

# **ACORDO DE NKOMATI**

**16 de Março de 1984**

Departamento de Documentação e Informação  
Ministério dos Portos, Caminhos de Ferro e Marinha Mercante



Para que a política de coexistência da República Popular de Moçambique se tornasse realidade em relação à África do Sul, foi preciso toda uma série de contactos diplomáticos com o governo sul-africano.

Os contactos iniciaram-se logo após a independência de Moçambique, e neles estiveram envolvidos Sérgio Vieira e Brandt Fourie.

Sérgio Vieira, actual Vice-Ministro da Defesa com patente de Coronel, era na altura Director do Gabinete da Presidência da República. Brandt Fourie era o Director-Geral dos Negócios Estrangeiros em Cape Town, actualmente Embaixador sul-africano em Washington.

Os contactos entre os dois continuaram a acontecer mesmo quando Sérgio Vieira já era Ministro-Governador do Banco de Moçambique, embora não participasse nesses contactos a título ministerial.

As primeiras negociações a nível governamental, já de nível ministerial, tiveram lugar em Komatipoort, cidade sul-africana que faz fronteira com a província moçambicana de Maputo, em Dezembro de 1982 e, depois, no mesmo local, em Maio de 1983.

Nesses encontros, a delegação moçambicana foi dirigida pelo Major-General Jacinto Veloso, então Ministro da Segurança,

A delegação sul-africana era chefiada pelo Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Roelof Botha.

Em ambos os encontros, Moçambique apresentou os pontos fundamentais para um Acordo de Não-Agressão e Boa Vizinhaça: nenhum dos territórios deveria ser base para ataques ao outro, devendo a África do Sul abandonar imediatamente o apoio aos bandidos armados.

As delegações sul-africanas insistiram em acordos económicos, fazendo-se ignorante em relação aos bandidos armados que o exército sul-africano treinava e organizava. Moçambique manteve a sua posição inicial: não poderia haver qualquer acordo de natureza

económica entre os dois países sem primeiro haver um acordo de segurança.

A esses dois encontros a África do Sul respondeu com mais agressões. Pretória aumentou o seu apoio aos bandidos e aumentou tam**ém** a participação directa de oficiais seus em acções dos bandidos assim como o número de agressões directas.

Na maioria das capitais ocidentais, a atitude dominante era propícia às agressões sul-africanas. Vários governos ocidentais continuavam a ver o conflito na África Austral no contexto da chamada confrontação Leste-Oeste. Para esses governos, a África do Sul continuava a ser "aliada do Ocidente" - embora o "apartheid" fosse condenado verbalmente - e Moçambique era um "satélite da União Soviética". Especificamente em Washington, a Administração do Presidente Ronald Regan continuava a analisar a África Austral apenas em função do conflito global com a União Soviética. O facto de a maior parte dos órgãos de informação ocidentais ter os seus escritórios regionais na África do Sul, muito contribuiu lado a lado com a propaganda sul-africana, para esta definição incorrecta do que se passava na África Austral.

Esta realidade, perigosamente adversa aos interesses nacionais de Moçambique, foi detalhadamente estudada na 10ª Sessão do Comité Central do Partido Frelimo em Agosto de 1982. O Comité Central tomou então três decisões: transformar a economia moçambicana numa economia de guerra; lançar uma ofensiva coordenada das Forças Armadas de Moçambique (FPLM) contra os bandidos armados; e lançar uma ofensiva diplomática no Ocidente.

Em Agosto de 1983 já a ofensiva das FPLM começava a dar frutos com a destruição de muitos acampamentos dos bandidos em várias províncias do país.

A viagem do Presidente Samora Machel a seis países europeus - - cinco dos quais ocidentais -, em Outubro desse ano, quebrou o isolamento crescente de Moçambique. Em Portugal, França e Inglaterra, os seus dirigentes compreenderam finalmente que Moçambi-



que não era, nem é, nem tencionava ser, cliente de nenhuma potência estrangeira. Compreenderam, inclusivamente, que parte das muitas dificuldades que o país enfrenta advém do facto de a Frelimo ter escolhido, acima de tudo, a manutenção da soberania. A esta nova e correcta percepção juntou-se, com mais clareza e consequência, a compreensão de que na África Austral o centro da desestabilização era o regime de Pretória.

Não causou surpresa, pois, que Roelof Botha tenha encontrado demasiadas portas fechadas quando foi à Europa logo a seguir ao regresso de Samora Machel a Moçambique.

Pouco depois, o Presidente moçambicano recebia em Maputo os primeiros emissários que, em nome de Pieter Botha, vinham trazer um pedido sul-africano: a África do Sul estava disposta a retomar o processo de negociações que Moçambique iniciara.

É assim que surge o encontro de 20 de Dezembro de 1983 em Mbabane, na Suazilândia.

Seguiu-se o encontro simultâneo de Maputo e Pretória a 16 de Janeiro de 1984 e a 20 de Fevereiro houve outro encontro em Maputo. Nesse dia o Presidente Samora Machel recebeu os três ministros da delegação sul-africana, Roelof Botha, Louis Le Grange (Lei e Ordem) e o General Magnus Malan (Defesa).

Na semana seguinte o Conselho de Ministros moçambicano aprovou os princípios de uma proposta de Acordo de Não-Agressão, proposta esta que foi levada às conversações de Cape Town a 4 de Março último. Quer os princípios, quer a proposta, continham fundamentalmente os pontos de vista defendidos pela delegação moçambicana no primeiro encontro de Komatipoort em Dezembro de 1982.

Na cidade do Cabo, a delegação moçambicana, chefiada pelo Major-General Jacinto Veloso, teve um encontro com o Primeiro-Ministro sul-africano, Pieter Botha. O comunicado final destas conversações de Cape Town dizia que os encontros com Samora Machel e Pieter Botha haviam sido vitais para os passos positivos conseguidos.



**Acordo**  
**de Não Agressão e Boa Vizinhança**  
**entre o Governo da**  
**REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE MOÇAMBIQUE**  
**e o Governo da**  
**REPÚBLICA DA ÁFRICA DO SUL**



**ACORDO DE NÃO AGRESSÃO E BOA VIZINHANÇA  
ENTRE O GOVERNO DA REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE MOÇAMBIQUE  
E O GOVERNO DA REPÚBLICA DA ÁFRICA DO SUL**

O Governo da República Popular de Moçambique e o Governo da África do Sul, adiante designados também como Altas Partes Contratantes;

**RECONHECENDO** o princípio de respeito estrito da soberania e integridade territorial, da igualdade soberana, da independência política e da inviolabilidade das fronteiras de todos os Estados;

**REAFIRMANDO** o princípio da não ingerência nos assuntos internos de outros Estados;

**CONSIDERANDO** os princípios internacionalmente consagrados do direito dos povos à auto-determinação e independência e o princípio de igualdade de direito de todos os povos;

**CONSIDERANDO** a obrigação de todos os Estados de se absterem, nas relações internacionais, do uso da força ou ameaça de uso da força contra a integridade territorial ou independência política de qualquer Estado;

**CONSIDERANDO** a obrigação dos Estados de resolverem os conflitos por meios pacíficos, e assim salvaguardarem a paz e a segurança internacionais e a justiça;

**RECONHECENDO** que é responsabilidade dos Estados não permitirem que o seu território seja utilizado para a prática de actos de guerra, agressão ou violência contra outros Estados;

**CONSCIENTES** da necessidade de promover um relacionamento de boa vizinhança com base nos princípios de igualdade de direitos e vantagem mútua;

**CONVICTOS** de que as relações de boa vizinhança entre as duas Altas Partes Contratantes contribuirão para a paz, segurança, estabilidade e progresso na África Austral, no Continente e no Mundo;

Acordam solenemente o seguinte:

**ARTIGO UM**

Cada uma das Altas Partes Contratantes compromete-se a respeitar a soberania e independência da outra e deve, em cumprimento desta obrigação fundamental, abster-se de interferir nos assuntos internos da outra Parte.

## ARTIGO DOIS

1. As Altas Partes Contratantes resolverão os diferendos e disputas que surjam entre si e que possam pôr em perigo a paz e segurança mútuas ou da região, através de negociações, inquéritos, mediação, conciliação, arbitragem e outros meios pacíficos, e obrigam-se a não recorrer individual ou colectivamente ao uso da força contra a soberania, integridade territorial e a independência política de cada uma delas.

2. Para efeitos do presente Artigo, o uso da força compreende *inter alia*:

- a) Ataques por forças terrestres, aéreas ou marítimas;
- b) Sabotagem;
- c) Concentração injustificada de tais forças na ou junto das fronteiras internacionais das Altas Partes Contratantes;
- d) Violação das fronteiras internacionais, terrestre, aérea ou marítima, de qualquer das Altas Partes Contratantes.

3. As Altas Partes Contratantes não apoiarão de qualquer forma as forças armadas de qualquer Estado ou conjunto de Estados que tenham sido mobilizados contra a soberania territorial ou independência política da outra Parte.

## ARTIGO TRÊS

1. As Altas Partes Contratantes não permitirão que os respectivos territórios, águas territoriais ou espaço aéreo, sejam utilizados como base, ponto de passagem ou de qualquer outra forma por outro Estado, Governo, forças militares estrangeiras, organizações ou indivíduos que planeiam ou se preparem para levar a cabo actos de violência, terrorismo ou agressão contra a integridade territorial ou independência política da outra, ou que possam ameaçar a segurança dos seus habitantes.

2. As Altas Partes Contratantes com vista a impedir ou a eliminar as acções ou a preparação das acções mencionadas no número 1 deste Artigo, comprometem-se nomeadamente a:

- a) Proibir e impedir a organização nos respectivos territórios de forças não regulares ou bandos armados, incluindo mercenários, que se proponham realizar as acções referidas no número 1 deste Artigo;
- b) Eliminar dos respectivos territórios bases, centros de treino, locais de guarida, alojamento e trânsito para os elementos que pretendam realizar as acções referidas no número 1 deste Artigo;
- c) Eliminar dos respectivos territórios centros ou depósitos de armamento de qualquer tipo, a serem utilizados pelos elementos referidos no número 1 deste Artigo;
- d) Eliminar dos respectivos territórios postos ou locais de comando, direcção e coordenação dos elementos referidos no número 1 deste Artigo;

- e) Eliminar dos respectivos territórios instalações de comunicação e telecomunicação entre o comando e os elementos referidos no número 1 deste Artigo;
- f) Eliminar e proibir a instalação nos respectivos territórios de estações de radiodifusão, incluindo emissões não oficiais ou clandestinas de elementos que levem a cabo as acções referidas no número 1 deste Artigo;
- g) Exercer nos respectivos territórios controle rigoroso sobre elementos que se proponham realizar ou planejar as acções referidas no número 1 deste Artigo;
- h) Impedir que elementos que se proponham ou planeiam realizar as acções referidas no número 1 deste Artigo transitem de um ponto do interior do território de qualquer das Partes para outro ponto do território da outra ou para um outro ponto do território de qualquer terceiro Estado que faça fronteira com a Alta Parte Contratante contra a qual os referidos elementos se propõem ou planeiam realizar tais acções;
- i) Tomar medidas apropriadas nos respectivos territórios para impedir o recrutamento de elementos de qualquer nacionalidade com o objectivo de levar a cabo as acções referidas no número 1 deste Artigo;
- j) Impedir que a partir dos seus respectivos territórios os elementos referidos no número 1 deste Artigo possam, por qualquer meio, levar a cabo acções de rapto e outras, com vista a tornar reféns cidadãos de qualquer nacionalidade no território da outra Alta Parte Contratante;
- k) Proibir a concessão nos seus respectivos territórios de qualquer facilidade de ordem logística para a realização das acções referidas no número 1 deste Artigo.

3. As Altas Partes Contratantes não utilizarão o território de terceiros Estados para levar a cabo ou apoiar as acções referidas nos números 1 e 2 deste Artigo.

#### ARTIGO QUATRO

As Altas Partes Contratantes tomarão medidas, individual e conjuntamente, para assegurar que a fronteira internacional entre os respectivos territórios seja efectivamente patrulhada e que os postos de fronteira funcionem com eficiência para impedir a travessia ilegal do território de uma das Altas Partes Contratantes para o território da outra, nomeadamente pelos elementos referidos no Artigo Três do presente Acordo.

#### ARTIGO CINCO

As Altas Partes Contratantes proibirão nos seus territórios acções de propaganda que incitem à guerra de agressão contra a outra Alta Parte Contratante e proibirão igualmente as acções de propaganda destinadas a incitar a actos de terrorismo e guerra civil no território da outra Alta Parte Contratante.

## ARTIGO SEIS

As Altas Partes Contratantes declaram que não há conflito entre os compromissos por elas assumidos em tratados e obrigações internacionais e os compromissos decorrentes do presente Acordo.

## ARTIGO SETE

As Altas Partes Contratantes empenham-se em interpretar o presente Acordo dentro do princípio da boa-fé e realizarão contactos periódicos entre si para garantir a efectiva aplicação do acordo.

## ARTIGO OITO

Nenhuma disposição do presente Acordo poderá ser entendida como restringindo o direito de auto-defesa de cada uma das Altas Partes Contratantes, em caso de ataques armados, nos termos em que tal direito vem consagrado na Carta das Nações Unidas.

## ARTIGO NOVE

1. Cada uma das Altas Partes Contratantes designará representantes de nível elevado para integrar uma Comissão Conjunta de Segurança, com o objectivo de supervisionar e controlar a aplicação do presente Acordo.

2. A Comissão determinará os seus próprios procedimentos de trabalho.

3. A Comissão deverá reunir-se regularmente e poderá ser convocada a título extraordinário sempre que as circunstâncias o exigirem.

4. A Comissão deverá:

- a) Apreciar todas as alegações de violação das disposições do presente Acordo;
- b) Notificar as Altas Partes Contratantes das suas conclusões;
- c) Recomendar às Altas Partes Contratantes medidas que visem a aplicação eficaz do presente Acordo e a resolução dos diferendos decorrentes de violações ou alegadas violações.

5. As Altas Partes Contratantes definirão o mandato dos respectivos representantes, de modo a permitir a tomada de medidas provisórias, em casos de reconhecida urgência

6. As Altas Partes Contratantes porão à disposição da Comissão todas as facilidades necessárias ao seu bom funcionamento e apreciarão em conjunto as conclusões e recomendações por ela submetidas.

## ARTIGO DEZ

Este Acordo será também designado por Acordo de Nkomati.



## ARTIGO ONZE

1. Este Acordo entra em vigor na data da sua assinatura.

2. Qualquer alteração deste Acordo, concordada pelas Altas Partes Contratantes, deverá ser efectuada por Troca de Notas.

EM FÉ DO QUE, os signatários, em nome dos respectivos Governos, assinam e selam este Acordo, em quadruplicado, nas línguas portuguesa e inglesa, sendo ambas as versões igualmente autênticas.

FEITO E ASSINADO na fronteira comum nas margens do Rio Nkomati, aos 16 dias do mês de Março de 1984.

**SAMORA MOISÉS MACHEL**  
MARECHAL DA REPÚBLICA  
PRESIDENTE DA REPÚBLICA  
POPULAR DE MOÇAMBIQUE  
PRESIDENTE DO CONSELHO  
DE MINISTROS

PELO GOVERNO DA REPÚBLICA  
POPULAR DE MOÇAMBIQUE

**PIETER WILLEM BOTHA**  
PRIMEIRO-MINISTRO DA  
REPÚBLICA DA ÁFRICA DO SUL

PELO GOVERNO DA REPÚBLICA  
DA ÁFRICA DO SUL



**Discurso proferido por S.Exa.  
o Presidente da República  
Popular de Moçambique  
MARECHAL SAMORA MOISÉS MACHEL**



Senhor Primeiro-Ministro da República da África do Sul,  
Senhora Botha,  
Senhores Ministros,  
Caros Convidados,  
Minhas Senhoras,  
Meus Senhores,

A assinatura do Acordo de Não Agressão e Boa Vizinhança, representa um momento alto da história das relações entre os nossos dois Estados, um momento alto da história da nossa região.

Os princípios que inscrevemos no Acordo de Nkomati são princípios de validade universal que regem as relações entre Estados soberanos, independentemente dos seus sistemas políticos, económicos e sociais. São princípios que abrem perspectivas novas no relacionamento entre os nossos Estados, no sentido de garantir uma paz sólida e duradoira entre os dois países vizinhos. São princípios que estabelecem uma nova situação na nossa zona, uma situação de paz e de boa vizinhança.

O Acordo de Nkomati é um documento único entre Estados da nossa zona. A sua necessidade resultou não tanto das diferenças que opõem os nossos Estados, mas sobretudo do processo de confrontação que se desenvolveu, gerando a consciência de que não era este o caminho que melhor servia os interesses dos nossos dois países.

Assumimos aqui o compromisso solene de não desencadearmos acções agressivas, de qualquer tipo, um contra o outro, e criamos condições para, com honra e dignidade, ver instalar-se uma nova fase de estabilidade e segurança nas nossas fronteiras comuns.

Não queremos que a África Austral, e, em particular, os nossos dois países sejam palco de um conflito generalizado. Por isso consagramos no Acordo de Nkomati o princípio de que os nossos Estados não serão utilizados por qualquer outro Estado ou conjunto de Estados para pôr em causa a soberania, a integridade territorial ou a independência dos nossos países.

Estamos assim a lançar bases para romper definitivamente o ciclo de violência que se instalou nesta zona do continente. Violência que resultou sobretudo das pesadas heranças de que somos portadores. Violência que se iniciou há alguns séculos, quando a dignidade e a personalidade dos

povos africanos foram espezinhadas pela agressão, a dominação e a exploração do colonialismo europeu.

A África foi assolada pela brutalidade das guerras escravagistas e de conquista colonial, que trouxeram a divisão, a humilhação, a miséria e a destruição aos povos do continente.

Somos um continente de sobreviventes. Sobrevivemos à escravidão, sobrevivemos às guerras de conquista, sobrevivemos à brutalidade da repressão quando quisemos ser donos dos nossos próprios destinos.

Por isso, estamos bem conscientes do valor da paz, da necessidade de rejeitarmos as heranças que nos dividem.

Assumimos assim a responsabilidade perante o mundo e perante a história, de assegurar a perenidade deste Acordo, de eliminarmos as causas que constituem a fonte da violência, da guerra e da confrontação.

Senhor Primeiro-Ministro,

As diferenças entre as nossas concepções políticas, económicas e sociais são grandes e até antagónicas.

Soubemos honradamente reconhecer tais diferenças no duro e difícil caminho das conversações francas e abertas que nos conduziram a este Acordo. Continuaremos a estar conscientes das contradições que subsistem, mas sabemos reconhecer que estamos indissolivelmente ligados pela geografia e pela vizinhança.

A coexistência pacífica, o respeito mútuo, as relações de boa vizinhança, são a única alternativa sensata, para que o nosso futuro se liberte do espectro da violência e destruição.

A República Popular de Moçambique defende a Paz como o bem mais precioso da Humanidade, como a aspiração mais profunda de todos os povos. A Paz e a coexistência estão inscritas na nossa Constituição. Foi com base na nossa política socialista de Paz que desde o primeiro encontro entre os nossos governos, em 17 de Dezembro de 1982, propusemos que, formal ou informalmente, acordássemos em fazer prevalecer a coexistência e a Paz entre os nossos Estados.

Há Paz quando se verifica o respeito entre Estados pela soberania, pela independência e pela integridade territorial.

Há Paz quando há harmonia, tranquilidade física, material, espiritual e social.

Há Paz quando, sem discriminação, se respeita a vida, a liberdade, a igualdade e a dignidade do Homem.

A Paz gera as condições para o progresso, o desenvolvimento económico e o bem estar social.

Depois de uma longa época de conflitos armados surgem esperanças de Paz. Há que transformá-las em realidade. Há que fazê-las florescer e torná-las cada vez mais férteis e fecundas.

A perspectiva de Paz abre possibilidades à valorização dos imensos recursos em que abunda a nossa região. Estes recursos devem prioritariamente ser explorados em benefício dos povos, salvaguardando sempre os interesses nacionais de cada Estado.

As relações económicas entre os nossos Estados devem desenrolar-se duma forma sã e correcta.

Não podemos nem devemos ignorar que as nossas relações têm uma tradição histórica, que valorizou a contiguidade geográfica entre os dois países.

Mas devemos igualmente reconhecer que relações de dependência económica não são factor de estabilidade e progresso harmonioso, e por isso o nosso Estado rejeita todo o tipo de relacionamento que possa limitar, por qualquer forma, a sua independência, ou torná-lo economicamente dependente de um outro país.

Saibamos encontrar, na área económica, como valorizar recursos, infraestruturas e situações que, constituindo uma experiência das nossas relações, são susceptíveis de trazerem vantagens e benefícios recíprocos, numa base de igualdade.

É neste contexto que o Acordo de não agressão e boa vizinhança tem um papel importante a desempenhar, pois sem paz e tranquilidade não há desenvolvimento.

Estabelecemos relações de cooperação no âmbito da SADCC, com Estados da África Austral.

Como já tivemos ocasião de afirmar, a SADCC não foi criada contra a África do Sul. O seu objectivo central é a eliminação da fome, da nudez, do analfabetismo e o melhoramento do nível de vida dos povos da região. Os Estados membros da SADCC recusam depender economicamente da África do Sul, como de qualquer outro país.

Estes objectivos estão solenemente proclamados na Declaração de Lusaka que instituiu a SADCC, e uma vez mais queremos aqui reafirmar a nossa inteira fidelidade a tais princípios.

Senhor Primeiro-Ministro,

Os nossos Estados souberam traçar a via da coexistência. Souberam discutir entre si. Souberam entre si caracterizar os seus interesses e objectivos. Muitos se surpreenderam da rapidez com que encontrámos as respostas, e da nossa capacidade em fazê-lo sem interferências exteriores a nós.

Nós, povo moçambicano, queremos desenvolver relações amistosas com o povo sul-africano. Nenhum de nós, moçambicanos ou sul-africanos, tem outra Pátria. Não somos estrangeiros ao nosso Continente, às nossas Pátrias.

Temos que conviver na base do respeito mútuo, da liberdade, da igualdade, da justiça. Estes são princípios fundamentais do nosso Estado, princípios que constituem a essência mesma da nossa concepção de sociedade livre e democrática, princípios com os quais nos mantemos coerentes e a que somos intransigentemente fiéis.

Temos como objectivo que a nossa região se afirma como modelo de Paz. Não queremos que a África Austral ou o nosso Continente sejam a base de quaisquer conflitos armados. Não queremos, particularmente ser detonadores de uma confrontação à escala mundial.

A luta de libertação dos povos africanos foi para alcançar a paz. A África inteira continua a luta para se transformar em zona de Paz, fazer dos seus oceanos estradas de Paz, de unidade, de amizade e cooperação entre os Povos. A África inteira combate para afastar do Continente os horrores de uma catástrofe nuclear.

Os povos africanos sempre lutaram para eliminar as causas geradoras de conflitos, de tensão, de guerras. Sempre lutaram para erradicar a dominação e exploração estrangeiras e, na paz, construir o progresso, o bem-estar e a felicidade.

Nesta luta pela dignidade e personalidade do homem africano, a Organização de Unidade Africana foi e continua a ser instrumento importante para a materialização das aspirações mais legítimas dos povos do nosso Continente.

Não podemos deixar de aproveitar esta ocasião para prestarmos a nossa homenagem aos fundadores e inspiradores da OUA. Há mais de 20 anos uma pleiade insigne de dirigentes africanos teve a lucidez, a visão histórica e a coragem de dar corpo à aspiração de Unidade para prosseguir a luta dos povos africanos pela libertação do nosso Continente.

Nesta grandiosa epopeia de libertação de África, muitos foram os heróis, que por esta causa tão nobre, sacrificaram as suas vidas. É profunda a nossa emoção, neste momento, ao evocarmos as suas memórias, que ficarão para sempre gravadas com respeito e carinho na história de África.

Queremos sublinhar o papel decisivo que têm desempenhado os dirigentes dos países da Linha da Frente a que nos encontramos unidos, há longa data, na causa da libertação do nosso continente e na busca de paz e do progresso, na busca da justiça e da igualdade nesta zona da África.

Saudamos as figuras ilustres de Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere e do Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, que souberam fazer dos seus povos aliados seguros e inquebrantáveis na libertação do povo moçambicano. Esta respeitosa homenagem aos povos da Tanzânia e da Zâmbia estende-se a todos os povos que souberam fazer da nossa luta, a sua própria luta, para se alcançar a paz e a liberdade.

O Acordo que concluímos contribui significativamente para estes nobres objectivos. Mais ainda, ele permite que os esforços da região se concentrem na luta prioritária do Continente e da Humanidade: a luta contra a fome, a doença, a ignorância, a miséria e o subdesenvolvimento.

Que a África surja como zona de progresso onde a razão prevaleça sobre o ódio e os preconceitos e os esforços do homem se concentrem na luta pelo desenvolvimento e pelo bem-estar.

Paz, segurança, estabilidade e progresso foram sempre objectivos da luta do povo moçambicano.

Em 1964, o nosso povo desencadeou a luta armada contra o colonialismo português para conquistar a independência nacional e eliminar um dos factores que perturbava a paz na nossa zona. Em 1974, dez anos depois, aquele objectivo foi alcançado.

Volvidos outros 10 anos, estamos aqui a estabelecer bases para que entre dois Estados da zona austral do nosso Continente prevaleça um clima de boa vizinhança e paz.



Senhor Primeiro-Ministro,

O esforço para alcançar a Paz exigiu determinação, perspectiva histórica correcta e firmeza. Chegou o momento em que, mais que os textos e as formulações jurídicas, para nós conta a palavra dada, o sentido do engajamento, a boa fé.

O governo da República Popular de Moçambique, no espírito, e não só na letra, cumprirá a sua palavra.

Senhor Primeiro-Ministro,

Senhores Convidados,

Sempre lutámos pela Paz, igualdade e progresso, pronunciando a palavra de ordem da FRELIMO, A LUTA CONTINUA!

Hoje, a luta continua pela igualdade, pela democracia, pela justiça, para que no nosso Continente todos sejam iguais.

Hoje, pela Paz, estabilidade, boa-vizinhança e progresso,

A LUTA CONTINUA!

Muito Obrigado.



**Discurso proferido por S.Exa. o  
Primeiro Ministro da República  
da África do Sul, P.W. BOTHA**



O nosso acto de assinar, hoje, este tratado, o Acordo de Nkomati, abre um novo curso na história da África Austral. Demos a conhecer ao mundo a nossa crença em que estados com sistemas sócio-económicos e políticos diferentes podem viver juntos em paz e harmonia, e trabalhar juntos no prosseguimento de interesses comuns. A nossa reunião hoje na fronteira entre os nossos dois estados indica a nossa boa vontade e a nossa capacidade em conseguir acordos de paz que encerram o nosso compromisso para com os princípios de boa vizinhança.

Outro princípio que o acordo hoje assinado subordina é que cada um dos países tem o direito de conduzir os seus assuntos do modo que lhe parecer adequado e que as relações entre estados, em particular entre vizinhos, não deverão ser perturbadas por diferenças em políticas internas. Isto é sensato e prático, pois reconhece que cada país tem o seu próprio conjunto de condições para as quais deve procurar as suas próprias soluções com base no interesse dos seus cidadãos.

A África do Sul foi um dos primeiros países de África a confrontar a ocupação colonial e a exploração estrangeira. O povo a que pertenco conhece o sentimento de impotência frente a uma força externa muito superior à sua. A nossa independência não teve começo fácil. Um número incontável de mulheres e crianças morreu em campos de concentração, enquanto os seus maridos, pais e irmãos, lutavam contra o poder de um Grande Império. O seu sacrifício manteve acesa desde então, a chama da liberdade nos nossos corações.

Nem a África do Sul, nem Moçambique, tiveram qualquer intervenção no delineamento do mapa político tal como o conhecemos hoje. As nossas fronteiras foram arbitrariamente traçadas por outros, que serviam os interesses dos poderes coloniais e que pouco se preocupavam com os habitantes da região.

Tendo conseguido a nossa independência política temos obrigação de a utilizar para libertar também os nossos povos das cadeias da pobreza, ignorância e doença. Os maíes que escolhemos podem

apontar em direcções opostas: muitas vezes entram em conflito, mas não podemos permitir que visões diferentes da vida nos desencaminhem da necessidade urgente de criar melhores oportunidades para os nossos povos, permitindo-lhes sair do ciclo debilitante da pobreza, e trabalhar para um futuro que ofereça prospectos realísticos de paz e melhor nível de vida.

É esta a lógica e o objectivo do Acordo de Nkomati. É um acto de fé por parte dos nossos dois governos - fé na promessa de que, dados um clima de estabilidade e mútua coexistência, seremos capazes de aplicar as nossas energias nos problemas que realmente importam na nossa região, e trabalhar para responder às necessidades fundamentais dos nossos povos.

Enfrentamos problemas sociais, políticos e económicos extremamente complexos; tão complexos que podem resultar em conflito e é, muitas vezes difícil evitar ser arrastado para dentro da espiral resultante da confrontação e do conflito. Nestas circunstâncias evitam-se as saídas reais - factos desagradáveis e realidades duras são escondidas enquanto as nações travam uma batalha ideológica de palavras e agem com hostilidade umas para com as outras. Mas os factos e as realidades são companheiros da humanidade, de notável elasticidade. Não é por os banirmos da nossa vista, que eles irão desaparecer. Na realidade, se não os enfrentarmos com honestidade e franqueza, os problemas que eles apresentam iam simplesmente complicar-se.

A República da África do Sul, ao exprimir a sua preocupação, há vários anos atrás, perante os sinais de confrontação e conflito na nossa região, chegou à conclusão que os dirigentes do nosso subcontinente teriam que enfrentar estas realidades e ordenar de novo em consequência, as suas prioridades. Em tanto que governo, temos o dever de considerar o bem estar e prosperidade dos nossos povos como nossa primeira prioridade. A África do Sul reconheceu que possuía estabilidade, força económica e capacidade produtora para dar assistência aos seus vizinhos para conseguir o objectivo regional de progresso e desenvolvimento, desde que os países em causa estivessem preparados para procurar relações mútuas mais

saudáveis. O meu país dispôs-se a assinar pactos de não-agressão com todos os seus vizinhos na procura deste objectivo e, hoje, com a República Popular de Moçambique damos um importante passo nesse sentido.

Ao assinar este acordo hoje, optámos pelo caminho da paz, Sei que é um caminho difícil, não isento de riscos para qualquer de nós: nem tão pouco podemos fugir ao facto de ter a paz, também a seu preço. Partimos com uma carga de suspeita mútua e recordações amargas, que à medida que formos avançando, deverão ir desaparecendo.

Não se põe a questão deste acordo ser considerado um expediente temporário do qual uma parte ou a outra poderá retirar vantagem unilateral. E é assim porque os factores que nos aproximaram são eles próprios imutáveis. Foram as realidades económicas e geográficas da nossa região que nos aproximaram e que serão a melhor garantia do êxito e permanência deste acordo.

Poderemos explorar numerosas possibilidades para alargar as nossas relações para benefício mútuo na atmosfera de paz e boa fé que estamos a criar agora. Esta atmosfera conduzirá à confiança e encorajará os sectores privados da economia sul-africana e de outros países a desempenhar um papel construtivo se lhes puder ser assegurado que os seus investimentos estarão em segurança e que haverá benefícios mútuos tanto para os produtores como para os consumidores.

Somos ambos países africanos, habitados por povos africanos, cujo passado e futuro se encontram firmemente intrincheirados na parte austral do Continente Africano. Pertencemos à África. Partilhemos um futuro comum nesta parte do mundo, e responsabilidade comum na garantia de que as gerações que nos seguirão irão herdar um mundo melhor que nós. Este acordo pode contribuir significativamente para esse mundo melhor. Assinámo-lo ante um grupo de entidades e convidados reunidos, civis provenientes de muitas camadas sociais, assim como perante representantes das nossas For-

ças Armadas, das quais dependemos na defesa dos nossos países com as suas vidas. Ao assegurar o êxito da implementação deste acordo criaremos uma situação em que, caso as nossas Forças Armadas fossem chamadas a combater, não seria entre os respectivos países.

Ao aceitar o espírito e a letra deste Acordo o meu Governo procura uma nova era de cooperação e coexistência pacífica entre a África do Sul e Moçambique na procura de uma vida melhor para os nossos povos.

Vejo um subcontinente em que os países trabalham juntos para racionalizar e aumentar a produção alimentar, desenvolver o comércio regional, estabelecer programas de habitação, esquemas de formação e educação, serviços de saúde, oportunidades de emprego, e muitas outras actividades de benefício mútuo. Podemos fazer um intercâmbio de informação sobre programas destinados a vencer os efeitos das secas, inundações e outras calamidades naturais. Juntos podemos formar uma aliança económica com o fim de negociar melhores preços nos mercados mundiais para os nossos minerais e matérias primas.

Com a necessária estabilidade e boa vizinhança, antevejo as nações da África Austral a cooperar umas com as outras em todos os campos de empreendimentos humanos; verdadeira constelação de estados a trabalhar conjuntamente para o benefício de todos com base no respeito mútuo.

É óptimo que governantes e representantes dos estados da África Austral, bem como representantes de outros estados presenciem esta ocasião histórica.

Desejo agradecer-lhes a sua presença. Alguns já os conheço: outros encontro-os pela primeira vez. Todos, de um modo ou de outro, contribuíram, para o processo de comunicação e negociação que culminou com este acto de hoje.

Quando, ao fim da tarde de hoje, tivermos de nos separar, as es



truturas que hoje aqui foram construídas, serão demolidas e re-  
tiradas, e este lindo vale tornar-se-á de novo o domínio dos hí-  
pópótamos e de outras criaturas do reino animal. Gostaria que,  
juntos, erguêssemos um monumento neste local, em que o Acordo  
de Nkomati foi assinado, de modo que, muito depois de já termos  
desaparecido, as gerações futuras saibam que nos reunimos hoje  
aqui, para escrever novo e promissor curso da história dos nos-  
sos dois países.

A nossa tarefa é regressar ao trabalho, pôr o nosso acordo em  
acção e fazer quanto pudermos para assegurar que os históricos  
do futuro marquem este dia como uma viragem da maior importância  
nos destinos do nosso subcontinente.

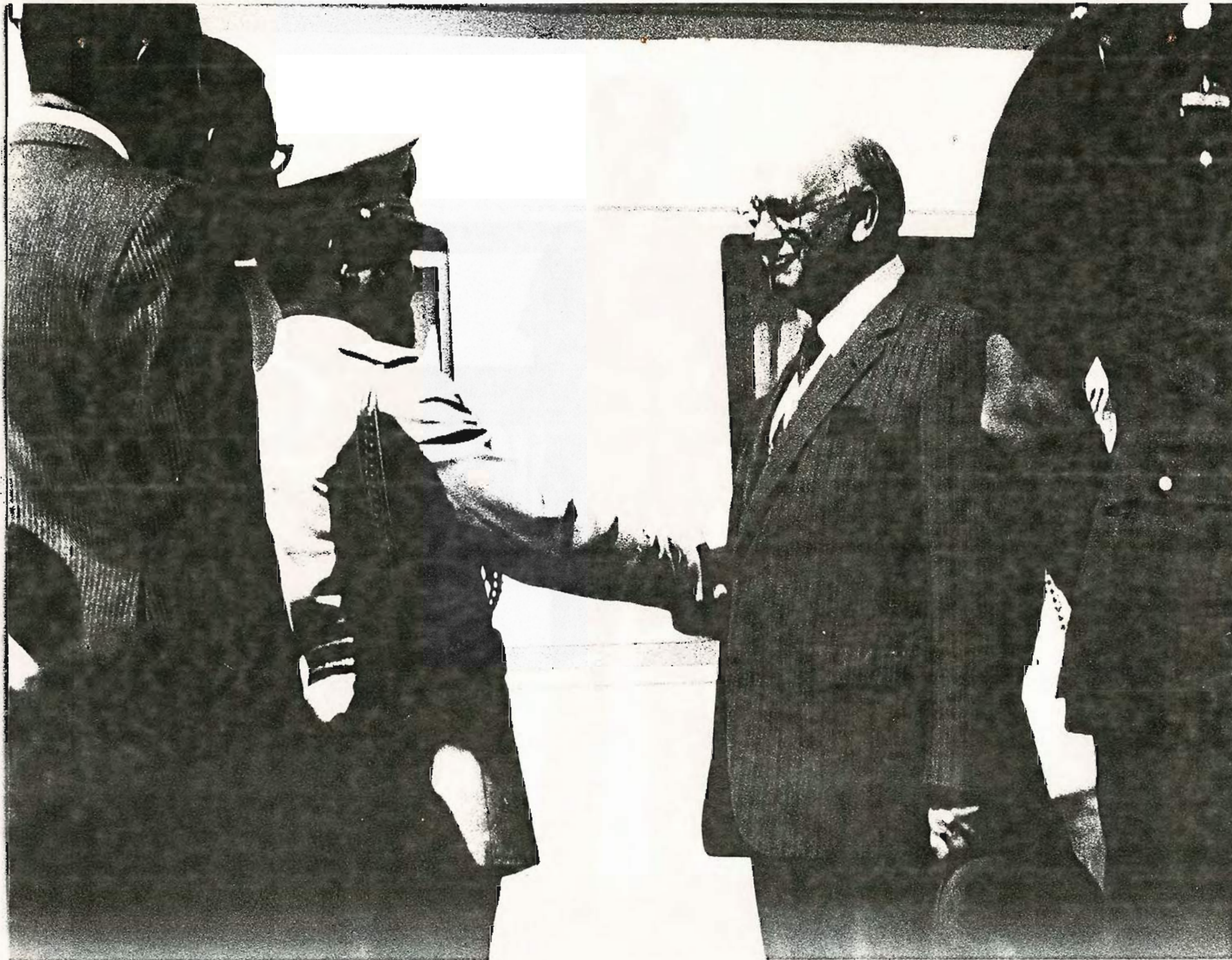
Mais uma vez, algo de novo surgiu em África. Acreditamos que es-  
te acordo entre os nossos países pode servir de exemplo nas re-  
lações na nossa região e, na realidade, no mundo. Não podemos  
consentir que a África Austral enfraqueça e morra. A nossa res-  
ponsabilidade em tanto que Africanos é dar ao nosso subcontinen-  
te uma oportunidade de viver. Para crescer, desenvolver e mos-  
trar que somos capazes de triunfar sem interferência de estra-  
nhos. Na nossa qualidade de Africanos orgulhamo-nos da nossa i-  
dentidade e das nossas tradições nesta parte do mundo. Em vez  
de retalharmos as nossas energias e recursos, unamo-las, pois  
será na nossa força económica combinada que a promessa de uma  
região mais próspera se realizara melhor.

Ao reunirmo-nos hoje aqui enviamos uma mensagem ao mundo, a di-  
zer que a África Austral sobreviverá e que os seus filhos prog-  
perarão. Que Deus nos conceda a coragem e força para cumprir a  
nossa missão.



# **Reportagem fotográfica**





























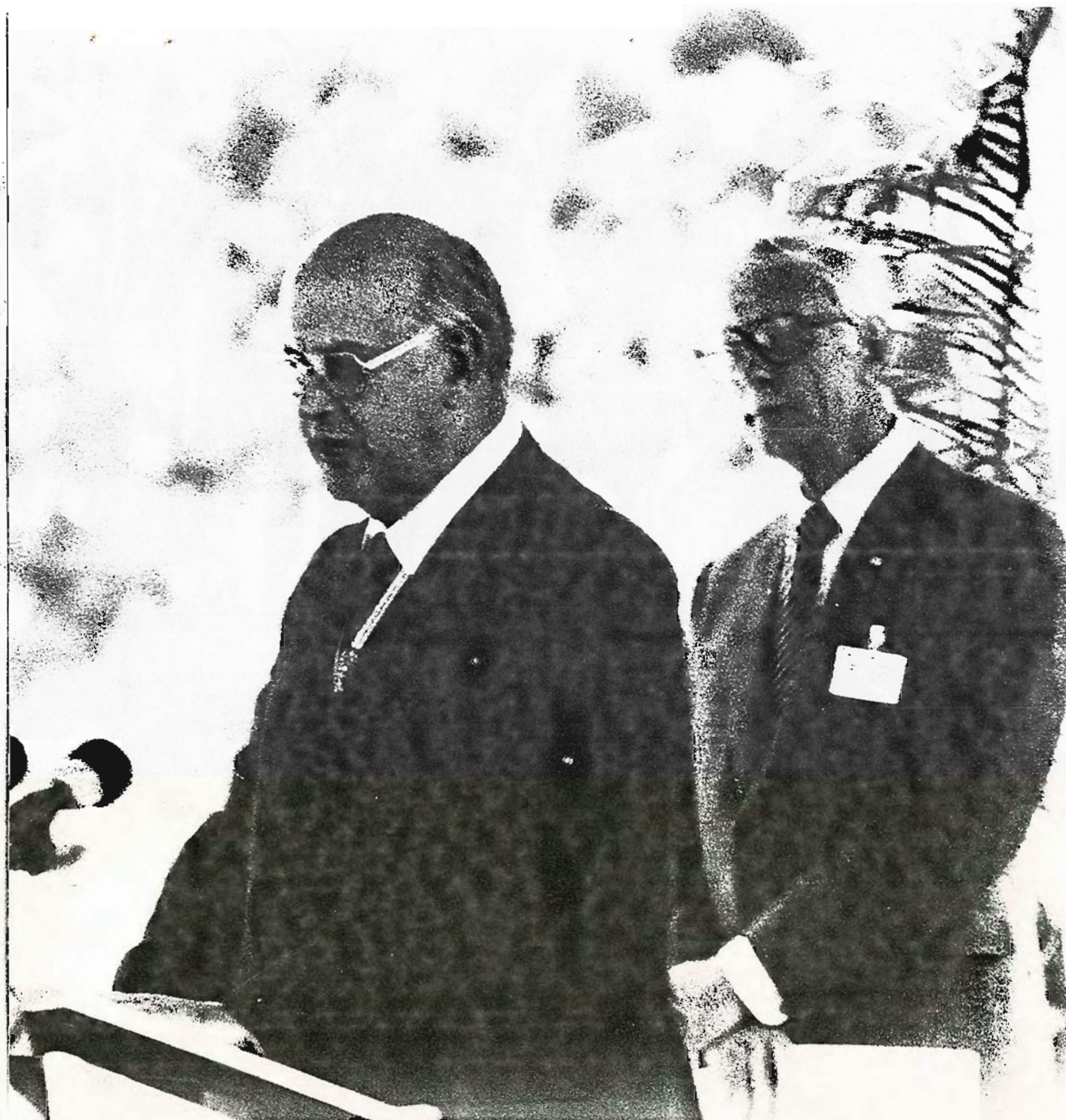


























**Sessão Solene  
de Saudação ao Acordo**



## — Presidente Samora Machel na sessão solene de saudação ao Acordo de Nkomati

O Acordo de Nkomati consagra a vitória dos obreiros da paz e dos defensores da revolução socialista sobre o projecto principal do imperialismo para a destruição do Estado moçambicano. Esta declaração foi proferida ontem, em Maputo, pelo Marechal Samora Machel, ao usar da palavra no acto solene por ocasião da saudação da Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular à celebração do Acordo de Não-Agressão e Boa Vizinhança com a África do Sul e ao Presidente da República Popular de Moçambique pelo seu envolvimento pessoal e pelo seu papel decisivo nesta conquista do Povo moçambicano.

