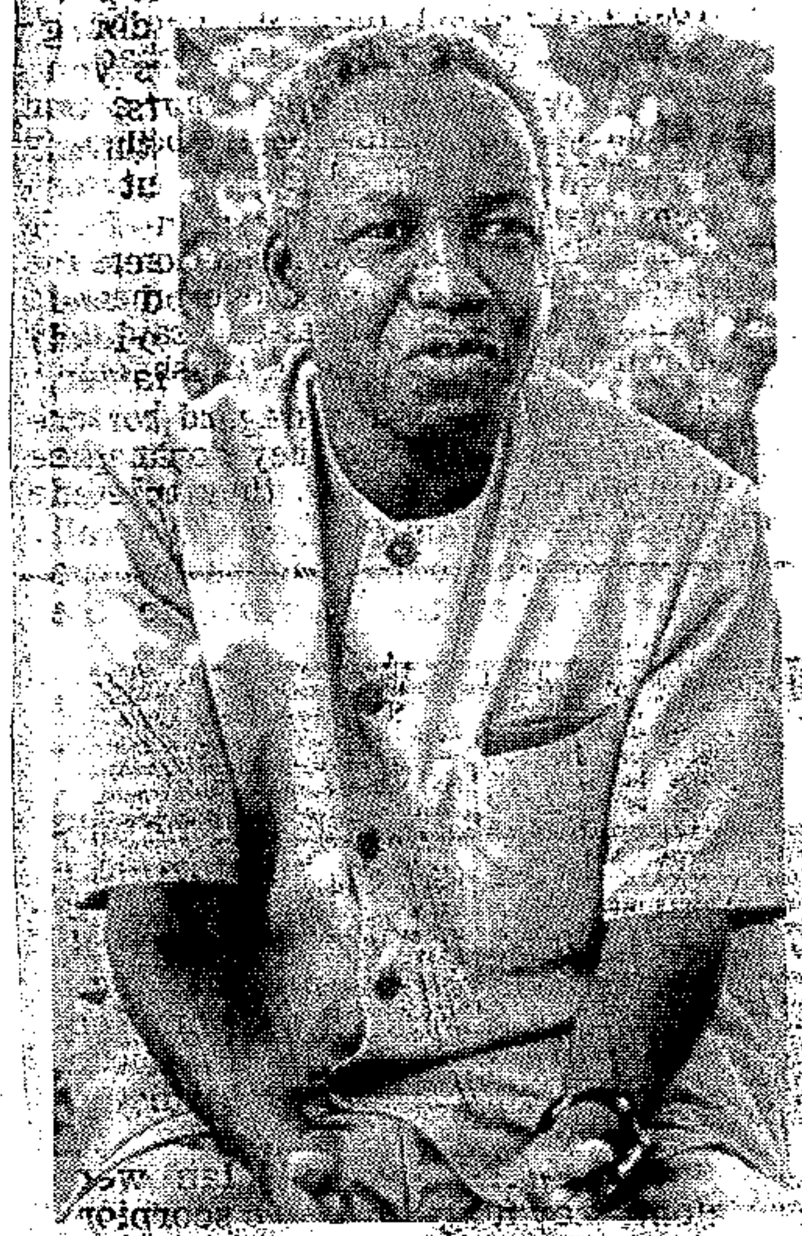
"Sats welcomes all initiatives aimed at improving the quality of transport in the sub-continent, and we would like to join the ranks of the SADCC."

Lessing believed the privatisation 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

"If I needed shoes and SA was the only place I could get shoes, I would do without them. But if I needed corn and SA was the only place to get corn, I would go to SA." — Former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere



GABORONE — Almost a decade after nine southern African states launched an ambitious effort to lessen their reliance on SA, 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 nations in the region are poorer, despite formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Council (SADCC), which concentrates on transport and food supplies, and has helped increase member states' trade.

"In many ways, the countries are worse off now than when the SADCC started," says Tom Kennedy, an SA-based researcher. "Due to wars, bad internal policies and poor management, there's been very little progress."

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.

SA's 28-million blacks have higher average incomes than those in any SADCC country. More than a million workers from neighboring countries work in SA.

Malawi, where annual per capita income is about $200, spends an extra $100m a year exporting produce through SA because railway lines in Mozambique are mostly inoperative, says Kennedy.

SA remains the leading trading partner for seven of the nine SADCC countries. Its transport, power and communications networks are essential to their economic survival. However, black-led countries want to reduce reliance on SA, not only because of apartheid, but to take advantage of potentially more efficient trade routes.

Zaire, more than 1 000km north of SA, receives more than half its imports via SA, although it has its own Atlantic Ocean port.

Fighting

There are five major railways that connect landlocked southern African nations to the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. Four pass through Angola or Mozambique, where civil wars have halted or sharply reduced traffic. The fifth, linking Zambia to Dar es Salaam, was unaffected by war, but poor management had kept it barely operative since it was built.

"The region will never have secure food supplies until we can make these rail lines work. That won't be possible until the fighting stops," said an SADCC spokesman.

Farm-to-market roads throughout southern Africa range from primitive to non-existent. Crops in the fertile region often rot in the fields.

The Southern African Economist, a magazine published by SADCC, noted that regional governments "blame decline in food production on a host of factors ranging from adverse weather, escalating fertiliser costs and longer transport routes, to disruption of agriculture by SA-backed terrorists". It added that blame also lay with governments for maintaining subsidies and setting unrealistic producer pricers.

SA had been trying to improve relations with black Africa and expressed eagerness to cooperate on development projects. It agreed to grant Namibia independence and said it stopped supporting guerrillas in Angola and Mozambique. However, the SADCC estimated that SADF actions in the region cost more than $10bn during the 1980s.

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 conditions 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." — Sapa-AP

Little progress in SADCC region

Sowetan 24/4/89 279A

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, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