Num discurso que durou uma hora e oito minutos, o Chefe do Estado caracterizou o Acordo de Nkomati como «um dos momentos mais altos de afirmação da nossa soberania como Estado independente, um acto de Estado que ficará registado como um momento ímpar e dignificante da nossa história».

Com este Acordo — disse Samora Machel — garantimos a defesa de 13 220 000 moçambicanos e de 800 mil quilómetros quadrados do nosso território.

«O Acordo de Nkomati defende o primeiro Estado que, na região, trouxe a liberdade a todas as crenças, trouxe a democracia de tipo novo, trouxe novas relações de igualdade entre os homens, independentemente da tribo, região ou da raça» — afirmou o Presidente Samora Machel.

O Chefe do Estado sublinhou que o significado estratégico do Acordo ultrapassava os limites das fronteiras nacionais e da África Austral.

«O Acordo é parte do movimento para contenção da corrida armamentista, inscreve-se na estratégia dos países que constroem o socialismo, na medida em que a paz é a essência própria do socialismo» — disse o Marechal Samora Machel.

O líder da Revolução moçambicana afirmou que o Acordo cria novas condições para o desenvolvimento económico e social da República Popular de Moçambique.

«Podemos em Paz comprar mais tractores para produzir comida e menos tanques de guerra» — declarou Samora Machel, que referiu, depois, que a maior parte dos poucos recursos ao nosso dispor será, numa situação de paz, afectada ao combate à fome, à nudez, à ignorância e à doença.

O Presidente Samora Machel advertiu contra as manobras dos oportunistas de direita e de esquerda, que tentarão desvirtuar o sentido patriótico e revolucionário do Acordo, bem como de indivíduos que erguer-se-ão para promover o militarismo e a política de força e confrontação, aqueles que querem reavivar o clima da guerra-fria e pôr em causa o princípio da coexistência pacífica entre estados de regimes sociais diferentes.



# Um novo acontecimento histórico para o nosso povo

A Sala do 4.º Congresso voltou a ser ontem testemunha de um acontecimento histórico para o nosso Povo, ao acolher o acto solene de saudação pela celebração do Acordo de Nkomati e ao Presidente da República Popular de Moçambique, Marechal Samora Moisés Machel. Dentro e fora do edifício, viveram-se momentos de exaltação patriótica, num ambiente que a solenidade do acontecimento não impediu que fosse de alegria e emoção, misturadas com expectativa pelas orientações que viriam a ser traçadas pelo Dirigente máximo da Revolução moçambicana. Representando os anseios de todo o Povo moçambicano, a Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular determinou a realização deste acto em homenagem ao Marechal Samora Machel que, por sua vez, quis que fosse uma homenagem a todo o Povo.

O acto contou com a presença de membros do Bureau Político do Partido Frelimo, Secretários e membros do Comité Central, da Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular, do Conselho de Ministros, deputados da Assembleia Popular e vários convidados, nacionais e estrangeiros. Entre estes, contavam-se dirigentes das Organizações Democráticas de Massas, membros do Corpo Diplomático acreditado em Maputo, representantes de instituições religiosas e humanitárias, escritores, desportistas, jornalistas e representantes de trabalhadores de diversos sectores de actividade.

O Presidente Samora Machel deu entrada na Sala do 4.º Congresso às 16.10 horas, acompanhado pelos membros do Bureau Político do Partido Frelimo e da Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular.

No Presidium, para além do Presidente Samora Machel, encontravam-se à sua direita, Marcelino dos Santos, e, à sua esquerda, Joaquim Chissano.

Depois de apresentado o Hino Nacional, usou da palavra o Major-General Marcelino dos Santos, para transmitir uma mensagem que os presentes aplaudiram, de pé. Finda a sua alocução, Marcelino dos Santos e o Marechal Samora Machel abraçaram-se, perante os aplausos de todos os presentes. Ainda de pé, todos cantaram «Khanimambo Frelimo, Khanimambo Samora».

O Tenente-General Sebastião Marcos Mabote, Chefe do Estado-Maior General das Forças Armadas de Moçambique (FPLM), leu em seguida, a mensagem das Forças de Defesa e Segurança, reafirmando a determinação destas, de fazer de 1984 o ano da liquidação dos bandidos armados.

Após a leitura da mensagem, Sebastião Mabote ofereceu ao Marechal Samora Machel uma espingarda G-3, capturada recentemente ao inimigo. Disse ainda que, juntamente com a arma, foi

capturado um rádio de comunicações. Recebendo a oferta, o Comandante-Chefe das Forças Armadas de Moçambique exibiu-a a todos os presentes e comentou: O inimigo passará a ser a nossa logística.

Augusto Macamo, membro do Comité Central e Secretário-Geral da Organização dos Trabalhadores de Moçambique, fez depois a leitura da mensagem das Organizações Democráticas de Massas, que também foi aplaudida, de pé, por todos os presentes.

Um grupo coral dirigido pelo conhecido maestro Chemane, entrou depois na sala, para apresentar algumas canções especialmente concebidas para a ocasião.

— Foi em Xinavane, foi em Inhاملinga, foi nas cadeias que massacraram o nosso Povo, que lutava pela sua causa justa. Mas esse Povo, firme na luta, destruiu a força da opressão — dizia uma das canções. O grupo foi vibrantemente aplaudido.

O Presidente Samora Machel, que usou da palavra em seguida, começou por recordar que ontem, dia 4 de Abril, completámos 20 anos da abertura do campo de Kongwa. Somos adultos. Crescemos vitoriosos da batalha em batalha. Realçou ainda.

Após o seu discurso, acompanhado por todos os presentes na sala e pelas centenas de populares que, do lado de fora do edifício, o ouviram através dos altifalantes ali montados, o Marechal Samora Machel abandonou a Sala do 4.º Congresso. Antes de entrar na sua viatura, percorreu, a pé, uma larga extensão da Avenida 24 de Julho, saudando a multidão que se aglomerava ao longo da estrada e apreciando números de dança apresentados por grupos culturais que não quiseram deixar de aproveitar esta oportunidade para, manifestando a sua alegria e emoção, demonstrar uma vez mais a extraordinária riqueza do nosso património cultural.

# — Presidente Samora Machel

O Presidente Samora Machel sublinhou no discurso por ele pronunciado ontem que o Acordo de Nkomati «abre uma nova era para que o nosso povo trabalhador possa dedicar-se com mais afinco ao desenvolvimento do nosso País desenvolvimento que foi afectado gravemente pelas guerras sucessivas que fomos obrigados a suportar».

«Este Acordo — acrescentou o Marechal Samora Machel — abre agora perspectivas favoráveis para o desenvolvimento da cooperação com todos os países, para a cooperação multilateral com benefícios recíprocos com entidades económicas e financeiras».

O Dirigente máximo da Revolução moçambicana analisou as condições históricas em que se inscreve o Acordo de Nkomati, advertindo contra as formas como os oportunistas o tentarão denegrir. Samora Machel, neste importante discurso que aqui publicamos na íntegra, definiu a terminar as tarefas principais que agora cabem a todos os patriotas:

Camaradas membros do Bureau Político do Comité Central do Partido Frelimo,  
Senhores membros da Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular,  
Senhores membros do Conselho de Ministros da RPM,  
Senhores membros do Corpo Diplomático,

Minhas Senhoras,  
e meus Senhores,

O acto solene que estamos a viver traduz a dimensão que o Estado moçambicano quis dar ao Acordo de Não-Agressão e Boa Vizinhança com a República da África do Sul.

E é com grande emoção e profundo sentimento de responsabilidade que, nesta hora de exaltação da nossa unidade e do nosso patriotismo, assumimos a decisão da Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular de, em nós, saudar todo o heróico Povo moçambicano. Muito abrigado.

Com a realização deste acto político, o Estado moçambicano realinha no exercício da sua plena soberania, com maturidade e de forma solene, o compromisso assumido de aplicar e zelar pelo rigoroso cumprimento do Acordo de Nkomati, assinado em 18 de Março de 1984.

O Povo moçambicano, do Rovuma ao Maputo, festejou neste Acordo, mais uma vitória da nossa política socialista de paz.

## 1. VINTE ANOS DE GUERRA PARA ESTABELECEER A PAZ

Nkomati encerra mais um capítulo de guerra de agressão contra a nossa independência e contra a nossa revolução.

Nkomati marcou o insucesso e a inviabilidade da estratégia regional alimentada pelo Imperialismo e que visava a destruição dos Estados independentes e progressistas na África Austral.

A guerra é a forma extrema de luta política. Mas a política não se reduz à guerra. A guerra desencadeia-se para atingir determinados objectivos políticos que não foi possível atingir por meios pacíficos.

Só devido à intransigência do colonialismo português em solucionar pacificamente, de uma forma negociada, a questão da nossa indepen-

dência nacional, o Povo moçambicano foi obrigado a recorrer à guerra.

Desencadeámos em 25 de Setembro de 1964 a Luta Armada de Libertação Nacional para atingirmos objectivos políticos claros: quais: a independência nacional, o direito de vivermos em liberdade, em democracia, em paz.

A nossa luta desenrolava-se em várias frentes: política, diplomática e militar. Dado o carácter insolúvel da contradição que nos opunha à ocupação estrangeira, a luta armada tornou-se a forma principal do nosso processo de libertação nacional.

A luta armada não foi desencadeada como elemento de pressão política.

Porque a luta armada se tornou a forma principal do processo, ela envolveu o povo inteiro. Deixou de haver o diplomata, o político e o militar. Todos eram o povo em armas.

Esta essência profundamente popular do nosso combate libertador fez da luta um acto cultural, em que o povo aprendeu a exercer o seu poder, e a lançar os fundamentos do seu Estado.

É esta essência profundamente popular que transforma a guerra popular em guerra popular revolucionária, que abala os alicerces da exploração capitalista e do feudalismo.

Assim, no decurso da luta armada de libertação nacional aprendemos a assumir a Revolução e o Socialismo como emanção da experiência revolucionária do nosso povo, emanção do nosso próprio combate quotidiano.

Foi no decurso da luta armada que aprendemos a amar a paz como um valor superior do homem, como uma condição fundamental para o exercício pleno da soberania e da liberdade.

Na definição correcta do inimigo e dos objectivos da nossa luta, aprendemos que a violência reacçãoária é preciso opor a violência. Mas a nossa violência, para ser vitoriosa, tinha que ter um conteúdo claro e correcto, correspondente aos anseios mais profundos do povo, tinha que ser violência revolucionária. Os alvos eram o exército de ocupação, os agentes activos do colonialismo e do fascismo.

Quando definimos desta forma o inimigo, quando aplicamos a nossa política de clemência, quando os nossos soldados davam sangue aos soldados do exército colonial feridos e feitos prisioneiros, quando concebemos a libertação não em termos de tribo, de região ou de raça, mas sim em termos de Nação, estávamos, em plena guerra popular, a aplicar princípios socialistas da nossa política de paz.

Nas zonas libertadas, no exercício do poder popular, produzido pela nossa guerra justa, combatíamos intransigentemente os novos exploradores que procuravam lançar a semente da divisão, vingança, rancor, e lançar a intranquilidade social no nosso seio. Assim preservamos os objectivos claros da nossa luta: os fundamentos da igualdade e democracia de sociedade pacífica e livre pela qual aceitamos sacrifícios e até a morte.

Quando em 25 de Abril de 1974 caiu o fascismo português, não caiu com ele automaticamente o colonialismo que nos oprimia. Saudámos então a coragem dos capitães de Abril, mas recusámos sacrificar os interesses do nosso povo. O objectivo pelo qual lutávamos não estava ainda atingido.

Todavia, estavam abertas imediatamente as possibilidades do diálogo. Na medida em que o diálogo se

«Foi no decurso da luta armada que aprendemos a amar a paz como um valor superior do homem, como uma condição fundamental para o exercício pleno da soberania e da liberdade. Na definição correcta do inimigo e dos objectivos da nossa luta, aprendemos que a violência reacçãoária é preciso opor a violência. Mas a nossa violência, para ser vitoriosa, tinha que ter um conteúdo claro e correcto, correspondente aos anseios mais profundos do povo, tinha que ser violência revolucionária».

desenvolveu na perspectiva dos objectivos fundamentais da nossa luta, foi possível concluir o Acordo de Paz em Lusaka, em 7 de Setembro de 1974. Todas as guerras acabam em negociações para o estabelecimento da paz. O Acordo de Lusaka foi possível quando foram aceites condições que sempre constituíram o fundamento da nossa luta:

1. o reconhecimento do direito do povo moçambicano à autodeterminação e independência nacional;
2. o reconhecimento da FRELIMO como único e legítimo representante do povo moçambicano inteiro;
3. o reconhecimento do princípio da transferência para a FRELIMO de todos os poderes que a administração colonial ainda detinha.

Foram a nossa convicção na paz alcançada e a nossa determinação em consolidá-la, que frustraram as violações do Acordo de Lusaka no dia da sua assinatura e mais tarde no dia 21 de Outubro.

A proclamação da nossa independência eliminou definitivamente o colonialismo como factor perturbador da paz.

Mas a natureza popular do nosso Estado, o carácter socialista da nossa revolução e o prestígio da nossa vitória militar sobre um exército europeu, faziam de Moçambique uma ameaça aos desígnios do imperialismo.

Já durante a luta armada de libertação nacional tínhamos aprendido que à nossa liberdade total não se opunha só o colonialismo português.

Com efeito, desde 1964 em Cabo Delgado e Niassa, nos habituámos a confrontar directamente com tropas sul-africanas que participavam em acções conjuntas operacionais e repressivas com o exército colonial.

Em 1973, na frente de Tete, vímos-nos confrontados com forças regulares rodesianas, que actuavam contra o nosso povo, ao lado do exército colonial e com o reforço de unidades sul-africanas.

Desta nossa experiência fomos tomando consciência de que o colonialismo português não era senão a força principal de um muito mais vasto projecto imperialista de agressão contra a nossa Pátria.

O regime ilegal rodesiano, que lutava ao lado do exército colonial contra o povo moçambicano, assume, após a independência, o papel de instrumento principal da agressão e desestabilização do nosso país.

A guerra que a Rodésia ilegal nos impôs visava, já então, a destruição do nosso Estado independente e soberano.

No respeito dos princípios socialistas de paz, o Governo moçambicano patrocinou e participou activamente na luta que levou à libertação dos líderes do Zimbabwe e na busca de solução pacífica em Victoria Falls, em Agosto de 1975. Apesar do incremento da agressão rodesiana, participámos

em todas as iniciativas de paz, em busca de uma solução negociada para a independência do Zimbabwe. Estivemos na reunião de Genebra em 1976, estivemos em Malta em 1978, participámos em todas as iniciativas promovidas pelas Nações Unidas e pela OUA, apoiámos as propostas anglo-americanas. Cumprimos as determinações da Comunidade Internacional em 3 de Março de 1976, aplicando integralmente as sanções decretadas em 1965 contra a Rodésia rebelde.

Estávamos conscientes dos elevadíssimos custos humanos, económicos, sociais e políticos desta decisão. Estávamos nos primeiros meses da nossa independência, ainda em luta acesa contra as sequelas do colonialismo, sem quadros, sem experiência, sem termos consolidado as estruturas do nosso poder popular.

Mas fizémo-lo conscientes de que esta decisão ia acelerar a libertação do povo irmão do Zimbabwe, poupar a destruição de vidas e bens, apressar a extinção de um foco de instabilidade na região, que era o regime ilegal de Smith.

Quando o inimigo instalou a guerra dentro do nosso território, o povo moçambicano compreendeu que a única forma de conquistar a Paz era levar o combate à retaguarda do inimigo, ir extinguir o foco da guerra.

O nosso Estado foi activo no processo que levou às conversações de Paz em Lancaster House. O Acordo assinado em Londres eliminou irreversivelmente o regime ilegal de Smith como factor perturbador da Paz na nossa zona.

Lancaster House foi um momento único na história do povo do Zimbabwe. Para nós, esse acordo encerra mais um capítulo de confrontação e guerra, representa a extinção de uma força belicista que desde sempre, ao lado do colonialismo, se tinha oposto à independência dos povos.

O Acordo de Lancaster House foi, como tinha sido o Acordo de Lusaka, uma vitória da Paz para os povos da região e para os povos africanos.

Mas ele não marcou o fim do plano de destruição do nosso Estado; O esforço de guerra que fomos obrigados a suportar marcou negativamente o processo de desenvolvimento do nosso país e comprometeu a realização de planos económicos e sociais indispensáveis para a reconversão da economia colonial. A guerra que nos foi feita através da Rodésia destruiu as nossas infra-estruturas, consumiu os nossos recursos financeiros, absorveu esforços gigantes de organização e de formação de quadros que

estávamos realizando. O imperialismo, perante a passividade da Comunidade Internacional, virou contra nós as sanções económicas que tínhamos aplicado contra o regime ilegal rodesiano em cumprimento das decisões das Nações Unidas. Os prejuízos directos calculados pelas Nações Unidas foram então de 510 milhões de dólares americanos. Foram destruídas infra-estruturas económicas e sociais no valor de cerca de 47 milhões de dólares americanos. Quarenta mil trabalhadores moçambicanos ferro-portuários fi-

caram sem emprego afectando mais de cem mil pessoas.

Durante esse período, a África do Sul reduziu drasticamente as relações económicas com Moçambique que constituíam, então, as principais fontes de divisas da economia colonial que tínhamos herdado. Com efeito, a África do Sul limitou o fluxo de mão-de-obra moçambicana e rompeu unilateralmente o acordo sobre o preço preferencial do ouro estabelecido com o Governo português. O tráfego ferro-portuário foi significativamente reduzido tanto no volume de mercadorias como na qualidade de cargas enviadas aos nossos portos.

Só o prejuízo que tivemos directamente derivado da queda de receitas motivadas por estas sanções e da política de agressão e desestabilização promovida pela África do Sul representa mais do que 3 vezes o valor da dívida externa que estamos a negociar.

As dificuldades que hoje vive o nosso povo têm as suas raízes mais próximas na guerra e bloqueio económico que nos foram movidos desde 1976.

Quando o regime ilegal de Smith deixou de ser o instrumento principal da agressão e desestabilização do nosso País, a África do Sul teve de intervir directamente. Recolheu para esse fim os restos, a escória do exército rodesiano e integrou-os nas suas próprias forças operacionais. Os Selous Scouts, os «auxiliares» do Muzerwa, os bandidos armados, os mercenários foram enquadrados pelo exército regular sul-africano, como elementos a serem utilizados na sua estratégia de desestabilização regional.

A África do Sul assume então o papel central e directo na guerra não declarada contra toda a região e nomeadamente contra Moçambique.

O objectivo é derrubar os sistemas socialistas e progressistas da região. O objectivo em relação ao nosso país é também o de destruir o nosso Estado popular e revolucionário. O objectivo é destruir a alternativa de civilização que Moçambique representa.

A partir de Janeiro de 1981, a guerra não-declarada contra nós assume a sua dimensão mais ampla:

- a subversão política, ao terrorismo e sabotagem, às sanções e bloqueio económico, o Governo sul-africano acrescenta a agressão directa das suas forças armadas regulares.

Vinte anos depois do desencadeamento da luta armada, 10 anos depois dos Acordos de Lusaka, 5 anos depois da queda do regime de Smith, assinámos o Acordo de Nkomati.

A política de desestabilização regional não obteve os resultados pretendidos. Os objectivos políticos pelos quais a África do Sul desencadeou esta guerra, não foram atingidos. Em todos os países do mundo onde foi utilizado o banditismo armado;



- não conseguiu vitórias militares,
- não conseguiu constituir-se como oposição política interna,
- não conseguiu reconhecimento internacional.

Em síntese, o banditismo armado nunca teve sucesso.

O carácter subserviente, traiçoeiro, criminoso e terrorista dos bandos armados nunca enganou os povos, pelo contrário, sempre uniu os povos e os galvanizou para a luta.

Ao longo destes anos, a desestabilização teve custos elevadíssimos em vidas humanas e em recursos para a sociedade sul-africana. Os seus efeitos na economia da África do Sul preocuparam seriamente os grandes grupos financeiros.

Em contrapartida, no decurso destes anos:

- consolidaram-se os exércitos de Angola e do Zimbabwe,
- desenvolveu-se a luta armada na Namíbia,
- cresceu a luta popular contra o «apartheid».
- o Lesotho rompeu o isolamento diplomático,
- a SADC ganhou prestígio internacional.

O nosso povo soube combater heróicamente os múltiplos assaltos nos planos militar, económico, político e social de que foi vítima. A unidade nacional reforçou-se. A experiência da defesa da Pátria e da Revolução constituem hoje o património comum do povo moçambicano do Rovuma ao Maputo. Consolidou-se o sentimento patriótico do nosso povo. É hoje mais clara a definição do inimigo. É hoje mais profundo o carácter popular do nosso exército. As Forças Armadas de Moçambique (FPLM) são actualmente mais experientes e fortes do que nunca, constituem um baluarte seguro da defesa da Pátria e da Revolução.

Dizemos que uma guerra se faz para se conseguirem objectivos que não é possível atingir pela via pacífica. O inimigo tinha objectivos claros que, com esta guerra, não foram atingidos. Nós nesta guerra não nos propúnhamos a outros objectivos que não fosse defender a nossa Pátria e a Paz.

Apesar da política agressiva da África do Sul, a República Popular de Moçambique sempre manteve a iniciativa na busca de soluções pacíficas para a nossa região. Participámos construtivamente nas várias propostas para a descolonização da Namíbia e estivemos presentes na reunião de Genebra em Janeiro de 1981. Nas relações directas com a África do Sul, sempre estivemos disponíveis para uma solução negociada.

As posições que defendemos no início das conversações com a África do Sul em Dezembro de 1982, prevaleceram no Acordo de Nkomati. O nosso Governo colocou como pressuposto básico do nosso relacionamento com a África do Sul, a necessidade de se estabelecer uma plata-

## Estão contra o Acordo de Nkomati:

- Os oportunistas de direita com o seu espírito derrotista
- Os oportunistas de esquerda, dentro e fora do País, que fomentarão o divisionismo, a confusão e a intriga
- Os contrabandistas de armas, mercenários, gente sem escrúpulos que vive do comércio hediondo da morte
- Os militaristas, os promotores da política de força e confrontação, os que pretendem fazer de Moçambique e da África Austral zona de influência dos chamados «interesses vitais».
- Os que não perdoarão ao Povo moçambicano a criação, nesta região, de mais uma zona libertada da Humanidade
- Os que pretendem destruir a Frelimo, a nossa independência, os que pretendem destruir Moçambique como país africano, não-alinhado e socialista.

forma de entendimento na área de segurança. Não era possível qualquer acordo sem se apurarem as responsabilidades da desestabilização provocada em Moçambique.

Ao negociar com o Governo moçambicano, a África do Sul reconheceu de facto a inexistência de qualquer oposição política ao nosso país.

Ao assinar o Acordo de Nkomati falhou o projecto principal que era a destruição do nosso Estado. Ao assinarmos o Acordo de Nkomati nós garantimos a razão por que lutamos: a Paz.

Só com a Paz podemos realizar o nosso objectivo de:

- defender a Pátria
- vencer o subdesenvolvimento
- construir o socialismo.

Se é verdade que Nkomati coroou o êxito da nossa política socialista de Paz é certo também que deste combate saímos com feridas profundas.

Só as futuras gerações nos darão a exacta dimensão do traumatismo social que os horrores e o barbarismo dos bandos armados semearam nas famílias moçambicanas. As crianças que foram testemunhas de atrocidades e de repugnantes actos de violência e destruição, crescerão com o peso das suas recordações trágicas.

Homens e mulheres ficaram para sempre mutilados, diminuídos física e psicologicamente. Eles serão a evidência constante da crueldade desta guerra que nos foi movida.

O nosso povo viu-se espoliado dos seus bens, as suas casas foram destruídas, os celeiros saqueados, as culturas pilhadas e arrasadas, o gado morto e roubado, os instrumentos de trabalho destruídos e queimados.

As aldeias comunais e as cooperativas, as escolas e postos sanitários, os poços e represas que o povo construiu com tanto esforço e sacri-

fício, foram alvos da sanha criminoso do inimigo.

A acção sistemática de destruição das infra-estruturas económicas, de pontes e estradas, de lojas e armazéns, de serrações, de plantações, de maquinaria agrícola e industrial, de linhas de transporte de energia, de tanques de combustível, de camiões e machimbombos, de locomotivas e carruagens, impossibilitou a realização de projectos de desenvolvimento económico de extrema importância para o bem-estar do povo moçambicano.

Foram paralisadas ou destruídas 840 escolas que afectaram mais de 150 mil crianças. Foram saqueados ou destruídos 12 centros de saúde, 24 maternidades, 174 postos de saúde, dois centros de diminuídos físicos. Foram destruídas 900 lojas, dificultando a comercialização e o abastecimento de cerca de quatro milhões e meio de cidadãos.

Os bandidos assassinaram e raptaram camponeses e cooperativistas, deputados e militantes do Partido, professores e estudantes, enfermeiros e doentes, motoristas, ferroviários, trabalhadores da agricultura, da construção, do comércio, técnicos dos mais variados sectores, irmãs de caridade, sacerdotes, comerciantes privados, jornalistas, funcionários.

Com vista a minar a cooperação internacional, os bandidos armados raptaram 52 cooperantes originários do Brasil, Bulgária, Chile, França, Inglaterra, Itália, Portugal, Sri Lanka e União Soviética.

Seis portugueses, quatro soviéticos e dois cidadãos da República Democrática Alemã foram friamente assassinados pelos bandidos armados.

Esta é que é a essência da crueldade do inimigo:

- matar tudo,
- roubar tudo,
- queimar tudo.

Tudo isto constituiu um longo processo de 20 anos da nossa história

em que o povo moçambicano foi vítima de agressão sistemática e obstinada.

## 2. O QUE O ACORDO DEFENDE

Durante este período foram escritas pelo nosso povo empolgantes páginas de heroísmo, de tenacidade, de patriotismo de que nos orgulhamos.

Neste processo, em que tivemos de fazer a guerra à guerra para estabelecer a paz, forjaram-se novas gerações de dirigentes revolucionários, quadros, militantes, temperaram-se soldados, sargentos e oficiais combatentes convictos da causa justa que defendem. Neste processo, criamos o Partido marxista-leninista como corolário lógico e dialéctico de uma revolução que triunfou e vai ganhando raízes cada vez mais profundas e mais sólidas.

Neste processo, todo o povo moçambicano, do Rovuma ao Maputo, aprendeu a ter orgulho na sua identidade e personalidade nacionais, aprendeu a amar a Pátria, a paz e o socialismo.

Neste processo, proclamámos o Estado moçambicano, assumimos a dimensão nova das responsabilidades que temos como dirigentes estatais, como Estado moçambicano independente e soberano.

Sobre o Estado moçambicano recai a responsabilidade de defender intransigentemente cada centímetro quadrado do nosso país. Recai a responsabilidade de velar pelos direitos e obrigações de todos os cidadãos moçambicanos, residentes no país ou no estrangeiro, independentemente da sua militância no Partido, da crença religiosa, da cor da sua pele, da tribo, da região.

O Acordo de Nkomati constitui um dos momentos mais altos da afirmação da nossa soberania como Estado independente, um acto de Estado que ficará registado como um momento ímpar e dignificante da nossa história.

Ao assinarmos o Acordo de Nkomati reafirmamos o nosso princípio da política de paz, segundo o qual o nosso Estado não agride outros Estados, que não vai servir de base de agressão contra a República da África do Sul, e que não permitiremos igualmente que o nosso território possa ser utilizado por um terceiro país como base de agressão.

Ao consagrar que a África do Sul também se compromete a aplicar os mesmos princípios de Não-Agressão e Boa Vizinhança, o Acordo institui as bases para afastarmos das nossas fronteiras o espectro da guerra e da confrontação e cria os alicerces para que Moçambique e a África do Sul possam viver num clima de boa vizinhança.

A política de boa vizinhança rege-se pelo princípio de não ingerência e pelo respeito recíproco pela soberania e integridade territorial de cada Estado.

Este Acordo abre uma nova era para que o nosso povo trabalhador possa dedicar-se com mais afinco

ao desenvolvimento do nosso país, desenvolvimento que foi afectado gravemente pelas guerras sucessivas que fomos obrigados a suportar.

Este Acordo abre agora perspectivas favoráveis para o desenvolvimento da cooperação com todos os países, para cooperação multilateral com benefícios recíprocos com entidades económicas e financeiras.

Este Acordo, abre perspectivas para que, finalmente, as nossas crianças não cresçam traumatizadas pelo espectro permanente da guerra, não cresçam na violência e no barbarismo. Queremos que as nossas crian-

**«A partir de Janeiro de 1981, a guerra não-declarada contra nós assume a sua dimensão mais ampla: à subversão política, ao terrorismo e sabotagem, às sanções e bloqueio económico, o Governo sul-africano acrescenta a agressão directa das suas forças armadas regulares».**

**«Vinte anos depois do desencadeamento da luta armada, 10 anos depois dos Acordos de Lusaka, cinco anos depois da queda do regime de Smith, assinámos o Acordo de Nkomati».**

ças cresçam livres e felizes, emocionalmente equilibradas, no amor à paz, cuja bandeira terão a responsabilidade de defender como homens do amanhã. Queremos que as nossas crianças cresçam para pedir brinquedos que libertem a sua imaginação e engenho, que estimulem a beleza e o amor, que despertem o gosto pelo estudo e pelo conhecimento científico, em vez de brinquedos que simbolizam a violência e a morte.

O Acordo é um instrumento de paz e tranquilidade do nosso povo.

- Com este Acordo garantimos a defesa dos 800 mil km<sup>2</sup> do nosso território, do Rovuma ao Maputo, do Zumbo ao Oceano Índico. Defendemos um território cuja vastidão se compara aos países do Pacto de Varsóvia com excepção da União Soviética, se compara à soma dos territórios da Bulgária, Roménia, RDA, Polónia, Checoslováquia e Hungria.

Este território que nós estamos a defender.

- Defendemos um território com uma superfície sensivelmente igual à soma dos territórios da Suíça, Austrália, Bélgica, Holanda, Grécia, Portugal e Espanha; igual duas vezes e meia à Itália e uma vez e

meia à França; cerca de 4 vezes maior que a República Federal da Alemanha.

Com este Acordo defendemos o espaço aéreo de um território que para viajar de Maputo a Pemba, se percorre uma distância equivalente à que vai:

- de Berlim a Atenas,
- de Moscovo a Sófia,
- de Londres a Lisboa,
- de Praga a Trípoli,
- de Berlim a Madrid,
- de Bucareste a Bagdad,
- de Sófia a Frankfurt.

Este Acordo defende: os 13 milhões e 220 mil moçambicanos do Rovuma ao Maputo.

Defende os operários e camponeses, todos os trabalhadores do nosso País.

Este Acordo defende inviolabilidade dos 4330 quilómetros, de fronteira terrestre que temos com a África do Sul, Suazilândia, Zimbábue, Zâmbia, Malawi e Tanzânia.

- Defende a inviolabilidade dos 2630 quilómetros da nossa costa marítima.

O Acordo de Nkomati defende o primeiro Estado de operários e camponeses da região, que constrói o socialismo científico, na base dos princípios universais do marxismo-leninismo. Defende o primeiro Estado que na região trouxe profundas transformações económicas e sociais, que trouxe uma concepção científica do mundo e da vida, que trouxe a liberdade a todas as crenças, que trouxe a democracia de tipo novo, que proclamou os direitos da criança, os únicos privilegiados do nosso país, que trouxe novas relações de igualdade entre os homens independentemente da tribo, da região, da raça e da cor da pele.

## 3. SIGNIFICADO ESTRATÉGICO E REVOLUCIONÁRIO DO ACORDO

Mas o Acordo de Nkomati não se reflecte apenas na conjuntura política nacional ou da nossa zona.

Ele tem um significado estratégico mais amplo. O Acordo insere-se no movimento geral dos países ribeirinhos para transformar o Oceano Índico numa zona livre de bases militares e de armas nucleares, para fazer do Canal de Moçambique uma estrada de Paz, de fraternidade, de solidariedade, de progresso e de cooperação entre os povos.

Nkomati é a evidência de que é possível solucionar conflitos difíceis por via de negociações, sem necessariamente recorrer-se ao uso da força, da chantagem e da confrontação. As diferenças entre os Estados, mesmo quando a sua natureza é antagónica, não excluem automaticamente a possibilidade de coexistência pacífica.

O acto político que ocorreu no passado dia 16 de Março exprime o desejo de todos os povos pelo fortalecimento da paz e segurança mun-

dial e por um mundo livre do perigo bélico.

O Acordo é parte do movimento pela contenção da corrida armamentista e pelo desarmamento. Ele é um passo no sentido de afastar o pe-

- ① Consolidaram-se os exércitos de Angola e do Zimbabwe
- ② Desenvolveu-se a luta armada na Namíbia
- ③ Cresceu a luta popular contra o «apartheid»
- ④ O Lesotho rompeu o isolamento diplomático
- ⑤ A SADCC ganhou prestígio internacional
- ⑥ O nosso povo soube combater os múltiplos assaltos de que foi vítima
- ⑦ Consolidou-se o nosso sentimento patriótico
- ⑧ Reforçou-se a nossa unidade nacional
- ⑨ As Forças Armadas de Moçambique são mais experientes

nosso apoio, já reafirmado, a propostas como a dos Estados membros do Tratado de Varsóvia, a proposta do Governo da Suécia para a criação de uma zona desmilitarizada na Europa e a imediata resposta positiva da RDA, à proposta do Grupo Contadora para uma solução não beligerante dos problemas que afectam a América Central, à proposta da República Popular e Democrática da Coreia sobre conversações tripartidas para a reunificação nacional, à proposta da ONU para a descolonização na Namíbia, às propostas da OUA para pôr termo aos conflitos no

«Temos de reanimar o espírito da campanha da Ofensiva Política e Organizacional. É imperativo que retomemos a luta implacável e sistemática contra a incompetência e desleixo. Em cada trincheira da batalha da produção, nos sectores sociais, nas empresas e no funcionalismo, na frente da legalidade, devemos combater a preguiça, a negligência, o relaxamento, a apatia, a inércia, a arrogância e a prepotência».

rigo de os conflitos locais se transformarem em confrontações à escala mundial.

O sucesso conseguido em Nkomati não tem uma mera dimensão táctica. Ele inscreve-se na estratégia dos países que constroem o socialismo, na medida em que a Paz é essência própria do socialismo.

O Acordo defende a Revolução, defende a causa do socialismo, defende as mais profundas e legítimas aspirações dos povos. Ele é um acto solidário para com todas as iniciativas que, em o mesmo objectivo da Paz, têm lugar hoje no mundo. Ele é uma demonstração concreta do

Chade e Sahara Ocidental, à proposta para a criação de um Estado Palestino livre e independente.

O Acordo que assinámos nas margens do rio Nkomati é um passo importante para o nosso progresso económico e social.

O Acordo, ao criar as condições para a Paz, cria condições objectivas para que o povo moçambicano possa dedicar o seu esforço principal, o seu trabalho, à resolução dos seus problemas mais prementes.

Sem o espectro da guerra e da confrontação poderemos utilizar a maior parte dos poucos recursos de que dispomos no combate à fome, à nudez, à ignorância, à doença. Poderemos em paz comprar:

- mais tractores para produzir comida e menos tanques de guerra;
- mais buldozeres e escavadores para construir estradas, pontes, barragens e regadios e menos carros de assalto;
- mais máquinas e ferramentas para as nossas oficinas e menos canhões;
- mais charruas, enxadras, catanas para aumentarmos a produção e menos espigardas;
- mais sementes e fertilizantes para termos mais arroz, mais milho, mais hortícolas, mais comida e menos balas.

Dinheiro que agora somos obrigados a gastar em explosivos, minas, roquetes, mísseis, poderemos, com a Paz, utilizar para edificarmos escolas, hospitais, maternidades, lojas, armazéns.

Dinheiro que agora somos obrigados a gastar em quartéis, tendas, transportes militares, poderemos, com a Paz, utilizar na construção de bairros residenciais, fábricas têxteis, de calçado, de confecções na compra de camiões, locomotivas, machim-bombos.

Dinheiro que agora somos obrigados a gastar em fardas e botas militares poderemos, com a Paz, utilizar na compra de vestuário, sapatos, sapatinhas, fardamento escolar, livros, cadernos, brinquedos.

Os técnicos que hoje treinamos para operarem com eficiência instrumentos de morte e destruição podem, com a Paz, operar com igual eficiência instrumentos que trarão uma vida mais feliz e a reconstrução da economia nacional.

## OS QUE ESTÃO CONTRA O ACORDO

Abrem-se, pois, perspectivas novas para o nosso País. Rasgam-se horizontes novos para o nosso povo que viu frustrado, durante longos anos, o seu esforço de desenvolvimento.

Será necessário maior vigilância e convicção, cada vez mais forte na justiça da nossa luta.

Como a nossa própria História ensina, erguer-se-ão vozes que sob diversos pretextos vão querer minar aquilo que tanto custou a erguer.

Surgirão os oportunistas de direita que, desvirtuando o significado patriótico do Acordo, procurarão no processo da sua implementação, dar-lhe um conteúdo derrotista que põe em perigo as conquistas populares e a Independência da Pátria.

Surgirão os oportunistas de esquerda, dentro e fora do País, que utilizando concepções aventureiristas e argumentos pseudo-revolucionários, procurarão dividir as forças progressistas e revolucionárias e lançar a confusão e a intriga.

Surgirão contrabandistas de armas, mercenários, gente sem escrúpulos que vive do comércio hediondo da morte, aqueles que vendo perder-se um mercado de armas, lançam calúnias e intrigas contra o Acordo de Nkomati.

Associar-se-ão a estas vozes, os militaristas, os promotores da política de força e confrontação, aqueles que pretendem incluir o nosso País e a nossa região na zona de influência daquilo a que chamam «os seus interesses vitais».

Erguer-se-ão contra o Acordo, aqueles que nunca perdoarão ao nosso povo por ter instalado, nesta região de África, mais uma zona libertada da Humanidade.

Contra o Acordo de Nkomati actuarão, tal como no passado, aqueles que sempre tiveram como objectivo destruir a FRELIMO, destruir a nossa Independência e soberania, destruir Moçambique, o país africano, Não-Alinhado e socialista, para impôr ao nosso povo antoches submissos aos seus desígnios de dominação.

Neste processo complexo e delicado da consolidação da paz, emergirão forças que vão querer reavivar o clima de guerra-fria,omentando a desconfiança. Emergirão teóricos, que com argumentos demagógicos e falaciosos, quererão pôr em causa o princípio da coexistência pacífica entre Estados de regimes sociais diferentes; princípio consagrado universalmente pela comunidade internacional.

Este princípio e outros, que garantem a segurança entre nações, são conquistas da Humanidade e é por isso que nos orgulhamos. Ao implementarmos essas conquistas numa zona de tensão e de conflito local como a África Austral, estamos a dar uma contribuição decisiva para a paz mundial.

A nossa Independência criou o primeiro Estado marxista-leninista da região. E este facto permitiu, pela primeira vez na história da África Austral, a presença dos países da comunidade socialista, permitiu o conhecimento pelos nossos povos das suas experiências revolucionárias e do seu exemplo na edificação do socialismo, da sua solidariedade, da sua luta pela Paz.

Caros Camaradas,  
Compatriotas,  
Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores,

Aproxima-se o termo do longo caminho que percorremos em busca da Paz. É neste momento decisivo de tão difícil jornada que importa estarmos mais do que nunca unidos, determinados e seguros das convicções que nos animam.

Neste processo ficaram nos arquivos da História o colonialismo português, o regime ilegal da Rodésia do Sul, as agressões sul-africanas.

Pela Pátria moçambicana, pela defesa de cada centímetro quadrado do nosso vasto território, cada cidadão está hoje pronto a aceitar sacrifícios e a dar a própria vida. Todos os dias, em todas as frentes, o nosso povo dá inequívocas provas do seu heroísmo, da sua dedicação à causa patriótica e revolucionária.

É nestes exemplos de abnegação que devemos colher o ensinamento, buscar a inspiração e o estímulo, para o esforço definitivo que temos de fazer para levar o nosso combate até à vitória final.

Temos de intensificar a nossa vigilância revolucionária em todos os locais e em todas as frentes. O bandido, perdeu a fonte que o alimentava e foi abandonado à sua sorte. Aqueles que recusam a nossa política de clemência, aqueles que persistem na traição, no crime, no assassinato e na destruição, aqueles que procuram camuflar-se misturando-se com as populações, constituem o obstáculo derradeiro à Paz que queremos construir.

É prioritário eliminarmos este obstáculo.

Todo o povo, unido e organizado pela FRELIMO, e em íntima colaboração com as Forças Armadas de Moçambique (FPLM), Forças Policiais e de Segurança, deve continuar a participar na pronta detecção e eliminação destes criminosos sem pátria.

Mas não nos podemos concentrar apenas na neutralização do inimigo físico. É imperativo que o nosso povo liberte toda a sua iniciativa criadora, todo o seu talento e capacidade na frente da produção.

No campo e na cidade, na agricultura e na indústria, na educação e na saúde, nos transportes e na construção, nas minas e nas pescas, em todas as frentes, temos de saber aproveitar ao máximo as infra-estruturas existentes, as matérias-primas disponíveis e os recursos locais. Contando principalmente com as nossas próprias forças podemos agora enganar-nos, mais profundamente, no cumprimento das tarefas e do 4.º Congresso do Partido Frelimo.

Temos de reanimar o espírito da campanha da Ofensiva Política e Organizacional. É imperativo que retomemos a luta implacável e sistemática contra a incompetência e o desleixo. Em cada trincheira da batalha da produção, nos sectores sociais, nas empresas e no funcionalismo, na frente da legalidade, devemos combater a preguiça, a negligência, o relaxamento, a apatia, a inércia, a arrogância e prepotência.

Na nova fase de luta que agora se abre, constituem violações graves a falta de pontualidade e assiduidade, a violação da disciplina, o desprezo pela organização, o desrespeito pelos métodos democráticos do trabalho e pelo cumprimento das leis do nosso Estado Popular.

O amor e a dignificação do trabalho são indispensáveis para a nossa vitória sobre a fome, a nudez, a miséria, o subdesenvolvimento.

É preciso lutar com firmeza contra a candelagem, a especulação e o açambarcamento. É preciso lutar com vigor contra os parasitas que difundem a ideia de que o Acordo vai trazer-nos a comida que não produzimos. Todos os parasitas, todos os vadios, todos os marginais são inimigos da paz, do progresso, são inimigos do bem-estar do povo.

As Forças Armadas de Moçambique saem mais fortes, mais temperadas, mais organizadas, da guerra, não-declarada que têm sido movida contra a nossa Independência e a nossa revolução. Importa, agora, intensificar a sua reorganização e estruturação, elevar ainda mais a sua capacidade combativa, aprofundar a sua ligação íntima com as massas. Assim, reforçaremos a capacidade defensiva do nosso País e prepararemos as Forças Armadas para, em tempo de Paz, cumprirmos as suas responsabilidades na defesa da Pátria socialista, na batalha contra o subdesenvolvimento, na defesa da Paz e da soberania nacional. Por isso, devemos intensificar o nosso trabalho para a edificação de umas Forças Armadas regulares, modernas e poderosas, combativas e organizadas, apoiadas no povo. Poderemos agora realizar integralmente as tarefas definidas em 1977 pelo 3.º Congresso.

No decurso da guerra não-declarada que tem sido movida contra o nosso País ficámos mais claros sobre a natureza do inimigo. Todo o nosso povo está hoje consciente de que o inimigo não tem cor, não tem tribo, não tem raça, não tem região, não tem pátria. O povo moçambicano aprendeu da própria experiência que o inimigo é sempre perverso e criminoso. O inimigo não tem ética, não tem escrúpulos, não hesita em assassinar os próprios pais, os irmãos e familiares.

O nosso povo tem hoje, mais profundo, o sentido de classe sobre o inimigo.

O nosso povo tem hoje, mais profundo, o sentido do patriotismo.

No fogo da luta quotidiana, reforçamos a Unidade Nacional, reforçamos a nossa Pátria, esta Pátria da Frelimo. Hoje, do Rovuma ao Maputo, somos todos Frelimo.

A Pátria hoje exige uma renovada determinação, maior engajamento, mais trabalho.

Esta Pátria que tanto amamos foi sempre fruto da abnegação e generosidade da nossa juventude.

Ela foi a conquista dos jovens do 25 de Setembro de 1964. Movidos pelos nobres ideais da Igualdade, justiça, democracia e Independência, sem nada exigir, com devoção total à causa do povo, esses jovens moçambicanos, marcharam ao sol escaldante, sob o frio e intempérie, travaram combates quando por vezes não tinham comida, engalaram-se ao lado do povo, na produção, para alimentar o combate libertador, organizaram a saúde, a educação, a administração, as cooperativas, os infantários, os centros de mutilados de guerra, organizaram o comércio nas zonas libertadas. Essa juventude fez da bandeira da FRELIMO a razão de ser da sua vida e luta, fez da bandeira da FRELIMO o símbolo, para todo o povo, da libertação da Pátria moçambicana.

Vemos a continuação da juventude do 25 de Setembro, a garantia da vitória da Revolução, na juventude que se bateu pela defesa da nossa soberania contra as agressões rodésianas, que fez fracassar a política de desestabilização sul-africana, que, fazendo da floresta o seu teatro de operações, continua hoje determinada na eliminação definitiva dos bandos armados.

É porque todos os moçambicanos sentem na juventude a certeza de um amanhã vitorioso, que hoje encontramos inspiração e coragem para fazermos frente às tarefas que temos de realizar, para construirmos a sociedade socialista no nosso país.

É com esta convicção que, em cada ponto do nosso País, unidos no amor à nossa Pátria, confiantes no mesmo futuro de Paz e prosperidade, vemos as nossas mães, esposas, irmãos, filhas e companheiras, os nossos velhos e crianças, camponeses e operários, cooperativistas, professores, enfermeiros, funcionários, quadros, todos os patriotas moçambicanos determinados a continuar a luta sob a bandeira do Partido Frelimo. Hoje, essa luta exige a liquidação total e completa dos bandos armados, o engajamento criativo e laborioso na frente da produção, na defesa intransigente da Paz.

Hoje, essa luta exige que em todas as frentes, política, militar, económica, social e cultural, o povo moçambicano, sob a direcção do Partido Frelimo, defenda com firmeza os valores da nossa revolução socialista.

Hoje, essa luta exige que todos os revolucionários, as forças progressistas e democráticas em todo o Mundo se engajem na defesa da paz conquistada e da Revolução moçambicana que é património hoje da Humanidade.

O povo moçambicano é o sujeito e o construtor de cada uma das nossas vitórias.

E é por isso que assumo este acto solene da Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular como homenagem justa e devida a todo o nosso povo, garante da nossa independência, obreiro da Paz e defensor da Revolução Socialista.

E para terminar prestemos a mais profunda e mais comovida homenagem a todos aqueles que tombaram desde a guerra de Libertação Nacional, às agressões rodesianas e à guerra não-declarada. Vivemos hoje porque há aqueles que perderam as suas vidas. Nós seremos os seus fiéis continuadores.

**A LUTA CONTINUA!**

Muito obrigado.

In "Notícias" 07 Abril 1984

# **Texto de apoio ao estudo do Discurso Presidencial**

# **ASSEMBLEIA POPULAR**

## **Saudações ao Acordo**





# Horrores e barbarismo dos bandidos armados

— Só as futuras gerações nos darão a exacta dimensão do trauma social que os horrores e o barbarismo dos bandos armados semearam nas famílias moçambicanas. As crianças que foram testemunhas de atrocidades e de repugnantes actos de violência e destruição, crescerão com o peso das suas recordações trágicas — afirmou o Presidente Samora Machel ao fazer o relato e o balanço dos crimes cometidos pelos bandidos armados.

O Chefe de Estado disse que homens e mulheres ficaram para sempre mutilados, diminuídos físicos e psicologicamente e que o nosso povo viu-se espoliado dos seus bens e com os seus instrumentos de trabalho destruídos e queimados.

Samora Machel citou alguns exemplos da sanha criminosa dos bandidos armados, tais como:

- Foram paralisadas ou destruídas 840 escolas, que afectaram mais de 150 mil crianças;

- Foram saqueados ou destruídos 12 centros de Saúde, 24 maternidades, 174 postos de Saúde e dois centros de diminuídos físicos;

- Foram destruídas 900 lojas;

- Foram assassinados e raptados cidadãos nacionais das mais diversas profissões, e actividades;

- Foram raptados 52 cooperantes originários de nove países, dos quais seis portugueses, quatro soviéticos e dois alemães foram assassinados;

- Os bandidos armados comprovaram a essência da sua crueldade: matar tudo, roubar tudo e queimar tudo.

## Avançar na produção intensificar a vigilância

— É imperativo que o nosso povo liberte toda a sua iniciativa criadora, todo o seu talento e capacidade na frente da produção — disse o Presidente Samora Machel, quando falava das tarefas que são prioritárias para os cidadãos moçambicanos nesta etapa do processo revolucionário.

Samora Machel disse que é preciso intensificar a vigilância em todos os locais e em todas as frentes, explicando que o bandido perdeu a fonte que o alimentava e foi abandonado à sua sorte.

— Aqueles que recusam a nossa política de clemência, aqueles que persistem na traição, no crime, no assassinato e na destruição, aqueles que procuram camuflar-se, misturando-se com as populações, constituem o obstáculo derradeiro à paz que queremos construir — declarou o Chefe de Estado.

Samora Machel recordou a importância da ligação estreita e íntima entre o povo e as Forças de Defesa e Segurança na pronta detecção e elimina-

ção de criminosos sem pátria e chamou a atenção para o facto de não podermos concentrar-nos apenas na neutralização do inimigo físico.

Para tanto, torna-se imperiosa a participação de todos na frente de produção, com as suas iniciativas, espírito criador e inovador, com a vontade e determinação em cumprir os planos e projectos traçados em todos os locais de trabalho, seja no campo, seja na cidade.

Ao recordar a campanha da Ofensiva Política e Organizacional, Samora Machel disse que, na nova fase da luta que agora se abre, constituem violações graves a falta de pontualidade e assiduidade, a indisciplina, o desprezo pela organização, o desrespeito pelos métodos democráticos de trabalho e pelo cumprimento das leis do nosso Estado popular.

— O amor e a dignificação do trabalho são indispensáveis para a nossa vitória sobre a fome, a nudez, a miséria e o subdesenvolvimento — disse Samora Machel.

## Intensificação das acções militares

O Tenente-General Sebastião Mabote, Chefe do Estado-Maior General das Forças Armadas de Moçambique (FPLM), disse ontem que o Acordo de Nkomati é fruto, sobretudo, da intensificação das acções militares desenvolvidas contra os bandidos armados, o principal instrumento de desestabilização criado pelo regime do «apartheid».

Na mensagem em nome das Forças de Defesa e Segurança, o Tenente-General destacou as principais vitórias militares alcançadas nas províncias de Gaza, Inhambane, Manica e Zambézia, e à destruição de vários agrupamentos dos bandidos armados.

O Tenente-General Mabote afirmou que várias centenas de bandidos armados têm-se rendido às Forças de Defesa e Segurança e à população, dizendo ainda que se têm intensificado acções multilaterais coordenadas pelas FDS, em estreita ligação com as massas populares.

— Agora, mais do que nunca, todos os combatentes estão prontos a prosseguir a sua árdua missão — afirmou o Chefe do Estado-Maior General das Forças Armadas de Moçambique (FPLM).

## A paz é o sonho dos moçambicanos

— mensagem das ODM

«O sonho de muitas gerações de moçambicanos tem hoje aberturas novas perspectivas de concretização», diz a mensagem conjunta das Organizações Democráticas de Massas, em saudação ao Presidente Samora Machel pela assinatura do Acordo de Nkomati.

Lutámos sempre para que as nossas crianças fossem felizes, para que pudessem ter uma alimentação adequada, para terem boa roupa e calçado próprio, para que os seus sorrisos não voltassem a ser apagados pelas balas e bombas de assassinos — afirmou a mensagem da OJM, OMM e OTM.

As Organizações Democráticas de Massas reafirmaram ontem o seu propósito de cumprir as palavras de ordem do Partido Frelimo, participando na liquidação total dos bandidos armados e na arrancada decisiva da economia.

# Testemunho público da nossa gratidão

— Marcelino dos Santos

Queremos testemunhar a nossa gratidão pelo papel preponderante e decisivo desempenhado pelo Camarada Presidente em todo o processo de negociações e pela forma digna como representou todo o Povo moçambicano na cerimónia da assinatura do Acordo — disse Marcelino dos Santos na abertura da sessão de ontem.

O membro do Bureau Político do Partido Frelimo e Secretário da Assembleia Popular referiu que a saudação que se realizava naquela cerimónia, interpretava o sentimento de todo o Povo moçambicano.

«Não terminaram ainda as provocações e dificuldades, mas já se vislum-

bra uma nova era para a Pátria Moçambicana, disse a mensagem da Comissão da Assembleia Popular.

A mensagem aponta o Acordo de Nkomati como pedra-base para transformações que nos trarão a independência da Namíbia e o fim do «apartheid» na África do Sul e que tornarão a África Austral um modelo de coexistência e de convívio entre Estados».

«Partimos para as novas batalhas de ânimo cada vez mais alto, seguros que estamos de que o banditismo e o crime do exterior se instalaram no nosso País, têm agora os seus dias contados», refere a mensagem proferida por Marcelino dos Santos.

# Saberemos dar o golpe final ao inimigo do nosso Povo

## — Mensagem das Forças de Defesa e Segurança

As Forças de Defesa e Segurança — Forças Armadas, Polícia e Segurança —, apresentaram uma mensagem à sessão solene, lida pelo Tenente-General Sebastião Marcos Mabote, membro do Bureau Político do Comité Central do Partido Frelimo e da Comissão Permanente da Assembleia do Estado-Maior General das Forças Armadas (FPLM).

Eis na íntegra a referida mensagem:

### MENSAGEM DE SAUDAÇÃO DAS FORÇAS DE DEFESA E SEGURANÇA AO CAMARADA COMANDANTE-CHEFE

— SUA EXCELENCIA PRESIDENTE DO PARTIDO FRELIMO PRESIDENTE DA REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE MOÇAMBIQUE COMANDANTE-CHEFE DAS FORÇAS ARMADAS DE MOÇAMBIQUE (FPLM).

— CAMARADAS MEMBROS DO BUREAU POLÍTICO DO PARTIDO FRELIMO.

— SENHORES MEMBROS DA COMISSÃO PERMANENTE DA ASSEMBLEIA POPULAR.

— SENHORES MEMBROS DO CONSELHO DE MINISTROS.

— SENHORES MEMBROS DO CORPO DIPLOMÁTICO.

— SENHORAS E SENHORES:

As Forças Armadas (FPLM), a Polícia Popular de Moçambique e o Serviço Nacional de Segurança Popular, exprimindo o sentimento de todos os combatentes que nas várias frentes desenvolvem acções para instaurar e garantir a Paz e a tranquilidade na nossa Pátria Socialista, quiseram associar-se a este grande acontecimento em homenagem ao Presidente da República, obreiro da celebração do já histórico Acordo de Nkomati.

De facto, o Acordo é o resultado da acção pessoal do Camarada Comandante-Chefe que, com a sua lucidez e sábia direcção, soube conduzir-nos a esta vitória em defesa dos legítimos interesses e aspirações do nosso Povo.

O Acordo de Nkomati é o resultado

da sua perspicácia. Camarada Comandante-Chefe, na vasta acção diplomática da República Popular de Moçambique que, conduzida por si, tem sabido lutar para instalar a Paz na nossa Pátria.

O Acordo de Nkomati é fruto sobretudo da intensificação das acções militares desenvolvidas pelas nossas Forças de Defesa e Segurança sob a sua direcção e em estreita ligação com todo o nosso Povo contra os bandidos armados — o principal instrumento de desestabilização criado pelo regime do «apartheid».

Neste processo destacam-se as seguintes acções militares:

— As grandes vitórias militares alcançadas nas províncias de Gaza, Inhambane, Manica e Zambézia;

— A destruição de vários agrupamentos dos bandidos armados;

— As várias centenas de bandidos armados que se têm rendido às nossas Forças e às Populações;

— Numa palavra, a intensificação de todas as acções multilaterais coordenadas pelas Forças de Defesa e Segurança.

A Assinatura do Acordo de Não-Agressão e Boa Vizinhança com a África do Sul, é a vitória da nossa política de Paz sobre a política de desestabilização do regime do «apartheid» no nosso País e na África Austral.

O Acordo de Não-Agressão e Boa Vizinhança é, em suma, o desenvolvimento daquele firme desejo que levou o Povo moçambicano a desfechar o primeiro tiro da Luta de Libertação Nacional, para alcançarmos a Paz, o Progresso e o Bem-Estar.

Em todo este processo, temos contado e continuaremos a contar certamente com a clarividência e a lúcida direcção do Camarada Presidente e do nosso Comandante-Chefe, Marechal da República, SAMORA MOISÉS MACHEL.

CAMARADA COMANDANTE-CHEFE.

As Forças Armadas de Moçambique (FPLM), a Polícia Popular de Moçambique e o Serviço Nacional de Segurança Popular, reafirmam a sua determinação de cumprir a sua orientação de «fazer do Ano de 1984, o ano de liquidação total dos bandidos armados».

ASSIM.

Em todas as frentes, as Forças de Defesa e Segurança saberão dar o golpe final ao inimigo do nosso Povo, materializando deste modo o espírito do Acordo de Nkomati.

Agora, mais do que nunca, todos os combatentes das Forças Armadas de Moçambique (FPLM), da Polícia e da Segurança estão prontos a prosseguir a sua árdua missão de defender a nossa soberania e a integridade territorial, garantindo a Paz e a tranquilidade social tão desejadas pelo nosso Povo, do Rovuma ao Maputo.

Por isso, mais uma vez dizemos:

— A LUTA CONTINUA!

— Independência ou morte, Venceremos!

— A Revolução Vencerá!

— O Socialismo Triunfará!

Muito obrigado.

# Acordo de Nkomati honra e prestigia o nosso Estado

— Mensagem da Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular

«Sob a direcção pessoal de Vossa Excelência, Camarada Presidente, foi possível concluir este Acordo, que honra e prestigia o Estado moçambicano. Com o Acordo de Nkomati rasga-se uma nova perspectiva para a África Austral que impõe renovadas reflexões, outros desafios, horizontes e esperanças. Para nós, Estado moçambicano, a garantia de fronteiras seguras materializa uma aspiração do nosso povo e representa o completar de condições para estabelecermos a normalidade de vida do nosso País e nos votarmos ao esforço do desenvolvimento económico e social» — afirmou ontem Marcelino dos Santos, membro do Bureau Político e Secretário do Comité Central do Partido Frelimo, membro do Bureau Político e Secretário da Assembleia Popular e Dirigente da Província de Sofala, quando lia a mensagem de saudação ao Presidente Samora Machel, a qual passamos a transcrever na íntegra:

Sua Excelência Marechal Samora Machel  
Presidente do Partido Frelimo  
Presidente da República Popular de Moçambique

Camaradas membros do Bureau Político do Comité Central do Partido Frelimo

Senhores membros da Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular

Senhores membros do Conselho de Ministros

Senhores membros do Corpo Diplomático

Senhoras e Senhores

Camarada Presidente,

A Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular, decidiu organizar esta sessão para, em representação do nosso Estado, em representação de todo o Povo moçambicano do Rovuma ao Maputo saudar o histórico acontecimento que constitui a celebração do Acordo de Nkomati.

Queremos, muito em especial e publicamente, testemunhar a nossa grandeza pelo papel preponderante e decisivo, desempenhado por Vossa Excelência, Camarada Presidente, em todo o processo das negociações e pela forma digna como representou todo o Povo moçambicano na cerimónia da assinatura do Acordo.

Uma vez mais, nos orgulhamos de ter o Camarada Presidente como nosso guia e chefe. Uma vez mais, a sua grandeza se tornou grandeza de todos nós, Povo moçambicano.

O nosso Estado não tem uma existência longa. Porém, na sua originalidade tão moçambicana, viveu, desde que lançou as suas raízes nas zonas libertadas, a contradição de ter de enfrentar a guerra quando a razão mesma de ser da criação do nosso Estado era alcançar a Paz.

Como Vossa Excelência disse no histórico discurso de Nkomati, lutamos contra o colonialismo português para eliminar o factor de guerra que o colonialismo sempre constituiu.

Sobre a pilhagem e as destruições do colonialismo, fomos pacientemente construindo a nossa unidade, fomos dando corpo ao nosso Estado, criamos as nossas instituições, poderosas-

mente enraizadas no povo e plenamente identificadas com ele.

Eliminado o colonialismo português, que nos oprimia, permaneceu, porém, o colonialismo instalado junto às nossas fronteiras, que não deixou que a Paz a que ganhara direito o Povo e o Estado moçambicanos, florescesse e se consolidasse.

O Estado Moçambicano, ao aplicar sanções ao regime rebelde da Rodésia, ao assumir como também sua a luta de libertação do Povo do Zimbabwe, teve de enfrentar novas situações de agressão e guerra.

A Independência do Zimbabwe não pôs, contudo, termo ao ciclo de violência que, do exterior, foi dirigida contra o nosso Estado: mais combates e dificuldades nos esperavam e nos obrigaram a trilhar, com coragem e determinação, longos caminhos antes de alcançarmos as terras do Acordo de Nkomati.

Uma vez mais, o Estado Moçambicano, confrontado com uma guerra que não escolheu e não quis, realizou a sua opção de Paz.

Uma vez mais, o Estado Moçambicano virou uma página da história da África Austral, e deu novos impulsos para transformar em zona de Paz, uma região de tensões e conflitos susceptíveis de se generalizarem.

Uma vez mais, os interesses do nosso Estado foram defendidos, foram assegurados. Os seus dirigentes e as suas instituições souberam conciliar objectivos nacionais com a correcta análise e ponderação do processo histórico da nossa região e do nosso Continente.

Nenhuma apreciação, por mais que enferme de miopia histórica na interpretação dos acontecimentos em curso, poderá perturbar o papel que o Acordo de Nkomati está destinado a desempenhar nas transformações da nossa região. Transformações que nos trarão a independência da Namíbia e o fim do «apartheid» na África do Sul. Transformações que tornarão a África Austral modelo de coexistência e de convívio entre Estados responsáveis que, acima das suas divergências, souberam salvaguardar relações de Boa Vizinhança pela defesa e garantia da Paz.

Camarada Presidente,

Não terminaram ainda as privações e dificuldades, mas já se vislumbra uma nova era para a Pátria Moçambicana.

Se vencemos tantos obstáculos, se resistimos com estoicismo aos sofrimentos, se encontramos energia e força para enfrentar tão duros desafios, tudo isso o devemos ao nosso Partido Frelimo e em particular a si, Camarada Presidente, guia incontestável do nosso Partido, do nosso Estado e do nosso Povo.

A sua coragem, a sua firmeza, a sua lucidez e a sua clareza, a sua completa identificação com os sonhos, esperanças e desejos do Povo moçambicano, deram-nos a inspiração e o estímulo.

Na capacidade de compreender em cada momento não só a situação histórica do nosso País, mas a da região do Mundo, de adequar com rigor a prática aos princípios e de acompanhar uns e outros numa reflexão e dum entusiasmo criadores e fecundantes, nesse seu orgulho tão nosso, porque moçambicano, nos revemos e nos consolidamos, nos afirmamos e crescemos.

Sob a direcção pessoal de Vossa Excelência, Camarada Presidente, foi possível concluir este Acordo que honra e prestigia o Estado moçambicano. Com o Acordo de Nkomati rasga-se uma nova perspectiva para a África Austral que impõe novas reflexões, outros desafios, horizontes e esperanças.

Para nós, Estado Moçambicano, a garantia de fronteiras seguras materializa uma aspiração do nosso povo e representa o completar de condições para estabelecermos a normalidade de vida do nosso País e nos votarmos ao esforço do desenvolvimento económico e social.

Muito há ainda a fazer, e disso estamos todos bem conscientes. Mas para as novas batalhas partimos de ânimo cada vez mais alto, seguros como estamos de que o banditismo e o crime que, do exterior, se instalaram no nosso País, têm agora os seus dias contados.

Camarada Presidente,  
Excelência.

A Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular, interpretando o sentimento do Povo moçambicano e de todos os quadros que, aos diversos níveis, desde a localidade às estruturas centrais, representam e defendem os interesses do Estado Moçambicano, vêm transmitir a Vossa Excelência o seu muito obrigado por ter tornado possível a assinatura do Acordo de Nkomati.

Hoje, como sempre, Vossa Excelência, Camarada Presidente, identifica-se com os supremos interesses do nosso Estado, e simboliza os valores mais altos, mais nobres e exaltantes do Homem e da Nação Moçambicana.

Uma vez mais, muito obrigado.  
Khanimambo, Camarada Presidente.

A LUTA CONTINUA!

Maputo, 5 de Abril de 1984.

# Fiéis continuadores do histórico 25 de Setembro

— Mensagem conjunta da OTM, OMM e OJM

A Organização dos Trabalhadores de Moçambique (OTM), a Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (OMM) e a Organização da Juventude Moçambicana (OJM) apresentaram ontem, na sessão solene, uma mensagem, a qual foi lida por Augusto Macamo, membro do CC do Partido Frelimo e da Comissão Permanente da Assembleia Popular e Secretário-Geral da OTM.

O teor da mensagem é o seguinte:

Mensagem conjunta da Organização da Juventude Moçambicana, da Organização da Mulher Moçambicana e da Organização dos Trabalhadores Moçambicanos, de saudação ao Camarada Presidente do Partido Frelimo, Presidente da República Popular de Moçambique, Marechal Samora Machel, pela assinatura do Acordo de Não-Agressão e Boa Vizinhança entre a República Popular de Moçambique e a República da África do Sul.

Camarada Presidente Samora Moisés Machel,

Encontramo-nos aqui, jovens, mulheres e trabalhadores moçambicanos, nesta histórica sala do IV Congresso do Partido Frelimo, para manifestarmos a nossa satisfação e alegria e para saudá-lo a si, Camarada Presidente, pela assinatura do Acordo de Não-Agressão e Boa Vizinhança entre a República Popular de Moçambique e a República da África do Sul.

O sonho de muitas gerações de moçambicanos: o sonho de muitos heróis que deram a sua vida pela Revolução, tem hoje, abertas novas perspectivas para a sua concretização.

Quando, há vinte anos, o nosso Povo pegou em armas para lutar contra o colonialismo, o objectivo era conquistar a liberdade, a paz e o progresso, era criar condições para a construção de uma sociedade justa, desenvolvida e feliz, liberta da opressão e da exploração do homem pelo homem.

Lutámos, sempre, para que as nossas crianças fossem felizes, para que, pudessem ter uma alimentação adequada, para terem boa roupa e calçado próprio, para que os seus sorrisos, a sua alegria natural, não voltassem a ser apagados pelas balas e bombas de assassinos.

Com a assinatura do Acordo e a sua materialização, estamos certos que novas possibilidades se apresentam para a paz na nossa região. Em condições de paz vamos, finalmente, poder aproveitar as grandes potencialidades económicas do nosso país e construir o

progresso.

O nosso país teve que enveredar por uma economia de guerra, para fazer face à guerra não declarada que nos era movida.

Com o Acordo de Nkomati, esperamos poder agora concentrar os nossos recursos económicos, financeiros, materiais e outros para o cumprimento dos nossos planos que têm como objectivo central a liquidação do subdesenvolvimento no nosso País.

O Camarada Presidente teve a ocasião de assistir pessoalmente à grande manifestação popular, de alegria, entusiasmo e apelo que teve lugar na capital do país no dia 17 de Março, 24 horas apenas após a assinatura do Acordo de Nkomati. Essa demonstração representou o sentimento de todo o nosso Povo.

Na ocasião, o Camarada Presidente disse, referindo-se aos bandidos armados: «Já fechámos a fonte. Agora é preciso beber a água que ficou nos canos».

Através desta expressiva imagem, o Camarada Presidente definiu a nossa tarefa prioritária nesta fase: liquidar completamente os bandidos armados que não aceitaram entregar-se às nossas forças, até que nem um único reste com vida no solo sagrado da nossa Pátria.

Queremos aproveitar esta oportunidade, Camarada Presidente, para lhe reafirmarmos a total determinação dos jovens, das mulheres e dos trabalhadores moçambicanos de se engajarem ainda com mais determinação no combate aos bandidos armados, nesta fase em que esse combate entrou na sua fase final e decisiva.

No processo da nossa luta, aprendemos a nunca depormos as armas. Ontem como hoje e sempre, Camarada Presidente, sob a sua genial direcção, nós, jovens, mulheres e trabalhadores moçambicanos estamos, uma vez mais, prontos para cumprirmos as suas orientações.

De arma, enxada e livro nas mãos, nós, jovens, mulheres e trabalhadores

dizemos, uma vez mais, que seremos sempre os fiéis continuadores do histórico 25 de Setembro.

Estamos sempre prontos a cerrar as fileiras em torno do Partido, nas nossas Organizações de base, agudizando a Vigilância Popular para não nos deixarmos enganar pelas manobras sutis dos inimigos da Revolução.

Na frente da defesa da Pátria, da



Augusto Macamo, Secretário-Geral da OTM

lei e da ordem, da economia e demais áreas da vida do nosso Povo, nós, jovens enquadrados pela OJM, nós, mulheres enquadradas pela OMM, nós,

Camarada Presidente,

Queremos aproveitar este momento para lhe dirigirmos a nossa saudação

calorosa pelo seu papel decisivo na condução do processo para mais esta vitória do Povo Moçambicano.

Foi sob a sua sábia e dinâmica direcção, Camarada Presidente, que derrotámos o colonialismo português.

Foi pela sua voz que o Povo Moçambicano proclamou a 25 de Junho de 1975 a Independência Nacional, pondo termo a quinhentos anos de opressão e humilhação dos trabalhadores, mulheres, velhos, jovens e crianças moçambicanos.

Foi sob a sua sábia e dinâmica direcção que, a 3 de Fevereiro de 1977 criámos o Partido Frelimo, glorioso Partido que conduz o Povo Moçambicano à construção da sua felicidade, à construção do Socialismo na nossa Pátria.

Foi sob a sua sábia e dinâmica direcção, Camarada Presidente, que vencemos as agressões do regime ilegal e racista de Ian Smith.

E é sob a sua sábia direcção que, hoje, infligimos derrotas cada vez mais decisivas aos bandidos armados, preparando o caminho para a sua total liquidação.

Hoje encontramos-nos aqui para prestar homenagem ao grande impulsor e arquitecto da estratégia política, económica, militar e diplomática, através da qual materializamos a política socialista de Paz reafirmada pelo nosso Partido no IV Congresso, e que

conduziu a grande vitória que foi a assinatura do Acordo de Nkomati.

O seu exemplo, Camarada Presidente, revitaliza-nos a confiança e a esperança num futuro promissor e maravilhoso para a nossa Pátria Socialista.

Hoje, assim como ontem, vemos em si, Camarada Presidente, o militante exemplar, o dirigente que sempre soube e sempre saberá, mesmo nos momentos mais difíceis, dirigir o nosso Partido e o Povo Moçambicano de vitória em vitória.

Camarada Presidente,

Queremos, a terminar, nós jovens, nós mulheres, nós trabalhadores moçambicanos, reafirmar a nossa determinação em implementar todas as directivas e tarefas definidas pelo Partido para as nossas Organizações.

Desejamos uma Paz duradoura para que em Paz construamos a felicidade e o bem-estar do nosso Povo.

Por tudo isto dizemos uma vez mais: Khamimambo, Partido Frelimo, Khamimambo, Presidente SAMORA MACHEL.

Longa vida, Camarada Presidente, e que por muitos e muitos anos continue a assegurar a condução dos destinos do Povo Moçambicano.

A LUTA CONTINUA!

Maputo, aos 5 de Abril de 1984.

Ir "Notícias" 06 Abril 1984



## **Recortes na Imprensa Estrangeira**



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"The Star" (Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## PW, Machel meeting looking more likely

Pretoria Correspondent

A summit meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and Mozambique's President Samora Machel is on the cards for early next year as part of a new diplomatic initiative to bring Mozambique back into the Western fold.

This became clear yesterday as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P W Botha — back home after two weeks in Europe — assessed the results of his trip.

The new initiative, involving Portugal and with the United States possibly providing financial backing, is aimed at wooing Mozambique away from Moscow's already faltering grip.

It would bring stability to that country and Portuguese workers might return to Mozambique to shore up its economy.

The initiative is at a delicate stage. Portugal, SA and the US are assessing its viability.

● From Paris, The Star's Foreign News Service reports that President Francois Mitterrand has sent a personal message to Angolan President dos Santos, aimed at drastically reducing Luanda's dependence on Cuban troops and Soviet forces.

According to diplomatic sources, the message was delivered over the weekend by Mr Mitterrand's personal adviser on African affairs, Mr Guy Penne, in Luanda on Friday.

There is a sense of urgency in the Mitterrand initiative in view of alarming reports flowing into Paris from all sides predicting heavy fighting with Unita guerrillas within the next few weeks. Cuban troops have been reported arriving from Ethiopia by ship.

Mr Mitterrand's offer is two-pronged. He is prepared to act as a mediator between Luanda and Unita, and promises massive financial and technical aid to the country.

# Portugal bids to increase its role in Southern Africa

LISBON — Today's official visit to Portugal by South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr R F (Pik) Botha, underlines an international relationship that has changed dramatically in the past decade.

Ten years ago South Africa, led by Mr John Vorster, and Portugal, with Dr Marcello Caetano at the helm, were right-wing allies.

Together with Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesia, they opposed the march of one-man-one-vote black nationalism. Relations between the three countries were close, as were the links between their military establishments and their secret police.

But the Caetano regime was overthrown and Portugal pulled out of its African "provinces". Portugal had its own revolution and, since Dr Caetano, has had 15 different governments.

With Portugal and South Africa no longer "allies", Lisbon and Pretoria have had little to say to each other — even though there are more than 600 000 people in South Africa who look on themselves as Portuguese.

Apart from these people, the two countries had little more than history to draw them together.

In a sense it was South Africa's problematical relationship with Mozambique and Angola, together with Portugal's desire to play a more active role in Southern African affairs, that provided the foundation for a new relationship.

Portugal, whether under a right-wing dictatorship or successive left-wing governments, has always wanted to be seen to lead the Portuguese-speaking world. It is handicapped by its poverty and its continuing economic crises.

Portugal would now like to be seen as a bridge between the industrialised north and the under-developed south, a bridge between Europe and Africa — and, just possibly, a bridge between South Africa and its troubled and troublesome black neighbours.

It has worked, and recently

## The Star's Foreign News Service

at its contacts with its former colonies and already South Africa and the Americans have found Portugal useful in exploring and developing contacts with Mozambique and Angola.

On Thursday last week, for instance, Portuguese Foreign Minister Mr Jaime Gama met his Angolan counterpart, Mr Paulo Jorge, in Paris. Few people believe that this discussion will not feature prominently in Mr Gama's discussions with Mr



The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, talks with his Portuguese counterpart, Mr Jaime Gama, in Lisbon yesterday.

Botha today. And few believe that elements of today's discussions will not be passed on to Mr Jorge.

Clearly Portugal would like to play a role — and be seen to have played a role — in helping Southern Africa towards peace and stability.

There is one issue that is certain to be raised pointedly today because of Portugal's very direct interest — Cahora Bassa.

When the massive dam was planned and built in the "good old days", Portugal guaranteed the loans. Now the dam is run by a company in which Portugal

and Mozambique are equal partners but Portugal still carries the financial responsibility — and it is Portugal that suffers directly when the Mozambique Resistance Movement cuts the Cahora Bassa powerline to its only real customer, South Africa.

It is understood that representatives of the Portuguese Government intend to appeal to the South African delegation to do what they can to stop the sabotage of the powerline.

Mr Botha will almost certainly respond with an appeal to Portugal to use its good offices

to persuade Angola and Mozambique to stop allowing their countries to be used as springboards for attacks on South Africa.

Thus it is that, apart from the issue of Cahora Bassa, the real reason for Mr Botha's visit to Portugal appears to be the hope on both sides that improved communications — via Portugal — will help resolve the dangerous situation in Southern Africa.

Whether Portugal can exercise any influence, whether Portuguese channels of communication are valuable, remains to be seen.

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DEPARTAMENTO DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO E INFORMAÇÃO

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CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## ISSUE OF THE WEEK

# Peace? — not that easy

There is some feeling in South Africa that we may soon be wandering down charming little narrow streets (right) in Maputo and Luanda once again. Peace, after all, is just around the corner — or is it? Brendan Nicholson reports.

**A** FLURRY of diplomatic activity in Southern Africa and abroad has created a dangerous illusion that prospects for peace are good, that South Africa's enemies are finally "seeing the light" and that the Republic's citizens might soon be dining on prawns at the sidewalk cafes of Maputo and Luanda.

Over the past 18 months there has been a succession of "developments", "talks", "truce offers", "summits", "moves" and "meetings", interspersed with various military invasions and all intended bring peace and security to the sub-continent.

One fatal flaw damns all of these hopeful prospects to irrelevance in terms of bringing long term peace to Southern Africa.

They are all based on the premise that South Africa is fighting a valiant battle against the evil forces of international communism on behalf of the Free World.

And Pretoria's policy of battering its neighbours into submission with a combination of military and economic force appears to contain an inherent rejection of any possibility that the rulers of countries which support the African Nationalist Congress might be motivated by a genuine desire to destroy, not the West nor even South Africa, but simply the apartheid system.

Many governments with a stake in the future of Southern Africa agreed long ago that the log-jam of confrontation on the sub-continent could be broken by a peaceful transition to independence in Namibia.

Then, using the jargon which has added an impression of movement to the whole confused process, the phenomenon of "linkage" was created by someone in Washington or Pretoria who insisted that before the benighted territory could be given independence the 30 000-odd Cuban troops in Angola should be sent packing.

"Linkage" turned out to be simply a giant spanner which caused prospects for Namibian independence to grind promptly to a halt.

There are good reasons for South Africa and the United States, along with several moderate governments in Southern Africa, to want the Cubans out.

Washington does not want a Soviet surrogate force sitting in a strategic part of the world, Pretoria does not want such a force poised on the Orange River and the Angolan rebels of Mr Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement would like to see the Luanda government lose its Cuban protectors.

But no one has explained yet how President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola is to be persuaded



to commit political and military suicide by sending the Cubans packing.

As long as UNITA is a threat to his government the Cubans will remain in Angola.

If, with the direct or indirect support of South Africa, UNITA can make sufficient territorial advances to force the MPLA to negotiate with a view to forming a government of national unity then the picture might change.

That prospect appears to be some way off.

Most of Savimbi's substantial gains so far have been in the comparatively thinly-populated south and centre of the eastern side of Angola and so far he does not appear to have come up against any large concentrations of Cuban troops determined to stand and fight.

Having been outmanoeuvred and humiliated in  
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Grenada the Cubans and their Russian mentors are likely to dig their heels in long before the rebels march into Luanda.

The SADF says it has moved into Angola only to break up concentrations of at least 1400 Swapo guerillas preparing to invade Namibia.

The chief of the Defence Force, General Constad Viljoen, expressed indignation that the Angolan troops of FAPLA and Cubans had intervened on the side of Swapo.

"We... expect them to respect our fight against Swapo", he said.

He was presumably speaking with tongue in cheek.

The ideologically committed government in Luanda has stated that it is not interested in accepting any Pretoria truce terms until all South Africa troops are withdrawn and then only once a date has been set for a ceasefire in Namibia.

The SADF has confirmed that 14 South African and South West Africa Territory Force personnel have been killed in action so far during the current operation.

Fifty-six Swapo members died.

It is not clear yet how many casualties Pretoria feels it can afford to suffer in such attacks but it would appear that if the current rate of attrition continues then South Africa can expect to lose somewhere in the region of 300 men by the time those 1400 guerillas are eliminated.

Such cross-border forays are likely to become

progressively tougher as South Africa's neighbours become better armed, more experienced and more resolute.

Towards the end of the Rhodesian war some guerilla bases in Mozambique and Zambia were so well fortified that the cost of "taking them out" became too high to contemplate.

There is no guarantee that the same is not happening in Namibia's case.

A senior SADF non-commissioned officer involved in the Namibian war has described Swapo guerillas as "man for man" the best trained and equipped insurgents to emerge so far in two decades of wars on the sub-continent.

They and their instructors have had the benefit of improvements in weapons and tactics tested under broadly similar conditions in Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia and their morale has been boosted by the eventual victories of the guerillas in those wars.

There would appear to be no greater prospect of fully "normal" relations on the Mozambican side despite Mr Pik Botha's meeting with Maputo ministers in Swaziland and hopeful hints of a heads of state "summit" to come.