The organisation concentrates on the region's two most

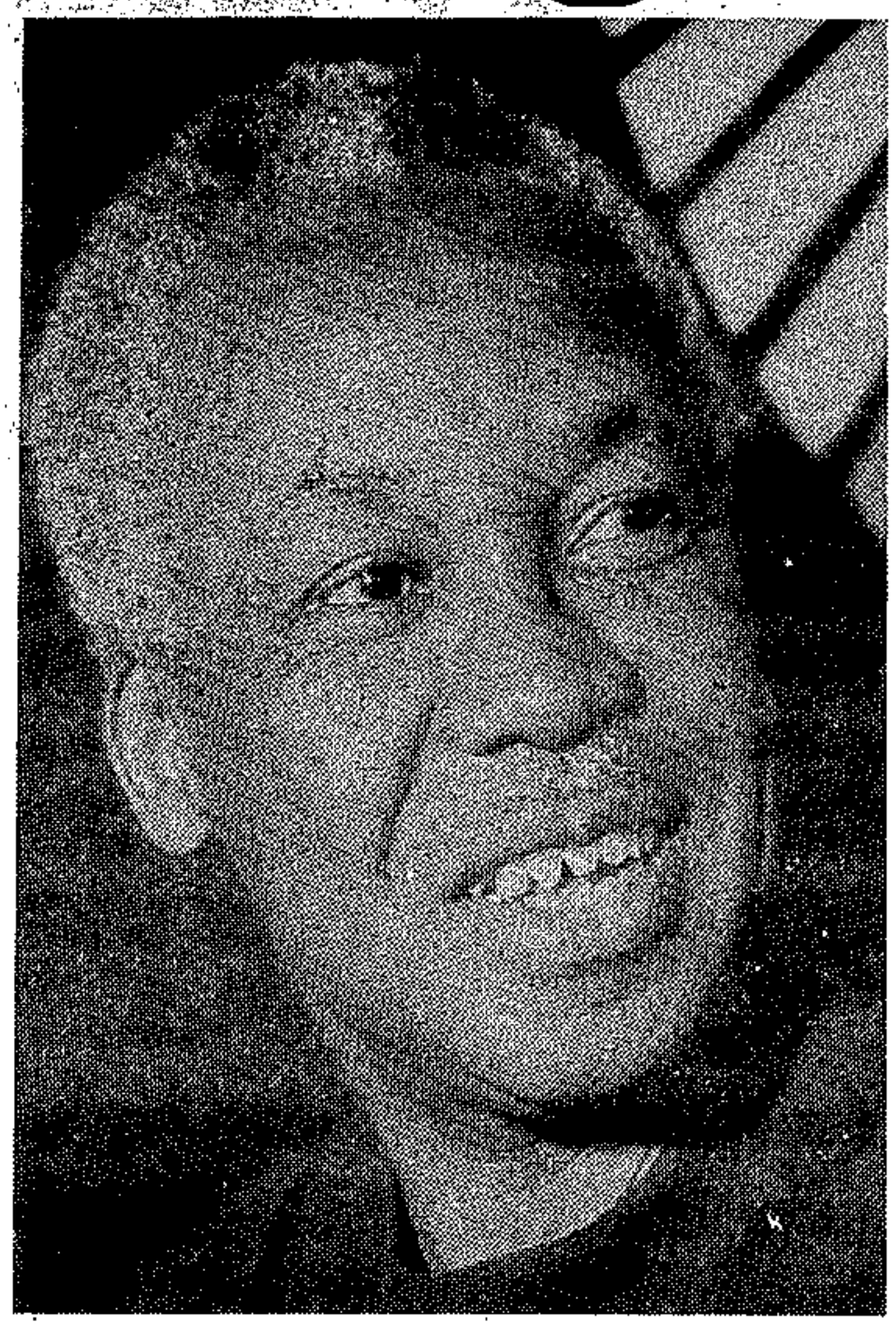
SAPA-AP

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 subsistance 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.



JULIUS NYERERE . . . Former Tanzanian president.

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 neighbouringh landlocked nations of Southern Africa to the Indian and Atlantic oceans.

However, four pass 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 SADC'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 anywhere near full capacity since the

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 acres (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 fertilisers 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 black Africa and expressed eagerness to co-operate on development projects. It has agreed to grant independence to Namibia and says it has stopped supporting guerilla 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

Sowetan 24/4/89

247A

lines in neighbouring Mozambique are mostly inoperative, according to Kennedy's estimates.

Zaire, more than 1 000 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 Chinese bloc. It 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-orientated 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."

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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The Argus, Mo

Frontline states talk of SA summit

ARGUS 24/4/89

279P

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.

Europe holds key to southern Africa's economic progress

Foreign Minister PIK BOTHA says SA can help develop Africa if Europe will help

COMMON interest suggests that Western Europe and the countries of southern Africa should work together to develop, as fully as possible, the human and natural rersources of the region.

Europe experienced the spectacular results of the Marshall Plan for the rebuilding of Europe after 1945.

In Africa it has been found that capital funds, by themselves, do not bring about development. Managerial and technological competence, together with personal integrity and dedication on the part of those utilising capital funds, are indispensible if economic progress is to be achieved.

SA is short of funds but has built up a wealth of technical and scientific knowledge and experience of African conditions. Western Europe has similar knowledge and experience, but its contribution to the development of southern Africa must be sought above all in respect of finance.

Urgent attention should be given to ways and means for Western Europe — and, more particularly, the European Community — to cooperate with the countries of southern Africa in developing the resources of the region.

On a recent visit to Europe I proposed to Western leaders that a tripartite approach should be adopted. Europe, SA and the other southern African countries should together pursue the ultimate goal of coordinated economic progress in southern Africa. This co-ordinated effort should be of a dimension to compare with the historic European recovery programme.

The countries of southern Africa enjoy opportunities for economic upliftment unique in Africa. Through trade, transport, investment, labour migration, tourism and technology transfers they interact closely and beneficially with the strongest and most diversified economy south of the Sahara.

Commercial exchanges between countries stimulate development more effectively than handouts.

Western nations interested in the development of the region would support mutually profitable links between the countries of Southern Africa rather than actively discouraging them, as is so often the case — for example, in respect of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC).

The European Community should embrace a programme to improve political and economic conditions through regional co-operation. Europe should:

- ☐ Acknowledge that SA has an essential contribution to make if Western efforts to uplift countries in the region economically are to have a chance of succeeding;
- ☐ Pursue policies supportive of — rather than impeding — South African efforts to evolve a domestic, social and political order broadly acceptable to all South Africans;
- ☐ Grant and/or mobilise funds and expertise for extending and modernising the physical infrastructures of the regions;
- ☐ Provide assistance for measures aimed at raising human productivity through education and training, as well as public health and family planning programmes and housing;
- ☐ Urge and assist governments in the region to create economic and legal conditions conducive to attracting local and foreign private investments in processing, manufacturing and other productive ventures; and
- ☐ Consider other appropriate measures to promote the development of the region, such as steps to facilitate the importation of southern African products in the European Community.

☐ BOTHA . . . "SA willing partner"

The contribution of SA to such a development programme would be primarily in respect of technology, including research and advisory services, as well as the supply of goods and materials, notably in agriculture, mining, building and construction, business development, human health, education and training and diverse technical fields.

Trade and investment will continue to play a crucial role. Apart from investments, SA has traditionally supplied its neighbours with building materials, equipment, machinery, spares, pharmaceutical products, agrochemicals and food.

There is a wide range of activities in respect of which SA is already contributing towards the development of southern Africa.

In promoting an economic rehabilitation programme for southern Africa, SA is not merely well placed — it is uniquely placed. SA is both in and of Africa. Its own economic development has taken place in an African context.

It has had to cope with such traditional Third World problems as a rapidly expanding population and the resultant needs for housing, health and education, the effects of a harsh and unpredictable climate and the economy's exposure to the fluctuating world commodity markets.

In addition, the development of the so-called "informal sector" within the South African economy resembles closely similar "grassroots" growth of private entrepreneurship in the continent's less rigidly managed economies.

SA is a unique blend of the First and Third Worlds. The mining houses, industrial enterprises, business concerns and financial institutions of its formal sector, trace their roots to the economies of Western Europe and North America. In many respects in technology, organisation and operating procedure, First World standards are obvious in SA.

Despite SA's strengthening trade links with African nations, the trading and financial relationships of its very open economy are still primarily with Western Europe, and other industrialised economies in the developed world.

Two basic points follow from this:

- ☐ SA is in a unique position as the world's natural gateway to Africa and as a bridge between Africa and the industrialised world;
- ☐ SA and the rest of Africa possess natural resources and human capabilities that provide the foundations for mutually beneficial co-operation. SA's relatively advanced production apparatus, its sophisticated infrastructural facilities and its scientific, technological and technical, commercial and financial know-how are at Africa's disposal.

Given the broad spectrum of Africa-related technological know-how available in SA, common sense suggests that European governments, development agencies and other institutes seeking to promote the material welfare of the peoples of Southern Africa should make maximum use of this locally available expertise.

Practical steps are needed to implement tripartite co-operation involving the European Community (or individual EC member countries) and the countries of southern Africa in promoting the development of the region.

My appeal today is that West European nations should serve their own interests by doing everything within their power to facilitate and encourage intra-regional understanding and co-operation in southern Africa, and the active involvement of West European business interests and institutions throughout the region.

They will find SA a willing partner in promoting the interests of the region by building bridges of co-operation in this way.

☐ This is an extract from Botha's address at the conference on "Europe 1992" in Sandton yesterday.

SA has talks with Botswana

Argus 26/4/89

Argus Africa News Service

GABORONE. — The Deputy Foreign Minister of South Africa, Mr Kobus Meiring, and the Botswana Foreign Minister, Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, 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 Chiepe 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 Chiepe 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 Mulaisho, 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

279R

Observer 30/4/89.

Stop the raids or we act, warns Pik

Mr Ray Swart

Mr Pik Botha

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 Klippan near Slurry 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 Pitsane.

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.

Pik, Ray Swart in storm over 'Blowpipe affair'

Parliamentary Staff

FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Bothã 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."

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 domestic earnings of such pictures up to a maximum of R2-million;**
- **A third subsidy of 80 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.

S/Times 14/5/89

SA's own mini-EEC is a foundation on which Pik's diplomats want to build

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

FEW people outside bureaucratic corridors may have noted its birth, but there is now an officially designated Economic Community of Southern Africa — and it's six months old.

Along the way, an organisation known as Secosaf (the Secretariat for Multilateral Co-operation in Southern Africa) has been converted to the permanent secretariat of SA's version of the EEC, known here as Ecosa.