While little detail has emerged on what was discussed at the meeting President Samora Machel has made it clear since that he has no intention of becoming involved in any deal that involves him clamping down on the ANC in exchange for a South Africa agreement to "rein

in" the rebels of the anti-Frelimo Mozambique National Resistance.

If South Africa wished to reach an understanding with Mozambique then it must first drop its support for the MNR, he said this week.

Since the meeting MNR activity has, if anything, increased in intensity and brutality with guerillas believed to have murdered 40 bus passengers and axed five villagers to death in separate atrocities on Christmas day.

When Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda met Mr P W Botha on the SA/Botswana border he was assured that Pretoria intended making significant moves towards internal reform.

The only vaguely reformist move from Pretoria since then has been the constitution which promised a new deal for everyone except South Africa's black people.

It is again unclear how anyone expected the leaders of the Frontline States, who happen to be black, to consider such "reform" as anything less than insulting.

It is clear that, unless South Africa can find some mystical way to wipe its neighbours right off the map, then the most extreme military and diplomatic moves can provide nothing more than a short term solution.

The abhorrence for apartheid, on the part of African leaders will remain and intensify as long as the system exists. □ — *The Star's Foreign News Service.*



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CLASSIFICAÇÃO

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## Opportunity to patch up quarrels with Maputo

The meetings to be held between South African and Mozambican officials next Monday will give the neighbours their best opportunity in several years to patch up relations over a broad front.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, announced on Monday night that high-level delegations from the countries, meeting in Pretoria and Maputo, would discuss security issues, economic relations, the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme and tourism.

Mr Botha confirmed yesterday that, from the South African point of view, the talks on security would be paramount and it appears that the inclusion of the other topics is intended as little more than a carrot to dangle before the Mozambicans, showing them what they stand to gain by delivering what Pretoria wants on the security front.

Mr Botha said: "The achievement of our objectives in these fields will depend on the measure of success obtained by the security group."

The Pretoria Government has been twisting Maputo's arm to put a stop to activities by the African National Congress (ANC) in Mozambique.

### CAMPS REMOVED

It might be asking for more than Mozambique can deliver. Mozambican officials have insisted that they forbid ANC operations from their territory, and that there is little more they can do to curb the organisation's activities. ANC camps have already been removed from the southern part of the country.

In exchange for watertight assurances of less support for the ANC, the South Africans would probably scale down their backing for rebels of the right-wing Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR) which has become increasingly active in recent months.

South Africa is also likely to propose restoring some of the commercial ties which have been loosened since Mozambique's independence in 1975. A government official has confirmed that discussions on the economic front are likely to centre on transport links and labour. Mozambique's shortage of foreign currency is a major obstacle to expanded trade links, and South Africa is able to offer extended trade credits.

### OBLIGED

In terms of the Mozambique Convention, signed more than half a century ago, South Africa is obliged to route two-fifths of imports for the Witwatersrand through Maputo. This provision has fallen into disuse as South African shippers have diverted import and export cargoes to other ports in the wake of unsatisfactory conditions in Maputo.

The position in Maputo appears to have stabilised recently. The South African Citrus Exchange extended storage facilities in the harbour last year.

An official of the Electricity Supply Commission said that South Africa was still not receiving electricity from the giant Cahora Bassa scheme. Pylons from the dam to the Transvaal have been blown up on several occasions in recent years by MNR guerillas.

Cahora Bassa was built to supply more than five percent of South Africa's power needs and to become a major source of foreign currency for Mozambique. — Financial Times Service.

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## SA, Mozambique in new round of talks

The South African and Mozambican Governments will begin a new round of talks on security and economic relations next Monday, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

There have been strained relations between the two countries — each accusing the other of being a haven for rebels.

Mr Botha said in a statement that the talks would be just below ministerial level and would be conducted by four groups concerned with joint security, economics, tourism and utilisation of the Cahora Bassa power plant.

He said the new round of discussions was a result of a meeting he held in Swaziland on December 20 with Mozambican Economic Affairs Minister Mr Jacinto Veloso.

Analysts thought the high-level talks in the Swazi capital of Mbabane might be a turning point in relations.

The softening of Mozambique's attitude towards Pretoria comes at a time when its Marxist leaders are turning increasingly to the West for aid.

Analysts said there was evidence that President Samora Machel, plagued by economic problems and a rebel movement, was prepared to forego his campaign against apartheid and pledge non-alignment in return for Western economic aid and an end to guerilla attacks.

South Africa is widely held to provide a significant degree of support for the Mozambique National Resistance.

In turn, South Africa has claimed that the ANC operates from bases inside Mozambique. Pretoria has conducted several military operations against such bases.

The talks next week will take place in both capitals. Although Mr Botha did not say which groups will meet where, diplomats said they believed the security group would meet in Pretoria with the others meeting in Maputo.

### ELIMINATING SUBVERSION

The security group will be chaired by the Commissioner of the South African Police, General Johann Coetzee. It will include Mr J P Roux, Director-General of the Office of the Prime Minister, and General A J van Deventer, the secretary of the State Security Council.

Mr Botha's statement said the security group would "propose practical ways and means of eliminating all forms of subversion and violence, and propose a mechanism by which this process can be implemented and monitored".

Another group will discuss Cahora Bassa, which was designed to feed most of its supplies to South Africa but is unable to do so because of sabotage.

— Reuter.

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## SA-Mozambique talks hinge on security accord

By David Braun.

The successful outcome of the high-level talks between South Africa and Mozambique next week would depend largely on the ability of the negotiating teams to settle the security problems between the two countries, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said today.

Discussions between four working groups from each government will be held simultaneously in Pretoria and Maputo next Monday to settle security differences, matters relating to the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme, economic issues and tourism.

The talks are a sequel to Mr Botha's visit to Portugal and the Swaziland meeting between the two governments.

Mr Botha said in a radio interview that

the most important working group would be that dealing with security. Discussions would centre on finding practical ways to end all forms of subversion and violence between the countries.

"It is a very important group because the achievement of our objectives in the economic, tourism and Cahora Bassa fields will depend on the measure of success obtained by the security group. I hope we can make progress on security because it will mean a lot to both countries and the whole region," said Mr Botha.

The Portuguese Government would be involved in discussions on Cahora Bassa and that working group would move to Lisbon after the initial round of talks in Southern Africa, he said.

● See Page 3, World Section.

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**DAILY MAIL**

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# Crossing the border

**A**T this stage we can but speculate about the pressures which are bringing South Africa and Mozambique together in talks aimed at reducing tension and improving co-operative activity.

Some factors can be clearly discerned, such as Mozambique's economic and security difficulties. These stem from a combination of the effects of prolonged drought, continuing weaknesses caused by the flight of skills — exacerbated by the country's adherence to Marxism, and the depredations of the Mozambique National Resistance Movement.

On the South African side a primary impelling force must be the desire to halt the flow of African National Congress insurgents through Mozambique. To which, it is being whispered, must be added considerable pressure being applied by America and Britain for a lessening of conflict in the sub-continent.

But whatever it might be, the fact is that representatives of the two countries are due to meet from Friday. That is cause for congratulation, particularly because far more than formal talks are intended: quite unusually, discussions will be held simultaneously in Pretoria and Maputo with the whole accent on the practical resolution of problems.

The obstacles are certainly formidable. The most basic issue to be faced is security: Pretoria unequivocally regards the ANC as a bunch of communist-inspired terrorists who must be halted at all costs, whereas Maputo views them as freedom fighters deserving of African aid. The gap between these two concepts is wide. Whatever the counter-views, however, realistically the scales will be weighted by the awesome damage which South Africa can inflict on a non-cooperative Mozambique.

But we must hope it will not come to this. Rather, that the statesmanship on both sides of the border which is making these discussions possible will ensure the talks prove to be a step toward peaceful co-existence for Southern Africa's people.



ATA

FONTE

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

13 January 84

RAW DAILY MAIL (JTB)

EVEN with the best will in the world, it is unlikely that Mozambique will soon become a tourist haven for South Africans.

The conditions to make mass tourism possible simply do not exist at present. It will take time to overcome the problems.

As far back as May 1980, the then Director of Tourism in Mozambique, Mr Mario Trindade — he will be taking part in today's inter-governmental talks — told the Mail that it was hoped to open the doors to tourism a year later.

Mr Trindade emphasised that South Africans would be as welcome as anyone else.

Mozambique wanted tourists, he said, for their foreign currency and "to share experiences and cultures, and because we want people to know our revolutionary point of view".

But not all South Africans would be wanted ... certainly not those of the "old times" during Portuguese colonial rule, who had come "with the car and caravan loaded with cans of food and beer and tents ..."

Such visitors, in the peak tourist year of 1971, had spent only R6,60 each, while yet making use of roads and other facilities, said Mr Trindade.

On the other hand, the doors did not open a year later — and are unlikely to open now — because Mozambique cannot cater for the tourist market.

Hotels are often in a poor way.

The famed Polana in Maputo, for example, even though the management was taken over by a

# Those 'L M holidays' may still be a long way off

By BENJAMIN POGRUND

Portuguese hotel group last year, needs substantial repair and renovation. It is downright seedy at present.

Staff need to be trained, from chefs to waiters.

Food is in short supply and hundreds of thousands are said to be threatened by starvation. Even if hotels can still manage food for guests, it is often poor quality fare.

Nor are prawns easily obtainable: the catch has been improved since independence, but most of it is sold to countries such as Russia and Japan in return for the goods which Mozambique needs.

Petrol is restricted, and garage repair facilities are infrequent.

Shops have virtually nothing to sell to visitors.

Even doctors and dentists — who should be available to tourists in case of emergency — are in short supply.

These difficulties are not insuperable ... there are particular resorts which could probably accommodate groups of tourists, such as on the shore of Lake Nyasa in the north, and perhaps game-fishing parties on the coast.

But the necessary infrastructure is not avail-

able for tourism in general.

So South Africans should not at this stage be looking forward to again flocking to Mozambique for the "L M holidays" they remember.

An important aspect of the talks is bound to centre on reciprocal arrangements ... for a particular point of concern expressed in Mozambique is the difficulty which people there have in getting into South Africa.

It is, for example, said that no Mozambican journalist has been allowed into South Africa since independence eight years ago.

No great flood of tourists from Mozambique should be expected, if only because not many people have the money to travel.

But Mozambique undoubtedly would at least like to know that the border is more open than it is at present.

Certainly, Mozambique itself is far more relaxed these days about admitting South African visitors.

And as South Africans who have been there in recent years can testify, they are generally met with friendliness.

DATA

15 Junho 84

FONTE

Rand Daily Mail (Jnb)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

## Peace Pipes in Maputo

**G**OOD neighbours are hard to find in any region riven by poverty, envy and competing ideologies.

In Southern Africa, where the black-white conflict, diligently stirred by Moscow, threatens to turn the sub-continent into one of the world's messier cockpits, they are rarer even than a square meal in a Mozambique shack.

Which is precisely why there is today a sudden easing of tensions between Pretoria and Maputo. For there is little doubt that Mozambique's inability to feed its people, the realisation that starving citizens cannot eat second-hand Soviet weapons, has been a major factor in bringing President's Machel's men to the conference table.

Peace, like success, has many fathers and it is certainly true that a sense of reality has not suddenly emerged from the fog of rhetoric simply because President Machel has seen the error of his Marxist ways.

Patient diplomacy in a Washington desperately anxious to pluck at least some fruits of constructive engagement, a well-directed push from a Portugal equally anxious to rescue something from its Cahora Bassa in-

vestment, the destabilising activities of Renamo, providing Machel with an unpleasant reminder that terror and subversion can be exported both ways, and a devastating drought have all done their bit to bring the men of Maputo to the conference table.

Neither will Mozambique be the only beneficiary of a cooperative peace with Pretoria. The deepening mess in Angola with an increasing commitment of South African troops to that unpleasant war must make the prospect of a reasonably stable eastern border infinitely attractive to South Africa.

So too is the hope that a more vigilant Machel could defuse ANC bombs in Pretoria.

But before South African trippers begin remembering the flavour of fresh LM prawns they should realise that the road to Maputo is long, weary and littered with diplomatic landmines.

One ANC bomb, one maverick Renamo leader could yet blow all hopes of peace to kingdom come.

It is to be hoped that the men who meet around the conference table tomorrow realise that the pipe of peace is a far better weapon against poverty and chaos than the guns of war.



DATA  
17 Junho 84

FONTE  
THE STAR (Jub)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

Still a long way to go...

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

# Promising start to Maputo talks

MAPUTO — A South African delegation laden with gifts of giant cashew nuts and quaintly-boxed tea flew out of Mozambique yesterday clearly delighted with the results of their "make or break" talks.

But it was equally clear that the dramatic progress made so far could come to nothing if there were no agreement on Pretoria's attitude to the anti-Frelimo Mozambique National Resistance and Maputo's relationship with the African National Congress.

Welcoming the South African party in Maputo yesterday, Mo-

zambique's Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs and a member of the Frelimo Politburo, Major-General Jacinto Veloso, said his government interpreted the delegation's arrival a sign that Pretoria wanted to "put an end to war and escalating violence".

Mozambican officials said privately that South Africa appeared to have admitted that it could "help" with the MNR as long as Maputo did not give material support to the ANC.

The government of President Samora Machel is believed to have built up a strong file of evidence supporting its claims of South African involvement with the MNR and it was suggested that this had been, or would be, presented to the Pretoria representatives.

The officials say that, while Maputo continues to give moral and political support to the ANC, it will not help the organisation mount military operations from its soil.

But they add that they do not have the resources to guarantee that the ANC does not use Mozambican territory as a springboard for such attacks.

But a mood of optimism and friendliness prevailed throughout the day.

Behind the bland official statements the members of the South African delegation appeared jubilant, and somewhat relieved, at the progress made so far. But they warned that there was still "a long way to go".

The joint communique released after the first day's meetings said the talks on

transport, migrant labour, agriculture, fishing, industry and commerce and finance, took place in a "constructive atmosphere".

## CONCERN

A major cause of concern in Maputo is the decrease in the use of the port of Maputo by South African exporters since Mozambican independence.

Mozambican officials point out that the loss of Reef traffic has cost their country millions in desperately needed foreign exchange.

The South Africans argue, in turn, that it was asking too much to expect them to maintain their dependence on a port in a potentially hostile country without trying to find alternative routes.

Similarly, the Cahora Bassa dam is in danger of becoming a permanent white elephant because its main customer, South Africa, has been finding alternative sources of electricity since the anti-Frelimo guerrillas started sabotaging the southbound power lines.

Pretoria officials say it would be foolish to depend for vital power supplies on a source over which they have minimal control.

But a key to the success of the talks was provided by Maputo's Secretary of State for Tourism, Mr Antonio Materula.

"There are things I am saying and asking now that I could not have said on Friday and there are things I am listening to now that I could not have listened to on Friday."



DATA  
7 Junho 84

FONTE  
THE STAR (J&B)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO



Mozambican and South African delegates face each other in Maputo yesterday during a photo call for the international Press. Major-General Jacinto Veloso (second from left), Minister in the Presidency for

Economic Affairs, led the Mozambican team discussing economic matters while the South African leader at the talks was the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Han van Dalsen (second from right).

## Security talks may bring pact

Pretoria Correspondent

Talks on security between South Africa and Mozambique in Pretoria yesterday appear to have cleared the way for a non-aggression pact between the two countries.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said delegates had discussed "practical ways and means of achieving peace, security and good neighbourly relations on the basis of internationally established principles of relations between sovereign states".

The security talks were part of a series of meetings in Pretoria and Maputo on bilateral issues, including economic, energy and tourism matters.

Asked whether there was a possibility that further talks

would take place on security matters in the near future, the spokesman declined to comment.

Nor would he comment on growing speculation that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, would soon meet President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

The South African delegates to the economic and tourism talks between the two countries returned from Maputo last night.

A joint statement issued before the South African delegation left the Mozambique capital said matters such as transport, migrant labour, agriculture, fisheries, tourism and finance had been discussed.



ATA  
4.09.17  
FONTE RAND DAILY MAIL  
Johannesburg  
CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## Tourism

DELEGATIONS from Mozambique and South Africa met today in Maputo for exploratory talks on the possible resumption of tourism links between the two countries.

The Mozambiquan delegation was led by the Honorable Antonio Materula, Secretary of State for Tourism, and included representatives from various departments and organisations directly or indirectly involved in this matter.

The South African delegation was headed by Mr Danie Hough, chairman of the South African Tourism Board, who was assisted by senior officials of the board, and certain members of the board, of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Department of Industries and Commerce.

The agenda covered a wide range of subjects, including the existing potential of across-border tourism flows, short and long-term projects, the upgrading of the tourist infra-structure in Mozambique, the ready availability of visa and immigration procedures, means of transportation, the possibility of the introduction of package tours for South Africans and overseas tourists visiting South Africa, and the feasibility

# Accord on economic, tourism ties

FOLLOWING discussions in Maputo yesterday between Mozambiquan and South African delegations there is a mood of confidence that the foundation has been laid for the restoration of close economic and tourism ties between the countries. These are the full texts of the communiques released after the talks.

of a limited marketing campaign within South Africa once certain requirements regarding infra-structure have been met.

Both delegations expressed their desire for further meetings and follow-up action on the subjects for discussion.

Prior to the formal meeting, the South African delegation, accompanied by the Secretary of State for Tourism and members of his delegation, visited various areas of present and future tourism development in and around Maputo, many of which were previously popular holiday destinations for South Africans. These included Inhaca Island, Ponta d'Ouro and Ponta Malongane.

The talks took place in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere, with both delegations expressing a strong desire for the resumption of tourism links between the two countries.

## Economic Affairs

A MEETING between delegations of the Republic of South Africa and the People's Republic of Mozambique took place in

Maputo today on the subject of economic relations between the two countries.

The South African delegation was led by Mr J Van Dalsen, Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Mozambican delegation by His Excellency Jacinto Veloso, Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs.

Both delegations included senior representatives of various economic sectors of the respective countries.

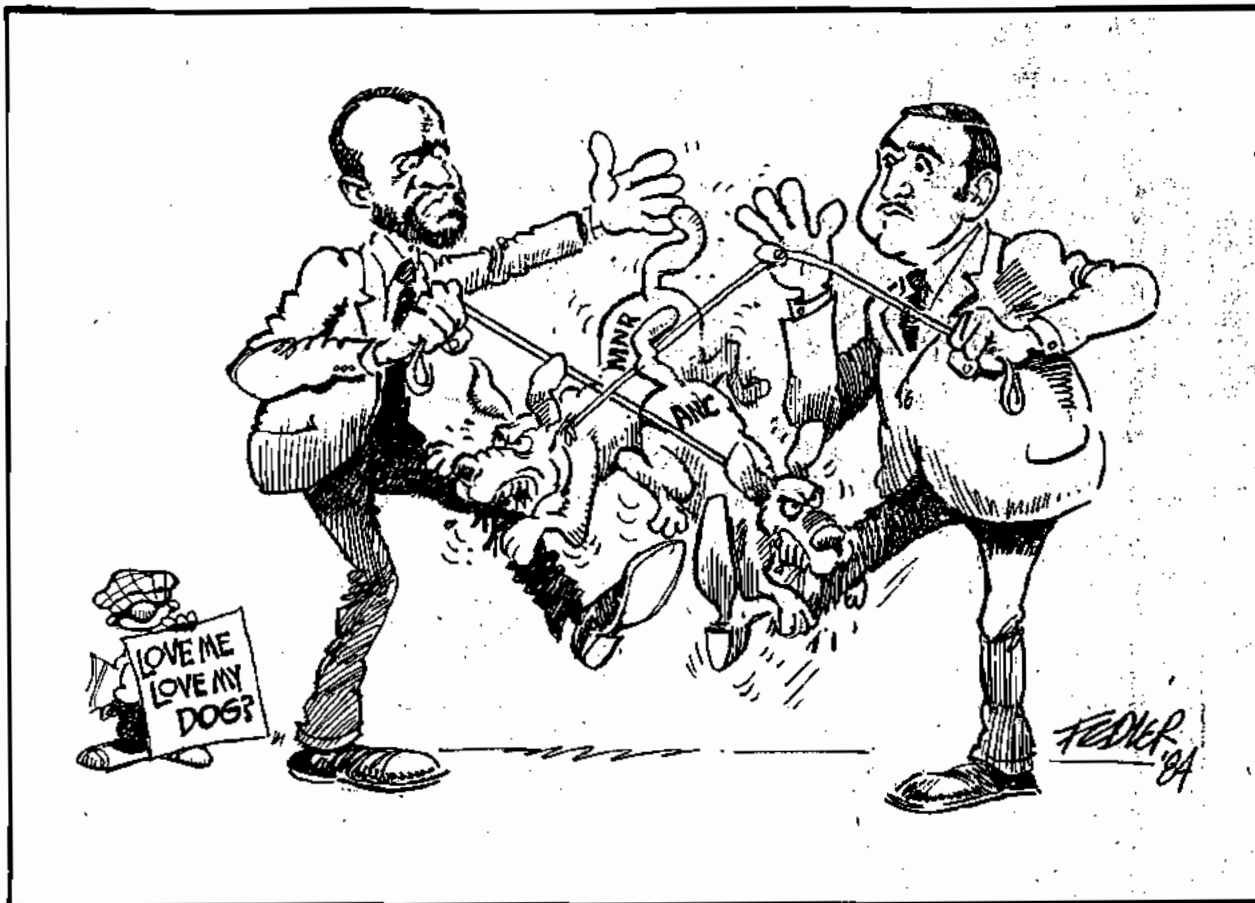
The agenda comprised questions relating to matters affecting transport, migrant labour, agriculture, fisheries, industry and commerce, finance, tourism and energy.

After deliberating in plenary session the meeting divided into working groups and subgroups in order to catalogue areas of common interest and determine concrete procedures to ensure the viability of relations in the various commercial and economic fields.

The conversations took place in a constructive atmosphere. The two delegations agreed to report to their respective governments the outcome of today's proceedings.

MINISTÉRIO DOS PORTOS E TRANSPORTES DE SUPERFÍCIE  
DEPARTAMENTO DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO E INFORMAÇÃO

DATA 18 Jan. 84	FONTE The Star (Jhb)	CLASSIFICAÇÃO
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FONTE

RAND DAILY MAIL  
Johannesburg

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Rand DAILY MAIL

JOHANNESBURG, TUESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1984

Top-level meetings pave way for new ties

## SA, Maputo in anti-terror pact

By GERALD REILLY and

JOSE CAETANO in Pretoria and  
PATRICK LAURENCE in Maputo

AFTER eight hours of discussions, top-level South African and Mozambican delegates agreed at security talks in Pretoria yesterday that neither state should serve as a springboard for violence against the other.

And, in separate talks in Maputo, the scene was set for talks in Lisbon between South Africa, Mozambique and Portugal on the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme — and for further talks between South Africa and Mozambique on economic matters.

A short communique was issued on the Pretoria talks last night.

The communique said: "Following a meeting in Swaziland on December 12 between Ministers of both countries, delegations met at Pretoria yesterday for discussion on practical ways and means of achieving peace and security and good relationships between the two countries on the basis of internationally established principles of relations between sovereign states."

It added: "They considered measures to be taken in order that the territories of neither state should serve as a springboard for aggression and violent action against the other. They also discussed practical mechanisms to ensure the implementation of the objective as well as the continuity of the process."

The delegations will report to their respective Governments.

Discussions in Maputo yesterday went without any major hitches and the mood in the South African camp was one of confidence that the foundation had been laid for the restoration of the close economic ties which once existed between the two countries.

The entry of Portugal into talks on Cahora Bassa flows from Portugal's administration of the scheme and its huge financial stake of about R740-million in it. The complex was constructed during Portugal's colonial rule of Mozambique.

Sabotage of Cahora Bassa by allegedly

South African-backed insurgents of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) means that it cannot sell electricity to South Africa, which delays redemption by Mozambique of the R740-million debt to Portugal.

Portugal, a major victim of the sabotage, played a key role in initiating the rapprochement between South Africa and Mozambique when the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, visited Portugal late last year.

It began with the pre-Christmas meeting in Swaziland between the South African and Mozambican teams and was further consolidated in Maputo yesterday.

The anticipated next round of bilateral talks on economic matters will probably see South African participation at Ministerial level, official sources said yesterday.

The vital security talks between South Africa and Mozambique began just before 11am behind closed doors at a Government guest house — barely an hour after the arrival from Maputo of the Mozambique delegates.

The South African delegation was led by Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee, Commissioner of Police, while the Mozambican delegation was led by Colonel José Oscar Montelro, Minister of Justice and member of Frelimo's 11-man Political Bureau.

A source in the Mozambican delegation to the Pretoria talks told journalists on their arrival in Maputo last night that the talks had been "highly positive and constructive", but that there was still "a lot to be done".

The delegation arrived back in the Mozambican capital at 7.30pm on board their special aircraft from Pretoria.

In Maputo the South Africa delegation on Cahora Bassa and other economic matters was led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Han Van Dalsen. The Mozambican team was headed by Major-General Jacinto Veloso, Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs.

Leaders of the teams in the talks on tourism were Mr Danie Hough, chairman of the SA Tourism Board, and Mr Antonio Materrulla.

Mozambique Secretary of State for Tourism.

The talks on economic matters started with a plenary session but later delegates broke into smaller teams to discuss transport, migrant labour (there are about 61 000 Mozambican contract workers in South Africa legally and an unknown number of

Go to Page 2



Graeme Pollock holds a crucial diving chance at the day of the third Test at the Wanderers Stadium.



Flanked by aides, the Director General of Foreign Affairs and leader of the SA delegation at the talks in Maputo yesterday, Mr J Van alsen, (fourth from the left) listens pensively at the plenary session on economic affairs.



Dr. JOSÉ MONTEIRO Minister of Justice and delegation leader.



Some of the Mozambican delegates at yesterday's Pretoria talks. From left Maj Chongo of the border guards; Mr Francisco Madeira, Ambassador to Tanzania; Maj-Gen António Hama Thal, Chief of the Air Force; Maj-Gen Saleto Teodoro Nalambano, Deputy Minister of Security; Col Oscar Monteiro, delegation leader; Col Sérgio Vieira, Deputy Minister of the Defence; and Lieut-Col Fernando Honwana, President's personal assistant.

# Delegates plunge into key meeting

By JOSE CAETANO

THE vital security talks yesterday between South Africa and Mozambique began just before 11am behind closed doors at a Government guest house — barely an hour after the arrival from Maputo of the Mozambique delegates.

The South African delegation was led by Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee, Commissioner of Police, while the Mozambique delegation was led by Colonel José Oscar Monteiro, Minister of Justice and member of Frelimo's 11-man Political Bureau.

Other South African delegates included the Secretary-General of the Prime Minister's Office, Dr J P Roux; the Chief of Staff Operations of the SA Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson; Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ray Klien; Mr E W van Zyl of the security service, Mr J M Spuurwater, Mr W van der Waal, and Mr André Bosman from the Department of Foreign Affairs, who was secretary of the meeting.

The Mozambique delegation included two men who featured in the defence force leadership promotions announced by President Samora Machel early on Sunday morning. They are Colonel Sérgio Vieira, one of the two new deputy Defence Ministers, and the newly-appointed Chief of the Mozambique Air Force, Major-General António Hama Thal.

Other members were: Major-general Saleto Teodoro Nalambano, Deputy Minister of Security; Lieutenant Colonel Fernando Honwana, the Swaziland-educated personal assistant to President Samora Machel; Mr Francisco Madeira, Mozambique Ambassador to Tanzania; Mr A Chissano, of the Cabinet of the Presidency in Maputo and brother of the Mozambique's Foreign Minister Major-General Joaquim Chissano; and Major J Chongo of the Mozambique Border Guards.

The Mozambique delega-

tion was driven into the Waterkloof Guest House at 10am, half an hour after arriving at the Waterkloof Air Base outside Pretoria.

Immediately after arriving at the guest house, the visiting delegation sat down for tea with the South African negotiating team already assembled there.

Earlier a contingent of Mozambique Press, radio and television men, the first to have visited South Africa since their country's independence, landed at Wonderboom Airport aboard a Highlander aircraft of the Mozambique internal air carrier (TTA).

At 10.30am, with both delegations already seated at the long table of the narrow ground floor room, the first batch of the large Press and television crowd waiting outside was admitted for 10 minutes.

The identities of those in the Mozambique delegation were kept confidential until their arrival, with even Mozambique Pressmen kept in the dark.

On the Mozambique side of the table only Col Oscar Monteiro appeared to have a thick dossier in front of him, while on the South African side most of the delegates appeared to have more than just writing paper.

While Pressmen sought out vantage points, the two delegations engaged in small talk, with Gen Johan Coetzee asking both Col Monteiro and Col Vieira for their impressions of the trip.

Soon after, the conversation became general, with the South Africans leading the way.

A well-informed source in Pretoria speculated that the choice of the narrow ground floor room, in preference to other larger and spacious rooms in the complex, could indicate the desire of both delegations to meet in a more rapport-inducing venue.

The two delegations stayed locked in negotiations until late yesterday afternoon.

## Cahora talks may move to Lisbon

□ From Page 1

legal workers), agriculture, fisheries, industry and commerce, finance, tourism and energy.

In his introductory remarks, Gen Veloso told the South Africans: "We interpret our presence in Maputo... as indicative of the intention of the South African Government to engage in activities to put an end to violence and escalating war."

He added: "The historic relationship between Mozam-

bique and South Africa shows that there have always been common interests strongly manifested in the economic and trade context."

In his reply, Mr Van Dalsen assured the Mozambicans that South Africa wanted to restore the economic co-operation which had existed in the past.

A joint communiqué on the economic talks said: "The conversations took place in a constructive atmosphere. The two delegations agreed to report to their respective governments on the outcome

of today's proceedings."

Tourism used to be an important money-spinner for Mozambique but gradually declined in the 1970s, due first to raids into Mozambique by the Rhodesian forces of Mr Ian Smith and then to the activities of the MNR.

In 1978 tourism was reported to have ceased altogether. Since then, however, Mozambique has tried to regain some of its old tourist customers from South Africa.

According to an official

statement, the tourism talks included discussions on "visa and immigration procedures" — presumably with a view to speeding them up — and on the possibility of introducing "package tours" for South Africans and for overseas visitors to South Africa.

The statement added: "The talks took place in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere, with both delegations expressing a strong desire for the resumption of tourism links between the two countries."



DATA	FONTE	CLASSIFICAÇÃO
16 Jan. 84	The Star (Jub.)	



The Polana Hotel still gleams among the palm trees on the cliffs above Maputo.



The Machel Mincer: death to bandits, blackmarketeers and saboteurs.

# Those cold Maputo beers are waiting

By Brendan Nicholson  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

Two South African Railways employees clutching cold beers watch a shapely young woman, who happens to be coloured, dive gracefully into the clear waters of Maputo's Polana Hotel pool.

"Man, that's enough to make you vote Prog," one says.

The SAR men, along with assorted Bulgarians, Russians, Rumanians and other grey people, can enjoy the remaining sights and delights of a Mozambique which once welcomed prawn and Vinho Verde-guzzling South Africans.

However, those sea-starved Transvaal and Free State inhabitants, who see the talks between Pretoria and Maputo as the signal to resume their dashes to Mozambique for a feast of sun, surf and seafood, may be disappointed.

Mozambique badly needs the foreign exchange a restored tourist industry would bring, but it is likely to be some time before the Frelimo authorities relax their controls enough to permit large-scale tourism.

Mozambican officials have said that in the short term they would prefer to use their limited resources to attract

organised groups of big spenders who can be well looked after in a coastal resort rather than open up the whole country as an inexpensive seaside playground.

At the end of the Rhodesian war, Mozambique reopened the State-run Maloseni tourist camp and many Zimbabweans returned home delighted with the service, food and facilities there.

However, expansion was prevented by the anti-Frelimo Mozambique National Resistance, whose attacks have frequently cut communications and made travel dangerous.

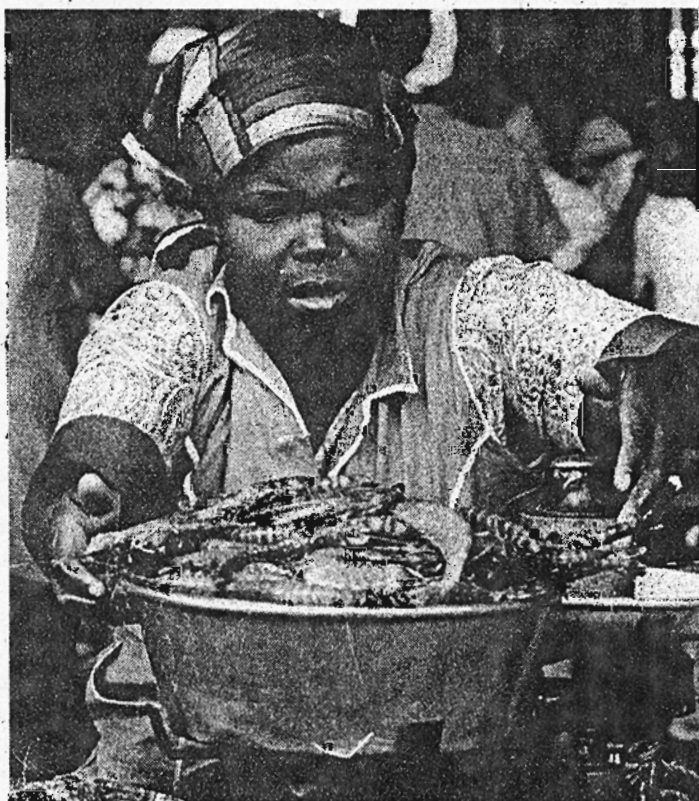
A revived Mozambican tourist industry will probably be based on the still-plush Polana Hotel.

Taken over by the State after independence, the Polana suffered initially at the hands of an inexperienced management.

Then the government became worried about the bad impression given by its gleaming showpiece and asked a European company to take over. Efficiency improved.

Now, the Polana is packed with diplomats, international agency officials and businessmen.

Safari-suited gentlemen from South Africa rub briefcases with technicians from



The old days — prawns sold by the basinful in the market of Lourenço Marques.

behind the Iron Curtain in rumpled grey.

But not everything has changed.

Occasionally a venerable waiter will, casting a cautious glance over his shoulder, wistfully bemoan the passing of "those days" and that chrome cake trolley still does the rounds.

Prawns and other seafood

feature on the menu most days, although items like steak are often in short supply.

Twice a week, an influx of new arrivals off direct flights between Jan Smuts and Mavalane International Airport swelter in the humidity and stumble over the never-to-be forgotten plea: "Uma cerveja fria, por favour!"



FONTE

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

RUND DAILY MAIL (JRB.)

THE OUTCOME of the talks between South Africa and Mozambique hangs on Monday's negotiations in Pretoria on security matters.

Both South Africa and Mozambique have made clear that only a successful outcome to the Pretoria talks will make possible any agreement in the other areas of negotiation.

For success to be achieved at Monday's negotiations, it is clear that Mozambique will have to assure and satisfy South Africa that it will not allow the African National Congress to operate militarily from its territory, while on the other hand Mozambique will demand that South Africa cease any further aid to the rebel Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR).

It is believed the two countries are in fact already in broad agreement on these two points and that the negotiations will consist mainly of working out mechanisms for verifying compliance.

Basic agreement was reached at the last round of high-level talks held in Swaziland on December 20.

Mozambique has repeatedly accused South Africa of being responsible for the MNR; South Africa has denied it.

South Africa in its turn has repeatedly accused Mozambique of allowing the ANC to operate from its territory.

It has on three occasions launched retaliatory attacks in the Maputo area in response to ANC bomb blasts in South Africa, although Mozambique has always denied that the ANC operates militarily from its territory.

The importance which Mozambique attaches to the talks has been a strong feature of all of President Samora Machel's speeches in recent weeks.

At a private reception held in Maputo on December 31, attended by his most senior Ministers involved in the negotiations, the Mozambican President referred to the talks

## Security will top agenda at the SA-Maputo talks

By JOSÉ CAETANO



Major-General Jacinto Soares Veloso is Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs and a member of Frelimo's 11-men Political Bureau. Mozambican-born Gen Veloso is a former Portuguese Air Force officer. He defected to Tanzania in 1963 to join Frelimo, together with Mr Joao dos Santos Ferreira, the present Mozambican Minister of Agriculture, who is also white. Gen Veloso led the Mozambican delegation at last month's talks with SA in Swaziland

In what may herald a major rapprochement, top South African and Mozambican officials meet in Maputo today to discuss the possible revival of the once thriving tourist trade between the two countries. Today's talks serve as a prelude to high-level negotiations in Pretoria and Maputo on Monday on security matters, economic affairs and the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme

in these terms: "1984 will be the year of peace and tranquility for Mozambique and Southern Africa."

"The Popular Republic of Mozambique will co-ordinate its (diplomatic) efforts with its neighbours, namely Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania."

"We will find a 'modus vivendi' with the other neighbour — the Republic of South Africa".

In a seeming reference

to doubts that might exist in some quarters within the ruling Frelimo party about the benefits of the talks with South Africa, President Machel explained that it was "imperative to try to find some sort of understanding between the two countries within the framework of mutual respect, by identifying mutual interests between the two countries at State level as well as concerning economics."

"By consolidating peace in Mozambique and in Southern Africa we shall be able to make a contribution to world peace, because we are struggling for peace, well-being and progress between people."

Among those present at the reception were Lieutenant-General Armando Guebuza, Minister of the Interior; Major-General Mariano Matsinhe, Minister of Security; Colonel Oscar Monteiro, Minister of Justice; and Lieuten-

DATA 10.07.79	FONTE STAR Johannesburg	CLASSIFICAÇÃO
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# Lowveld holds thumbs as Maputo talks start

By Clyde Johnson,  
Lowveld Bureau

Traffic at Lebombo — reduced to a trickle after Mozambique's independence in 1974 — is bound to increase if the present top-level talks between South Africa and Mozambique succeed.

Before independence it was not unusual to see hundreds of motorists in queues 3 km long patiently waiting to have their travel documents cleared before entering Mozambique.

The relaxed Continental atmosphere, excellent fishing, picturesque beaches and famous LM prawns were but a few of the reasons for holiday-makers flocking to Mozambique via Lebombo.

## SUDDEN CHANGE

Every long weekend was a good reason to visit Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) and many South African "regulars" built their own flats or holiday cottages which seldom

stood empty.

Then suddenly, in 1974, all changed with Mozambique's independence after the Frelimo takeover.

Road signs in the Lowveld no longer pointed to Lourenço Marques. They showed the way only to Komatipoort or Lebombo and talk was the closest fishermen got to Inyaka, a once famous fishing resort in Mozambique.

Since 1974 the Lebombo border post has ground to a virtual standstill.

## TRAIN SERVICE

On occasions only five vehicles a day entered from South Africa and one or two returned from Mozambique.

Trucks loaded with mealie meal, bread, medical supplies and other basic essentials — sent by Reef mineworkers to their starving families in Maputo — are the only vehicles that regularly enter Mozambique.

Embassy and United Nations officials make up the rest of the traffic.

The only passenger train service is the daily connection at Komatipoort which transports mineworkers to and from the South African mines.

Lowvelders, obviously delighted at the possibility of tourism being reintroduced to Mozambique, say it will greatly benefit the region.

But Mr Fred Oostergetel, a Nelspruit businessman who for many years lived and worked in Lourenço Marques, was less optimistic.

"Naturally it would be good if everything returned to normal, but the Mozambicans just do not have the facilities to accommodate thousands of visitors," he said.

"Buildings have deteriorated to the extent where they are uninhabitable, food is scarce and I cannot see them giving visitors the free access that would entice them to Mozambique."

Mr Oostergetel said the first visitors to Mozambique would probably be fishermen.

"These people bring their own food and drink and camp on the beaches ... they are not really the moneyspenders the Mozambicans would like to see in their country," he said.

Lowveld farmers have also welcomed the Maputo talks and have expressed the hope that it could lead to an easing of the labour situation.

Although organised agriculture last year was compelled to find an alternative labour for security reasons, Mozambican labour is still considered the most suitable.

Nelspruit's member of Parliament, Mr Dolf Mare, also expressed his satisfaction with the talks.

"It can only be to the benefit of both countries if, as neighbours, we can work together in harmony," he said.

ATA 12-11-77	FONTE STAR Johannesburg	CLASSIFICAÇÃO
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# Mozambique holidays will be delayed and may be dull

By Richard Paris and Stephen McQuillan

Holidaymakers will have to wait 18 months before they can rediscover Mozambique, or even longer if a huge injection of cash is not made available by South Africa.

And they will have to forget the Latin colonial bonhomie — it has gone for ever.

These are the views of leading travel industry executives and sources close to the current top-level talks between representatives of the two governments.

Speaking after a recent inspection of tourist sites, a Johannesburg businessman said: "Only some of the hotels and resorts of the old days are

still open. These have deficiencies but they can be rectified.

"The infrastructure has run down and unless new hotels are built, the country will attract the type it had before — caravanners, campers and mostly guesthouse visitors."

He described Mozambique as having tremendous potential but did not think it could be a threat to domestic tourism.

The risqué nightlife of old Lourenco Marques and Beira will not be restored. The bar-girls have been "re-educated" and the famous waterfront "Sin Street" bars and nightclubs transformed.

## MNR puts damper on bilateral security talks

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

LISBON — Mozambican rebels have poured cold water on the Pretoria-Maputo talks, issued an unprecedented call for negotiations with the Marxist government and claimed new victories on the battlefield.

In a statement released today, the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) said: "The talks between South Africa and Mozambique do not appear to have any possibility of bringing a climate of peace and healthy development to Mozambique because it is MNR, not South Africa, which makes war in Mozambique."

The statement said the bilateral security talks had no future "because South Africa is not the

master of the future" of the guerrilla movement, nor did the movement operate from bases in South Africa.

In an accompanying statement, the guerrillas claimed they killed 147 government soldiers and captured five more in widespread fighting last week. It said its forces seized five small towns during the operation.

In Maputo itself, the Mozambican Press continues to highlight the damage done by "South African-backed bandits".

The official Mozambican news agency, AIM, claimed today that over the past 18 months, attacks by MNR troops have forced 61 primary schools and nine health posts to close in the Zambezia province alone.

● See Pages 6 and 11,  
World section.

Up to 600 000 tourists a year visited Mozambique from Rhodesia and South Africa in the pre-independence heyday and in the early 1970s South Africans alone brought in R40 million.

Only 2 618 South Africans visited the country in 1980.

A senior travel industry executive said Mozambique lacked hard currency.

"They face problems when it comes to buying sophisticated Western goods.

"The resorts need a lot of money for improvements."

The president of the Association of Southern African Travel Agents, Mr Peter Botterill, said he was optimistic about the talks and added: "I cannot see group travel as such being established successfully. Mozambique is too close."

South Africans wanting to visit Mozambique now require a visa which can be obtained only for business.

Applications could take over six weeks.

DATA

FONTE

THE CITIZEN

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

20 Jan. 1984

Johannesburg

# Glimmer of hope for Mozambican peace

By IAIN CHRISTIE

MAPUTO. — After nearly a decade of embattled independence, a broad new dialogue with South Africa has brought a glimmer of hope for peace in Mozambique, which has had little for 20 years.

A 10-year struggle against Portuguese colonial rule brought independence in 1975, only to be followed by five years of involvement in the bloody guerrilla war to end White rule in neighbouring Zimbabwe.

Escalating antagonism with South Africa, openly hostile to the fledgling State's avowed Marxist policies, was matched in the late 1970's by increased guerrilla activity by armed dissidents opposed to President Samora Machel's Government.

Mozambique charges that the dissidents, members of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), are armed, trained and funded by South Africa. Pretoria denies the accusations.

## Heavy strain

Once confined to the south-west corner of Mozambique, military officials have recently acknowledged they are now active in at least half of the country and their sabotage raids are putting

a heavy strain on the economy.

Western diplomats in the region believe a combination of the need to curb MNR activities and to reverse the country's economic decline has prompted Mr Machel to improve relations with Pretoria.

Monday's unprecedented talks in Maputo and Pretoria on security, economic and other issues stemmed from contacts last year between officials from both countries in Swaziland and the South African border town of Komatipoort, once the gateway for thousands of South Africans flocking to holidays on Mozambique's beaches.

The diplomats said South Africa also stood to gain by a better relationship with Mozambique if the Machel Government pledged to bar the African National Congress from operating militarily from its territory.

South African forces have carried out attacks on alleged ANC bases in and around Maputo in recent years.

A joint communique issued at the end of Monday's talks in Pretoria was seen by officials in Maputo as indicating that agreement had been reached on some form of security stand-off.

The delegations "considered measures to be taken in order that the

territory of neither state should serve as a springboard for aggression and violent actions against the other," it said.

From the Mozambique government's point of view, Pretoria's alleged support for the MNR is the fundamental obstacle to achieving peaceful co-existence with South Africa, apart from apartheid.

## "End support"

In a New Year message to the nation, Mr Machel said "We have restated to the South African authorities that the establishment of good neighbourliness between... Mozambique and... South Africa will necessarily depend on the cessation of South African support for the armed bandits which the Pretoria regime recruits, trains, finances, equips and leads in order to unleash criminal actions against our sovereign State".

According to Mozambican officials, an end to Pretoria's support for the MNR would improve chances of peace and dramatically improve Mozambique's economic situation.

Officials in Maputo say the MNR was formed shortly after Mozambican independence in Rhodesia by the then White government's secret services.

With an end to the guerrilla war and inde-

pendence for Zimbabwe in 1980, the MNR forces were taken to camps in South Africa, from where they continued and intensified their operations, the officials claimed.

The government in Maputo makes no secret that the MNR attacks have had a devastating effect on the economy and social fabric of Mozambique.

Road and rail routes between landlocked neighbouring countries and Mozambique's ports have been a favourite target for attack and the country has lost vital revenue through disruption of traffic.

## Blister blow

Key agricultural complexes are frequently attacked. Western diplomatic sources say tea exports this year will be only half the target because of MNR intimidation of plantation workers in Eastern Zambezia province, a bitter blow as Mozambican tea is now fetching an unusually good price on the London market.

The country's second city, Beira, is often without electricity because of the sabotage of power lines and farm produce often cannot reach Maputo because of constant attacks on roads in the farming areas to the north.

"As a result of this re-

duction in economic activity, our capacity to import the normal requirement for our economy was reduced," President Machel said in his New Year message.

MNR attacks on farms, villages, buses and trains have also caused considerable social disruption. Authorities say young men are often kidnapped and forced to take part in such attacks, making it impossible for them to return to their villages.

The dialogue with Pretoria has taken place at a time, however, when officials in Maputo believe they have borne the worst the guerrillas can offer.

## Improvement

President Machel said last month that army offensives in 1983 had broken MNR forces into small groups that could not operate so effectively and were being persistently harassed.

There are visible signs of an improvement in the security situation. For the first time in more than two years, motorists recently began driving all the way from Maputo to Beira, 1 200 km to the north, and a bus service has resumed.

In recent months, local and foreign reporters have been taken to see more than a dozen captured MNR bases.

Alongside a military offensive against the MNR, which President Machel has vowed to continue this year, diplomats in Maputo see the dialogue with South Africa as an attempt to cut off the hand that feeds the dissidents.

President Machel has said he made clear to Pretoria before talks in Swaziland on December 20 that Mozambique would not recognise South Africa's Black Homelands or drop its "political, moral and diplomatic support" for the ANC.

Diplomats noted, however, that this left him room to manoeuvre on the question of military activity. But the dialogue will not be without political cost, they added.

Mozambique is one of the Front-line states seeking independence for SWA/Namibia and belongs to the Southern Africa

Development and Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), a regional group which seeks to reduce members' economic dependence on South Africa.

Regional political analysts noted that closer, amicable links with a country so hostile in the past would be a major breakthrough for the Pretoria Government.

They added that the need for pragmatism and the economic constraints faced by all countries of the region would be understood by leaders in nearby capitals such as Harare, Lusaka and Dar Es Salaam. — Sapa-Reuter.

DATA 01-84	FONTE AED LONDON	CLASSIFICAÇÃO
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13 AED 20 JANUARY 1984

(London)

NEWS FEATURE  
MOZAMBIQUE

'Friendly' talks make progress . . . but security comes first

BY ANTONIO JOHALA IN MAPUTO

PROGRESS at the 16 January talks between Mozambique and South Africa appears to have been "satisfactory," with understandings reached on security and tourism and the promise of tripartite talks with Portugal on the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric scheme (AED 13:1:84).

The talks' importance — to both sides — as a possible first step towards improved regional stability was reflected in delegations headed by members of the highest political bodies. The Mozambican teams in Pretoria and Maputo were led by Frelimo politburo members — Justice Minister Jose Oscar Mineiro and Minister in the President's Office for Economic Affairs Jacinto Veloso. South Africa sent two members of its State Security Council — police commissioner General Johan Coetzee was in Pretoria, foreign affairs director-general Johan van Dalsen in Maputo.

Both sides made it clear before the talks that progress on security was fundamental to any improvement in the economic sphere. This link was reiterated by Veloso at the opening of the Maputo talks, when he told the South Africans: "We interpret your presence here as proof of the intention of the South African government to carry out actions to end the violence and the escalating war."

The final statement from the Pretoria security talks made clear that some understanding had been reached to trade reduced South African support for the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) for reduced support by Frelimo for the African National Congress (ANC). Couched in unusually strong terms, the statement said the talks "had considered means to be taken in order that the territory of neither state should serve as a springboard for aggression and violence against the other." It went on to note that

the two sides "discussed practical mechanisms to ensure the implementation of these objectives." This is the first time there has been any suggestion of a willingness to limit ANC or MNR activities.

The Maputo talks centred on the working groups dealing with tourism, Cahora Bassa and the economy. The tourism talks, which began on 13 January, were expected to be the first to produce tangible results. In the final communique both sides "expressed a strong desire for the resumption of tourism."

An important questionmark appears to hang over the form tourism will take, however. South Africa is pushing for "ready availability" of visas to permit South African families with beach houses in Mozambique to use them as they did under Portuguese rule. But this is the least profitable end of the market for Mozambique which is trying to introduce upmarket and more profitable package tours and to persuade South Africa to invest in the necessary infrastructure.

The South African delegation visited Inhaca island, near Maputo, and Ponta Malongane — both once popular with South Africans and recently rehabilitated by Mozambique. Mozambique is also reported to have offered to let a South African firm take over Santa Carolina — or "paradise" — island.

The Cahora Bassa talks were described as an "informal" meeting between Energy Minister Antonio Branco and the director-general of South Africa's state Electricity Supply Corporation (Escom), which takes 98 per cent of Cahora Bassa's output. They agreed to tripartite talks with Portugal, which still controls the dam.

Although Mozambique sees itself largely a spectator on this issue, it is participating in the talks to gain some

increased advantage — in particular South African agreement to reduce its purchases. This would enable Mozambique to increase its own electricity use and possibly sell some power to Zimbabwe.

Although the economic working groups have the most long-term potential, the talks were reported to be "superficial." South Africa came with no concrete proposals. It was apparently more concerned to hear what concessions Mozambique was prepared to make in exchange for security concessions.

Even so, the five subgroups that met under the umbrella of the Maputo talks indicate the main areas of interest to both sides. These were:

- ☐ migrant labour — South Africa would like to return to the government-to-government agreements of colonial times;
- ☐ fishing — South Africa would like licences for boats now fishing illegally off Mozambique;
- ☐ ports and transport — Mozambique would like both investment and increased use by South Africa, and
- ☐ industry and agriculture — Mozambique would like South African investment.

There are clearly wide differences about the way economic links should be improved. Both sides refer back to the colonial past, when Mozambique was highly dependent on South Africa. However, while van Dalsen talked of the need to "resuscitate" these links, Veloso emphasised that the first step was to establish "the principle that we now talk as equals."

Although the Maputo talks were only exploratory, both sides at least appeared pleased with their friendly tone. Talks are expected to continue, with the next round likely to include more South African ministers, according to reports from Johannesburg.

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FONTE STAR

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

Curitiba / REVILV

Saturday January 21 1984

## ISSUE OF THE WEEK: THE MOZAMBIQUE TALKS

# Prawns in the game

Tourism (and a lot of other factors) are a major element of the startling round of talks currently taking place between South Africa and Mozambique. It's all very confusing, reports **BRENDAN NICHOLSON.**

**MAPUTO** — As South African and Mozambican officials concluded their talks in Maputo this week a "journalist" from the Russian news agency, Tass, loudly pleaded with unsympathetic Pretoria representatives for a copy of the end of day communique in English.

He was politely told to get lost.

Presumably the Tass man's masters are as confused as everyone else seems to be about the apparent upheaval in foreign policy that has seen officials from Pretoria feted in Mozambique mere months after South African Air Force jets blasted Maputo's industrial suburb of Matola.

If this abrupt improvement in relations can be taken at face value it raises a host of questions which may have dramatic implications for every country in Southern Africa.

Clearly there would be enormous advantages for both South Africa and Mozambique in "normalised" relations.

### Financial considerations outweigh other issues

Historically both countries are bound together by economic links going back to the days of voortrekker Louis Trichardt, and it is likely that hard, financial facts have outweighed all other issues in Maputo minds.

Pretoria would be delighted to cut what it claims is a main ANC guerilla conduit to South Africa through Mozambique.

The rulers of Mozambique who, despite what many South Africans think of them, are in the main reasonable people, have faced nine unbroken years of conflict since independence in 1975.

Their ambitious plans for universal health and education services were stalled first by the Rhodesian cross-border attacks and since then by the guerillas of the Mozambique National Resistance.

It has also become clear in Maputo that no matter how praiseworthy such programmes are they have to be paid for.

On top of that, estimates of the number of



Beer and prawns on the verandah of the Polono Hotel — that was once the tourist ideal of thousands of South Africans. It

could become a reality again. The Polono, pictured above this week, still looks much the same.

Mozambicans who have starved to death in two years of drought range from 40 000 to 100 000.

Empty bellies have always been a greater cause of discontent than any degree of political or economic dissatisfaction.

South African tourists and exporters have money so it makes sense to invite them back to Mozambique.

Mozambique has suffered further grave economic losses because of the steadily decreasing South African use of the port of Maputo.

In 1973 about six million tons of exports from the Johannesburg Reef area passed through Maputo. By 1980 that figure had dropped to four million and in 1982 it was below two million tons.

While the mutual benefits of "normalisation" are obvious, the whole deal hinges on a security agreement with Pretoria being asked to stop the support — which it says it does not give — for the MNR rebels.

The quid pro quo would be a Mozambican guarantee that it would not give material help the African National Congress.

President Samora Machel has stressed that his government will continue to give "moral, political and diplomatic support".

He also pointed out that he viewed the ANC in two entirely different lights.

The ANC was fighting a just fight, he said, while the MNR was simply "an extension of the South African armed forces".

If a formal agreement is reached what will happen to the ANC?

Cut off from external bases it would be forced to rely much more heavily on whatever infrastructure it has within South Africa.

If Pretoria is satisfied that Maputo is doing its best to prevent the ANC using its territory as a springboard for attacks and if there is a repeat of the Pretoria bomb blast anyway then who is the SADF going to retaliate against next?

Similarly, Mozambican officials admit that guerilla-style operations are carried out by two roughly separate groups.

Turn to Page 2



# The key men in the Mozambique talks

**MAPUTO** — Many South Africans who have been taught to view President Samora Machel as a sort of leftist Genghis Khan may be understandably confused by his role in the current negotiations between Pretoria and Maputo.

They might also have trouble comprehending exactly how Machel and his own bawly Foreign Minister, Mr P W Botha, were able to find sufficient common ground to prepare the way for this week's talks.

Those who know Machel reasonably well say that he is, in fact, a man of considerable charm, charisma and bonhomie.

He has also showed a surprising degree of sympathy for the fears of white South Africans whom, he says, are Africans, and must be guaranteed a place on the continent.

Freelance goodwill and moderation throughout his recent European tour, the former guerrilla commander turned president clearly impressed his hosts.

The Portuguese awarded him the Grand Sash of the Order of the Infante Dom Henrique (better known



Mr Jacinto Veloso.

as Henry the Navigator) and in London he was invested with the insignia of a Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St Michael and St George.

He also had lunch with the Queen. Though Machel was not seen publicly involved in this week's meetings it is clear that much of the groundwork for the current meetings was covered in Europe through his indirect contacts, through various governments, with P W Botha.

A key figure more directly involved in the official contacts is a tough former Portuguese Air Force pilot who is a senior member of Mo-



President Samora Machel.

zambique's multiracial government.

Mr Jacinto Veloso, Mozambican Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs, and a member of the ruling Politburo, has played a dramatic role in the affairs of the Fretilimo party for more than 20 years.

He first came under the international spotlight in March, 1963, when he flew his Harvard aircraft to Tanzania (then Tanganyika) to join the Mozambican rebels who were organising their guerrilla army there.

The young pilot declared that he had come "to join the opposition and fight against the Salazar regime".

Veloso was, however, arrested by the Tanzanian authorities, who did not at first believe he was a genuine defector, and he spent several months in jail.

He then rose quickly through Fretilimo's ranks and is believed to have played a major role in planning the tactics used by the guerrillas to counter the major military offensive launched by the Portuguese forces in northern Mozambique in 1968.

After the territory became independent in 1975 Mr Veloso held several key posts including the leadership of the national security agency, SNAEP.

Another key figure behind the scenes is Mozambique's Lieutenant-General Sebastião Marcos Mabote, another Politburo member, who is Deputy Defence Minister.

Mabote served in the Portuguese forces before joining Fretilimo in Europe and later trained in Russia.

He later played a major role in formulating Fretilimo's defensive tactics.

## Issue of the week (contd): Prawns in the game

They say that while the MNR attacks are co-ordinated by Pretoria, other ambushes are carried out by gangs of common criminals, some of whom appear to be former guerrillas turned bandit.

Another question raised by the sudden flurry of activity is just what happens to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) which was established to allow the black-ruled nations of Southern Africa to break Pretoria's stranglehold on their economies.

Two landlocked SADCC countries, Zambia and Zimbabwe, have been particularly hard hit by MNR attacks on their road and rail routes to the coast along the Mutema-Beira corridor.

It is a little ironic that if the MNR is "trained-in" by Pretoria and the ambushes stop then these countries will be able to divert the large proportion of their exports they now send through South Africa to Beira or Maputo.

South Africa is believed to be willing to give considerable economic help to Mozambique, possibly even private investment to help rebuild the tourist industry's infrastructure once it receives guarantees that there will be no more nationalisations and that capital can be repatriated.

Members of the Mozambican government see South Africa's internal situation as vastly different to that of Rhodesia. Rhodesia's was a "colonial

situation" while Mr P W Botha's government was legally-constituted.

Machel himself has frequently been at pains to state publicly that whites in the republic were "every bit as African as I am" and had as much right to stay on the continent as he had.

While Mozambique is in many ways an economic nightmare by Western standards it has one essential quality lacking through much of the Third World, financial discipline.

The Machel government has avoided spending money it does not have even if it has meant allowing drastic shortages to continue.

Mozambique could teach South African visitors a lot about racial and sexual equality.

There every educated person, black or white, male or female is needed at every level right through to top government.

Several of the ministers and key officials with whom South Africa is negotiating now happen to be white.

The South African journalists who strolled around Maputo posing for pictures with their arms around Fretilimo soldiers found Mozambique a friendly place.

There is no doubt that the average Mozambican, ideologically committed or not, would probably welcome the free-spending South African tourists back too.

But, despite the advantages, it is clear that those good old days will be a long time coming back to

## Castro thinks again

**CUBA** is taking stock of where it stands, three months after the American invasion of Grenada and 25 years after Fidel Castro's revolution.

With one less friend nearby, its sense of isolation in the face of a hostile giant 145 km to the north has returned. For a decade things were looking up for Cuba.

There was a thaw in its relations with Latin America; two neighbours, Grenada and Nicaragua, became close allies; the prospects for a revolution in El Salvador looked good. There were even brief warm-ups in its whittier relations with the United States.

Now relations with America are at their lowest point in years. The deputy foreign minister, Mr Ricardo Alarcon, claims that since Grenada, there have been more American naval manoeuvres near Cuba, more intelligence flights over it, and increasing efforts to isolate it economically.

If a political settlement in central America can be reached under the Contadora group (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama) which has led the negotiations, Cuba says it would be willing to withdraw its military personnel from Nicaragua. But, according to Mr Alarcon, the United States would be expected to do the same in El Salvador and Honduras.

Mr Castro has been forced to admit that, if Nicaragua were invaded by the United



States, he could not do more for the Sandinistas than he did for Grenada. He is worried, too, about a direct American intervention in El Salvador should a guerrilla victory there appear imminent.

This would, according to Mr Alarcon, present a possible opportunity for the United States to take a crack at Cuba. Negotiations in central America are thus preferable to an extension of the fighting.

Mr Castro seems to have given up hope that socialism will triumph in central America in the near future. Cuban officials say that the region has not yet reached a sufficient level of economic and political development.

Larger Latin American nations like Brazil and Chile are

seen as more promising territories for revolution. Capitalism there, Mr Castro claims, has produced only mammoth unpayable external debts, hunger, unemployment, inflation, and a general drop in the standard of living.

By contrast, a quarter of a century of socialism has brought Cuba an average annual growth rate of 4.7 per cent, one of the highest in Latin America.

Cuba gets an annual subsidy worth up to \$4 billion from the Soviet Union through favourable trade agreements, particularly for sugar. The Russians pay 55 cents a pound for Cuban sugar, although the world price is now seven cents.

Although Russian handouts have insulated Cuba from the world recession, the country has been caught short on \$3.3 billion worth of debt to European, Canadian and Japanese banks.

Tighter controls on political activity have been noticed by Western diplomats since the rise of Solidarity in Poland.

Mr Castro remains popular and Cuban nationalism — which has always focused on anti-Americanism — is ferocious.

Far greater, though more subtle damage could probably be achieved if the United States were to allow Americans to trade with Cuba and to go there as tourists. That would give the Cubans a taste of what they have been missing.

## Mao rides again

**Jonathan Mirsky**  
SOON after his death in September 1976, Chairman Mao's permanently embalmed corpse in its grand Peking tomb began to disintegrate. So did his reputation.

But as the late Chairman's senior comrades, many of them survivors of the murderous rages of his old age, marked his 90th birthday on December 26, what had appeared as a greater posthumous fall from the heights than Stalin's has been transformed into a measured resurrection.

Mao-memorial meetings and seminars were, in full swing from Tibet to Canton as more than one thousand national leaders, some of them ancient generals in wheelchairs, filed through the mausoleum which dominates Peking's largest square. Opened in late 1977, it represented the final apogee of a national cult to the Helmsman who had steered his country on to the rocks during the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976, a catastrophe for which the Party in 1981 held Mao chiefly responsible.

It would be easy to dismiss the birthday ceremonies as no more meaningful than the "Mao" teabags, chopsticks and pencils on sale in the mausoleum's souvenir shop. But Mao's successors have moved cautiously in dismantling his cult, taking care that the masses must not be left with a history of egomania, violence, and disgrace rather



than revolutionary struggle.

With Stalin dethroned, Russians still could look back to Lenin; without Mao, as a patriotic song went, no new China. The Party's veterans were forced to re-brighten Mao's image to justify their own past association with him, and to provide some continuity to a Party record which for many appears to be little more than abrupt change and occasional chaos.

On December 26 therefore, China's elite, many of them still devout Maoists who have been appalled at the undercutting of their hero, gathered inside the tomb where the Party's General Secretary, Hu Yaobang, and his mentor Deng Xiaoping, pose for photographers in front of a display case containing a relic — one of Mao's caps.

A teenager on the 1935 Long March, Hu recalled Mao's smiles and kindness and observed that "Comrade Mao Zedong was clearly the

greatest and most outstanding figure China has had in the past century or more."

Even the widow of Mao's most celebrated victim, Liu Shaoqi, the head of state who died in custody during the Cultural Revolution, did not shun the ceremonies, contenting herself with a dry reference to her husband's "examination" at the hands of Mao's supporters "during the 10 years of turmoil".

"Mao thought," once a ragbag of every essay, chat, and aphorism ever attributed to the Chairman, is still the touchstone for Party activists, but it has been relegated to suit the current line.

Mao was born in 1893, the astrological year of the Snake. Snake-people hate failure, it is said, and Mao is enjoying a modified posthumous success. His heirs know that China's masses long for a glittering national hero, and that still only Mao gleams brightly enough. In 1941, the Chairman compared certain Party rivals to "a blind man on a blind horse standing on the edge of a deep hole at midnight." For 50 years the Great Teacher and Helmsman believed that only he could bring China safely through the darkness, and on his 90th birthday Mao's successor as Party leader, Hu Yaobang, said of the man who had once kept him in solitary confinement: "Comrade Mao's contributions are immortal and his Thought will shine forever." □ — *London Observer Service.*

DATA

FONTE

"STAR"

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

04.02.1984

(Johannesburg)



Prime Minister P.W. Botha ...  
"I can see the possibility that  
we are entering a new era of  
realism in Southern Africa."

# We offer alternative to destruction — PW

Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — South Africa was making a genuine effort to offer its neighbours and other African nations a reasonable opportunity to bridge political differences through negotiations, the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking during the No-Confidence debate, Mr Botha said South Africa was determined to offer "a reasonable and preferable alternative to war and destruction".

Southern Africa, he said, was standing at the crossroads between confrontation and peace and there was a urgent need for countries to make their choice.

"I can see the possibility that we are entering a new era of realism in Southern Africa."

"South Africa is prepared to do its share on the

understanding that other countries in the region will also do their share."

"South Africa is a major force in the region and has no intention of apologising for its economic, industrial and military strength."

"Indeed it is South Africa's technological and economic capacity which can and should be harnessed for the benefit of all the countries in the region," he said.

South Africa offered treaties, food, trade know-how, energy, peace and co-operation. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, had brought violence and economic exploitation to every country which ever had the misfortune to fall under its influence.

"The trend to violence profits no one in Southern Africa. The only one who wants it and will benefit from it, is Moscow. I am not prepared to allow this to happen to our country."

Mr Botha appealed to people who had voted "no" in the referendum to reconsider their standpoint.

He said the outcome of the referendum was a victory for patriotism and the good judgement and purposefulness (doelgerigtheid) of voters.

"We can grasp this opportunity to fight and build for the future with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other," he said.

## 'Peace will demand sacrifices'

Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — South Africa could not dare to allow its security forces to weaken, the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, told the Assembly.

Speaking during the No-Confidence debate, Mr Botha said the police force and SADF's preparedness had to be improved and its means modernised.

He rejected "with contempt" allegations that there was something wrong with relations between the security forces and diplomatic instruments.

"We dare not maintain our diplomatic relations

in a spirit of weakness. On the contrary, diplomatic relations and co-operation with other states must be built on the principle of mutual respect, the maintenance of peaceful co-existence and by serving common interests.

"But peace, self-respect and freedom are expensive and they have to be worked at and sacrifices must be made," he said.

Mr Botha said he would not allow the security forces to become a "political football to be kicked around".

"We have to know where the enemy tries to infiltrate and be prepared," he said.

DATA	FONTE	CLASSIFICAÇÃO
02.02.1984	STAR Johannesburg	

## Optimism over Crocker-Machel talks

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

MAPUTO — The United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, is to meet President Samora Machel of Mozambique today amid cautious optimism of a breakthrough to end the Namibian independence impasse.

Dr Crocker is on a five-nation tour of Southern Africa to try and end the deadlock.

Asked about a settlement, Dr Crocker told reporters in Maputo yesterday: "We believe the window is open. There are a number of signals from many quarters in Southern Africa

that suggest people would like to try the road of peace."

AIM, the Mozambique news agency, reported him as saying he had come to Mozambique "to exchange views with one of the key leaders of the Frontline states on the effort to reduce violence and strengthen the peace process in Southern Africa".

Asked to comment on the statement by the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that he had given guarantees to Pretoria, Dr Crocker said his discussions had been "basically a reflection of our own meetings with representatives of the Angolan Government in Cape Verde."

"I wouldn't use the word 'guarantees'

so much as simply reports about the talks with Angola, and other developments which are under way."

Asked if he felt there was a consensus among Frontline leaders on points which could lead towards an early solution to the Namibian question, Dr Crocker said: "I sense that."

But he added: "I think that in different ways different governments can make a contribution, and they're very actively thinking what that might be."

He would not comment on speculation that the United States might open an embassy in Luanda. "You're right to use the word speculation."

Dr Crocker is expected to leave Mozambique today for South Africa.

DATA

21.02.84

FONTE "THE CITIZEN"

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# PW peace offer to neighbours

THE time has come for South Africa's neighbours to realise the "catastrophic" consequences an escalation of conflict would mean for them, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha said.

"We in the Republic of South Africa are fully aware of the damaging consequences which an increased level of conflict in the region could hold for us but the time has come for our neighbours to realise the catastrophic conse-

quences an escalation of conflict will mean for them," he said during the no confidence debate.

Those who wanted a better life for all the people of Southern Africa had no choice other than to seek peace and stability in the region.

"Therefore I invite all the leaders of Southern Africa to join me in taking up this challenge," he said.

The only country which wanted violence and would

profit from it was the Soviet Union and Mr Botha said he was not prepared to let such a situation develop in South Africa.

The Republic's strength was manifest but so was its determination to offer "a reasonable and preferable alternative to war and destruction.

"... we are making a genuine effort to offer our immediate neighbours and other nations in Africa the reasonable opportunity for negotiated

mechanisms for bridging our political differences in order to make possible mutually beneficial cooperation."

Mr Botha said there were tentative signs that not only South Africa was prepared to make a contribution to peace in Southern Africa.

"The Republic of South Africa is prepared to do its share on the understanding that other countries in the region will also do their share.

"It is in this spirit that the Republic of South Africa has met and will continue to meet its neighbours to develop mutual understandings."

South Africa was a major force in Southern Africa and had no intention of apologising for its economic, industrial and military strength.

It was in fact this capacity which should be harnessed for the benefit of the countries of the region.



**Mr PW BOTHA ... Warned that peace, self-respect and freedom are expensive and have to be worked at and sacrifices made.**

FONTE

STAR

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# It's (almost) official — SA-Mozambique tourism link-up next week 'LM', here we come!

By Richard Paris, Travel Editor

Tourism ties between South Africa and Mozambique are expected to be resumed officially next week.

First visitors from South Africa should begin arriving in Maputo, once the South African tourist mecca of Lourenço Marques, within two months.

The chairman of South Africa's Tourism Board and a leading spokesman at the recent talks between the two governments, Mr Danie Hough, said last night: "We can expect a decision on Tuesday."

"The ball is now in 'their' court. We have said what we will do and all they have to do is say yes. But the public must remember that while the tourism officials from both countries are in complete agreement, the final approval depends on higher authorities who must iron out security and various economic arrangements," he said.

Mr Hough said he was not in a position to say what, if any, problems remained outside the area of tourism which might curtail progress.

Reports in The Star earlier this week stating that Mozambique would need 12 to 18 months to prepare for visitors after the 10 year absence of tourists were not entirely correct, he said.

"We were taken on a tour of some of the resorts and I was very impressed with what I saw. Certainly, there are two or three near Maputo, not to mention the largest hotel in the city, which could receive visitors within two months."

"If the announcement is forthcoming, it will be a trickle of visitors at first but in the long term — perhaps the 18 months suggested — one can see a large scale tourism movement again to Mozambique," he said.

Tourism officials were in favour of South African entrepreneurs not only investing in the Mozambique tourism industry, he added, but providing their knowledge and expertise.

He confirmed that at least one South African chain had expressed an interest in operating resorts in the country and that this would be encouraged.

"The famous Polana Hotel in Maputo could easily be a three-star hotel if a few improvements were made quickly," he said.

Another delegate to the talks, who did not wish to be named, said: "There are deficiencies in some areas but none which cannot be rectified."

He maintained that even with an immediate opening of the

border, the mass tourism which, at its peak, brought 600 000 holidaymakers a year from South Africa and Rhodesia in the mid 60s would have to come later — not before mid 1985.

A spokesman for LAM Mozambique Airlines, in Johannesburg, Miss Dulce Oliviera, said she was a frequent visitor to the country and agreed that significant numbers could not be accommodated for some time.

"Some, but by no means all, of the hotels, camping and caravan sites around the country are still open. Those that are need face-lifts and capital for expansion and upgrading. But equally important is the need for Mozambique to overcome its shortages of various foodstuffs that the average South African would not wish to do without," she said.

A delegate to previous talks about re-establishing relations with its Mozambique's neighbours pointed out that the major stumbling block in the past had been the lack of hard currency needed to buy sophisticated Western equipment and supplies.

"One can have all the goodwill in the world but when the chips are down it will be a lack of money if anything that torpedoes their efforts," he added.

The Marxist Government, has, however, backed down on two points.

Firstly, it is now openly seeking South African aid to put its tourism industry back on the map and secondly, it appears to be willing to accept the budget tourists — the vast majority of holidaymakers before independence — who in 1971 on average spent only R6,60 a person a day.

● Prawns in the game  
see Review.

DATA

184.02.03

FONTE: THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE

(Hague)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## Security and tourism head the agenda in M'bique-RSA talks

**SATISFACTORY** progress and "understandings" on security and tourism appear to have been reached during the high-level Mocambique-South African talks conducted last month between political and security delegations in Maputo, said a report appearing in the *Africa Economic Digest*.

There has also been the "promise of tripartite talks with Portugal on the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric scheme", according to the report which appeared on January 20.

However, on the economic side, South Africa had seemed more concerned to hear what concessions Mocambique was prepared to make in exchange for security guarantees, than in making concrete proposals.

The importance of the talks to both sides as a possible first step to improved regional stability was to have been reflected by the senior status of members of both delegations. Both sides had made it clear before the talks that progress on security was fundamental to any improvement in the economic spheres.

"The final statement from the earlier Pretoria security talks made clear that some understanding had been reached to trade reduced South African support for the Mocambique National Resistance (MNR), for reduced support by Frelimo for the African National Congress (ANC)," said the report adding:

"Couched in unusually strong terms, the statement said the talks 'had considered means to be taken in order that the territory of neither state should serve as a springboard for aggression and violence against the other'."

The two sides had discussed practical mechanisms to ensure the implementation of these objectives, said the AED report, noting: "This is the first time there has been any suggestion of a willingness to limit ANC or MNR activities."

The Maputo talks on January 16 had centred on the working groups dealing with tourism, Cabora Bassa and the economy, it continued.

In the final communique, both sides had expressed a strong desire for the resumption of tourism, but a question-mark appeared to hang over the form tourism would take. South Africa was pushing for "ready availability" of visas to allow South Africans with beach-houses in Mocambique to use them as they had under former Portuguese rule.

But Mocambique was trying to introduce "upmarket and more profitable" package tours and to persuade South Africa to invest in the necessary infrastructure.

The report added that the South African delegation had visited Inhaca Island near Maputo, Ponta Malongane (both formerly popular with South Africans and recently

rehabilitated) and that Mocambique was also reported to have offered to let a South African company take over Santa Carolina — widely known as "Paradise" Island.

Regarding the Cabora Bassa talks, these were described as an "informal" meeting between the Mocambique Minister of Energy and the director-general of Escom, South Africa's Electricity Supply Commission which takes 98% of Cabora Bassa's output.

"They agreed to tripartite talks with Portugal, which still controls the dam."

The report said that although Mocambique saw itself as largely a "spectator on this issue", it was participating in the talks to gain some increased advantage — in particular South African agreement to reduce its purchases. This would enable Mocambique to increase its own electricity use "and possibly sell some power to Zimbabwe."

Although the economic working groups had the most long-term potential, the talks were reported to be superficial.

"South Africa came with no concrete proposals. It was apparently more concerned to hear what concessions Mocambique was prepared to make in exchange for security concessions."

However, the five sub-groups that met under the umbrella of the Maputo talks had indicated the

main areas of interest to both sides.

These were:

- Migrant labour — South Africa would like to return to the government-to government agreements of "colonial" times.
- Fishing — South Africa would like licences for boats now fishing illegally off Mocambique.
- Ports and transport — Mocambique would like both investment and increased use by South Africa.
- Industry and agriculture — Mocambique would like South African investment.

The report said there were clearly wide differences about the way in which economic links (between the two countries) should be improved.

The South African representative had talked of the need to "resuscitate" links from the past when Mocambique was highly dependent on South Africa. But the Mocambique delegate had emphasised that the first step was to establish "the principle that we now talk as equals".

The report noted that although the Maputo talks were only exploratory, both sides had, at least, appeared pleased with their friendly tone.

According to reports from Johannesburg, talks were expected to continue, with the next round likely to include more South African ministers.





DATA

06.02.1984

FONTE

'THE STAR'  
(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

'SA is being offered the chance to change its status of pariah'

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The new accord being negotiated between South Africa and Mozambique could have far-reaching effects as significant for Southern Africa as the Camp David agreement was for the Middle East, an American report says.

Mozambican and American officials hold that view, says Washington Post correspondent Glenn Frankel, in a report from Maputo.

Mr Frankel's report, based on interviews with officials from both countries, throws new light on the events that led up to the latest talks between Pretoria and Maputo.

He says the talks appear to have put the Reagan Administration on the verge of a major diplomatic triumph in Mozambique after three years of dead ends, frustration and mounting criticism of its efforts in Southern Africa.

In a "stunning reversal", says Mr Frankel, Mozambican officials, who three years ago were among the most bitter critics of Reagan Administration policy in

## Pretoria-Maputo accord hailed as a 'Camp David'

the region, have now emerged as supporters.

In fact, says Mr Frankel, relations have warmed to the point where another Mozambican official said he and others in the Machel Government are hoping President Reagan is re-elected this year so that there will not be a large-scale turnover of State Department officials who engineered the policy.

They also believe a Reagan victory would avoid giving South Africa an excuse to back away from the developing rapprochement.

The officials said the Reagan Administration's policy — under attack by the Democratic Party opposition in the US — of con-

structive engagement with South Africa had been a major factor in persuading the South Africans to re-examine their attitude to Mozambique.

While the new relationship between Pretoria and Maputo is recognised as tenuous, says Mr Frankel, "the Mozambicans themselves and their new American diplomatic partners see the possibility of a much broader and a permanent historical change that could prove as significant for this region as the Camp David accords were for the Middle East".

Mr Frankel says the Mozambicans insist they are not prepared to repudiate their support for the African National Congress

and their opposition to apartheid in return for what Maputo is asking of Pretoria (an end to Pretoria's support for the Mozambican rebels and a resumption of South African investment in Mozambique).

"Instead, they say, they are offering South Africa an even more valuable prize: the opportunity to change its status as a pariah in black Africa by establishing ministerial-level contacts with one of the continent's radical states".

American diplomats told the Washington Post reporter a settlement between Pretoria and Maputo could pave the way for a similar accord between South Africa and Angola.

Mr Frankel's account, with a meeting at the United Nations in 1982 between Mr Machel and Secretary of State Mr George Shultz.

With US encouragement, Mozambique shortly afterwards entered the talks with South Africa in Komatipoort in December 1982. The talks were said to be candid but unproductive.

Then, last October, Mr Machel visited Western Europe seeking economic and military support. He was told by Britain, West Germany and Portugal that Mozambique should first try to solve some of its differences with Pretoria.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was given a similar message when he toured Europe in November.

The result was the ministerial meeting in December that was more cordial and productive than the Komatipoort exchanges.

Both Mozambican and American officials concede the new initiative is fragile, says Mr Frankel, "but for now there is a buoyant atmosphere of cordiality and openness in this battered capital".

President Machel gave Dr Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, "an enthusiastic and effusive" welcome on his visit to Maputo last week, Mr Frankel says.

According to Mr Frankel's sources, Mr Machel readily agreed to Dr Crocker's request that he use his influence with Angola to help reach agreement in Namibia.

Dr Crocker's warm welcome contrasted with his chilly reception on his first visit three years ago, shortly after the Mozambicans had expelled three US diplomats they accused of spying for the US Central Intelligence Agency.

The thaw began, according to

# There's a growing feeling that this time SA does mean business

The South African Government, the African National Congress and the Republic's neighbours are facing crucial decisions which will profoundly affect the whole region's future.

Far from being "dead", the United States peace initiative on the sub-continent has created an opportunity which could win a vital breathing space for Pretoria.

The initiative has won the support of several Frontline states which have conceded that to eliminate apartheid by force would be a protracted and bloody process that would eventually overwhelm the whole region.

The nine nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) which met in Lusaka last week demonstrated their support for the peace initiative by excluding the ANC and Swapo from their donors' conference at the last minute.

Even Mozambique, traditionally one of the ANC's staunchest allies, caught the organisation by surprise with the extent of its rapprochement with Pretoria.

The ANC fears that it will be asked to pull out of Maputo all its personnel, except for the equivalent of a diplomatic mission.

Over the past six months a combination of South African military and economic pressure has forced Swaziland, Lesotho, and now Mozambique, to cut their support for the ANC down to a "political, diplomatic and moral" level.

Hundreds of ANC personnel have been asked by their host governments to move away from South Africa's borders to get them out of the range of SADF attacks and to lessen their ability to infiltrate.

A Frontline source, who is a senior government official and not in any way associated with the ANC, said efforts were being made to persuade the ANC to "open a new front" by resuming the peaceful pressure tactics it used in the days before it launched its armed struggle in the early 1960s after being banned.

The ANC's immediate response was to reject the more conciliatory

The Pretoria-Maputo talks and the Angolan troops disengagement negotiations are just part of an international diplomatic offensive designed to change apartheid by peaceful rather than by violent means, writes Brendan Nicholson of The Star's Foreign News Service.



President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, trade-mark white handkerchief in hand, leads delegates to the recent SADCC conference in Lusaka in the singing of "Tiende

Pamodzi" (Forward in Unity). At the extreme right is the conference chairman, Mr Peter Mmusi, Vice-President of Botswana.

tactics encouraged by the SADCC countries in Lusaka when they noted "signs of a less aggressive approach from South Africa".

The Frontline source said South Africa's neighbours could not afford to give military or logistical assistance to the ANC until the movement's military operations inside the Republic were increased.

"If three bombs go off in South Africa and it emerges that the people who set each one came from a neighbouring country then it is certain that Pretoria will retaliate against that country. But if 200 bombs go off, Pretoria will be forced to look inwards for the attackers."

Efforts would be made to persuade the ANC to launch a fresh, non-military "offensive" on several new fronts, the source said.

"A senior businessman is in a

very good position to help if he can ensure that black staff are promoted on merit and paid fair wages."

Trade unions should be encouraged in their efforts to overcome bad working conditions and efforts to amend unjust laws should be supported.

The official pointed to the result of a scientific survey carried out in Soweto by The Star which indicated that, if Soweto residents could vote for a parliament now, they would place the ANC in power.

The ANC believes it has enough support inside South Africa to fight on without direct support from outside.