Ecosa itself supplants what was previously known by a somewhat forced acronym as the SATBVC states — South Africa and its four independent homelands, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

COST

All this activity has raised an old question in a new form: Is there truly a mutually beneficial trading community consisting of SA and its independent and, for that matter, self-governing homelands — or is Ecosa a grandiose appellation for a financial one-way street that is the sole way of keeping an apartheid fiction alive?

The cost of keeping the homelands in business, styled as development aid, has been the subject of bitter controversy in recent years.

They are, on average, unable to raise quite half of their financial needs from their own resources.

Irrespective of development taking place in the homelands, the arithmetic of the South African commitment becomes ever more breathtaking.

Spending on the 10 independent and self-governing homelands has peaked in the current financial year at R6 384-million, about 10 percent of the national budget.

This figure represents a 28 percent increase over last year's amount.

There are more costs attached to the homelands: The SA Development Trust, which manages spending in areas scheduled for incorporation into homelands, will spend R595-million this year and R685-million will be needed for the decentralisation benefits to companies who have located their plants away from industrialised areas and on the peripheries of the homelands.

The Minister of Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, told Parliament last month that the various development corporations fostering business growth in the self-governing homelands had so far invested R559-million there.

Last year, he disclosed that SA had spent R1 270-million on buying up land in efforts to consolidate the homelands. So far they have been only partly successful, as some homelands remain broken into several satellite pieces.

Worse, about five percent of the money — roughly R175-million a year — given to the independent states, was misappropriated, embezzled or wasted in corrupt dealings. This amount is written off to a "learning experience" by the SA Government.

DEBATE

However, in these respects SA's experience with development aid reflects very much what has been happening in the rest of the world's relationship between developed and developing countries.

There is a serious international debate on whether the development aid given so far — and the manner in which it has been given — is a good thing or a bad thing.

Some noted academics have shown that in almost no instance has international development aid filtered down to improve the lot of the bottom 40 percent of people in the recipient nations.

The weight of the argument is swinging to the recognition that there has been much lamentable waste.

A strategy being adopted by the World Bank and other international agencies is to earmark funds for specific development projects — and then to monitor the application of the funds and the completion of the projects.

A similar pattern has emerged in SA.

Three years ago, SA introduced a series of committees, archly called Joint Financial Adjustment Committees, to oversee the use of funds in the homelands. The committees have "financial liaison officers" as their watchful operatives.

The sheer necessity of establishing the committees took precedence over the need to maintain a political stance that fostered an image of independence for these territories.

An institution central to the supply of development aid is the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

As the agency perhaps most closely involved with the monitoring activities, the bank began its life with a five-year programme of capital contributions from the SA Government.

When that programme ended last year, Pretoria agreed to another five-year term — but insisted this time that the DBSA raised 50 percent of its development capital needs from the capital market.

This year, the first of the new five-year programme, has begun with a R375-million grant from the SA Government. But with foreign sources of loan capital virtually dried up, the DBSA is not going to find it easy making up the other 50 percent of its capital needs.

The road to real economic co-operation leads to the SADCC — the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference made up of Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Lesotho, Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi.

This is a silent hope nurtured by several forward-looking SA Government planners.

It is an ambition that may not be as preposterous as it might appear at first glance.

SUCCESSES

Already there is much under-the-table co-operation between SA and these countries. One of the most vehemently anti-South African among them, Zimbabwe, does about 50 percent of its foreign trade with or through SA.

Emboldened by other diplomatic successes in the region, Foreign Minister Pik Botha has started talking publicly about the possibility of a regional conference.

Imaginative domestic reform would have to join hands with foreign diplomacy for new economic realities such as this to have a chance — but there are serious people both in SA and beyond its borders who think the seeds of such a new beginning may have been sown.

Economic realities behind new Soviet approach in Africa

JOHN BARRATT

WE ARE clearly in a period of accelerating change in the wider international community as well as in southern Africa. One of the most striking current developments is the change in the international posture of the Soviet Union.

It is worth looking at this to see whether there is any justification for the expectations aroused, and whether the change is likely to last.

Both "perestroika" (economic reform and restructuring) and "glasnost" (openness and reform in public and political life) have become well known words.

Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking" in foreign policy, which stems in large part from the domestic needs of the Soviet economy, has led *inter alia* to a new attitude towards the US. There is a search for a new, more stable and co-operative relationship between the superpowers.

The Soviet Union clearly wishes to avoid, more than ever before, the risks of conflict with America. There is no doubt that the cold war — which continued, in spite of periods of détente, for more than three decades — aggravated many conflict situations in different parts of the world and prevented their resolution. Now we are seeing remarkable efforts to settle disputes and conflicts through negotiation and compromise in various regions.

The peace-keeping role of the United Nations, which had been paralysed by the superpower rivalry, has been enhanced.

It would be an exaggeration to say that peace has broken out around the world, but there is undoubtedly a new international mood, and great expectations have been aroused of a new, more co-operative international era.

What is happening in southern Africa — particularly in Namibia and Angola — is part of this hopeful worldwide trend; it is not a unique development. As in other regional conflicts, there is still a long way to go before political settlements and peace are achieved, but for the time being at least we are moving in the right direction in this region. Andthe changed Soviet policies have been a positive contributing factor.

But will they continue to be a positive factor?

To see this change in perspective it is worth recalling that, after the Second World War, the Soviet Union adopted a virulent anti-colonial position and supported national liberation struggles in Africa and elsewhere. Its declared aim was to encourage the revolutionary transformation of these new states in close alliance with the Soviet Bloc.

Then in 1974/5 new opportunities appeared in southern Africa, with the independence of Angola and Mozambique. The assertive intervention of the Soviet Union in the region really began at this point, and Moscow seemed to be having considerable success in the second half of the Seventies.

The Soviet Union became strongly committed, especially in Angola, which needed Soviet and Cuban military backing to maintain the political supremacy of the MPLA over its rival nationalist movements.

This did not mean, as often portrayed in SA, that southern Africa had become a top priority for Moscow. Its increased commitment was part of a worldwide attempt to assert Soviet power after the weakening of the US by the Vietnam and Watergate debacles.

This strongly assertive period did not last very long. Even while the ageing Brezhnev was still in office, it was becoming clear by the early Eighties that the Soviet Union had over-extended itself from a weak domestic base.

Moreover, the Soviet model was not working in the Third World, and it was becoming obvious that many of the states committed to "scientific socialism" were doing significantly worse economically than those experimenting with market methods and which had trade ties with the West as well as the East.

These economic realities were demonstrated in southern Africa, particularly in Mozambique, which in the early Eighties began to switch away from the Marxist model and towards more economic ties with the West — and also SA.

These factors contributed to the change in the Soviet approach. And it is important to recognise that it was not simply the advent of Gorbachev which brought about the change. However, it was not until after he became leader that the new approach emerged publicly and was able to develop.

This is one of the reasons why one can argue strongly that the "new thinking" does not simply depend on Gorbachev, and that, even if he is replaced by another leader, the realities — chiefly the economic realities — will still be there to determine the directions of Soviet policy.

The "new thinking" ismore widely and deeply spread, as I and other South Africans have experienced in several discussions with Soviet academic analysts and officials over the past year, and it is based on the inescapable realities of the world today and the Soviet Union's own domestic situation.

The conclusion is that a different approach is needed, not only domestically but also in foreign policy — an approach which will reduce the level of conflict and allow the Soviet Union to become involved in the world economy and move out of isolation. This requires peaceful conditions and greater co-operation, primarily with the US and other major industialised powers.

In the global context southern Africa is only one of the regions where this "new thinking" applies. But in this region — perhaps more than any other — Moscow has, I believe, seen the possibility of being able to demonstrate that constructive co-operation with the US works to mutual advantage.

The specific issue has been, of course, Namibia. During last year it no doubt saw the chance of being part of a success story and of clearly promoting its new foreign policy approach. And in fact the Soviet participation has, from all reports, been constructive, particularly in helping to bring its own "allies" into the settlement and keeping them there — not always an easy task.

Now the US and Soviet Union seem to be carrying the joint responsibility of keeping the settlement on track — i.e., keeping *all* the parties (including SA) committed to it.