ANC sympathisers in the Frontline states describe the Freedom Charter, adopted by the movement in 1955, as a "civilised and non-inflammatory document."

They said the ban on publication of ANC statements within South

Africa had wrongly created the impression that the organisation was a "bunch of bomb-throwing communists."

The Frontline sources said the ANC was an old well-established organisation and would not be destroyed by the limiting of its external activities. Historically, they said, the movement had suffered considerably more violence than it had handed out.

The ANC was formed in 1912 to oppose, by peaceful means, the exploitation of black labour, the appropriation of black-owned land and the pass laws which turned many innocent workers into criminals.

"It set out simply to defend the rights of a vast, landless and poverty-stricken labour force but its protest marches and meetings were frequently broken up by the authorities with considerable violence and loss of life," the sources said.

As long ago as 1919, at least 700 ANC members were arrested after a protest march.

Delegations were sent over the years to plead with the British Government for a better deal, but little changed. The military struggle was launched only in 1961 after Pretoria rejected an ANC proposal for a national convention of all South African races.

ANC sources, who are not subject to any banning orders, said the ANC's campaign against apartheid would take place in three stages. The first was the "mobilisation of the masses", the second was the buildup of an underground "machine" capable of receiving and hiding personnel from outside the country and the third was the armed struggle.

This programme was well enough advanced to enable the movement to survive the loss of external facilities, he said.

As the American peace initiative rolls quietly on the ANC is, however, anxiously examining its position and future tactics.

Opponents of the Southern African "detente" say they feel the movement is being left in the lurch or used as a pawn along with the Mozambique National Resistance and Mr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

They say that if any Southern African country does stand solidly by the ANC it is likely to be Zimbabwe which has already privately indicated that it does not like the way the organisation is being pushed around.

Observers in Lusaka say much depends now on how South Africa responds. Fresh military activity or a lack of any real improvement in the lot of South Africa's black people would destroy the progress made so far, they said.

Alternatively, a gesture from South Africa, such as a move clearing the way for Namibian independence, would strengthen regional and international support for peace, rather than violent, change.

There is a growing feeling in Lusaka that this time South Africa does mean business.

DATA

1984-02-20

FONTE "THE CITIZEN"  
(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## TOP MAPUTO TALKS TODAY

CAPE TOWN. — South Africa and Mozambique will move a step closer towards restoring friendly relations when two ministerial delegations meet for talks in Maputo today.

The South African delegation, which arrived in the Mozambican capital yesterday, is led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and includes the Minister of Law and Order, Mr L le Grange and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

The Mozambican negotiations are under the leadership of the Minister of Economic Affairs in the Presidency, Mr Jacinto Veloso, and will include the Minister of Justice, Mr O Monteiro, and the Deputy Minister of National Defence, Mr S Viera.

Both teams will be assisted by senior diplomatic, security and military officials.

The talks are generally regarded as the pivot on which a new phase of

### FROM PAGE 1

Southern African detente could swing towards an ultimate settlement in South West Africa and the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola.

#### Treaty

It could also lead to the first non-aggression treaty between South Africa and a Front-Line State. It also forms part of the "broader objectives of peace" referred to by the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, on his return from the Lusaka tripartite talks with Angola and South Africa last week.

Several strings are scheduled to be tied together at the Maputo talks here, as Mr Botha said at the weekend, "particular attention will be given to the security requirements of the two countries."

These security requirements which "are considered to be a decisive element in the initiative to improve relationships" concern the two resistance movements, which the two negotiating countries claim are using the others' territory and sup-

port to launch cross-border attacks.

#### Assurances

Mozambique wants to have assurances that the Mozambique resistance movement, MNR, will be cut off from any South African aid while South Africa wants the African National Congress out of its Mozambique bases.

A major part of the security problems both countries want solved is the almost continuous disruption of the Cabora Bassa power supplies to the massive hydro-electric scheme's main customer, South Africa.

#### Tourism

Agreement was reached in principle during the Lisbon talks attended by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, last week, that the burden of the economic responsibility of the scheme would shift from Portugal to Mozambique. Today's talks are expected to explore ways of ensuring continuous supplies in order to turn the scheme into a viable project with economic potential and even profitability for Mozambique.

Mozambique has an equally pressing need for a restoration of South African tourism in exchange for which the Republic wants the return of South African-owned properties confiscated after the Frelimo takeover a decade ago.

Diplomatic sources in Cape Town have indicated that President Samora Machel's Government is quite willing to return the properties but wants a loan, said to be about R300 million, to restore the infrastructure needed to reopen Mozambique to South African holidaymakers.

The sources agree, however, that the economic factors will not be discussed until an agreement has been reached regarding the ANC and the MNR.

#### Estrangement

Both countries run the risk of initial estrangement from traditional allies in agreeing to cut off support for these organisations.

The same sources say however, that both countries seem to be putting a premium on achieving peace. — Sapa.

DATA

1984.02.20

FONTE: RAND DAILY MAIL

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## Pik flies to Maputo for high-level talks

### Political Staff

CAPE TOWN. — The South African and Mozambique governments begin high-level talks today which could lead to a significant reduction of tension between the two countries.

This is a further stage in a series of meetings which have concentrated on security issues. Senior South African diplomats hope they will eventually lead to the first formal non-aggression pact with a "Frontline" state.

The development is being watched closely by Western governments who believe Mozambique might limit its Soviet leanings in return for Western development aid.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, flies into Maputo today at the head of a powerful delegation of Cabinet Ministers, diplomats and security officials, including four generals.

The Cabinet Ministers in the South African group will be the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan,

and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Among those with them will be Dr Neil Barnard, Director-General of the National Intelligence Service, General Johan Coetzee, Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-General P van der Westhuizen of the South African Defence Force and Lieutenant-General F J F van Rensburg of the State Security Council.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said in a statement that Mozambique officials at today's talks would include Mr Jacinto Veloso, Minister of Economic Affairs in the Presidency, Mr Oscar Monteiro, Minister of Justice and Mr S Viera, Deputy Minister of National Defence.

The statement said the meeting would review the results of working groups established at previous meetings. These groups were "a decisive element" in the initiative to improve relations between the two countries.

Today's meeting follows discussions Mr Botha held in Lusaka last week with Angolan Ministers and the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

Dr Crocker, who arrived in South Africa at the weekend, said those talks had been highly successful and had come amid promising signs of peace in Southern Africa.

Security issues are again expected to dominate today's discussions. South Africa wants the removal of African National Congress bases from which attacks on South African targets are planned. Mozambique wants South African help in curbing guerrillas of the Mozambique Resistance Movement, who have been seeking to overthrow the government of President Samora Machel.

This is the key to agreement on wider co-operation which could be of particular assistance to Mozambique. A resumption of South African tourism — particularly if Mozambique agrees to hand back South African properties expropriated after independence — could be worth millions of rand annually.

The talks are regarded as the pivot on which a new phase of Southern African détente could swing towards a settlement in South West Africa and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

It could also lead to the first non-aggression treaty between South Africa and a so-called Frontline State.

There is also speculation that one of the results of the talks may be a meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, returned from Lisbon at the weekend after discussions on the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric power station with Portuguese and Mozambican officials.

Mr Nel said protection of the power link to South Africa, which has frequently been disrupted by the MNR, would be discussed by the South African-Mozambique security committee.

Mr Botha said at the weekend, "particular attention will be given to the security requirements of the two countries".

□ To Page 3

DATA

16.02.24

FONTE RAND DAILY MAIL  
Johannesburg

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# SA Govt to host Cahora Bassa talks in March

By JOSE CAETANO

A NEW round of trilateral talks between South Africa, Portugal and Mozambique will be held in Cape Town on March 13 to discuss ways of overcoming the problems of power supply from the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme.

At the Cape Town meeting, the three countries will decide on proposals presented at last week's tripartite gathering in Lisbon.

The Cahora Bassa Dam, on the upper Zambezi River in Mozambique, is the biggest hydro-electric scheme in Africa.

The dam was built during Portuguese rule in Mozambique and Portugal still holds an 81.6% shareholding.

The scheme has become a major financial nightmare for Portugal as a result of the huge financial losses caused by repeated acts of sabotage by the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) rebel group, which Mozambique alleges is supported by Pretoria.

Against this background, the Cape Town talks will concentrate on ways of guaranteeing the security of the 900km of power lines running through Mozambique.

The meeting will also discuss a Portuguese proposal that South Africa pay for out-going energy measured at the Songo sub-station, in

the Tete province.

At present, South Africa only pays for the energy it receives. But, as a result of MNR sabotage, it has had to pay very little.

Other points on the agenda are:

- A Portuguese proposal for a 200% increase in the tariffs paid by South Africa for energy from Cahora Bassa. Tariffs have remained unchanged since the dam began producing electricity in 1977.

- A South African proposal that Mozambique should purchase more of the Portuguese-held share in the scheme.

Semi-official sources in Lisbon said yesterday "the success of the talks will depend, primarily, on an accord between South Africa and Mozambique".

The sources also said the Lisbon meeting "created the essential political balance needed to achieve a positive solution" to the security problem of electricity supplies.

This feeling seems to be shared by a Mozambican official source who last night said the talks in Lisbon "had been highly positive and this augured well for the coming talks".

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha is expected to lead the South African delegation at the Cape Town talks.

The Mozambican delegation will be led by Mr António Branco, Minister of Energy.



DATA

1984.02.24

FONTE

"THE STAR"  
(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

By Peter Honey,  
The Star Bureau

**WINDHOEK** — America's number two diplomat in South Africa, Mr Walter Stadler, has arrived in Windhoek to co-ordinate the establishment of a disengagement liaison office in the Namibian capital.

As he arrived last night, American technicians from the Pretoria Embassy were installing sophisticated communications equipment which will link the American office in Windhoek directly with the State Department in Washington — the same systems employed in all American diplomatic missions abroad.

But Mr Stadler emphasised that his country did not intend establishing a fully-fledged consulate or embassy in Windhoek until independence.

The life of the Windhoek office would depend on the lifetime of the joint South African-

## US envoy sets up disengagement office in Namibia

Angolan military commission.

The purpose of the liaison office, he added, was to be a base for the small group of Americans who would take part in the proceedings of the joint military commission, set up last week to monitor the disengagement/ceasefire in Southern Angola.

The American representatives would participate actively in the commission only if asked to do so by South Africa and Angola.

"If a bit of a misunderstanding should arise, we will be

there to mediate," Mr Stadler explained.

He said he was not aware of any other country which might join the commission. The American party would be a "modest number" — perhaps two to four people.

Mr Stadler was accompanied by his private secretary and the American Army attaché in Pretoria, Colonel David Parker, who is expected to be the military expert involved in the joint commission.

Meanwhile two senior officials from the American State

Department in Washington, Mr Peter Eicher and Mr William Twaddell, are expected in Windhoek today to complete the liaison team.

Mr Eicher is a member of the American Bureau of International Organisations and is primarily concerned with United Nations affairs.

Mr Twaddell was the American charge d'affaires in Mozambique until June last year. A Portuguese speaker, he is credited with playing a key role in the improvement in American-Mozambican relations.

Mr Stadler said last night that this latest step was "a positive, concrete achievement."

"Both sides (South Africa and Angola) are far beyond anything they would have thought possible six months ago. Quite frankly we (Americans) would not have believed all this possible a year ago," he declared.

## 'Southern Africa at crucial crossroad'

**MAPUTO** — Southern Africa is at a crossroads between peace and war, Mozambican President Samora Machel said yesterday, adding that South Africa must meet certain conditions to ensure peace with its neighbours.

He said peace in the region could be achieved if South Africa withdrew all its forces from Angola, granted independence to Namibia and ceased direct or indirect aggression against black neighbouring states.

The Mozambican leader was receiving credentials from Belgium's new ambassador to Maputo, Mr Jean-Michel Watervliet.

On Monday South African and Mozambican officials held security talks here aimed

at ending hostility between the two, ideologically opposed states.

Mr Machel said peace in Southern Africa required that each state rigorously observe principles of international law against the violation of other states' borders and the use of force or threats in foreign relations.

"Mr Ambassador, you are presenting your credentials at a particularly difficult time in which Southern Africa is at the crossroads between peace and war," the Mozambican leader told Mr Watervliet.

Earlier yesterday, Mr Machel reaffirmed his government's support for guerrillas of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) when he received the

credentials of another envoy, East Germany's Mr Helmut Matthes.

The ANC is pledged to the overthrow of white minority rule in South Africa. Swapo is fighting for the independence of Namibia, which Pretoria rules in defiance of the United Nations.

Mr Machel told Mr Matthes Mozambique would "always support the just struggle of the peoples of the two countries and remain on the side of Swapo and the ANC".

He praised the two nationalist movements for their "determination in leading their people in the struggle against democracy, equality and the right to be citizens of their own countries". — Reuter.

DAT, February 29, 1984

FONTE

RAND DAILY MAIL.

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Mozambique approves draft SA peace pact

By JOSE CAETANO

THE proposed non-aggression pact between South Africa and Mozambique was approved at a joint session of the Frelimo leadership and the Mozambican Government in Maputo on Monday.

According to a communique issued afterwards, the meeting also "laid down directives concerning the manner in which the talks are to be continued, and unanimously approved the principles of a draft for a non-aggression agreement".

"This will be presented to the South African Government in the near future with a view to the establishment of relations of peace, stability, good neighbourliness and progress in the zone."

The meeting heard a progress report on the talks with South Africa by Major-General Jacinto Veloso, Minister in Presidency for Economic Affairs and member of the political bureau, who has led

the Mozambican negotiating teams.

The communique said the meeting, under the chairmanship of President Samora Machel, had "praised the work undertaken by the Mozambican delegation to the talks with South Africa".

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in an interview on television last night, declined to comment on the announcement other than to say the two countries would meet again soon, PATRICK CULL reports from Cape Town.

The Mozambique announcement follows talks between a South African delegation led by Mr Pik Botha and a Mozambican delegation in Maputo on February 20.

After the more than eight hours of negotiation, Mr Botha said he was more than satisfied with the talks and predicted that the signing of a non-aggression pact was in sight.

In a joint statement after the Maputo meeting, it was announced that agreement

had been reached "on the central principles concerning security arrangements between the two countries".

It is understood the signing of the peace pact could be imminent.

Originally Lisbon was heavily tipped as the venue for the signing, but it is understood this is now unlikely and a venue in South Africa, possibly Pretoria or Cape Town, seems more likely.

Meanwhile Mzalendo, the mouthpiece of the ruling Tanzanian party, has described the talks currently taking place in Southern Africa as "a good thing", which will bring the kind of peace and security needed for countries to devote more time to development.

But, the editorial in the paper says, South Africa is not talking because she wants to, but because she "has been pushed by circumstances to do so".

Commenting on the talks, the British Foreign Minister, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, said he was "slightly optimistic" and the talks had British support.

DATA February 29, 1984

FONTE

RAND DAILY MAIL

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Africa slipping from Soviet grasp

## London Bureau

THE accord which South Africa has reached with Mozambique, and the possible further accord with Angola, represent the most serious setback the Soviet Union has sustained in Southern Africa, according to Western analysts.

Analysts expect the Soviet Union to be blamed by black Marxists now, for failing to provide Mozambique and Angola with the economic help they needed to avoid being drawn into South Africa's economic orbit.

And this, they believe, will lead to further disenchantment in Africa with the Soviet Union and its economic system.

Mozambique and Angola are drawn closer to

South Africa, and deeper into the West's economic system, according to the analysts. Soviet influence in Southern Africa will wane correspondingly.

Soviet influence in Black Africa is at a low ebb, at present.

In Ethiopia, where Moscow's influence has been strong, there has been a shift towards the Western economic system.

It is telling that 10 000 Cuban soldiers have been withdrawn from the country.

The South African talks with Mozambique and the ceasefire with Angola have been given very little coverage, hostile or otherwise, by the Soviet

media.

The principal reason why Soviet influence has waned in Mozambique and Angola, according to most analysts, is that the need of these countries for economic assistance now outstrips their need for guns.

The Soviet Union has always been prepared to give liberation movements guns, but its record of economic aid has been abysmal.

The Soviet Union has never found the measure of Africa, it has not learnt how to deal with Africans and has been accused of aloofness and racism.

It was thrown out of Egypt and Sudan, its relations

with Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria turned sour, it first backed Somalia against Ethiopia and then switched its support to Ethiopia.

It backed Idi Amin who was overthrown in Uganda and Joshua Nkomo who lost out in Zimbabwe.

Black Africa has never been high on the Soviet Union's priorities.

Because the Kremlin has viewed the continent as being too unstable to merit a major commitment, the Kremlin scored a major success when it went to the MPLA's assistance in 1975 and gave it about R250-million worth of arms and helped to bring in 11 000 Cuban soldiers.

After that it became more active in Southern Africa.

But it was always dependent on turmoil to provide it with a return on its investment.

If there is to be peace and stability in Southern Africa now as a result of accords with Pretoria, Soviet influence is expected to wane considerably in Maputo and Luanda.

The international recession, the legacy of colonial neglect, the liberation wars, followed by civil wars and South African destabilisation, plus natural disasters such as drought and floods, brought both Mozambique and Angola to their knees.

In their plight, they now need economic help, not military hardware, and this is more likely to come now from South Africa and the West than from the Eastern bloc.



Pik Botha ... central to Mozambican negotiations

As Mozambique and Angola begin to feel less militarily threatened, so their dependence on the Soviet Union for arms is expected to diminish.

Analysts claim that the muted reaction of Black Africa to the peace talks in Southern Africa is highly significant.

Although intense debates are expected now among committed Marxists who feel "betrayed" by the peace talks, black governments themselves have not condemned the talks.

Much as they dislike the spread of Pretoria's influence over Southern Africa, they all welcome the moves towards the cessation of strife in the region.

DATA 2 March 1984

FONTE

THE CITIZEN

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# SA, MAPUTO TO INITIAL PEACE PACT

**CAPE TOWN.** — A non-aggression pact between South Africa and Mozambique is likely to be agreed on when top level delegations from the two countries meet in Cape Town today.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said he would head the South African delegation, which will again include the Ministers of Law and Order and of Defence, Mr Louis le Grange and General Magnus Malan.

General Jacinto Veloso, the Mozambican Minister of Economic Affairs, will again lead the Mozambican delegation, assisted by the Minister of Justice, Colonel Jose Oscar Monteiro, the Vice-Minister of Security, Major General Salesio Teo-

## From JAAP THERON

doro Nanyambipano, the Vice-Minister of Defence, Colonel Sergio Vieira, the Vice-Minister of the Interior, Mr Theodoro Hunguana, the Commandant of Defence, Major-General Hama Thay, the Special Assistant to the President, Lt-Col Fernando Honwana, a Representative of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Francisco Madeira and the Director in the Presi-

dency, Mr Alberto Chisano.

The South African negotiators will also be supported by senior officials of the Prime Minister's office, Foreign Affairs, the South African Police, State Security Council and Defence Force.

### Draft pact

The Citizen understands that the Mozambique delegation will bring a draft non-aggression

pact, which has already been approved by the Frelimo Politburo and by the Mozambican Council of Ministers.

South African political circles expect that the final details of a non-aggression pact between the Republic and its formerly hostile Marxist neighbour, will be thrashed out and "agreed to" in Cape Town today.

It is possible the two high level delegations will initial the pact at the end of today's meeting.

### Meeting

However, the final non-aggression pact is only likely to be formally signed when the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, meets President Samora Machel in Lisbon in the near future.

It is considered likely

**TO PAGE 2**

## Sugar price goes up 10 pc

**DURBAN.** — The price of sugar is to go up by 10 percent today — about six cents a kilo to the consumer.

The chairman of the South African Sugar Association, Mr Ian Smeaton, said the Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism, Dr Dawie de Villiers, had authorised an increase of R48 a ton for white sugar and R43 a ton for brown sugar — an increase of 10 percent.

The new white and brown sugar prices of R510 and R460 a ton respectively were still less than the full cost of production, said Mr Smeaton.

### Abolished

Control of wholesale and retail prices was abolished in November, but it was anticipated

that the consumer price would increase by about 6c a kg, depending on the area.

The severe drought during the past season reduced the current season's production by about 800 000 tons. As the industry operated at a high proportion of fixed costs in both the milling and growing sections, this crop reduction had had a severe effect on the financial position of the industry, the statement continued.

Mr Smeaton said a decision had been taken to borrow to the extent necessary to cover costs of production only, and accordingly millers and growers would absorb R107-million and earn no return on capital during the current season.

Last season only 50

percent of permitted return on capital was allowed the industry, according to Mr Smeaton.

### Borrow

On present estimates, the industry will have to borrow a further R135-million to cover the 1983/4 cost of production. This will increase

**TO PAGE 2**

## Swapo

**WINDHOEK.** — Swapo founder, Mr Herman Toivo Ya Toivo, was given a hero's welcome by jubilant, singing crowds of Swapo supporters in Katutura last night as he vowed renewed allegiance to the organisation.

## Chappell to tour

By DEREK AMOORE

RUMOURS are thick on the ground that Greg Chappell will lead a composite international-class cricket team on a tour of South Africa next season.

The Citizen's overseas sources report that the former Australian cap-

tain, who retired recently, will be joined by his fellow-Test stars Rodney Marsh and Dennis Lillee.

Also in the team will be a bevy of former Pakistani, Indian and Sri Lankan internationals, plus New

After South Africa and Angola had reached agreement in Lusaka on the disengagement of forces in Southern Angola.

The remainder of the Swapo infiltrators have broken up into smaller groups and security forces are tracking nine insurgents who have penetrated the commercial

## e up

will have a snowball effect on the consumer," Professor Weyers said.

The chairman of the Consumer Foundation, Mr Johan Verheem told the Citizen that although there may be good reasons for the sugar price increase, it was still a disappointment for the consumer, as the increase would affect the prices of several other products.

### Validity

"One of the problems in South Africa is that consumers do not have the facilities to make in-depth investigations as to the validity of the reasons for the price increase. The consumer is also not in a bargaining position to negotiate a better price for consumers of any product.

"As long as there is a lack of these facilities, consumers will have to bear increases whether they are acceptable to them or not", Mr Verheem said.

The national president of the Housewives' League, Mrs Joy Hurwitz, said: "I feel extremely sorry for any farmer who has been affected by drought or floods, but as a spokesman for consumers, all I can say is that consumers need relief too.

The sugar price increase follows in the wake of the increase in GST; the bread price increase and the increase in the price of air and rail tariffs."

### Basic

"Sugar can be considered a basic foodstuff for all those South Africans who live on a depleted diet.

Northern farm districts had become difficult because of good rains in the area in the past few weeks.

The SWATF said security forces were conducting follow-up operations against the nine insurgents who had crossed the "red-line" demarcating the boundary between the communal land areas of Owambo and Kavango and the Northern commercial farming districts of Tsumeb and Grootfontein.

network in Northern SWA.

The rail lines near Outjo and Tsumeb were damaged by explosives devices on February 19 and February 27 respectively.

"Although both incidents are thought to be the work of Swapo terrorists, no evidence is available that the acts were committed by the 200 terrorists who are known to have already infiltrated Owambo," the SWATF said. —Sapa.

## Pact today

### FROM PAGE 1

that Gen Veloso will be given the opportunity to see Mr P W Botha, just as President Machel agreed to see Mr Pik Botha during his visit to Maputo last week.

The negotiations are aimed at ending subversive activities, each country claims the other supports. South Africa wants an end to infiltration from Mozambique by African National Congress insurgents and Mozambique wants South Africa to cease its alleged support of the Mozambique Resistance Movement, MNR.

Economic issues include electricity supplies from Cabora Bassa, reinstatement of South African-owned property in Mozambique and the restoration of the South African tourist trade to Mozambique.

South Africa and Mozambique decided at the first "peace meeting" in Maputo recently, to accept certain principles which would lead to a non-aggression pact.

### Formality

If these principles, which have apparently been accepted by both Governments, are finally adopted today — and indications are that the South African Government has high hopes they will be — the signing of a formal non-aggression pact will be just a formality.

The official withdrawal of South African troops started in the Angola South West Africa opera-

under the supervision of the Joint Monitoring Commission which will ensure both sides adhere to the Lusaka agreement.

The Commission will sit for a week in Cuvelai, before moving southwards according to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Cape Town. The Commission — escorted by troops — will travel to Oshikango, on the border between Angola and SWA from Cuvelai.

### Violations

A senior spokesman said the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola, will take about 30 days. The Commission will also investigate, in loco, allegations of violations of the Lusaka agreement.

A report on the Commission's finding will then be compiled and presented to the two Governments.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said the Commission could continue with its monitoring function after the 30 days had lapsed. Provision had been made for such an event.

After the conclusion of the Commission's activities at Cuvelai it will travel to Mupa, Evali, Onjiwa and eventually to Oshikango.

South Africa and Angola will be represented each day by five members of the Commission, plus a support force of 300 soldiers each.

The role of the Angolan Unita movement during the coming days is viewed as an internal matter to be solved by the

terms of the Terrorism Act, confirmed that while he had been in prison "the South African Government has tried to offe deals.

"I won't like to say what they were."

With streaks of grey in his beard and wearing a small Swapo lapel badge a glowing Mr Ya Toivo was hoisted shoulder high in a sea of black-power salutes.

"Power to the people, power to the nation," the exuberant crowd echoed Mr Ya Toivo's chant. — Sapa.

## Chappell to head tour?

### FROM PAGE 1

"I have had no recent discussions, whatsoever, with the trio. I do know, though, that there are several former Ausa stars who would dearly love to tour South Africa."

Marsh, who announced his retirement last month, said in his recent book, *The Inside Edge*, his "one remaining ambition is to play in South Africa."

"A tour there is the one missing link in my career. I cannot guarantee that I would turn down an offer to play in South Africa," Marsh said.

Chappell has already gone on record as saying he would seriously consider a reasonable offer, while Lillee, also out of international cricket, has often expressed his keenness on playing in South Africa.

Mr Francis, who attended the SARB's media congress in the Republic last year, said he had held discussions with Sacu president, Mr Joe Pamensky, earlier this week.

"I can assure you, though, that we hardly spoke about cricket except in a off-handed man-

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FONTE

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CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Pik Botha — putting the carrot back into play

**FOREIGN** Minister Pik Botha, seen until recently in Western capitals as playing second fiddle to Pretoria's influential generals, is winning new respect in diplomatic circles for his role in putting diplomacy back into South Africa's foreign policy.

The imminent peace pact between Pretoria and Maputo and the operational ceasefire with Angola are being seen increasingly as the work of the man whom Western diplomats have always regarded as a maverick with a bull-in-a-china-shop approach to diplomacy.

But now it is Mr Pik Botha who has become the major talking point in Western chancelleries, as the man responsible for Pretoria's return to diplomacy after five years of foreign policy heavily dominated by military perceptions.

Mr Botha, after years of having to respond to Pretoria's cross-border raids, is now being seen as the man who has put the carrot back into the carrot-and-stick policy, which has been used against South Africa's politically hostile neighbouring states.

Western sources pointed this week to the dramatic switch from the international diplomatic approach towards regional problems pursued by Mr Botha under the previous Prime Minister, Mr John



PIK BOTHA ... a major talking point.

Vorster, to a harsher military approach under the present Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha.

These sources see the developments of the past few weeks as a return to the diplomatic approach — albeit still peppered with heavy doses of military strong-arm tactics.

They point out that it was Mr PW Botha and his generals who put the United Nations plan for an international settlement in Namibia on ice, after Mr Vorster and Mr Pik Botha

had agreed to it. The photograph of Mr Botha shaking hands with Mozambique's marxist, President Samora Machel in Maputo last week, has gone around the world and has given credence to the impression that Mr Botha has been brought in from the cold.

Western diplomats have always been bemused by Mr Botha's aggressive approach to diplomacy and his notorious verbal assaults on international television viewers, who

challenge his perceptions of change in South Africa. But in the past two years, he has also been seen as increasingly impotent in Pretoria's power line-up. Foreign policy has been dominated by military intervention in neighbouring States, while Mr Botha has been battling to keep the channels of communication open.

Last year the re-organisation of the union buildings, which reduced the space allotted to foreign affairs, set tongues wagging in Washington and London that Mr Botha's days as a factor in foreign policy formulation were numbered.

An interview published in the New York Times early last year with General Constandt Viljoen, chief of the Defence Force, in which he expressed opinions that clearly infringed on the Foreign Minister's territory, added to that perception.

But throughout the period of retaliatory raids and incursions into Angola, Mr Botha insisted that his talks with the leaders and foreign ministers of neighbouring States were gradually progressing towards agreements on mutual security matters and

the crunch question of allowing guerrillas to operate from each others' territories.

Many observers thought, however, that he was whistling in the dark.

Now that his diplomatic efforts have achieved tangible results, Mr Botha is attracting new attention in Western chancelleries, where there is growing optimism that the threatening vortex of escalating violence in Southern Africa has been reversed. Of course, no-one is so naive to think that Mr Botha has achieved this single-handed or without the backing of the Prime Minister, but they see Mr Pik Botha's role as crucial — as Western pressures on Pretoria to drop its destabilisation policies mounted.

Many believe the successful visit to six Western countries by President Machel late last year was the turning point for Pretoria.

But whatever changed Pretoria's mind, Mr Botha is the man who is taking a lot of credit for luring Africa's two marxist States — Angola and Mozambique — back into the Western sphere of influence.

## OPINION

A WEEKLY FEATURE PRESENTING  
A WIDE VARIETY OF VIEWS

JOHN BATTERSBY in London



DATA 1 March 1984

FONTE THE CITIZEN

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# SA's peace moves could hail new era

Citizen Reporter

A CEASEFIRE agreement has been signed with Angola, a non-aggression pact is in the offing with Mozambique and Botswana and South Africa have been discussing matters of mutual concern.

The question arises as to whether accords with South Africa's socialist neighbours are workable, or whether they will merely be used as a convenient breathing space to enable these states to re-stabilise before reneging on any agreements reached.

Dr Jan du Plessis, an expert on Soviet affairs and a political consultant, believes a golden opportunity exists for South Africa to reach lasting accords with its neighbours which could hail a new era of stability in the

region.

He confirms that accords between Russia and other socialist states generally take precedence over those with states operating under other political systems in the event of a conflict of interest arising.

However, while Russia would certainly enforce this viewpoint, relating to agreements with any of its Eastern bloc allies, in Europe, or its immediate neighbours in Asia, such as Afghanistan, there were factors inhibiting the Soviets from forcing the issue when it came to agreements between South Africa and its socialist neighbours.

The mere geographical separation of Russia and the socialist states of Southern Africa was a factor limiting any form of direct action.

Moreover, the African states south of the Sahara were in general experiencing a period of instability caused by serious economic and political problems aggravated by drought, and this had created a suitable climate for South Africa and its neighbours to reach accords.

The prospects of reaching workable accords be-

tween South Africa and its socialist neighbours were thus good in the short term, better than at any time in the past.

Closer relationships with states such as Angola and Mozambique were likely to result in the forging of new bonds with other frontline states, such as Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Dr Du Plessis said.

MINISTÉRIO DOS PORTOS E TRANSPORTES DE SUPERFÍCIE  
DEPARTAMENTO DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO E INFORMAÇÃO

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1984.03.03

FONTE

THE CITIZEN  
(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

RIGHT: Part of the South African delegation to yesterday's talks in Cape Town: the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr PIK BOTHA; the Minister of Law and Order, Mr LOUIS le GRANGE (centre) and the Minister of Defence, Gen MAGNUS MALAN (right).



## Overnight stay 'no surprise'

CAPE TOWN. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night slammed a Cape Town afternoon newspaper — the Argus — over a front-page report stating that the Mozambique delegation, which flew into Cape Town yesterday to continue peace talks with the South African Government, had "surprised their South African hosts by asking to

stay in Cape Town overnight".

He said the facts were: in messages exchanged between himself and the leader of the Mozambican delegation, General J Veloso, Minister of Economic Affairs, he had invited him and his delegation to stay in Cape Town overnight.



The Mozambican Minister of Economic Affairs, Gen JACINTO VELOSO, who headed his country's delegation to top level talks with South Africa in Cape Town yesterday.

MINISTÉRIO DOS PORTOS E TRANSPORTES DE SUPERFÍCIE  
DEPARTAMENTO DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO E INFORMAÇÃO

DATA

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FONTE RAND DAILY MAIL  
Johannesburg

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... Mozambique ... South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha faces the head of the Mozambican delegation and Minister of the Economy in the Presidency, General Jacinto Veloso, at the conference table at the start of talks in Cape Town yesterday. Mr Botha is flanked by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, right, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

... tion was led by myself assisted by Ministers Louis le Grange and Magnus Malan, and senior officials and officers of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the National Intelligence Service, the South African Defence Force and the South African Police.

The Mozambique delegation was led by the Minister in the Presidency for Economic Affairs, His Excellency General J Veloso, assisted by Colonel Oscar Montelro, Minister of Justice, Major-General Salecio Teodoro Nalyambipano, Deputy Minister of Security, and Colonel Sergio Vieira, Deputy Minister of National Defence and other senior Mozambique officials.

The South African Prime Minister, the Honourable P W Botha, together with myself and Ministers Le Grange and Malan received Ministers Veloso and Montelro and Deputy Ministers Nalyambipano and Vieira for one hour and reviewed progress made in the security negotiations and other matters relating to

... for signature in the very near future. The date and venue for the signing of the agreement will be announced as soon as possible.

"The discussions will continue this evening with the purpose of finalising some outstanding details. The main thrust of the agreement is that it will provide that neither of the two countries will serve as a base for acts of aggression or violence against the other and that both countries undertake not to use the territory of a third state for this purpose.

"The agreement will also provide for a Joint Security Commission to supervise the implementation of the agreement.

"The meetings with President Samora Machel in Maputo on 20 February 1984 and with the South African Prime Minister the Hon P W Botha today in Cape Town were decisive in creating a climate of mutual understanding and for the positive results achieved today." — Sapa.

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1984.03.03

FONTE "THE CITIZEN"

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# SA, MOZAMBIQUE AGREE ON PACT

## Joint security body to be set up

From BERT VANHEES  
CAPE TOWN. — Talks in Cape Town yesterday between the Mozambique and South African governments have left the non-aggression peace pact between the two with only one formality — the signing of it.

From a statement issued by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, last night, it appeared that this was only a matter of time.

The announcement came after nearly eight hours of deliberations between two ministerial delegations which met the Prime Minister, Mr P W

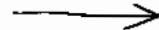
Botha, for 50 minutes in his office yesterday afternoon.

In a joint statement announcing the agreement, the negotiators gave credit to President Samora Machel and Mr Botha for having played a decisive role in the success of the discussions.

The leaders of the two

negotiating teams, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and Mozambique's Minister of Economic Affairs, General Jacinto Veloso, read the joint statement in English and Portuguese at a Press conference held at the talks venue last night.

The statement clarified that the main problem that had been resolved related to ~~the~~ activities of the banned African National Congress and the Mozambique National





## FROM PAGE 1

Resistance Movement, the MNR.

The governments had agreed that "neither of the two countries will serve as base for acts of aggression or violence against the other and that both countries undertake not to use the territory of a third state for this purpose."

### Details

The final details on other outstanding matters, mostly of an economic nature, were to be thrashed out last night as the talks begin a further round with a working dinner at Cape Town's historic Castle.

Gen Veloso said yesterday's agreement was "a positive contribution towards peace and stability around the (Southern African) region."

He, however, emphasised that the agreement would not affect the level of the ANC's presence in Mozambique.

"It has nothing to do with what we are discussing," he said.

"The essential point is that the territory will not serve as a base for violent action against South Africa."

The agreement is a culmination of diplomatic moves that started at the end of last year and which resulted in four meetings between high-ranking members of both governments.

The non-aggression pact was put on paper for the first time in draft form and presented to Pres Machel for consideration during the February 20 visit to Maputo by Mr Pik Botha, who headed a high-level ministerial delegation.

Yesterday, the Mozambicans arrived with an amended form of the draft to negotiate a final document to put the seal on what has been described as a sincere desire for peace on both sides.

### Positive

From the start of talks yesterday morning it was clear that the South African team regarded the Mozambican's amendment to their original draft as positive.

Mr Botha; the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange; the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan and their officials and officers, broke off the talks in order to study the Mozambique document.

By the time they recon-

vened shortly before lunch, it was clear that there was general agreement between the two teams and details were further refined in an almost jovial mood over an extended working lunch.

A scheduled 3pm courtesy call on Mr P W Botha was converted into a working visit with deliberations overrunning the timetable into a 50 minute discussion.

It was this meeting, and similarly that which was granted Mr Pik Botha by Pres Machel during the February 20 talks, which was later described as "decisive."

### Vital

In both cases, the two leaders gave guidelines that were vital to reaching an accord.

Gen Veloso, who was accompanied by the Mozambique Minister of Justice, Col Jose Monteiro, the Vice Minister of Security, Major General Salesio Teodoro Nalyambipano, the Vice-Minister of Defence, Col Sergio Vieira, the Vice-Minister of the Interior, Teodato Hunguana and other senior State officials, said that the accord would not in any way affect Mozambique's relations with the Soviet Union, nor was he aware of any charges that

he and his government had sold out and betrayed the ANC.

"Mozambique tenaciously defends its own interests," he commented. He could not see how relations with the Soviet Union could be affected, as his country had relations with all countries of the world regardless of orientation of their regimes.

He was asked how, as a member of a government which had come to power as a Marxist liberation movement, he could justify to his people and his neighbours, the curbing of another Marxist liberation movement.

### Problems

"He had no moral justification to give he said, because there were different conceptions of Marxism and Mozambique saw it as a method to solve national problems."

Details that are still to be finalised are believed to include a formula for returning properties belonging to South Africans which, Gen Veloso said, "they have been unable to use for some time".

The talks continued last night and the Mozambican team is expected to return to Maputo today. — Sapa.

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March 2, 1984

FONTE

RAND DAILY MAIL

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Maputo team to meet Pik on peace pact

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — A top-level Mozambican Government delegation will meet the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and other senior South African officials in Cape Town today and is expected to present proposals for a peace pact between the two countries.

Representatives of the two governments agreed at historic talks in Maputo last week to sign a non-aggression treaty.

A peace treaty could lead to a great reduction in military operations by the African National Congress in South Africa and by the Mozambique National Resistance movement in Mozambique.

Proposals for a peace pact were approved in Maputo on Monday by a joint session of the leaders of Frelimo and the Mozambique Government.

Should the proposals be presented to the South Africans today, and if they are found to be acceptable, it is likely the pact will be signed within the next few days.

The composition of the delegations which will meet today is very similar to those that met in Maputo on Monday last week.

Mr Botha will be backed by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the

Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

The Mozambique delegation will be headed by the Minister for Economic Affairs in the presidency, Gen Jacinto Veloso, and will include the Minister of Justice, Colonel Jose Oscar Monteiro, the Vice-Minister of Security, Maj-Gen Salesio Teodoro Nalyambipano, the Vice-Minister of Defence, Col Sergio Vieira and the Vice-Minister of the Interior, Mr Teodato Hunguana.

Both delegations will include senior military, security and foreign affairs officials.

The Mozambique delegation is expected to return to Maputo this evening.

Meanwhile, as the momentum towards peace in Southern Africa gathers, the Reagan administration is coming under heavy fire from its own Right wing for "selling out" anti-government rebels in Angola and Mozambique and for "blackmailing" Pretoria into accepting a South West African settlement that would entrench Marxist regimes in both Luanda and Windhoek, reports SIMON BARBER in Washington.

The attacks coincide with renewed lobbying drives by Unita, Mr Holden Roberto of the FNLA, and the Mozambique National Resistance, whose Secretary-General, Mr Evo Fernandez, is this week making the rounds of Conservative leaders on Capitol Hill.

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FONTE RAND DAILY MAIL

Johannesburg

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

Meeting between PM and Machel on cards

# SA, Mozambique poised for peace

By CHRIS FREIMOND

Political Correspondent.

CAPE TOWN.

**SOUTH AFRICA and Mozambique stood on the verge of peace last night after agreement was reached at historic talks in Cape Town on the main details of a non-aggression treaty.**

The scene now seems set for a meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and President Samora Machel of Mozambique to sign the accord.

There was strong speculation in some circles last night that the signing will take place either in Swaziland or Botswana with the latter being the more favoured.

At a Press conference after the talks yesterday the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P W Botha, said in a statement issued jointly with the Mozambicans: "The final text of the agreement will be ready for signature in the very near future. The date and venue for the signing will be announced as soon as possible."

The statement said the thrust of the agreement was that it would ensure that neither country would serve as the base for acts of aggression or violence against the other and that both countries would undertake not to use the territory of a third state for that purpose.

The agreement will provide for a joint commission to supervise the pact.

The four senior members of the Mozambican delegation, which was headed by the Minister for Economic Affairs in the Presidency, General Jacinto Veloso, and the three cabinet Ministers in the South African team — Mr P W Botha, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan — met Mr P W Botha for an hour during the afternoon.

During the meeting the teams "reviewed progress made in the security negotiations and other matters relating to bilateral relations between the two countries."

Members of the South African delegation then went to Maputo for similar talks last night. P W Botha had a meeting lasting an hour and a half with President Machel.

Yesterday's statement said the meetings with Mr P W Botha and President Machel were "decisive" in creating a climate of mutual understanding and contributed to the "positive results" achieved in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr P W Botha said last night it was not possible at this stage to say who would sign the peace pact or where it would be signed.



The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, with Gen Jacinto Veloso, Mozambique's Minister of the Economy.

It was pointed out by Gaborone sources last night, however, that the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Botswana, Mr Archie Mogwe, met Mr P W Botha in Cape Town on Tuesday, and that it is possible Botswana was sounded out about being the venue for the historic accord.