The achievement of Namibian independence by early next year will be the test for the future. Failure of the process would clearly be a major setback for SA and for Angola. But it would also be a setback for the two superpowers, and for that reason they will probably both do all they can to see that it does not fail.

Then the door will probably be open for further diplomatic efforts, by both the Soviet Union and US, on other difficult issues in the region — e.g., Mozambique and even SA itself eventually. The superpowers cannot solve our problems for us, but they can make a constructive contribution in promoting negotiations and bringing influence to bear on the parties which have to negotiate.

It seems that Soviet policymakers tend to draw a distinction between the clearly international issues, such as Namibia, in which they can become diplomatically involved, and domestic issues, such as SA's internal politics.

What is certain is that Moscow now views a negotiated settlement in SA as the only viable option, and there is no longer any official support for a revolutionary overthrow of the state. There is, therefore, a convergence of views — if not of actual policy — with the US, UK and other Western states on the need for progress towards negotiations, in which all representative parties, including the ANC, would be included.

There is also, it seems, a convergence of views on the future of the southern African region and SA's role in it. There is, for instance, a recognition by the Russians that the economic development and future prosperity of the region depends largely on SA's economy and its closer integration into the region.

The Russians clearly are hoping that they will be able eventually to expand their economic links with the region, especially SA, as part of their global effort to become part of the international economy.

I believe the Namibian/Angolan settlement has put us on a road leading to other potential positive developments. However, if the settlement is, after all, allowed to fail, and if there is not sufficient political will on all sides to see it through, it is difficult to envisage the continuation of a peace process in southern Africa, with the present constructive involvement of the great powers. A very exciting and promising opportunity is at stake.

☐ Professor Barratt is director general of the SA Institute of International Affairs. This is an extract from an address to a recent seminar presented by the institute's Pretoria branch.

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 "untiring efforts" of US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker. 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 infrastructures of some of the SADCC members had deteriorated because of sabotage and the low level of upkeep and maintenance.

It added, however, that the efforts of the past few years in reshaping the surface transport patterns in the region would begin to pay off in the short to medium terms.

The report noted that regional traffic through Dar es Salaam had increased from 1,6 million tons in 1986 to two million tons in 1987.

Laying Africa's ills at doors of black leaders

Star 8/6/89

279A

A new breed of journalists from black African countries is increasingly abandoning the notion that all of the continent's ills are the result of colonialist and imperialist exploitation. The recent Swapo incursion into Namibia and a conference on a new information order held in Nigeria gave two African affairs commentators, Mr Baffour Ankomah and Mr Pini Janson, the opportunity to lash out at "the victim mentality" in Africa. JOAO SANTA RITA of the The Star's Africa News Service reports.

Black Africa should abandon its victim mentality and openly discuss its fundamental guilt for the situation the continent finds itself in, say two leading African affairs commentators, Mr Baffour Ankomah and Mr Pini Janson.

Mr Ankomah wrote in the latest dition of the *New African* magazine that the failure of black Africa to condemn Swapo's leader Sam Nujoma for violating Namibia's independence agreements was a reflection of the continent failing to condemn its own dictators and political monsters.

Mr Ankomah criticised the chairman of the Frontline states, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia for saying that Africa was not interested in finding who was the guilty party when fighting broke out in Namibia in April.

He could not accept President Kaunda's statement that Africa left it to historians to discover who was at fault.

"Which historians? If we cannot find who is at fault today, which historians can find the guilty party 10 years into the future?

"And how can we end violence in northern Namibia when we cannot reprimand the guilty party, when we cannot ask him or them to respect an agreement?.

"This is how we have built Africa on a foundation of sand. This is how we have made monsters out of 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 on as our leaders have made one disastrous error after another.

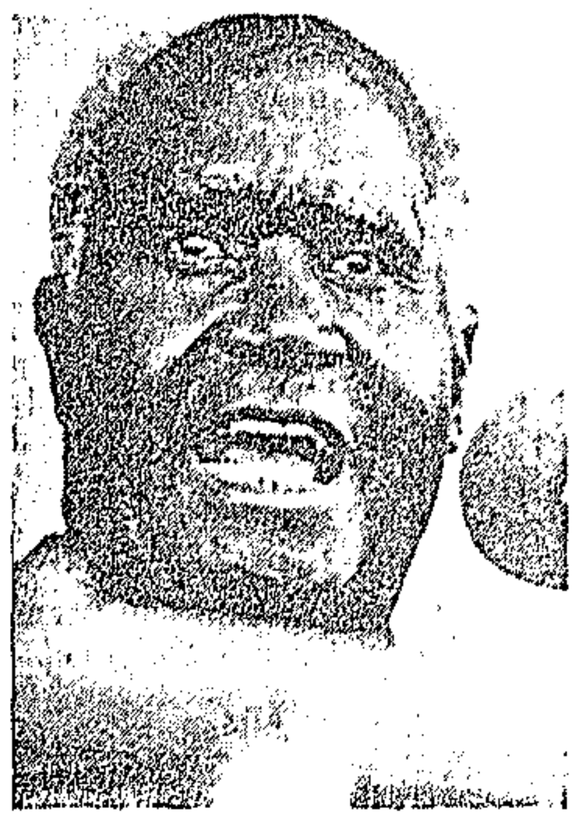
"The consequences of such errors have been catastrophic economically, politically and socially. Until now the people, especially the youth who are suffering the consequences of the errors, have allowed the leaders to do as they want. But the time is here to say enough is enough," he wrote and added:

"We have come a long way since independence. Hear no evil, see no evil has done us no good. If Sam Nujoma is wrong, why don't we tell him? Maybe that is all he needs to become a better president."

In an article entitled "Whitewashing Africa" Mr Pini Janson said a recent meeting in Nigeria to discuss a new African information order had failed to identify the real problem affecting Africa's image.

"That Africa suffers a bad press in the Western world is true. But that is not the whole truth. Beneath our moanings about how the Western press relished stories of Mobutus, Bokassas and Idi Amins coming out of Africa are a whole lot of fundamental guilts we are afraid to discuss let alone admit," he said.

Mr Janson said it was true that most Western reporters relished stories of coups, wars, starvation and corruption but, he asked: "Does the reporter really create the news?



President Kuanda ... historian's verdict is far 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?.

"It is a reality that has reduced a country like Nigeria from a stupendously rich nation to a beggar nation in less than a decade.

"What will the OAU communication experts do to uncover the records of billions stolen by African leaders and hidden in bank vaults scattered all over Europe and America?" he asked.

He said the conference's decision to adopt a supplementary budget of R1,4 million for a public relations campaign aimed at improving Africa's image was wasted money.

"The experts ignored one fundamental law in public relations: You cannot carve a picture out of rotten wood," he said.

"African leaders have made the continent out of rotten wood and unless the decay is stopped, neither (giant PR firms) 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 in that country, Motsuenyane emphasised the need for co-operation 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 and dream which Nafcoc and other sister organisations have cherished."

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 co-operation among blacks in the region could be summed as follows:

- Black businessmen in the region have a

SOWETAN Correspondents

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.

SAM MOTSUENYANE

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 deploring South African President P 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.

Many of the refugees are school children.

5 MILLION REFUGEES AND RISING

Sowetan 21/6/89

279A

FOCUS

Yesterday was the 15th commemoration of Africa Refugees' Day which is observed worldwide. The Sowetan Africa News Service focusses on the continent's homeless and displaced.

AT least five million people in Africa — out of a world total of more than 12 million — are refugees, and the number is rising by the day.

All the Southern African countries with the exception of Namibia and Mozambique — themselves among the biggest exporters of refugees — are host to almost two million of the continent's refugee population.

An estimated 150 000 refugees are living in South Africa, having fled the protracted civil war in Mozambique between forces of the Frelimo government and those of the rebel Renamo movement.

Many of them are in the Eastern Transvaal and, like refugees in other parts of Africa, must make the best of their lot in new and unfamiliar surroundings.

Other Mozambican fugitives are among the refugees living in Swaziland, whose 29 400 refugee population includes many exiles of South African origin.

A number of factors give rise to the exodus of people from their countries.