President Machel and Botswana's President Quett Masire have a good relationship, while South Africa and Botswana talk to each other on a wide range of topics.

Gen Veloso said the Mozambican Government's conviction was that the agreement was a "very positive" contribution to peace and stability throughout Southern Africa.

He said in reply to a question at the Press conference that the level of the African National Congress presence in Mozambique did not in any way interfere with what was being discussed between Mozambique and South Africa.

"The essential point of the agreement is that the territory of Mozambique shall not serve as a base for attacks against the territory of South Africa and vice-versa," he said.

In reply to another question, Gen Veloso said the question of properties owned by South Africans in Mozambique before independence would be resolved by the two governments.

"We will find the formula to enable these people to use such properties," he said.

Property — including holiday homes — owned by South Africans and worth, it is estimated, millions of rands, was nationalised by the Frelimo government after independence in 1976.

Both Mr Botha and Gen Veloso said the question of diplomatic ties between the two countries had not been discussed at this stage.

Meanwhile the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) reportedly endorsed and supported the contacts made by Mozambique and Angola with South Africa, but a UN representative said the statement was an error in interpretation, UPI reports from Addis Ababa.

An OAU spokesman, Mr Paul Etlang, said late on Thursday the OAU council of ministers had unanimously "endorsed and supported recent contacts made by Mozambique and Angola with South Africa" on the fourth day of a meeting in the Ethiopian capital.

A UN representative, however, said the council had not endorsed or supported the contacts. There was no official OAU comment on the dispute.

Observers said, however, if the OAU had "endorsed and supported" the contacts with South Africa it would be a spectacular turnaround in contrast to its long opposition to the South African Government.

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1984.03.05

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THE CITIZEN  
(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

Maputo  
pact  
may have  
spillover

# PIK ON HOPES FOR PEACE

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night he hoped that the recent peace initiatives between the South African and Mozambican Governments would serve as an en-

couragement to the Angolan government, South West African leaders and the Frontline states to play their part in bringing peace and stability to Southern Africa.

He said in a TV inter-

view there were signs that Southern African leaders were ready to play a positive role in their development.

"Despite the immense ideological and political differences, there is this emerging pattern which is

firming up, which is crystallising, of a resolve on the part of the leaders of Southern Africa to get down to the first priority of the region — that is peace and stability — and I do not think that events in Angola, which may take long to settle, will influence this almost irresistible desire on the part of the leaders to give peace a chance."

Asked how the Mozambique initiative would influence the Angolan-South African situation, he said:

## Effect

"I would hope that it would have a spillover effect" and that it would serve "as an encouragement for the Angolan government, for the leaders of South West Africa, for the leaders of the Frontline states all to play their part to try and bring about peace and stability."

But it was necessary to bear in mind that in the case of Angola and SWA, there were quite a number of "additional parties which complicate the peace effort very much."

"There is a far more direct involvement of the Soviet Union, there is the presence of the Cubans."

Asked about the suddenness in the movement, over the past two months, leading up to an agreement with Mozambique, Mr Botha said:

"It hasn't come about all of a sudden. This has taken years to put together. There were vari-

ous attempts in the past. There were meetings stretching now over two years, and every time that the two governments were moving towards an accord, something happened like the Pretoria bomb. We could have been close if it hadn't been for that Pretoria bomb explosion almost a year ago."

## Bomb

South Africa could not, in the face of that bomb explosion and other bomb explosions, accept that the Mozambique government could not control the elements who were

responsible.

"We could not go ahead, under circumstances where it was obvious that the African National Congress had a fairly free reign and were allowed the use of the Mozambique territory fairly freely to perpetrate, plan, execute, and implement the sabotage and violence that they did in South Africa."

He said the ANC and the "resistance movement of Mozambique" wished to torpedo and scuttle this initiative, but the two governments, had, nevertheless, agreed on putting together a joint security commission. — Sapa.



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FONTE RAND DAILY MAIL  
Johannesburg

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## Pretoria has too many political engagements to handle, says Pik

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent  
CAPE TOWN. — A new era of South African contact with black Africa appears to be emerging from the current peace initiative in Southern Africa.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, hinted broadly at what might lie ahead in a television interview on Sunday, when he said he had more contact with African states than he knew what to do with.

He indicated that the level of interest in exploring the possibility of better relations between South Africa and countries to the north was so considerable that he had to postpone some meetings to devote his full attention to the current regional initiative.

Due to the delicacy of the contacts, neither Mr Botha nor sources in the Department of Foreign Affairs have been willing to disclose which African governments have shown interests in developing relations.

But it seems likely that the contacts have been with states well to the north and it is understood that most of the contacts have been initiated by the African governments and not South Africa.

Apart from the current initiative involving Angola and Mozambique, South Africa also has trade and/or limited political contact with all the other black African states in the Southern African region, including Zambia, Zaire and Malawi.

There are also believed to be firm — but unpublicised —

trade links with a number of West African states and contacts are believed to have been made by countries on the east coast as well.

There were reports late last month that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia wanted to see South Africa in the Organisation of African Unity once the Namibian question had been settled.

There has also been a report that a South Africa Government official recently attended a meeting of one of the technical committees of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference in Malawi.

In Washington, a top US official said yesterday that long years of US diplomatic efforts in Southern Africa were "beginning to pay off", but an aide in the administra-

tion of former President Jimmy Carter denounced current US policy in the region as "fundamentally immoral", Sapa-AP reports.

Mr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said there had been "very concrete" gains in recent weeks.

But Mr Donald McHenry, an African affairs expert and UN Ambassador from 1978-81, said these changes were the result of South African military intimidation of Angola and Mozambique, a policy he said was carried out with the "tacit approval" of the Reagan Administration.

In New Delhi, the Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Dmitry Ustinov, criticised the US last night for supporting South Africa, Sapa-Reuter reports.

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FONTE

THE STAR

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John H. Johnson



Dr Chester Crocker ... "confrontation reduced America's ability to bring about change".



Mr Donald McHenry ... "Cuban presence was never a real impediment".

## Crocker defends American policy in Southern Africa

By Gerald L'Ange,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The policy of constructive engagement in Southern Africa was attacked on television last night by the Carter Administration's United Nations ambassador, Mr Don McHenry, and defended by the Reagan Administration's Africa chief, Dr Chester Crocker.

Mr McHenry suggested the recent progress towards a settlement in Namibia and talks between South Africa and Mozambique were due not to the constructive engagement policy but to the fact that it now suited Pretoria to make these concessions.

In addition, the black states had been cowed by South Africa's use of brute military force, said Mr McHenry, who spearheaded the Carter Administration's attacks against South Africa and played a major role in its fruitless Namibia settlement efforts.

Dr Crocker argued that confrontation (implicitly that of the Carter era) served only to reduce America's ability to bring about change in South Africa.

He said the Reagan Administration's hard work in Southern Africa was beginning to pay off and people were exploring the path of coexistence rather than looking simply at military options and polarisation.

Dr Crocker and Mr McHenry took part in a debate on the non-commercial National Public Broadcasting channel. Brief remarks by South Africa's Ambassador to the United States, Mr Brand Fourie, and Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma were injected at intervals into the programme.

Mr McHenry said South Africa could have settled in Namibia at any time during the past

4½ years. Pretoria had not been committed to a settlement and up to now had been stalling for time.

The presence of Cuban troops in Angola had never been a real impediment to settlement in Namibia, only an excuse for doing nothing.

In all the negotiations in which he had participated, he said, the Cuban presence had never been a question at issue.

When Dr Crocker was later asked by the moderator of the debate what would follow the South African withdrawal from Angola, he indicated that he expected bilateral talks soon between the United States and Angola on the Cuban withdrawal issue.

Other matters to be tackled in the next stage included setting a date for the beginning of the implementation of the UN-supervised independence process in Namibia and the question of the US establishing diplomatic relations with Angola.

Replying to Mr McHenry's contention that South Africa could have settled in Namibia at any time, Dr Crocker said this overlooked the fact that for a settlement to occur there had to be something in it for all the parties involved.

With this in mind the US was trying to create "a balanced package".

Asked by the moderator what was in it for South Africa, Dr Crocker said: "Well, politically, in domestic South African terms, damn little."

The issue was going to be a hot one in South African domestic politics and there had to be an agreement that the Government could point to as an achievement and not a defeat.

At one point when the moderator pointed out that Dr Crocker had had been to Moscow to discuss a Namibia settlement, he replied: "We are not negotiating this issue with the Soviets."

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THE CITIZEN

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1984 03 06

Johannesburg

CAPE TOWN. — Peace in South and Southern Africa would depend in the longer term on the resolution of "our internal political differences," Mr Harry Oppenheimer said yesterday.

Mr Oppenheimer, speaking in his capacity as national chairman of the SA Institute of International Affairs, said the first months of 1984 had seen the hopeful beginnings of "a new, more positive

trend" in Southern Africa.

He warned, however, that external affairs and domestic policies were "inextricably linked," adding:

"In pursuing the cur-

rent policies of rapprochement, we must, for instance, bear in mind that many South Africans and Namibians support the political aims, if not always the methods, of the ANC (African Nat-

ional Congress) and Swazopo, respectively, because they see in those aims their own ideals of full political and economic rights.

"So it is essential that accelerated internal reform should proceed on a parallel course with the process of external reconciliation.

"One without the other will eventually fail."

Mr Oppenheimer was delivering his report to the SAIJA's biennial council meeting, which falls this year in the institute's 50th anniversary year.

He said that in recent years Southern Africa had increasingly been becoming a region of instability and conflict, with growing confrontation between South Africa and its neighbours.

He cited the following developments:

- Escalation of conflict in Angola;

- Deadlock in "negotiations to achieve a Namibian settlement, as well as economic and political deterioration within that territory;"

- Spreading insurgency and economic disorder in Mozambique;

- Violent strife in Zimbabwe, and a declining economy, and

- South African military strikes into Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique in retaliation against the ANC.

Fortunately, he said, this gloomy picture was now changing.

The recent change in mood had been dramatic, but there was more than a change in attitudes and rhetoric — there were direct negotiations between South Africa and Mozambique, and between the

Republic and Angola.

"There is expectation that the ground is being prepared for new moves towards both a Namibian settlement and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola," Mr Oppenheimer added.

He said, however, that it would be "unwise to indulge in any feelings of euphoria."

"The peaceful resolution of conflicts is bound to be a long and difficult diplomatic process, as various elements are patiently put together to

form new structures for cooperation and the maintenance of peace.

Mr Oppenheimer noted that previous initiatives in the last 15 years had aroused hope for peace and regional cooperation, but could not be sustained.

"But it does seem that there is more substance in the current negotiations and that a good basis now exists for cautious hope that the peace process in Southern Africa will continue and produce results. — Sapa.

# New, positive trend in SA, says Oppenheimer

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## OAU session rejects endorsement of Southern African peace talks

ADDIS ABABA — Ministers of Organisation of African Unity countries last night rejected a move to endorse recent talks between South Africa and Mozambique and Angola.

A Foreign Ministers budget session ended by rejecting a motion tabled by Angola and Mozambique which would have "fully supported the diplomatic efforts" undertaken by Luanda and Maputo towards "seeking a peaceful solution to the serious situation prevailing in southern Africa".

Delegates said this was a reference to Angola's talks with South Africa on disengagement of SA troops from southern Angola and Maputo's discussions with Pretoria on regional security.

The session of the OAU instead adopted a motion expressing "sympathy and deep understanding for the diplomatic efforts undertaken" by Luanda and Maputo, delegates said.

The resolution also condemns South Africa for raids into Angola and Mozambique, for its support for Angolan and Mozambican rebels fighting Luanda and Maputo and for an attack last year on Lesotho.

Delegates said the final resolution also ex-

pressed renewed support for the African National Congress and Swapo.

But the Ministers were told during week-long talks with the OAU secretariat that contributions to the "liberation committee" to help finance Swapo and the ANC were 16 million dollars in arrears, delegates said.

Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Paulo Jorge complained in a closed session that Angola had had to bear the brunt of the human and financial cost of backing Swapo while other African states supported Swapo with words alone.

Mozambique's Foreign Minister, Mr Joaquim Chissano, told the session that Mozambique was under attack from South Africa for its alleged military support for the ANC and had had to come to a "good neighbour" understanding with Pretoria in the light of this.

Another resolution condemned the "unholy alliance" between the United States and South Africa and also criticised Britain, Israel and multi-national companies for their links with Pretoria, delegates said. — Sapa-Reuter.



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# Harry O held private talks with Samora Machel

CAPE TOWN. — The retired chairman of Anglo American, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, has held private talks with president Samora Machel of Mozambique.

He confirmed this in Cape Town yesterday during the golden jubilee conference of the South African Institute of International Affairs, of which he is chairman.

Their meeting had taken place in London during President Machel's recent visit to Britain, Mr Oppenheimer said.

"We had a most interesting and agreeable talk and President Machel expressed a keen interest in new foreign investment in Mozambique, including

South African investment."

Mr Oppenheimer declined to disclose further details of the meeting. It is believed, however, that the status of South African property and assets which were nationalised when the Frelimo government came to power in Mozambique was one of the topics discussed.

The issue has also been central to the South African Government's most-recent talks with Mozambique.

There is speculation that a formula is being sought whereby nationalised property either

would be restored to the original owners or paid for by the Mozambique government by way of long-term agreements.

There is also speculation that in the case of property which might remain nationalised, agreements might be feasible whereby the original owners would be able to secure long-term leases on their property for a nominal amount.

New foreign investment in Mozambique is regarded as unlikely while that country's policy on nationalised property and assets remains unchanged. — Sapa.

## French talks

MAPUTO. — Mr Guy Penne, an adviser on African affairs to French President, Mr Francois Mitterand, arrived in Maputo on Monday night for talks with Mozambican

Government officials.

Mr Penne said he was carrying a message to President Samora Machel from Mr Mitterand, but gave no details. — Sapa-Reuter.

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FONTE

THE STAR

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Benefits that will flow from the peace treaty

A non-aggression treaty between South Africa and Mozambique is now a *fait accompli* — all that remains to be done is to put signatures to a document already drafted.

What needs to be assessed is the significance and concrete advantages of the document for the countries involved and those on the periphery.

For Mozambique, the biggest benefits of the deal are financial. The country's economy is shot to smithereens by drought, lack of investment, lack of expertise and by the imperatives of a marxist method of government coupled to a socialist way of life.

People are starving in Mozambique, in hundreds of thousands and possibly millions.

Hard cash cannot save starving people. But milk powder can. And South Africa has a huge surplus of milk powder. Exporting it to Mozambique's starving northern provinces could be done with a minimum of cost should the political climate allow it.

Not only milk powder, but powder with all the additives worked out by dieticians, can save lives, and when estimates of the lives at stake run from 600 000 to over a million, that is a concrete advantage.

Then there is seed. Mozambique has none, but South Africa's stocks, while depleted by the drought, are still enough to supply a friendly state.

It is in the security field that South Africa gains its major advantage from the treaty, with a containment of the African National Congress an essential clause of the document.

For Mozambique there is a *quid pro quo* in that South Africa will not support the rebel Renamo movement once the document is signed; not that this means South Africa will admit to having done so before the signing.

This also allows a concrete advantage in that electricity from Cahora Bassa then becomes viable — giving Lisbon a cash payoff and Mozambique and South Africa relatively cheap electricity.

A concrete spinoff of guaranteed stability for Cahora Bassa is that a European country is very interested



Samora Machel ... setting a precedent.

in building another turbine at the mammoth hydro-electric scheme, bringing foreign capital and free-spending workers to Mozambique and providing even more electricity for the two treaty signatories.

Tourism, the advantage most South Africans would like to see Maputo getting, suddenly becomes a far less risky venture if both countries have agreed not to behave aggressively towards each other, although building up tourist-attracting facilities in Maputo will not be an overnight affair.

For Zimbabwe, Zaire and Malawi, peaceful and stable ports run with expertise in Mozambique present an infinitely better picture than dilapidated facilities with tonnage measured in ranting rhetoric.

Possible overseas investment in Maputo once there is more stability is also a factor not to be viewed lightly, with harbour expansion plans already mooted.

There is also nothing to prevent Mozambique allowing Soviet warships to dock there even if the non-aggression treaty is signed, but this possibility could be used to lever more investment from Western countries anxious to wean President Samora Machel away from the Russian sphere of influence.

Except for security, South Africa's advantages seem more ethereal, more in the realms of international affairs and political theory.

**An assessment by The Star's  
Political Correspondent,  
Peter Sullivan.**

Her diplomatic initiatives are given the stamp of sincerity, arguments about disinvestment and cutting links with the racists of the south falter when confronted by treaties between liberation governments and Pretoria.

Uninterrupted Cahora Bassa power is a concrete advantage, as is access to another port on the east coast of Africa, one close to the Eastern Transvaal agricultural area.

Then of course it is the precedent it sets. If President Machel can sign treaties, why should anyone else in Africa be ashamed of dealing with South Africa, or of signing similar treaties?

Therefore when that treaty is signed, it will not be simply symbolic.

# African summit: where will the leaders meet?

The Star's Foreign News Service

Where will the summit meeting be? Botswana, Zambia or Malawi?

All those coy dimples displayed by Mr Pik Botha on TV recently while he described the birth of a new era in Maputo/Pretoria relations have intensified speculation about the likely venue for a meeting between Prime Minister P W Botha and President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

The Foreign Minister acknowledged, with what appeared to be some hope of success, that he would like to have the two leaders sign the Maputo/Pretoria peace accord.

However, he carefully sidestepped a question on where such a meeting would take place. There are several possibilities.

Portugal, which would be eager to host such a meeting as a demonstration of its keenness to increase its influence in its former territories, is out. The two parties agree that a signing ceremony of such import should take place in Africa.

That reasoning does not exclude Cape Verde, whose President Aristide Pereira has hosted several meetings between South African and Angolan delegations.

Zambia is a strong possibility as it would give Pretoria and Maputo an opportunity to acknowledge the role played by President Kenneth Kaunda.

Of the likely venues selected by commentators, Malawi is a possibility but may be considered too pro-South African for Mozambique to accept it as neutral ground.

Botswana is a possibility, though Dr Quett Masire's government may not wish to be too closely associated with the no-aggression pact in case it is later condemned as a Maputo sell-out of South Africa's black population.

There remains, of course, the possibility that instead of seeking neutral ground the South African Prime Minister may take his Homburg in hand and make a great leap outward to Maputo.

## Zimbabwe set to reopen diplomatic links with Pretoria?

By Robin Drew,  
The Star Bureau

**HARARE** — The belief is growing in informed circles here that Zimbabwe will be talking to South Africa on a government-to-government basis before too long.

Contact at ministerial level between Harare and Pretoria was banned by Zimbabwe Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe soon after independence when in July 1980 he ordered the South African diplomatic representative here to pack his bags and go.

Both governments maintained trade missions in each other's countries and kept on talking through their officials.

But Mr Mugabe has up to now been adamant that there should be no discussions between Ministers, an attitude which angered Pretoria.

Now in the wake of the dramatic peace initiative involving ministers of the Mozambique and South African Governments and likelihood of a meeting between President Samora Machel and Prime Minister P W Botha, political and diplomatic circles here are asking not of, but when, Ministers from Harare and Pretoria will get together.

It is reliably learnt that overtures have already been made by South Africa and that Mr Mugabe's government has been

urged to reconsider its stance in the interests of Southern African peace and stability.

Close ties between Zimbabwe and Mozambique were formed during the liberation war when Mr Machel allowed forces of the now-ruling Zanu (PF) party of Mr Mugabe to operate from Mozambique territory, despite the terrible cost exacted through Rhodesian security force raids.

Particular attention has been paid here to the remark last week by President Machel that the security talks in Maputo were not a matter for Mozambique and South Africa alone, but for the whole of Southern Africa.

### TRANSPORT LINKS

Mr Mugabe has himself said in the Zimbabwe Parliament he had been assured that the talks were in the interests of security, and that if South Africa proved to be sincere, Zimbabwe should benefit from the security of its transport links through Mozambique.

But he went further to talk about his hopes for positive results from the Mozambique and Angolan meetings which could mean peace and calm in the region.

This, he said, would depend on whether there had been a "transformation" on the part of the South African Government.

Earlier this year when asked

if he visualised talks with South Africa in view of the Mozambique moves, Mr Mugabe left the door open by saying that contacts had always been maintained with South Africa in an open manner, particularly when matters of trade or security needed to be discussed.

Well-placed sources in Harare say it seems inevitable that, because of the changed Southern African scene resulting from the peace talks between Maputo and Pretoria, the Zimbabwe Government will review its ban on ministerial contacts.

There is still a marked reluctance to take this step because of the wish to avoid affording South Africa the claim to respectability which it could make if yet another "progressive" African country finds itself negotiating with a regime which had been labelled "obnoxious". There is also grave distrust of South African motives.

### ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS

But against this, there is the camp which says that given the prevailing economic hardships, it would be foolish for Zimbabwe to take a stand on a matter of principle when the rest of the region has found it necessary to bend.

One view is that if Zimbabwe does not agree to government-to-government discussions, it would be laying itself open to a



Zimbabwe premier Robert Mugabe... a change of heart?

stepped-up programme of destabilisation.

The Zimbabwe Government has repeatedly accused South Africa of arming dissidents and of mounting a propaganda campaign through a clandestine radio station called "Radio Truth", which it says is operating from South African territory.

"Whether we like it or not, we have to take account of the realities of the situation and that means more stick from Pretoria unless we reach for the carrot," said one source.

The carrot could be a non-aggression pact on similar lines to the one Mozambique has agreed to.

It could also be promises of assistance in helping to move food supplies which Zimbabwe will need this year and even assistance in persuading Botswana to do more to stop dissidents using that territory as a base.

A pact presumably would mean an end to Radio Truth outpourings and an agreement not to let South African soil be used as a springboard for opponents of the Harare government.

It would also mean a formal acknowledgement of the Zimbabwe Government's stand that it will not allow South African liberation movements to use the territory as a base for incursions across the border.

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CLASSIFICACAO

'Nkomati Accord' to be signed on border

# Machel to meet PM next week

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN.

**THE South African regional peace initiative will reach a new peak next Friday when the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and President Samora Machel of Mozambique meet to sign the non-aggression pact agreed to last week.**

The pact — agreed to after intensive negotiations — will be known as the "Accord of Nkomati" and will be signed by the two leaders on the Mozambique border near Komati-poort.

Although details of the meeting have not been disclosed, it is expected to take place on the banks of the Nkomati River at the south-eastern corner of the Kruger National Park.

The meeting is likely to attract considerable international attention with massive Press coverage.

Mr Botha and President Machel are expected to make landmark speeches at the signing and may use the opportunity to discuss the prospects of closer economic ties between the two countries.

The ground for Friday's signing was cleared by high-level negotiations in Maputo and Cape Town between delegations led by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the Mozambican Minister for Economic Affairs in the Presidency, General Jacinto Veloso.

Groundwork was also done through committees set up by the two countries late last year to consult on a wide range of common security and economic interests.

The pact was discussed at talks in Maputo on February 20 and agreed to at negotiations in Cape Town on Friday last week.

The agreement will provide that neither country serves as the base for acts of aggression or violence against the other and that both countries undertake not to use the territory of a third state for that purpose.

It will also provide for a joint commission to supervise the pact.

The pact is expected to severely restrict — if not curtail completely — the activities of the African National Congress in Maputo and the Mozambique National Resistance movement operating against the government in the north of the country. It has been alleged that South Africa supports the MNR.

After last week's talks Gen Veloso said the Mozambique Government was convinced the agreement was a "very positive" contribution to peace and stability throughout Southern Africa.

"The essential point of the agreement is that the territory of Mozambique shall not serve as a base for attacks against the territory of South Africa and vice versa," he said.

The news of next week's meeting was first announced in a communique broadcast by Radio Mozambique at 8.30pm last night, JOSE CAETANO reports.

The communique said the meeting would "be held at a point where the Nkomati river meets the borders of Mozambique and South Africa".

The broadcast on Mozambique Radio added that the "agreement of non-aggression and good neighbourliness" would be signed by President Machel and Mr Botha.

Meanwhile the news of the meeting is featured in banner headlines on the front page of Maputo's Noticias newspaper this morning.

The South African and Mozambican security services are known to be working together on security aspects of the meeting.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has said Angola did not feel the need for a non-aggression treaty with Pretoria even though it was happy to go ahead with the establishment of a modus vivendi between the nations of the region and South Africa, the Rand Daily Mail's correspondent in Lisbon reports.

Mr Dos Santos said this on Wednesday to the British Ambassador, Mr Mark Goulding, according to the Angolan news agency monitored in Lisbon.

He told the ambassador Angola's main objective in negotiating with South Africa was to ensure the removal of South African troops.

He confirmed that this was in the process of taking place even though there were still South Africans in the country.

In a toughly worded speech the Angolan president also said Angola did not have a common border with South Africa and that their contact was the result of South Africa's illegal occupation of South West Africa.

Observers in Lisbon feel that this hard line towards South Africa which contradicts the new found peace with Pretoria is more than an exercise in propaganda rhetoric.

Reports reaching Lisbon suggest that Soviet military aid to Angola is on the up and that this has led to a new-found confidence in the Angolan leadership.

Specifically it has been suggested that Angola is now in a position to challenge South Africa's air superiority.

DATA

FONTE

THE STAR

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## Constellation of states idea gives way to security need

By David Braun,  
Political Reporter

South Africa's grandiose scheme for a constellation of states has given way to an overriding concern with security, says Professor Deon Geldenhuys, head of the department of political science at Rand Afrikaans University.

He was addressing the golden jubilee conference of the SA Institute of International Affairs in Cape Town today.

"South Africa has since Verwoerd's time not been able to give effect to its ambitious designs for regional co-operation.

"This very failure is itself evidence that the Republic has not succeeded in creating exactly the kind of regional environment it desired.

"South Africa was consequently in recent years compelled to scale down its plans for regional co-operation; it was a case of reconciling the desirable with the possible.

"This has resulted in a much more modest and more realistic conception of a favourable regional environment."

Professor Geldenhuys said South Africa had, since the collapse of the constellation initiative, tried to establish a set of "rules of the game" in Southern Africa.

### FIRST RULE

"The first and most important rule is that South Africa and its neighbours should not allow insurgents to use their territories to commit subversion against one another.

"Second, material support for rebel or liberation movements should likewise cease. Should black states violate these rules, South Africa would respond with a variety of punitive measures," he said.

"Should they, however, obey the rules, South Africa would be duty bound to do the same.

"A third rule, clearly secondary to the first two, is that political and ideological differences should not obstruct economic interaction.

"The black states's part of the deal would be to refrain from economic boycotts and South Africa in turn should likewise refrain from economic punishment or economic subversion."

Professor Geldenhuys says these rules are all based on the premise that the states involved will interact within the existing political order in Southern Africa.

"Such a set of rules does not amount to a local version of the Brezhnev Doctrine; for one thing, South Africa lacks the capability to 'do a Czechoslovakia' and sustain a client regime in power.

"The prospects for establishing these rules of the game have improved considerably over the last few weeks. Whether the new climate of moderation will last, remains to be seen.

"But even if South Africa's regional environment was to become more favourable (or less unfavourable) to its perceived interests than for some years, this still would not solve the Republic's principal political and security problems.

"Only the creation of a domestic environment favourable to the interests of its people could do that," he said.



DATA

1984.03.08

FONTE

THE CITIZEN  
(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Border pacts will not solve SA's security problems'

By BERT van NEESE  
CAPE TOWN. —

South Africa's "hawkish strategy" had paved the way for a new round of South African diplomacy in Southern Africa, Professor Deon Geldenhuys, author of *The Diplomacy of Isolation* — South Africa's Foreign Policy Making, said yesterday.

"However, to speak of a new era in South Africa's regional relations would be highly premature at this stage."

A number of factors could upset the new climate of moderation and, even if South Africa's regional environment were to become more favourable, the country's perceived interests than it had been for years, this still would not give the Republic's

principal political and security problems."

Prof Geldenhuys, a Rand Afrikaans University political scientist, said there could be little doubt that Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho had been influenced by South Africa's "use of military and/or economic pressure" in heeding Pretoria's demands that they deny sanctuary to African National Congress members.

However, other considerations must also have prompted recent shifts in policy by these countries.

These included Portuguese and American mediation, drought and floods in Mozambique, awareness of the need for improved economic ties with South Africa by Maputo and Lesotho and "pressing economic reasons for wanting peace" on the part of Angola.

Prof Geldenhuys said that, among the "imponderables" that could upset the new diplomatic climate were Soviet and Cuban influence over the MPLA, possible deliberate or inadvertent jeopardising of relations by Unita in Angola or the MNR in Mozambique and difficulties in resolving the SWA independence question.

On claims of destabilisation of neighbouring states by South Africa, he said Pretoria "might have toyed with the idea of getting one or two neighbouring governments replaced by movements sympathetic to South Africa."

However, the country was probably keenly aware of the military, economic and diplomatic costs it would incur if its forces

were to take on the role of White Cubans in Southern Africa.

"Notwithstanding its power in the regional context, it is highly doubtful whether South Africa possesses the resources to dislodge several surrounding governments and sustain perhaps unpopular (puppet) successor regimes in the face of determined resistance," Prof Geldenhuys said.

On Pretoria's plans

for a constellation of Southern African states, Prof Geldenhuys said the Republic "has not succeeded in creating exactly the kind of regional environment it desired."

South Africa had been compelled to scale down its plans for regional co-operation and "the grandiose scheme for a regional constellation of states has given way to an overriding concern with security."

This involved attempts at establishing a set of "rules of the game" in Southern Africa.

The most important rule was that states should not allow insurgents to use their territories to commit subversion against each other, while material support for rebel movements should also cease.

"Should Black states violate these rules, South Africa would re-

spond with a variety of punitive measures," Prof Geldenhuys said.

"Should they, however, obey the rules, South Africa would be duty bound to do the same."

Another rule was that political and ideological differences should not obstruct economic interaction.

Black states would refrain from economic boycotts and South Africa "would likewise refrain from economic punishment or economic subversion," Prof Geldenhuys said.



Prof DEON GELDEHUYS ... new era regional relations 'premature'.

DATA	FONTE	CLASSIFICAÇÃO
1184-008	THE STAR (Lophomereburg)	

## Maputo's view of peace move slates Pretoria

### The Star's Foreign News Service

MAPUTO — In South Africa the fast-moving regional peace exercise is being punted as the result of an imaginative Pretoria initiative. The Mozambican view is somewhat different. In a commentary on the progress of the exercise, the official Mozambican news agency, AIM, said "South Africa's own economic crisis" and "failures of its military strategy" forced

Pretoria to negotiate with its neighbours. And the Maputo newspaper Noticias described the security agreement due to be signed shortly as "the culmination of a series of initiatives taken by our country. The direct involvement of the South African army in Angola and Namibia and the upkeep of the bandit gangs in Angola, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Mozambique represented a drain on the South African economy which would have been

difficult to maintain for much longer." The AIM commentary said when South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha visited Europe shortly after President Samora Machel's trip there last year "he found a large number of doors closed to him. Mozambique's diplomatic offensive was having the desired effect". "It was then that South Africa asked to reopen the dialogue exercise that Mozambique had initiated."

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FONTE THE CITIZEN

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### Mugabe, too?

THESE are really heady days of peace and reconciliation in Southern Africa, with the most unlikely countries getting together with South Africa in a new spirit of detente.

So when reports from Harare suggest that Zimbabwe will be talking to South Africa before too long on a government-to-government basis, such reports should not surprise us.

Mr Mugabe broke off diplomatic links with South Africa in July 1980 after announcing in Parliament: "We cannot have any political and diplomatic relations with South Africa until it puts its own political house in order and kills the repugnance and revulsion that we have to apartheid".

However, he acknowledged that South Africa was a "geographical and economic reality" on which Zimbabwe had become dependent over the previous 15 years. "In these circumstances, trade or economic relations are inevitable".

South Africa was thus allowed to continue to have a trade mission in Zimbabwe, and Zimbabwe continued to have a trade mission in South Africa.

Now, with peace descending on Southern Africa, Mr Mugabe finds himself out of step with his fellow Marxist leader, President Machel, who is signing security and other accords with South Africa, and with Angola, which has reached agreement with South Africa on monitoring the disengagement of South African forces in Southern Angola and may go on to negotiate agreements on other issues.

Reports say that political and diplomatic circles in Harare are asking not if, but when, Ministers from Zimbabwe and South Africa will get together.

One can see why Mr Mugabe's attitude is changing.

His belligerence towards South Africa has done nothing to resolve his own problems.

Attempts to reduce Zimbabwe's economic dependence on South Africa have failed.

South Africa is still Zimbabwe's biggest export market and supplies most of its imports — in both cases more than double the volumes of the United Kingdom.

Mr Mugabe's claims that South Africa has been training dissidents in the Northern Transvaal and sending them back to Zimbabwe to destabilise his country have not been substantiated, but have only added to the acrimony between the two countries.

Mr Mugabe, in fact, has become quite paranoid about South Africa's supposed involvement in his troubles in Matabeleland, where he is presently carrying out another security operation like the horrible one in which hundreds, perhaps thousands, of supporters of Mr Joshua Nkomo were massacred.

The Mugabe Government has also accused South Africa of conducting a propaganda campaign through a clandestine radio station called "Radio Truth".

Speculation is that Mr Mugabe would seek an end to Radio Truth's broadcasts, and a security arrangement whereby South Africa would agree not to allow opponents of the Harare regime to use its territory as a base.

In turn, Mr Mugabe would give South Africa the undertaking in a non-aggression pact that he would not allow the ANC guerrillas to attack South Africa across Zimbabwe's borders.

All this chumminess will need a lot of getting used to.

After all, Mr Mugabe is hated by many people in this part of the world, especially by ex-Zimbabweans and others who have watched him take Zimbabwe along the road to a Marxist one-party State.

Even liberal circles here have been openly critical of the killings, tortures and beatings that have gone on in Zimbabwe, at one time held up as an example to the White South of how people can live happily ever after under Black rule.

However, South Africa would not be the first country to live in peace with a neighbour whose policies and actions it finds repugnant. Peace has broken out, and if that peace includes Zimbabwe, so be it.

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1984.03.09

FONTE

THE CITIZEN  
Johannesburg

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# SA 'must be wary of pact con trick'

**Citizen Reporter**  
**FEEDBACK** information reaching Pretoria indicates there is growing optimism and hope for the future among Mozambicans as the South African and Mozambique governments move toward a peace and economic pact.

However, yesterday a veteran Mozambique missionary, Mr Edward Cain warned in an interview with The Citizen in Pretoria that South Africa "must go into any agreement with her eyes wide open and very wary of a Marxist confidence trick".

He said he himself was

sceptical of the Maputo Government's intentions and in fact at one stage recently when a South African delegation was actually negotiating in Maputo he monitored "negative" Radio Maputo reports.

"Five times in three reports was it clearly stated that Mozambique would continue to give its backing to the African National Congress," he said.

Ordinary Blacks in Mozambique who were better informed welcomed, it seemed, the fact that

South Africa might once again be on a more amicable footing with Mozambique.

"But therein lies another danger — these people know that South Africa has a stable and orderly White government and if the present government in Mozambique is not changed for the better they might feel let down in a sense by South African Whites," Mr Cain said.

He said he had little confidence in the sincerity or morality of Mozambi-

que's Marxist government.

The people of Mozambique were suffering under an unpopular, totally corrupt, inefficient and inept government.

"If the government could be replaced with a better and more competent one there might be hope for the future.

"But as it is a population of 12-million people is being ruled by a Marxist-dominated and Moscow-controlled party with barely more than 100 000 members," Mr Cain said.

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THE CITIZEN  
Johannesburg

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# SA—Mozambique pact could benefit SADCC

By  
**KEITH ABENDROTH**

SOUTH Africa-Mozambique detente could be the sorely-needed catalyst which the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference of Black Frontline States had been needing, say strategists in Pretoria.

They say the establishment of a pattern of sound relationships between the two states

could, in fact, result in a new wave of prosperity in the long term for the sub-continent.

The success of the SADCC hinges mainly on the contribution of Mozambique to the plan — long on the drawing boards of the nine Frontline States, but still far from getting off the ground.

The Africa Institute's Mr Herwig Rudolph, a top geo-political analyst,

said the key to success of the SADCC lay in Mozambique's geographical position with its harbours and transport links with the landlocked other member states of the conference.

But a number of factors such as the civil war situation, lack of funds for raw materials and spares, shortage of administrative and technical manpower, and decaying infrastructures had so far prevented Mozambique from playing its pivotal role in the SADCC.

Foreign, and particularly Western interest in SADCC, had remained high. Not so much because of its aim of lessening economic dependence on South Africa, but for pragmatic reasons, he said.

## Linked

The nine member-states were linked by a fairly well developed transport, power and communication infrastructure, and their human and natural resources and economic potential made them the most economically viable region in Black Africa.

The SADCC envisaged a number of major pro-

jects for Mozambique, including improvements to the Nacala-Malawi line and an extension linking Malawi and Zambia; the rehabilitation of the important Beira — Mutare line and the realignment of a considerable section of track.

In 1979 Mozambique's imports from South Africa amounted to 14,4 percent of total imports against 15,4 percent from all Comecon states.

Exports to South Africa stood at 4,9 percent, making her the fifth most important export market of the Black state.

A new economic relationship between the Republic and Mozambique and an understanding on security matters with other Frontline States would likely bring about changes in their tactical and strategic attitude to Pretoria.

## Rebels 'have reached Maputo'

LISBON. — Mozambican rebels said in a statement released in Lisbon yesterday they had reached Maputo, the capital, and were cutting all access to the city to Government supply units.

The statement, dated March 2, was the first from the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) since Mozambique's Marxist government and South Africa agreed to conclude a non-aggression pact the same day.

The MNR listed a series of actions in the southern and central provinces of Maputo, Gaza, Manica, Inhambane and the northern province of Zambezia claiming at least 66 dead and 64 wounded among government troops and dozens of others killed between February 15 and 18.

It said high tension lines had been destroyed near the major port of Beira, Mozambique's second city, which it said had now been without electricity since the end of December and without water since January.

The rebel statement said: "In 1984 Renamo reached Maputo, capital of the country, and are encircling it, cutting all access and sabotaging logistical units supporting Frelimo."

Frelimo is the ruling Mozambican Liberation Front, against which the rebels have been fighting since Mozambican independence from Portugal in 1975.

"With bases and logistics located in Maputo province, our forces are intensifying the war and bringing the capital to collapse," said the MNR.

One of the actions mentioned in the statement was said to have taken place at Cimbe, 20 km north-east of Maputo. — Sapa-Reuter.



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# PW, MACHEL TO SIGN PACT ON BORDER

CAPE TOWN. — The non-aggression pact between South Africa and Mozambique will be signed by the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha and President Samora Machel on Friday, March 16.

The signing of the agreement, to be known as the "accord of Nkomati", will take place on the border between South Africa and Mozambique, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, announced in Cape Town yesterday.

It had been agreed that the South African Prime Minister and President Machel of Mozambique would meet to sign "the

joint agreement on non-aggression and good neighbourliness" the statement said.

The meeting between the two leaders will culmi-

nate months of delicate negotiations conducted in secret at first between working parties in a flurry of shuttle diplomacy, and during the past few weeks

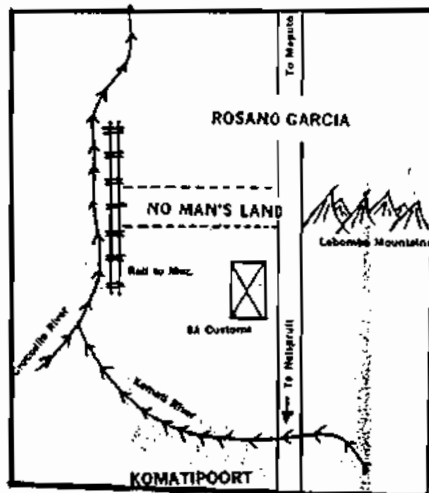
between delegations led at ministerial level.

First indications of a major breakthrough towards peace between the two ideologically opposed neighbours came during the South African delegation's visit to Maputo, when the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, together with the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, met President Machel.

The first announcement of an imminent non-aggression accord followed that meeting. Mr Botha said agreement had been reached in principle.

Last Friday a Mozambican delegation, led by

# Together! SA and Frelimo



Site for the signing of the Nkomati accord

SOUTH African and Mozambican forces — once eyeball-to-eyeball along the eastern borders — will soon be jointly guarding the crucial Cahora Bassa powerlines against Mozambican rebels.

Major elements in South Africa's swiftly unfolding peace initiative which has stunned the world include:

- A likely Maputo amnesty for the MNR rebel bands.
- A joint Mozambique-South African Monitoring Commission.
- The possibility that other Southern African leaders will attend the milestone "Accord of Nkomati" on Friday — including possible representation of South Africa's independent homelands.
- Other developments this week include:
- Indications of a temporary "freeze" in the operations of the Angolan Monitoring Commission because of the Swapo thrust into SWA/Namibia.
- Growing resistance in

By BRIAN POTTINGER, Political Correspondent

the powerful US right wing to peace moves in Angola.

• Strong pressures in certain African capitals for a meeting between Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and President Dos Santos of Angola.

## Joint forces

On Tuesday a Mozambican delegation arrives in Cape Town to thrash out the final arrangements by which Portuguese interests in the money-spinning Cahora Bassa project pass to Mozambique

while South Africa becomes the chief consumer.