Those leaving South Africa have done so mainly because of the political situation in the country, which they found intolerable. But many other refugees, as in the case of Sudan and Mozambique, have been forced by armed conflict and the accompanying food shortages to abandon home.

The refugee problem has its own ironies: Some 345 000 have sought shelter in Western Ethiopia, fleeing their homes in Sudan.

They left behind a raging civil war and scarcity of food — and are making the best of what they can in Ethiopia which itself is in the grip of guerilla warfare and food shortages brought about by the fighting and crippling recent droughts.

Another irony has been the Sudanese making their way to Northern Uganda. They began arriving in large numbers — about 3 000 in one day in March — three months ago.

They were received by Ugandans who had themselves just arrived back home from exile, having fled the dictatorships of Milton Obote and Idi Amin and Obote once more.

In at least two countries the refugees are retracing their footsteps homeward.

Last week Namibian exiles, many of them victims of a 23-year war between South African forces and guerillas commanded by Swapo, began arriving home and in the first seven days of the repatriation exercise some 5 015 had returned.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees aims to have at least 41 000 Namibian exiles back home by the end of next month in what could be the biggest airlift in African history as most of the refugees are airlifted from various countries which had granted them asylum.

In Uganda some 300 000 refugees, according to the UNHCR, are already back home and the repatriation of all Ugandan exiles is almost complete.

TWO of the world's poorest nations, Ethiopia and Malawi, are between them host to almost one and a half million refugees.

Malawi is sheltering 627 000 exiles and Ethiopia 685 000.

On the other hand Mozambique, Somalia and Sudan have created a refugee problem translating into more than a million and a half people.

Many of the exiles are women and children.

But while most countries have extended warmth and courtesy to refugees, sharing with them what they have, there has been resentment and even discrimination in others.

A few weeks at a meeting of more than 50 countries taking part in the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee in Nairobi Ugandan minister of justice, also attorney-general, Professor G W Kanyeihamba, said refugees were not always welcome in some countries of asylum.

He did not name the countries but said: "For a refugee it is one of the most devastating discoveries to find himself or herself an outcast.

"The land where he has sought refuge may not want him but he does not have the option of returning home. In practice he or she is stateless."

West may increase its help to southern Africa

219A

Star 29/6/89

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 Baynham, in a paper that will shortly be published by the Africa Institute in Pretoria in its "Africa Insight" periodical.

Dr Baynham 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 Sandhurst military college in Britain 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 security 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 Baynham. 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 also has little strategic or economic interest in the region, the two superpowers' mutual disinterest might well lead them to co-operate more closely on southern African issues, Dr Baynham 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 Cuban combat troops. But Maputo — suitably wary of counteraction by South Africa — has repeatedly declined to take up the offer.

"However, it should not be assumed that the Mozambican leadership is united on the issue. Pro-Soviet purist elements within the Frelimo 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 military commitment in Mozambique as it did in Angola, may not be discouraging this process.

In contrast to the declining Eastern bloc involvement, says Dr Baynham, 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 Baynham. 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 Baynham, 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 wean Mozambique from socialism and dependence on the Eastern bloc.

Western aid is also being channelled through the private armies that have been formed to guard aid projects.

He believes the distinction between lethal and so-called non-lethal military equipment is a very blurred one. In addition, the provision of non-lethal aid releases funds for the purchase of more deadly material.

He considers it more than likely that military assistance "will become less and less non-lethal".

Dr Baynham sees little chance of an international force being formed to defend transport routes such as the Beira Corridor because, apart from the logistical and political difficulties involved, Mozambique appears determined to limit the use of foreign combat troops to African ones, preferably from the SADCC states.

Another point made by Dr Baynham is that South Africa, paradoxically, stands to gain by helping rather than hindering the SADCC states to achieve their objective of lessening their dependence on the Republic.

"Pretoria is aware that the constant use of military overkill against its neighbours could threaten South African hegemony by activating a host of unpredictable responses from the international community," he says.

"On the other hand, by permitting the SADCC countries to lessen their dependence on South Africa to a limited extent — by actively assisting such a process and by accepting the imperative of the sub-continent's inter-dependency — it may be possible for Pretoria to offset perceived losses by a number of gains.

"Not the least of these gains would be a reduction in regional tensions which would be of benefit to all peoples in southern Africa."

BY GERALD L'ANGE
The Star's Africa News Service

As Eastern bloc military involvement wanes, Western countries are increasingly providing military aid in southern Africa, largely helping countries in the region to reduce their dependence on South Africa..

Dr Simon Baynham, specialist in African military matters.

Tanzania out, SA in — but what is the fate of the elephant?

279A

Star 18/7/89

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — You could tell at a glance who was in which conservationist camp at the recent meeting here of African countries and international organisations to decide the fate of the African elephant.

The man carrying a briefcase made of elephant hide was a southern African conservationist who supports culling the beast and selling its ivory, meat, hide and other products to raise money to plough back into improving conservation.

The one wearing a batik beach shirt emblazoned with green and pink elephants was a North American environmentalist who wants a complete ban on international trade in African elephant products in the belief that this will stop the slaughter of the continent's living symbol.

Much harder to discern was who was a member of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and who was not. When the conference of the African Elephant Working Group (AEWG) of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) began, the traditional SADCC countries held regular caucus meetings to co-ordinate their African elephant policies.

Conservationists met in Gaborone recently to discuss a possible ban on all ivory trade. But as a **Special Correspondent of The Star's Africa News Service** reports the stormy meeting ended with southern African countries deciding to form their own organisation to market ivory.

But by the end of the stormiest meeting in the history of modern wildlife conservation, Tanzania had quit the SADCC caucus and South Africa, represented by Dr Anthony Hall-Martin, had been co-opted instead. It was enough to turn Mr Pik Botha, who has tried unsuccessfully for years to achieve similar progress in non-elephant spheres, green with envy.

But the really critical outcome of the AEWG meeting from July 3 to 8 was the decision by southern African countries with growing elephant population to launch a breakaway organisation to market ivory, mainly in the Far East, if an international ban on trade in the product is formalised in 10 weeks time.

The southern Africa move, spearheaded by Zimbabwe, will open up a serious split when details of the new organisation are made public at the next full meeting of CITES in Lausanne at the begining of October.

The Zimbabweans, backed strongly by Botswana and South Africa, say veiled threats of sanctions by the United States and international conservation organisations will not deter them.

The proposal for the total international trade ban has been formulated by Tanzania with support from Kenya, the United States, the European Community, the World Wide Fund for Nature and the US-based Wildlife Conservation International.

The population of the African elephant, the living symbol of the continent and the earth's biggest land mammal, is down to 625 000 this year, according to figures prepared by Mr Iain Douglas-Hamilton, a renowned Nairobi-based elephant expert, for the Gaborone meeting. The statistics show a dramatic drop in the population from the figure of 735 000 in 1988 and 1,3 million in 1979.

"The downward population trends for the great majority of countries are sufficiently large to predict extinction in the near future," says the 150-page ban proposal for the Lausanne meeting which the Tanzanians presented for approval by the AEWG gathering.

The Tanzanians and their allies are seeking to have the African elephants moved from Appendix II to Appendix I of CITES, the most important international agreements in trade in endangered wild animals and their products. Appedinx I prohibits all commercial trade across international boundaries. Appendix II, in which the elephant is currently listed, merely limits the trade by a loosely-controlled system of export licenses.

The Tanzanians argue that the legitimate trade in "white gold" automatically encourages poaching by putting a value on ivory, and the gaping loopholes in the current CITES system mean that 90 percent of all licensed ivory comes from poached animals.

The Tanzanians say their own elephant population has been reduced from 320 000 ten years ago to less than 80 000, mainly as a result of poaching organised by illegal ivory traders. In a desperate move to halt the free-fall towards elimination of its elephants, the Tanzanian government ordered an army brigade to begin a sweep of the country four weeks ago to pick up poachers and weapons. About 1 000 arrests have so far been made.

The southern African nations were outraged when the Tanzanians presented their proposal as a *fait-accompli* at Gaborone. They demanded to know why a proposal had been made which did not take into account the reasons for southern Africa's increasing elephant population. They also angrily attacked East African states and the US for failing to consult southern Africa before the new CITES proposal was lodged in Switzerland in May.

Dr Chris Huxley, a former biologist with CITES who has been hired as a consultant by Zimbabwe, said: "The problem is that the Tanzanians, Kenyans and Americans have suddenly got fundamental religion and they won't even consider other philosophies."

Elephant herds in three countries of the southern African region — from Angola and Zambia downwards — are incontrovertibly growing. Zimbabwe's population stands at 45 000 compared with 30 000 in 1979. Botswana's has increased from roughly 20 000 in 1979 to more than 51 000 today, while SA's is up from 7 800 to 8 200 in the same period.

All three countries carry out an annual cull. Millions of dollars are raised from selling meat locally, the hide to the Texas boot industry and the ivory to Japan are ploughed back directly into conservation and rural development projects in the vicinity of National Parks and game management areas.

Regardless of what the 102-nation CITES meeting decides in Lausanne — Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa wil begin their new ivory marketing system this year. It will be based on a new system of open public auctions held periodically in cities such as Harare and Osaka. Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia will also join the system. Namibia is expected to join when it becomes independent early next year, and an invitation will be extended to Angola when a government of national reconciliation has been firmly established.

Dr Richard Leakey, newly appointed as Director Wildlife in Kenya to end corruption from the Kenyatta era, has virtually admitted that his country's drastic loss of elephants is as much to do with internal problems as the world ivory trade.

Kenya, preceived by most westerners as some kind of Elysian home for wildlife, has seen an unprecedented slaughter of its elephants. There are only 16 000 now compared with more than 130 000 in 1973.

28 off to the Frontline states

[redacted] Star 31/7/87

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.

279A

Aid for Africa

Leaders set to back 'Marshall Plan'

CAPE TIMES 19/7/89 (2) (27A)

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 Mozambique 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 South 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 then 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 Giullio Andreotti when he met them in March.

According to foreign ministry sources the idea was well received "although the European leaders did not immediately start holding out their chequebooks".

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 he 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.

Mr F W de Klerk

President Chissano

FW to meet Kenyan president?

SOWETO TIMES 19/7/89

By BARRY STREEK

A MEETING between president of Kenya Mr Daniel Arap Moi and leader of the National Party Mr F W de Klerk was "possible" in Maputo today, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday.

But he stressed that no such meeting had been planned.

The spokesman was reacting to inquiries after reports that Mr Moi would be having discussions about Renamo with President Joaquim Chissano on the same day Mr De Klerk and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha see the Mozambican leader.

If Mr De Klerk and Mr Moi do meet, it will be the first time there has been any direct contact between the South African and Kenyan governments.

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 Maputo to sort out the next steps in the peace initiative.

The Foreign Affairs spokesman 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."

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Mozambique rebel leader's plane shot down

CAPE TIMES 19/7/89

LISBON. — Mozambican military forces have shot down an aircraft observers believe was due to take Renamo rebel leader Mr Afonso Dhlakama to talks with church representatives carrying peace proposals from the Mozambican government, according to reports here yesterday.

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano said on Monday a plane had been hit over central Sofala province, where the rebels have their main base.

Diplomats 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. — Sapa-AP

From page 1

FW in Maputo

improved co-operation with South Africa — to come on board.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said that at the end of the meeting it was generally accepted that regional co-operation could play a role in solving South Africa's problems.

Mr Chissano said Mr De Klerk had assured him that Pretoria was committed to working for unity and equal opportunities for all in South Africa.

He had been pleased to hear the NP did not intend dragging out these reforms over a long period.
quickly.

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 fulfil the potential of the region.

South Africa, he said, was prepared to play a constructive role in assisting the peace initiative in Mozambique.

FW and Chissano button up Maputo talks

TALKS OVER . . . President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and NP leader Mr F W de Klerk prepare to leave a press conference in Maputo yesterday after their talks in the Mozambican capital.

CAPE TIMES 20/7/89

Chissano: SA could end its isolation

Z79A

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 front-line leader opposed to

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CAPE TIMES 20/7/89

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Kaunda to meet FW

LUSAKA. — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the frontline states, yesterday said he would meet Mr F W de Klerk on August 28 in Zambia.

After a one-day summit here of leaders of the six frontline states, Dr 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 Dr Kaunda on August 28.

Asked whether the frontline states — Zambia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana — believed the time was now right to negotiate with Pretoria, Dr Kaunda said the summit had taken a decision on that issue.

But he declined to disclose what that decision was, saying the frontline states would report to the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) committee on Southern Africa which would meet in Harare on August 21.

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From page 1

ANC leaders had privately opposed a meeting between Dr 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.

Dr 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. Dr Kaunda said this issue would also figure at the OAU committee meeting in Harare. — Sapa-Reuter and Political Staff

Crucial discussions will take place in Livingstone on August 28

Kaunda and de Klerk to meet

Mr F W de Klerk and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha will meet President Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia on August 28.

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 26 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 bans on 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 Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique to negotiate peace with right-wing Renamo rebels.

President Chissano briefed the summit on talks in Nairobi between Renamo and Mozambique church intermediaries acting for the government.

Mr Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, told the conference of Namibia's progress towards independence.

President Kaunda said this issue would also be discussed at the OAU committee meeting in Harare.

Mr de Klerk visited Mozambique three weeks ago and called on Renamo to abandon the 14-year-old war.

In June he toured five European countries to try to halt sanctions. — Sapa-Reuter and Political Staff.

379A B/day 23/8/89.

AFRI

Food and fighting still factors worrying region

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; and

☐ To help members to build up stocks of staple foodstuffs and the promotion of regional trade in staple foodstuffs to stimulate increased production. — Sapa

Positive growth from SADCC states

GABERONE — The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) executive secretary, Dr Simba Makoni, 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.

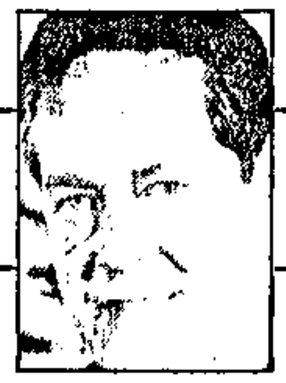
He said the SADCC approved the restructured regional food reserve project whose objectives include reinforcement of member states' effort towards self-sufficiency in staples. — Sapa

SA could play key role in African common market

star 19/9/89

279.A

By RON HAYWOOD,
Executive Director of the SA Federated Chamber of Industries



The tentative new mood of optimism about the political outlook has started to revive debate about the chances of creating a sub-Saharan economic community — a vast common market reaching from South Africa as far north as the equator and beyond.

Should the goal be seen as possible reality or a myth?

Three decades ago, Prime Minister Mr Harold Macmillan of Britain delivered his "winds of change" speech and from that moment onwards we have not only faced cold winds throughout the continent but in very many countries head winds as well.

However, recent events may widen the potential for bringing about warmer winds — perhaps even tail winds to encourage economic co-operation.

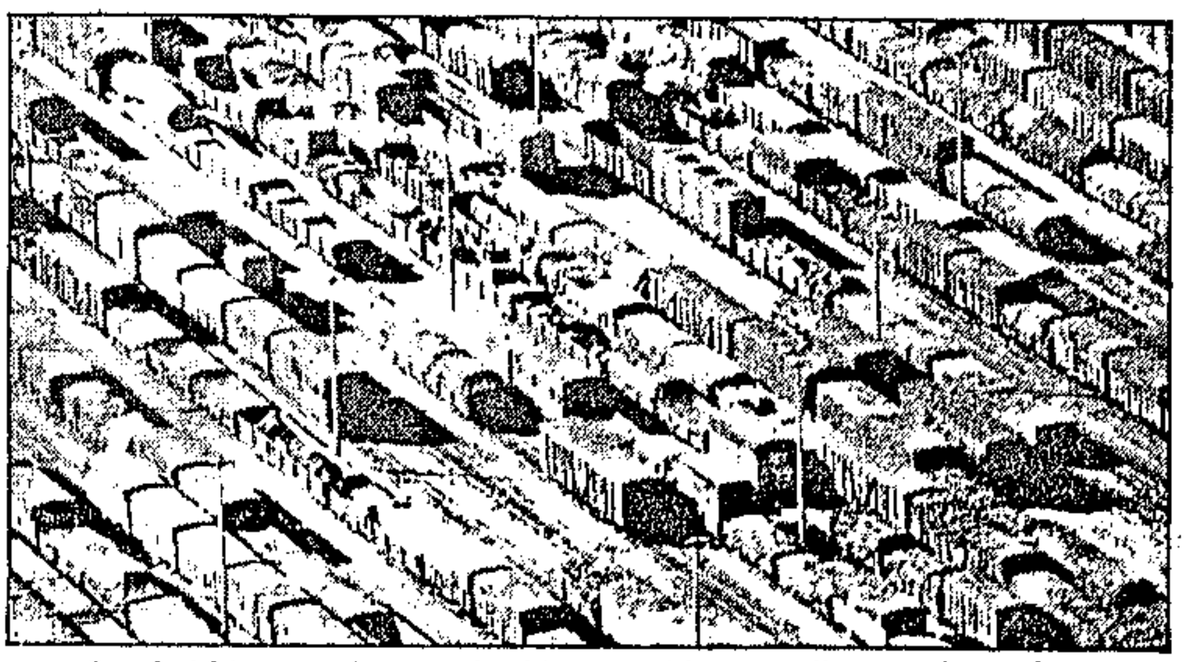
There are many obvious constraints that could temper optimism, not least the development strategies that have been used by many if not most African countries.

Many have moved from free market economies to centrally planned economic systems, meaning a classic conflict of capitalism versus socialism.

The creation of single-party states and even dictatorships has placed the main emphasis on short-term planning, with outsiders from both the West and the East competing for influence.

More and more reliance has been placed by many African states on hand-outs from such sources at the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in order to survive, not to spend on improvements for the future. With longer-term planning ignored, whole infrastructures have sunk into neglect.

Using the United States dollar in comparison, while the per capita income in Switzerland by 1986 had grown to $17 680 (about R49 000), it languished at $850 (R2 380) in South Africa, $620 (R1 730) in Zimbabwe, $210 (R590) in Mozambique, $160 (R450) in Zaire and an equally meagre $160 in Malawi. In many African countries, real gross national product has been slumping even lower.



South Africa supplies much of her neighbours' rolling stock needs.

In all the gloom, the World Bank has now warned: "The long-term trend of decline persists and Western companies as well as governments are actively de-linking themselves from the continent."

Even now, socialism has not yet lost its emotional appeal and a host of deep-rooted political and other problems still obstruct the freeing of economic activities.

However, economic realism is starting to impact on political ideology, forcing a complete re-look at the African continent and the whole question of political and economic structures.

The outlook for the successful launch of a sub-Saharan economic community relies on three issues:

- Stability within the individual countries of the region.
- Progress in South Africa with its internal reform process, the key to the potential of its external foreign policy.
- Acceptance of South Africa as a respected member of the community, pledged not only to its own development but also to the enrichment of inhabitants of the entire region.

South Africa is ideally placed to make a major contribution in view of its considerable infrastructure and existing ties and links with several neighbours.

Let's look at the economic structure of the region. The Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC) zone, which comprises Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Angola and Tanzania, has a combined population of 68 million — more than twice the 32 million population of South Africa.

Yet the most recent published figures available show that at a 1985 count South Africa accounted for no less than threequarters of the whole region's gross domestic product and as much as two-thirds of all its exports. South Africa also provided 50 percent of all SADCC imports and provided a market for 30 percent of all SADCC exports.

No fewer than 8 000 units of all the rolling stock running daily on the railway lines operated in neighbouring countries, worth about R700 million, belong to SA Transport Services, on loan under various agreements.

Given peace in the region, an economic community could soon start opening up a far bigger rail network with more links between member nations.

South Africa generates 60 percent of all the electricity used in Africa and has the potential for establishing a grid throughout the whole sub-Sahara 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."

Star 20/9/89 279A

Region on the agenda

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Southern Africa will be on the agenda when Foreign Ministers of the United States and the Soviet Union meet for talks later this week.

US Secretary of State Mr James Baker told a press briefing in Washington yesterday he would be discussing the southern African situation generally with Mr Eduard Shevardnadze.

He said he did not expect to get into detailed discussions about the De Klerk government.

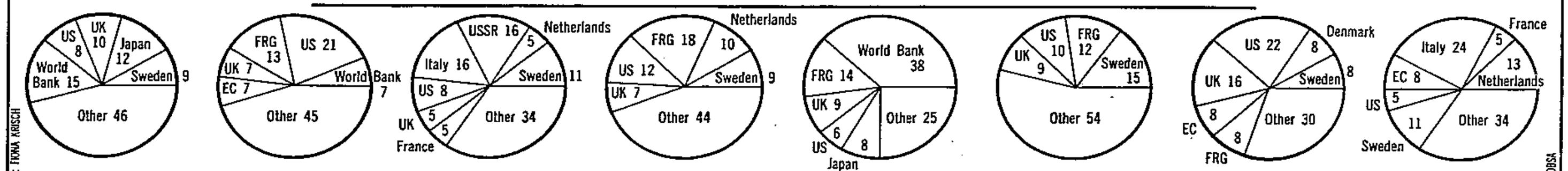
Mr Baker said: "As you know, when we congratulated that government on its election and caught a little flak for doing so, we made it very clear that that congratulation was tempered with a desire on our part to see them move expeditiously in a whole host of areas having to do with the abolition of apartheid. I hope we will see that."

Southern Africa will be on the agenda, but it will almost certainly not be anywhere near the top. The issue was referred to only in passing by Mr Baker during a lengthy briefing he gave journalists on the summit.

Business Day SURVEY

*Increasing contact between SA businessmen and African leaders gives hope for heightened economic co-operation. **SUSAN RAMWELL** reports on the new mood of optimism which recognises the interdependence of the nations of the subcontinent and the need to develop common infrastructures.*

Major donors of development assistance to SADCC countries in Southern Africa, 1986



Pragmatism supercedes politics?

TRADE between South Africa and its neighbours increased by about R600m in 1988, according to estimates. Fostered by a more relaxed political environment, trends suggest continued momentum.

New plans for SA development programmes and investment in southern Africa have been stimulated by hopes of peace in Mocambique and Angola as these countries emerge from years of civil war.

With greater contact possible, intra-regional commercial ties are likely to grow rapidly, with the possible exception of Angola, whose government at this stage still forbids trade with SA.

Mocambique, on the other hand, if peace prevails, would soon become one of SA's top five trading partners in Africa.

In nine years of existence, the member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference, SADCC, have made little real progress in increasing self-sufficiency and reducing economic dependence on SA.

Africa accounts for only about 4% of SA's total export revenue, and provides only 2% of SA's imports.

But higher levels of trade, and greater development of regional infrastructure is a goal with inestimable benefits for the entire sub-continent.

To SA, a thriving north would open markets for goods, and a share through joint capital investment projects in a wealth of natural resources from minerals to the competitively priced energy of hydro-electric power.

For southern Africa it is SA that presents the most logical and most economic source of the skills and knowledge these countries now recognise to be vital for the development of efficient and viable industrial, agricultural, and environmental infrastructure.

SA, so often dubbed the economic powerhouse of the region, is perhaps more importantly the only storehouse of technical know-how relevant to African conditions.

This description of logical economic interdependence is true of the last 20 years. What is new is black Africa's readiness to explore these options in a new mood of pragmatism, and with a new hope in free enterprise.

There are a number of recent milestones. As regards Mocambique, talks between SA ministers and President Joaquim Chissano were held in Maputo on July 19, signalling a more open attitude towards SA.

On July 31, it was announced that the ruling Frelimo party had made a major shift away from Marxism-Leninism, approving plans for a mixed economy in which private enterprise would play a major role.

This creates many new opportunities for private investment from SA in commerce, tourism and other activities.

Moves towards a settlement in Angola and Cuban military withdrawal have aroused hopes that this oil-rich country may begin to rebuild its economy with new opportunities for foreign investment.

Richard Cornwell, head of the Africa Institute's information division, says: "There is no doubt private enterprise, and foreign capital in particular, will be able to identify many sectors of the economy where they can engage in profitable business.

"But at present the security and political impediments loom large. Luanda is likely to change its ways slowly. Likewise, the economy will only mend gradually, for the damage has been deep and widespread."

Open question

The implementation of UN resolution 435 in Namibia, "Africa's last remaining colony" and the fifth most important mining country on the continent, leaves future investment potential an open question but without marked pessimism.

Investors and small business in the country will probably wait to judge post-election economic legislation. A certain amount of confidence is suggested by almost R200-million of new commercial property investment currently under construction or on the drawing board.

Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute, comments in a recent bulletin on Namibia that "the experience of Mocambique and Angola has taught African socialists that economic disaster is inevitable if their policies result in the precipitate flight of white capital and skills.

"Present indications are that no significant nationalisation of private companies and assets is to be expected soon after a Swapo government comes to power.

"As regards mining (which furnishes approximately 30% of the country's GDP), any government, regardless of its political persuasion, is likely to seek a share. The transitional government of national unity has already acquired 50,4% of the voting interest in Rossing Uranium."

Another significant development is a growing number of SADCC member countries who now officially support future trade opportunities with South Africa.

SA has trade missions in five of the SADCC countries.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda is the most recent to have held official talks with both SA chambers of commerce and SA politicians.

At the Africa Institute's AGM last month, chairman Prof P Smit said: "More than any other year since 1960, the past year has been marked by developments which hold the promise of ultimately bringing peace and stability to southern Africa."

Spokesmen from such quarters as the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the SA Department of Foreign Affairs and the SA Foreign Trade Organisation's Africa division all say there is a new mood of pragmatism and realism in the attitude of the Frontline states to talking to SA on economic co-operation and development.

Harder line

There may be some keys to this trend — including the harder line being taken by the World Bank and the IMF towards Third World lending.

John Mare, a deputy director of the Department of Foreign Affairs, comments: "When the EEC meets in 1992 to formally open up Europe as a trading area, African countries won't get continued favourable terms of trade. Rapprochement between East and West Europe means they will increasingly seek economic trade with each other rather than Africa.

Safto's Paul Runge agrees: "There is a real fear among African leaders about 1992. There is a lot of insecurity, and they have great expectations of South Africa."

If correct, these predictions mean SA will see rapidly growing demand for investment, ideas, new products and, more than anything else, for skills and training.

Considering that SA has too little training and skilled manpower for its own needs, the onus could be on new, faster and simpler methods of training and greater preparedness in the SA private sector to hosting African students for training on the job.

AECI MD Mike Sander says: "There's a limit to what you can do in training relatively uneducated and unskilled people. Even a university graduate has to learn practical skills at a given pace.

Science-based technology and practical education have never been passed on to Africa and we have to redress the gap.

"Nowhere in Southern Africa at this stage is there a sufficient education system to address those needs. We need a new approach that places more emphasis on science and on mechanical skills. Industrial careers have to be sold to make people aspire to them.

"South Africa itself is only part of the way up the learning curve. Africa is right at the beginning. But the Southern African region is so rich in resources, if economic co-operation was really developed, it would unlock tremendous potential."

Agricultural productivity needs boost

IN COMMON with the rest of the Third World, Africa needs higher levels of agricultural productivity to provide an adequate food supply for its increasing population and to generate greater export earnings to fund industrialisation.

This is one of the main findings of a study by Peter Lawrence and Ian Livingstone made available to Business Day by the Africa Institute.

Agriculture, which provides between 30% and 60% of GDP in most African countries, amounts to only about 15% in the southern African region.

The study notes that much of the failure of African countries to remain self-sufficient in food production can be traced to government policies of encouraging export cash crop production, principally by setting relatively lower producer prices for domestic food crops.

"For a majority of African countries, agricultural growth rates have been lower and in some cases negative in the last decade than in the previous one, and lower in both cases than industrial growth.

"Self-sufficiency would obviate the need for expensive food imports, save valuable foreign exchange, this itself allowing for imports of capital goods for further industrialisation."

This should not mean the neglect of export cash crops, which are still the continent's main source of hard currency.

The study says there are new opportunities for strengthening the relationship between agriculture and industry in the development process — in the domestic manufacture of agricultural inputs and of industries to process agricultural raw materials.

Sectoral contribution to GDP

Region Country Territory	1970 Agriculture (%)	1970 Industry (%)	1970 Services (%)	1980 Agriculture (%)	1980 Industry (%)	1980 Services (%)	1986 Agriculture (%)	1986 Industry (%)	1986 Services (%)
MALAWI	51	19	30	43	20	37	37	18	45
ZAMBIA	11	55	34	15	39	46	11	48	41
BOTSWANA	33	28	39	11	43	46	4	58	38
LESOTHO	35	9	56	31	21	48	21	27	52
SWAZILAND	31	29	40	29	27	44	24	30	46
MOZAMBIQUE	43	12	45	43	17	40	35	12	53
ANGOLA	45	15	40	43	30	27	10	53	37
ZIMBABWE	11	22	67	15	39	46	11	46	43
NAMIBIA	14	42	44	12	53	35	8	45	47
SOUTH AFRICA	8	40	52	7	51	42	6	46	48
Lebowa	21	36	43	9	37	54	6	26	68
Gazankulu	20	18	62	25	23	52	18	24	58
Qwaqwa	13	29	58	5	26	69	3	44	53
KwaZulu	28	18	54	19	21	60	19	23	58
KwaNdebele	—	—	—	8	35	57	7	27	66
KaNgwane	27	24	49	13	48	39	9	35	56
TRANSKEI	32	15	53	22	20	58	17	23	60
BOPHUTHATSWANA	8	54	38	5	68	27	2	55	43
VENDA	27	24	49	13	15	72	9	27	64
CISKEI	16	18	66	7	27	66	6	37	57

10/89

Eskom chief predicts power grids linking southern Africa

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 co-operation 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 co-operation, 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.

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South INTERNATIONAL

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

Fraser

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 totalled 22 against today's 48, the British conducted the discussion in a committee of officials.

The official chairing 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

THE developing world would need $1-trillion to meet electricity power needs over the next decade, Eskom CE Ian McRae said on Monday.

Speaking on his return from the 14th World Energy Conference, held in Montreal, McRae said about $200m would come from the World Bank and other multi-national sources.

He said the remaining $800bn would be generated by the establishment of regional power grids, which would be self-funding.

He said Eskom's vision for southern African regional development, co-operation and optimising energy resources was well received by conference delegates.

Participation

McRae said SA's image and credibility at the congress were high.

"We can now look forward with continued optimism that restraints on participation will decrease or be totally eliminated."

He said a number of power generating projects on a regional scale were in the pipeline, including the Cahora Bassa scheme, which would be back on line within the next two years.

Power grids would be going up in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi, and to the west there would be another one in southern Angola.

A link-up was being worked out with Zaire and there was further potential in the Zambezi 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 synfuel.

There was great scope for nuclear energy, now favoured by environmentalists above coal-produced power, in view of SA's infrastructure and considerable 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 souces would still be more or less unchanged at the turn of the century.

It would remain at about 80% coal-generated electricity, 10% 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 economical 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 of all SA's black townships.

Cape Times 14/10/89

Conflicts costing R165bn blamed on SA

NEW YORK. — An African study on the effects of conflicts between South Africa and its northern neighbours said yesterday that Southern African nations have lost more than $60 billion (R165 billion) and 1,5 million lives since 1980.

The study, by the Addis Ababa-based Economic Commission for Africa, contended that the enormous cost of human lives and the economy was Pretoria's "ultimate goal of destabilisation" to force these nations to accept apartheid "or at least a modified version of it".

It discounted South African President F W de Klerk's current talks with leaders of the anti-apartheid movement as a consequence of the "severe economic costs" of South African military expeditions.

States said to be involved in conflicts with South Africa are Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Angola, Zambia and Tanzania, which are also called frontline states.

"South Africa's military aggression and destabilisation of its neighbours cost the region $10 billion (R27 billion) in 1988, and more than $60 billion and 1,5 million lives in the first nine years of this decade," the study said.

It said economic output of the region would have been 40% higher had it not been for the Pretoria-led wars, whether direct or not. It said half of the human lives lost were children under five.

It recommended a strengthening of international economic sanctions against South Africa, particularly sales of petroleum products to that country. — UPI