A critical element in bringing the scheme back on line — it has been plagued for years by MNR sabotage — will be joint military forces to guard the powerlines.

The prospect of South African-Mozambican joint action against Renamo is stunning. Last year SAAF jets attacked alleged ANC bases in Maputo and commando squads have carried out raids into the capital. There has also been the constant Mozambican charge that South

Africa has been aiding the Renamo rebels.

The peace accord will make provision for a joint security monitoring commission based on the Angolan model to monitor ANC military activities in the territory and alleged South African support for Renamo.

It is expected that the Maputo government will soon offer the Renamo rebels an amnesty.

## Fervent

Maputo is believed to have invited some heads of Southern African states to attend the Nkomati summit, but it is still unclear who has accepted.

Observers believe President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia — African elder statesman and fervent peacemaker — is a possi-

bility. Swazi Prime Minister Prince A B Dlamini is another.

It is also possible that South Africa will invite the ambassadors of the TBVC countries.

But on the western flank, there is concern about the increase in Swapo cross-border activity.

The Angolan peace initiative is still firmly on course, but indications are that the operations of the Joint Monitoring Commission in southern Angola have been "frozen" pending clarification of the situation.

Originally the JMC was scheduled to move slowly southwards rendezvousing at roughly weekly intervals at various south Angolan towns.

The movement south has apparently been temporarily halted. South Africa is believed to be waiting for Angola to inform the rebel Swapo

cadres of the dangers of their actions.

Observers believe Swapo is trying to throw its troops into SWA/Namibia before its Angolan sanctuaries are closed.

## Concern

Renamo and Unita representatives and former FNL leader Holden Roberto are also bringing pressure to bear on the powerful conservative caucus in the United States to use its undoubted influence with the White House to scuttle the whole peace initiative.

In Washington as well there is concern that rumoured moves towards a meeting between the internal parties and Swapo would severely hamper US efforts to ensure Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

the Minister for Economic Affairs in the Presidency, Major-General Jacinto Veloso, visited Cape Town and reached agreement with the South Africans on the form and substance of the accord.

The Mozambican delegation met the South African Prime Minister and it was announced afterwards that the two leaders would sign a formal agreement soon, after the delegations had reported back to their governments and the final draft accord was formally approved.

### Ceremony

Early speculation was that such a ceremony would take place in neutral territory, first suggestions including the Portuguese capital, Lisbon, and the Cape Verde Islands, where South Africa and Angola had held talks previously.

Diplomatic sources, however, indicated that both parties wished the signing to take place on the African continent as both were African states.

Speculation then was

that either Botswana or Swaziland would host the historic meeting.

### Improbable

At one stage such an agreement seemed not only highly unlikely but totally improbable as South African military forces attacked various African National Congress targets in Mozambique following escalating terrorism by the ANC within South Africa, including the Pretoria car bomb blast which killed 19 people and injured many more.

The South African Government complained to the Mozambican Government about the fact that it was allowing terrorists to operate from its territory against the Republic and warned it was not prepared to tolerate this any longer and that unless Mozambique agreed to deny bases to the ANC, further military action would result.

### Bases

At the same time, the South African Government reiterated its offer of a non-aggression pact providing the ANC was denied bases from which

to operate.

The Mozambique Government in turn condemned South Africa for giving support to the MNR, the Mozambican Resistance Movement.

South African denials, however, did not satisfy the Mozambicans.

### Solution

Although no details of either the accord or the talks between the two governments have been released, both parties have admitted the question of bases in the territories for use by terrorist groups against their neighbours was high on the agenda and that no accord could be reached unless a satisfactory solution could be found to this issue.

Mr. Pik Botha and Gen Veloso were questioned strongly by the media as to what guarantees had been provided in this respect, but both refused to give details, merely saying that the desires of both parties had been met and both were satisfied that, in future, each would not allow bases to be used for attack against the other.

While the progress towards peace is the visible tip of the iceberg the far greater bulk comprises aid and assistance on economic interdependence and co-operation and harmonious co-existence.

Among the issues which were discussed during the talks were increased tourism, the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme, the question of South Africa property nationalised following Mozambican independence, the provision of economic assistance in the form of desperately needed foodstuffs, raw materials and technological expertise.

Both parties see the breakthrough as vitally important. For the South Africans it is a further breakthrough in their "peace offensive" in Southern Africa, and for the Mozambicans, a return to economic normality.

Political analysts believe next Friday's signing could be the prelude to further similar accords with other neighbouring states. — Sapa.

DATA	1981.03.13
FONTE	THE CITIZEN
CLASSIFICAÇÃO	

# US paper highlights SWA peace hopes

NEW YORK. — South Africa was talking with its "sworn enemies" for "hard-headed" reasons, the New York Times said in an editorial yesterday.

The paper said:

"Something interesting is happening in Southern Africa: Call it pragmatic engagement. For hard-headed reasons, the White-run government of South Africa is talking peace with its sworn enemies in Black Africa.

"Pragmatic engagement has been tried once before by Mr Botha. In 1979 he sought to coax his Black neighbours into coexistence by offering the carrot of considerable trade. But the then unacknowledged two-way trade was already so attractive that no larger deal ensued. Pretoria then began its "destabilisation" raids across frontiers. . .

The newspaper added that Mozambique had welcomed the initiative, but that Angola — richer and with the support of the Cubans — might resist.

"Now Mozambique, a desperately poor country, has sued for peace. But Angola . . . may have a stronger will. It has a higher income, from oil, and has relied on its Cubans to contain the strong, tribally-based insurgency led by Jonas Savimbi. South Africa insists that the Cubans must depart before Namibia will be granted independence. Angola has hinted the Cubans will leave soon enough, but it rejects linking its right to have them with South Africa's clearly illegal occupation of Namibia. . ."

The editorial expressed doubt that the peace talks would have positive results.

" . . . The files are full of notes implying progress. But after decades of stalling, South Africa

has still not proved a readiness to leave Namibia. And Angola has not yet proved that it can or wants to manage, without the Cubans. The Reagan mediation, built on friendship for South Africa, has been called constructive engagement. How constructive should soon be clear."

The Conservative British Daily Telegraph newspaper yesterday said Unita was a key problem in the proposed peace talks.

"The chief stumbling block is Unita, increasingly successful in its civil war with the Angolan government, which for its part has sought the protection of the Cubans. Only if the Cubans leave Angola will South Africa be prepared to allow elections in neighbouring Namibia, where she is in conflict with Swapo. But how can the Cubans go so long as Unita stays on the rampage?"

The editorial added that a conference involving all governments and parties was unlikely.

"One should not, therefore, hope for too much from South Africa's proposal, made Sunday, for a round-table conference of all the governments and political movements involved. Such conferences can usually only be successful when wars have been lost or won and here the delineations of victory are not yet clear.

"In her recent invasion of Angola, South Africa may have frightened the Angolan government. Swapo, too, may have been cowed, even if its guerrillas continue to seep southward into Namibia, notwithstanding the alleged surveillance of the Angolan government.

"But however pliable Angola and Swapo may be, the abiding stumbling-block to an overall settlement, given the South African pre-condition about Cuban troops, is Unita." — Sapa-AP.

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1984.03.12

FONTE "THE CITIZEN"

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### Spectacular

THE signing of the Accord of Nkomati, in the no-man's land between South Africa and Mozambique, on Friday is going to be something of a Southern African diplomatic spectacular, with diplomats, top businessmen and editors witnessing the ceremony as guests of the South African Government and heads of Frontline States as the guests of Mozambique.

If, indeed, people like President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, President Kaunda of Zambia, President Quett Masire of Botswana, President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Chief Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of Lesotho, and other African leaders attend — or even if only some of them do so — it will be a remarkable gathering.

For here we will have Black Africa watching a non-aggression accord being signed between a Black Marxist State and the White Nationalist Government of South Africa, and who in his wildest dreams would have thought this possible even a couple of months ago?

In such circumstances, nobody cares to sound any warning notes, in case they might be accused of placing unnecessary obstacles in the way of peace.

That is not to say there are no obstacles, especially on the West Coast, where there is by no means any certainty that the South West African dispute is about to be settled simply because there is a disengagement of South African forces in Southern Angola.

However, in the case of the Mozambican accord, there are good reasons on both sides for the agreements.

From the South African point of view, the non-aggression pact, which stops cross-border attacks, will put paid to the African National Congress' ability to use Mozambique as a springboard for incursions into South Africa.

Since most of the attacks were launched from Mozambique, this is a tremendous factor in securing our borders against ANC terror.

The ANC has already been effectively excluded from Swaziland and will be from Lesotho; Zimbabwe will not, in the light of recent events, allow the ANC to switch its bases to Zimbabwe, Botswana has no desire to get involved with the ANC, and Zambia, which depends on South African rail facilities to export its ores, is not an alternative launching pad, either.

The ANC has four bases in Angola, which has announced that it is not going to enter a non-aggression pact with Pretoria.

Nevertheless, it's not going to be easy for the ANC to launch successful attacks from such a distance.

ANC arms and explosives can still be infiltrated into South Africa, and the ANC has a powerful internal wing which can use the caches that are built up, so it would be foolish to believe that we will be free from terrorist attacks.

But in the short term, with bases denied to it in countries neighbouring South Africa, the task of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will be immeasurably more difficult, and the ANC will have to turn more to political, trade union and other campaigns within South Africa to politicise the Blacks.

From Mozambique's viewpoint, the accords will relieve it of South African punitive or pre-emptive strikes, and there will be great trade and tourist benefits, as well as a Cabora Bassa agreement, at a time when drought and maladministration have left Mozambique in a parlous state.

There are risks, of course. Both Angola and Mozambique may be buying time while they recover from their economic woes and military and other setbacks.

But for South Africa the overriding advantages of denying Swapo its base in Angola, and the ANC its base in Mozambique, far outweigh any of the potential dangers.

And if the new image of peacemaker which Pretoria is achieving brings recognition from Black Africa, then all sorts of other benefits may flow, including more non-aggression pacts.



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1984.03.14

FONTE THE CITIZEN

Johannesburg

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## Nyerere in Maputo for pact signing?

MAPUTO. — Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere arrived at Maputo Airport yesterday amid speculation he might attend the signing of a non-aggression pact between Mozambique and South Africa on Friday.

Radio Tanzania described the trip as a one-day visit to reciprocate last weekend's trip to Tanzania by Mozambican President Samora Machel.

But diplomatic sources noted Mr Nyerere had

been accompanied by his Foreign Minister, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim and other top Tanzanian leaders and said they would not rule out the possibility of Mr Nyerere staying on for the ceremony.

Mr Nyerere has endorsed the agreement, saying although he continues to oppose apartheid, he understands that Mozambique has no choice but sign the agreement with its more-powerful neighbour.

The SABC is to broadcast live coverage of Friday's signing of a non-aggression pact between South Africa and Mozambique.

All its services would cover the event, while arrangements had also been made to relay the coverage live over Mozambican TV and radio.

TV 1, 2 and 3 — and the English radio service — will start broadcasting the ceremony at 10.45am. — SAPA.

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THE CITIZEN

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## Cabora Bassa talks end in CT today

CAPE TOWN. — Talks between South Africa, Portugal and Mozambique on the future of the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme began in Cape Town yesterday.

The Portuguese and Mozambican delegations arrived in Cape Town on Monday for bilateral talks which were resumed yesterday morning before the trilateral discussion started at the historic Groot Constantia estate yesterday afternoon.

Portugal, whose delegation is headed by the

Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Antonio de Almeida, wants Mozambique to shoulder a greater portion of the financial millstone around the former colonial power's neck since its departure from Mozambique.

Mozambique in turn is looking for increased tariffs from the scheme's only viable customer, South Africa.

The Mozambicans, led

by their Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Antonio Branco, say the present tariff does not cover the running costs of the scheme.

South Africa, whose negotiating team is headed by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, needs the supply stabilised, a situation which will be directly affected by the Nkomati Accord, due to be signed

by South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and President Samora Machel of Mozambique on Friday.

The accord makes provision for tightening the reins on the Mozambican resistance movement, which has been mainly responsible for sabotaging the Cabora Bassa scheme.

The talks are due to end today. — Sapa.

DATA

1984.03.14

FONTE THE STAR

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## No Man's Land gets a facelift

By GEOFFREY ALLEN

**KOMATIPOORT.** — Yesterday I went into No Man's Land — where the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and President Samora Machel of Mozambique — are due to sign their non-aggression pact on Friday, and it's an odd sort of a place.

In the sultry afternoon sub-tropical heat, relieved only by a brief rainstorm, men work frantically to give the place a facelift ... observed by several dozen curious locals.

Below them the Komati River flows languidly by, as massive tip trucks and a swarm of bakkies and what looks like an army of men are erecting the paraphernalia of statesmanship.

It's all meant to last a day, but it will be seen around the world via the international media.

To make sure, the South African Post Office is installing 60 phones and 30 telex lines to ensure the event does not go unnoticed.

Foreign Affairs spokesmen have said come Friday there will be maximum security round the area ... at present it's anything but that.

Visitors attract some odd stares but that's all.

It's bound to be very different on Friday when no one who is not officially accredited will be allowed near the area.

## Maputo, SA invite eight states to pact

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

**SOUTH AFRICA** and Mozambique have jointly invited the leaders of eight black nations to attend the formal signing of their non-aggression pact at Komati-poort on Friday, according to Southern African diplomatic sources.

The invitations have been made to the eight nations who with Mozambique are members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which was formed in 1980 to try to reduce the economic dependence of Southern Africa's black states on South Africa.

The joint invitation symbolises South African hopes that the non-aggression pact will open the way for closer economic co-operation between South Africa and SADCC states.

Mozambique, whose tourist industry will be revived with the help of South Africa, is clearly seen as a potential link between its fellow SADCC states and South Africa.

The nine member states of SADCC are Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

It was not clear yesterday which of the states, if any,

would send representatives to witness the signing of the pact or whether their delegations would be led by their heads of state.

President Kenneth Kaunda, of Zambia, would be "highly unlikely" to attend, his personal assistant, Mr Milimo Punabantu, told the Rand Daily Mail. Zambia, he said, viewed the pact as a bilateral affair.

President Kaunda's anticipated non-attendance does not augur well for those who are hoping that the ceremony will be witnessed by heads of states from the remaining SADCC states.

A possible exception might be Swaziland's Prime Minister, Prince Bhekempfi. Swaziland has closer and more cordial relations with South Africa than any of other SADCC states.

Pretoria has invited the heads of all diplomatic missions in South Africa to attend the ceremony, including the ambassadors of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

It has not, however, invited the presidents of these quasi-states, perhaps to avoid embarrassment to SADCC leaders, who do not recognise them and who describe their presidents derisively as "bantustan leaders."

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THE STAR  
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CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## Pik denies 'bypass of talks' claim

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN. — The Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha forcefully rejected suggestions yesterday that South Africa was trying to circumvent the international settlement plan for South West Africa.

Western governments are among those puzzled — and a few of them disturbed — by Mr Botha's weekend proposal for a round-table conference of parties to the fighting in Angola and SWA.

Some interpretations of the statement see it as an attempt to get round the provisions, including United Nations-monitored pre-independence elections, for a solution to the SWA dispute.

Mr Botha said in an interview that the government still stood by UN Security Council Resolution 435 as the basis for agreement on internationally accepted independence for the territory.

The only remaining obstacle to imple-

menting Resolution 435 was the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

Mr Botha said his proposal for a meeting between all parties to the fighting in Angola and SWA — including Swapo and the Angolan resistance movement Unita — was simply a peace initiative.

"My statement merely said we suggest that, if we all want peace, then those shooting at each other should get together around a conference table and talk peace.

"I did not indicate that we had waived the requirement that there should be a firm agreement on Cuban withdrawal before Resolution 435 can be implemented. That still stands.

"Nor did I indicate in any way that Resolution 435 should not be implemented," Mr Botha said.

His inclusion of all parties involved in the shooting is taken as a reference to the fact that, while South Africa and Angola are currently monitoring an

agreement on military disengagement in Southern Angola, neither Swapo nor Unita were parties to the agreement.

It is also the first time that the South African Government has agreed to direct talks with Swapo.

Mr Botha said he believed a meeting between all those involved in the shooting would create better conditions for the implementation of Resolution 435 or for a settlement plan based on it, which meant simultaneous agreement on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

South Africa had told the United Nations and others that a firm agreement on Cuban withdrawal was the last remaining obstacle to the implementation of Resolution 435.

"We have stated that publicly and in writing and we will not deviate from it."

Mr Botha said, however, that he did not know how long it might take to secure agreement on Cuban withdrawal.

## Cautious response to Kaunda talks offer

Political Editor

THE offer by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to host a summit conference between the Prime Minister Mr P W Botha and leaders of the Frontline States, met with a cautious but not unsympathetic response in Governing circles yesterday.

A well informed source in Cape Town said: "South

Africa would have to study the full text of the statement before responding, but it does look like an important statement."

The Prime Minister declined to respond to "speculation published in a newspaper," a spokesman for his office said yesterday.

President Kaunda made his offer in an interview with Leadership SA, which re-

leased news of it to the Rand Daily Mail ahead of its own publication because of its relevance to the present drive for accommodation between South Africa and its black-ruled neighbours.

South African officials who attended the meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, last month, which led to the accord between Angola and South Africa and the establishment

of a Joint Monitoring Commission, were full of praise for the constructive role played by President Kaunda, who hosted the talks.

President Kaunda, a key leader of the Frontline States and a confidant of important regional leaders, last met Mr Botha for talks in April 1982 at the South African-Botswana border.

## MNR rebels threaten attack

By IEN POTTINGER

LISBON. — In a show of bravado on the eve of the peace accord between South Africa and Mozambique, guerrillas of the Mozambican Resistance Movement (MNR) claimed yesterday they had almost isolated Maputo and might consider attacking the river bank site of Friday's

signing of the peace agreement near Komatipoort.

Mr Jorge Correia, the rebel's spokesman in Lisbon, said the 15 000-strong resistance movement had the heavy artillery necessary to bombard the site, lined by marula trees, where the South African Prime Minister Mr P W Botha and Presi-

dent Samora Machel will sign an historic accord before invited guests from the Frontline States and the Portuguese Government.

Mr Correia admitted that a direct guerrilla strike on the site was improbable because of heavy security, but an artillery bombardment was not out of the question.

## Historic pact to be screened live

TV Correspondent

THE Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique will be screened live on all SABC channels on Friday.

The announcement was made by SABC last night.

TV1, TV2 and TV3 will open at 10.45 am to cover the proceedings live.

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FONTE 'THE CITIZEN'

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Regional peace an end to SA 'force'

By JAAP THERON

THE United States takes an increasingly hopeful view that dialogue and peace agreements will succeed between previously implacable opponents across frontiers in southern Africa, Mr Herman Nickel, the

US Ambassador to South Africa said in Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Nickel, who addressed the Pretoria Press Club on the theme of America's role in peaceful settlements in southern Africa said there was no question that the positive developments in the

relations between South Africa and Mozambique had had a favourable impact on relations between South Africa and Angola and vice versa.

America believed regional peace in southern Africa would also lead to the elimination of force and violence in South Africa itself, he said.

Mr Nickel said that the US had played the role of honest broker in the black-white southern Africa accord because of the region's strategic, political and economic importance.

Stability in the region could be guaranteed only by peaceful evolutionary change between South Africa and her neighbours and also change within South Africa itself.

"In South Africa itself a lasting basis for stability requires evolutionary change towards government by the consent of the governed," Mr Nickel said.

By the same token, he added, the US could not see internal change going ahead "at an adequate pace and by democratic means" if increasing violence on and across frontiers polarised South African politics and deepened domestic divisions.

The US also knew its global adversary, Moscow, could best advance its interests in a climate of conflict and confrontation fuelled by mistrust, suspicion and political and social injustice.

And, when it was considered that 11 percent of all Americans had their origins on the continent of Africa, the breadth and depth of US interest in resolving conflict in southern Africa became clear.

But, he added: "No American policy towards southern Africa can be sustained unless it reflects our values as a multiracial society . . ."

The US took an increasingly hopeful view on regional and internal accommodation going hand in hand, said Mr Nickel.

"Dialogue has been proven possible between hitherto implacable opponents. Does this not raise hopes for greater dialogue among South Africans themselves?"

Mr Nickel described the movement in relations between South Africa and

her neighbours as "dizzying" and said these "exciting" trends had raised the hopes and expectations of people everywhere.

But he warned against becoming intoxicated with overexpectations and euphoria.

The structure of peace that was being built in southern Africa was still fragile, and it would take restraint on the part of all participants to give it the strength to withstand the wrecking manoeuvres of Moscow and its proxies, Mr Nickel said. — Sapa.



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FONTE \*RAND DAILY MAIL

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## Boesak calls for accord at home

By ANTON HARBET  
Political Reporter

THE people of South Africa must expect more repression as a result of the Nkomati agreement to be signed with Mozambique, Doctor Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, told a rally in Laundum last night.

Dr Boesak brought the crowd of more than 1 000 people to their feet chanting "We will get our freedom," at the climax of his speech to the Transvaal Indian Congress.

South Africa was entering a difficult period, he said.

It was the struggle of the front-line States will not be as strong as it used to be.

"When something happens the Government will not hesitate to hit us hard."

"We must say to the South African Government: If you can make an agreement with the people of Angola and Mozambique, why can't you make an agreement with the people of this land?"

The first thing South Africans will have to do is to forget that others will liberate them.

"If you want freedom, you will have to do it yourself," he said.

"The Government was promising rewards for those who participated in the struggle which oppresses our brothers and sisters."

"God must help us that we do not seek such rewards."

To refuse to participate in the coloured and Indian elections would be to protest with dignity and clarity, Dr Boesak said.

## Mozambique first — or 'fifth' — state to sign

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

WHEN Mozambique signs a non-aggression pact with South Africa at Komatipoort tomorrow, it will be the first African state to do so — or the fifth — depending on whether the "independent homelands" are recognised as states or not.

The Prime Minister Mr P.W. Botha, who will formally sign the agreement with Mozambique on behalf of South Africa, coincidentally also signed the non-aggression treaty with Transkei in September 1976 as Minister of Defence.

The SA-Transkei agreement served as the prototype for similar treaties between South Africa and Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei when these became "independent" in 1977, 1979 and 1981 respectively.

It is a simple four-article treaty, prefaced by a short preamble, in which the contracting parties bind themselves:

● Never to use armed force against the territorial sovereignty and political independence of one another.

● Not to allow their territory, territorial waters or air space to be used by "any state, government, organisation or person for military, subversive or other hostile actions or actions against the other party".

● To accord to one another's military aircraft and naval vessels the right to "peaceful flight" through their airspace and "innocent passage" through their territorial seas (the reference to innocent passage through terri-

torial waters is obviously not applicable to landlocked Bophuthatswana and Venda).

Details of the SA-Mozambique pact are still under tight wraps, but two broad principles have been agreed to: neither territory will allow its territory to be used for attack on the other and neither party will attack the other through the territory of a third.

While South Africa already has non-aggression pacts with the "independent homelands", Mozambique already has a Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union. It was signed in March 1978, during the African tour of the then Soviet President, Mr Nikolai Podgorny.

The friendship pact provides for mutual co-operation in the event of attack. After South African commandos raided Maputo in January 1981, killing 12 African National Congress men, President Machel asked the Soviet Union to implement the treaty.

The accord with South Africa will presumably eliminate Mozambique's need for help from the Soviet Union against its much bigger and more powerful neighbour.

In another development, it was established yesterday that Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho will not be attending tomorrow's ceremony, giving substance to reports that few, if any, of the member states of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference will attend.

In a speech in the Lesotho National Assembly, the Foreign Minister, Mr E.R. Sekhon-yana, declared that Lesotho had no desire for a non-aggression pact with South Africa.

## African VIPs skip signing

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Few Southern African heads of State are now expected to attend tomorrow's historic signing of the peace pact between South Africa and Mozambique near Komatipoort.

However, it is reliably understood that Mr Almeida Santos, deputy leader of Portugal's Socialist Party and the right-hand man of the Prime Minister, Dr Mario Soares, has accepted President Samora Machel's invitation to attend the signing.

The Portuguese Secretary

of State for the Treasury, Dr Antonio de Almeida, will also attend. He confirmed yesterday that he had been invited by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P.W. Botha.

Both Mr Santos and Dr de Almeida have been instrumental in bringing South Africa and Mozambique together.

A spokesman for President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia confirmed from Lusaka last night that Dr Kaunda would not be at the signing.

President Julius Nyerere

will not attend and neither will Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho.

It could not be established whether President Gwete Masire of Botswana or Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe would be at the signing.

It is regarded as highly unlikely that President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi or President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola will attend.

By yesterday only Prince Bhekempfi Dlamini, Prime Minister of Swaziland, had accepted an invitation.

DATA

FONTE "THE CITIZEN"

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

1984.03.15

(Johannesburg)

# Tanzania 'supports agreement with Mozambique'

MAPUTO. — Tanzania fully supports Mozambique's decision to sign a non-aggression accord with South Africa, the Foreign Minister, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, said in Maputo.

"We understand and support solidly the position of Frelimo and have total confidence in the integrity, honour and commitment of the Frelimo government," Mr Salim told reporters after a three-hour meeting between Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and Mozambican President Sámore Machel.

The visit followed one by Mr Machel to Tanzania at the weekend, and President Nyerere flew home last night.

Mr Salim said the two leaders discussed southern African problems, adding that Mr Nyerere's

visit to Mozambique showed Tanzania's "militant solidarity and support" for Mr Machel's government for its decision to sign the pact with South Africa.

"This agreement not to commit aggression against Mozambique... is a position which the frontline states have always fought for... and cannot oppose," Mr Salim said.

Mr Machel and the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, are to sign the treaty at Komatipoort on Friday.

The accord will prohibit either country from allowing its territory to be

used by insurgents opposed to their governments.

Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko said in Kinshasa he was concerned that multi-lateral peace negotiations in southern Africa would hide the interests of the people of SWA and the Black majority in South Africa "under a bushel."

He made the remark during a State dinner for the visiting Portuguese President, Gen Antonio Romalho Eanes.

"We are not opposed to the non-stop diplomatic ballet which seems to be leading to a certain

peace in the region," Mr Mobutu said, "but the hopes symbolised by struggles led by Swapo and the ANC must not be sacrificed on an altar of reconciliation, or a peace that consecrates established facts in southern Africa."

Gen Eanes welcomed contacts between South Africa and its neighbours which, he said, represented a "prelude to peace and stability which have been lacking in the two great Portuguese-speaking nations of Angola and Mozambique."

Gen Eanes said his visit to Zaire was meant to symbolise "an important

step in a renewed and forward-looking European-African dialogue.

Swaziland's Prime Minister, Prince Bhekimpfi, will lead a delegation to the signing ceremony of the non-aggression pact on Friday.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs said in a statement yesterday the delegation was attending the ceremony at Komatipoort at the invitation of the Mozambican authorities.

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FONTE RAND DAILY MAIL

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

THE signing of the non-aggression pact at Komatipoort tomorrow by Prime Minister P W Botha and President Samora Machel of Mozambique will mark a new high-point in South Africa's quest for an accommodation with black-ruled Africa.

But it will not be the first time that hopes have been raised that white-controlled South Africa has finally won a begrudging acceptance from its black neighbours only to see them dashed on the rock of apartheid.

The quest pre-dates the latest flurry of diplomatic manoeuvring which began last November during the visit to Europe by the Foreign Minister, Mr P W Botha, and led to discussions between South Africa and Mozambique in December, January and February and the parallel negotiations between Pretoria and Luanda on the unresolved conflict in Angola and South West Africa/Namibia.

The new drive for peace was preceded by Pretoria's policies of "outward movement" into Africa in the late 1960s, and by the policies of "dialogue" in the late 1960s and early 1970s and of "detente" from 1974 to 1976.

At the core of each of these phases of South African foreign policy was a bid to reach a modus vivendi with the black states which replaced Europe's African colonies after the Second World War.

The outward movement began under the premiership of Mr J G Strijdom, who unabashedly stood for wit baasskap in South Africa but who hoped South Africa's expertise in technological and scientific matters would serve as the basis for contact and co-operation with black Africa.

But Mr Strijdom and his successor, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, underestimated the abhorrence blacks felt for apartheid, both in its naked baasskap and separate development forms.

Both men insisted South African race policy was an internal matter and irrelevant to foreign policy consideration, although Dr Verwoerd believed — naively, it seems in retrospect — that separate development was based on the same principle of self-determination which led to the birth of the new African states.

Their refusal to countenance discussion of South Africa's internal policy led to what Mr Ariston Chambe of Zimbabwe has described as one of South Africa's "lost opportunities".

In 1958 Dr Nkomo Nkrumah, first Prime Minister of Ghana, invited South Africa to attend the first conference of independent African states. South Africa's governors refused, partly because they were reluctant to have their policies scrutinised and partly because Britain and France — then still major colonial powers in Africa — were not invited.

The outward movement received its first severe setback in March 1960 when 67 blacks were shot dead by South African Police at Sharpeville during the Pan-Africanist Congress campaign against pass laws. The final deathblow came later in the same year when South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth, largely because it was no longer a purely "white club".

But the outward policy soon gave way to the new policy of dialogue, as South Africa

# Dialogue, detente — 'machtpolitik'



MACHEL ... hopeful.



BOTHA ... enter 'machtpolitik'.



STRIJDOM ... wit baasskap.



NKRUMAH ... turned down.

Yesterday we had dialogue, today we have detente, tomorrow, I suspect, we will have another phase of South African foreign policy. But tomorrow, as well, the fundamental problems will remain unchanged. — Dr Roger Southall at a conference on detente in 1976.

faced the challenge of responding positively to the independence on its borders of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland — the BLS countries as they came to be known.

The birth of dialogue was marked by the discussions between first Dr Verwoerd and the Lesotho Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan and after the assassination of Dr Verwoerd in September 1966, between his successor Mr John Vorster and Chief Jonathan. The new policy was not without its successes.

In the spirit of dialogue, South Africa agreed to revise the Customs Union to the advantage of the new BLS countries. From the black African side there was a positive response when President Hastings Banda, of Malawi, decided to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa and President Houphouët-Boigny, of Ivory Coast, and Dr Kofi Buisia, of Ghana, declared their support in principle for dialogue.

But dialogue was crippled by Pretoria's rejection of the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969.

While accepting that South Africa was a sovereign independent state, the manifesto declared of Pretoria's internal policies: "The actions of the South African Government are such that the rest of world has a

responsibility to take some action in defence of humanity."

It added: "On the objective of liberation we can neither surrender nor compromise. (But) we should prefer to negotiate rather than destroy."

South Africa, however, was not interested in talking about its race policies and by June 1971 the Organisation of African Unity voted against dialogue and implicitly for "armed struggle".

The fall of the old Portuguese regime in April 1974 prefigured the eclipse of the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola and, with them, removal of two vital buffer states between South Africa and black-ruled Africa.

The situation emphasised anew and with great urgency the need for an accommodation between South Africa and the black states to the north. Detente was born out of that necessity.

One of the real impediments to accord with black Africa was South Africa's continued support for the Rhodesian regime of Mr Ian Smith.

Detente was based in large measure on South Africa's willingness to stop buttressing UDI Rhodesia — symbolised by the

## PATRICK LAURENCE Political Editor

withdrawal of South African Police units from Rhodesia in 1975 — and to use its leverage on Mr Smith to persuade him to talk to and settle with black nationalist leaders.

It led to the Victoria Falls conference in August 1975 when Mr Smith met black nationalist leaders in an attempt to reach agreement.

Mr Vorster and President Kenneth Kaunda, of Zambia, played a key role in bringing the two sides together and themselves met for discussions in the same white train which will serve as the venue for talks on Friday between Mr Botha and President Machel.

In retrospect, Mr Vorster's initiative must be seen as a milestone on the road to the Lancaster House conference on Rhodesia in London in 1979 and the settlement which led to Zimbabwean independence early in 1980.

But detente did not advance its ultimate objective of reconciling South Africa to its black-ruled neighbours.

Detente was destroyed by South Africa's intervention in the Angolan civil war in 1975-76 and, equally important, by the rebellion against apartheid in South Africa's black townships of 1976-77.

As the outlawed African National Congress stepped up its campaign of armed struggle against the existing order in South Africa, and as Swapo intensified its fight to end "South African occupation" of South West Africa, detente was replaced by a new policy of machtpolitik.

The new policy rested primarily on military raids into neighbouring states which allowed ANC and Swapo fighters to operate from their territory. South Africa's "reprisals" taking the form either of direct invasion by the South African Defence Force or, it was widely alleged, support for dissident forces opposed to the governments of those territories.

The new policy undoubtedly played a role in bringing Mozambique and Angola to the negotiating table and raising the prospect of peace.

But past history underlines a simple point: all negotiations between South Africa and black African states have a hidden agenda — excision of apartheid in all its forms, and under all its appellations, from the body politic of South Africa as the condition for lasting peace.

Whether Mr Botha accepts that point and hopes to work toward fulfilling it within his own ideological paradigm, or whether he believes machtpolitik makes it obsolete, remains to be seen.

Eccezionali misure di sicurezza nella località di confine sede della cerimonia

# Oggi Sudafrica e Mozambico firmano lo storico patto di non aggressione

L'accordo di «buon vicinato» rappresenta un vero e proprio sconvolgimento diplomatico nella regione e segna il declino della politica sovietica nel continente nero - Più di mille invitati

PRETORIA — (ANSA) Il quartier generale dell'aviazione sudafricana ha annunciato che oggi sarà chiuso dalle 5.30 alle 19.30 lo spazio aereo intorno alla cittadina di Komatiport, dove viene firmato l'accordo di non aggressione e buon vicinato tra i due Paesi.

L'area interessata è di 27 chilometri intorno alla cittadina, poco distante dal confine ed avrà efficacia fino ad un'altitudine di 3300 metri.

A Komatiport il primo ministro sudafricano Pieter R. W. Botha ed il presidente mozambicano Samora Machel firmeranno l'accordo destinato a mutare il volto politico dell'Africa australe.

Il traffico ferroviario e stradale nella zona di confine è interrotto da ieri sera fino a domani mattina per aumentare le misure di sicurezza: alla cerimonia saranno infatti presenti più di mille persone, tra esponenti dei due governi, ospiti, diplomatici e giornalisti.

Numerosi aerei «ufficiali» atterreranno sulla pista di Komatiport a partire dalla prima mattinata di oggi.

Il portavoce dell'aviazione ha precisato che ogni autorizzazione per sorvolare la zona alla quota dichiarata «off limits», deve essere ottenuta dal capo dell'aviazione in persona.

Nel frattempo, a Città del Capo, si è concluso il primo round di colloqui tripartiti fra Portogallo, Mozambico e Sudafrica, circa l'utilizzazione del grandioso complesso idroelettrico mozambicano di Cabora Bassa.



utilizzare il Mozambico come trampolino di lancio per i guerriglieri, autori di numerosi attentati nel cuore stesso del Sudafrica.

Il segretario generale del FANC Nzo ha dichiarato che la sua organizzazione, il più antico movimento di liberazione nera del continente, manterrà una rappresentanza a Maputo ma non ha nascosto la sua amarezza per l'attesa fra il Mozambico e il «nemico» sudafricano definita «un accordo fra un agnello e una tigre». «Qualunque cosa accada, a qualunque accordo si arrivi, ha detto — il problema è che i razzisti bianchi vogliono garantirsi la perpetuazione del potere».

Samora Machel, buon marxista e politico realista, è stato convinto al grande passo dalle concrete promesse di assistenza economica e di rafforzamento dei rapporti commerciali che, fino a ieri, avvenivano nella semi-clandestinità, che, da oggi, si svolgeranno alla luce del sole. Non passerà molto tempo e i turisti sudafricani bianchi torneranno ad abbronzarsi sulle spiagge mozambicane accolti con gioia dai rivoluzionari di Maputo.

Il grande perdente è l'African National Congress, considerato dai suoi esponenti non più come un movimento anticoloniale ma come una forza politica in lotta contro l'apartheid, ridotto a semplice problema interno sudafricano.

La maggioranza nera del Sudafrica si trova isolata tra Angola e Mozambico ora neutralizzati e che gli altri Paesi del fronte, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, sono troppo deboli per minacciare la vicina superpotenza bianca. Il «cordone sanitario» creato con abilità e pragmatismo dal governo di Pretoria sembra destinato a reggere per un certo tempo. Tuttavia, si potrà dare un giudizio positivo sulla svolta se il Sudafrica saprà utilizzare il periodo di tregua per avviare riforme concrete nella sua politica razziale: se i Paesi vicini riusciranno ad evadere dal cuneo economico.

Mino Vignolo

E' una vittoria dell'Occidente il patto di mutua assistenza fra Sudafrica e Mozambico destinato a normalizzare le relazioni fra due Paesi divisi da un muro di incomprensione e da dieci anni di guerra non dichiarata. L'insesa segue l'armistizio fra Sudafrica e Angola che ha aperto la porta a seri negoziati per l'indipendenza della Namibia, l'ex colonia tedesca occupata illegalmente da Pretoria nel 1966, quando l'ONU non ha rinnovato il mandato alla Società delle Nazioni.

Lo sconvolgimento diplomatico in atto nell'Africa australe, regione che possiede un'importanza strategica non inferiore al Medio Oriente, avviene quasi in silenzio ma gli effetti sugli equilibri internazionali sono profondi. Le nuove intese segnano il declino della politica sovietica nel continente nero: due governi rivoluzionari marxisti-leninisti, considerati avamposti del Cremlino in Africa, sono stati costretti a scendere a patti con la repubblica dell'apartheid, tradizionale bastione del potere bianco e dell'Occidente. E' un duro colpo inferto al prestigio di Mosca, l'alleato naturale dei movimenti di liberazione nel Terzo Mondo che si mo-

stra incapace di risolvere i problemi legati al sottosviluppo.

Sono riusciti gli sforzi di mediazione occidentali tentati, con una accorta politica di aiuti, ad «ammorbidire» i regimi rivoluzionari nati alle prese con una situazione economica disastrosa. L'Angola e il Mozambico, le ex-colonie portoghesi uscite da una guerra di liberazione dura e costosa, hanno visto che per sopravvivere non bastavano le armi fornite dai sovietici ed hanno bussato alla porta dell'Occidente che, in risposta, ha concesso la propria «materiale benevolenza» in cambio di una politica di «sano realismo» nei confronti del Sudafrica. Alcuni funzionari mozambicani hanno confessato al giornale francese «Libération» che gli americani «nel giro di pochi mesi» hanno offerto al Mozambico «più aiuti contro la carestia che non l'Unione Sovietica in dieci anni».

Dopo l'insuccesso libanese per l'amministrazione Reagan è scocciata l'ora della rischietta in un'altra regione chiave del pianeta: è il successo della strategia di «impegno costruttivo» a fianco di un Sudafrica che si è guadagnato forse qualche anno di respiro nel

lungo e sanguinoso braccio di ferro che l'opponesse ai suoi vicini.

Al di là dell'appoggio occidentale ha giocato un ruolo determinante la superiorità militare, economica e tecnologica di Pretoria nei confronti di Paesi ridotti alla fame, minati prima dalla siccità e poi dalle inondazioni, piagati dagli attacchi dei guerriglieri anticomunisti, dissanguati da una macroscopica inefficienza e da una serie di decisioni errate come la collettivizzazione delle terre.

Il governo di Pieter Botha non è rimasto inerte ad aspettare di raccogliere i frutti. Ha usato con sapienza dastone e carota, attuando la politica del «prima colpire e poi discutere». Ha occupato militarmente il sud dell'Angola; ha lanciato i suoi commando in raid sanguinosi contro l'esercito di Luanda e contro i guerriglieri namibiani della SWAPO; ha aiutato il movimento UNITA di Jonas Savimbi in lotta contro il potere centrale. A quanto sembra nell'accordo sul cessate il fuoco Pretoria ha ottenuto con sommo gaudio dell'America, il ritiro progressivo di 20 mila soldati cubani dall'Angola in concomitanza con il suo abbandono gradu-

le della Namibia. Oggi i sudafricani possono permettersi di «abbandonare» l'UNITA che controlla intere province e che dispone di un equipaggiamento militare capace di tenere in scacco per anni le forze regolari angolane. Inoltre possono guardare senza apprensione all'ipotesi di una Namibia indipendente indebolita da divisioni etniche e politiche. Essi non interverranno se il nuovo Stato non ospiterà guerriglieri sudafricani dell'ANC (African National Congress), movimento clandestino nero che lotta contro l'apartheid, il sistema di segregazione razziale vigente in Sudafrica. Costi Pieter Botha ha «pacificato» il fronte nord-occidentale. Sul fronte mozambicano il successo non è stato inferiore. Il regime marxista di Samora Machel ha ceduto per fame e per disperazione: ai fenomeni naturali avversari ed alla endemica disorganizzazione si è aggiunta la guerriglia della resistenza nazionale mozambicana (RNM) che, appoggiata da Pretoria, ha sabotato le strade, le ferrovie, gli oleodotti. Nel gioco del «do ut des» i sudafricani hanno promesso di cessare gli aiuti alla RNM a condizione che Machel abbandoni l'ANC che non potrà più

Way cleared for working relationship between SA and Mozambique

# Historic Nkomati peace accord signing

By Peter Sullivan, Political Correspondent

## KOMATIPOORT

South Africa's new diplomatic policy of reconciliation with black Africa reaches a peak today with the signing of the Accord of Nkomati by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

The four-page document effectively binds both states to a series of contractual obligations which will prevent the African National Congress from operating out of Maputo and will stop South Africa supporting the rebel resistance movement, Renamo (also referred to as the MNR).

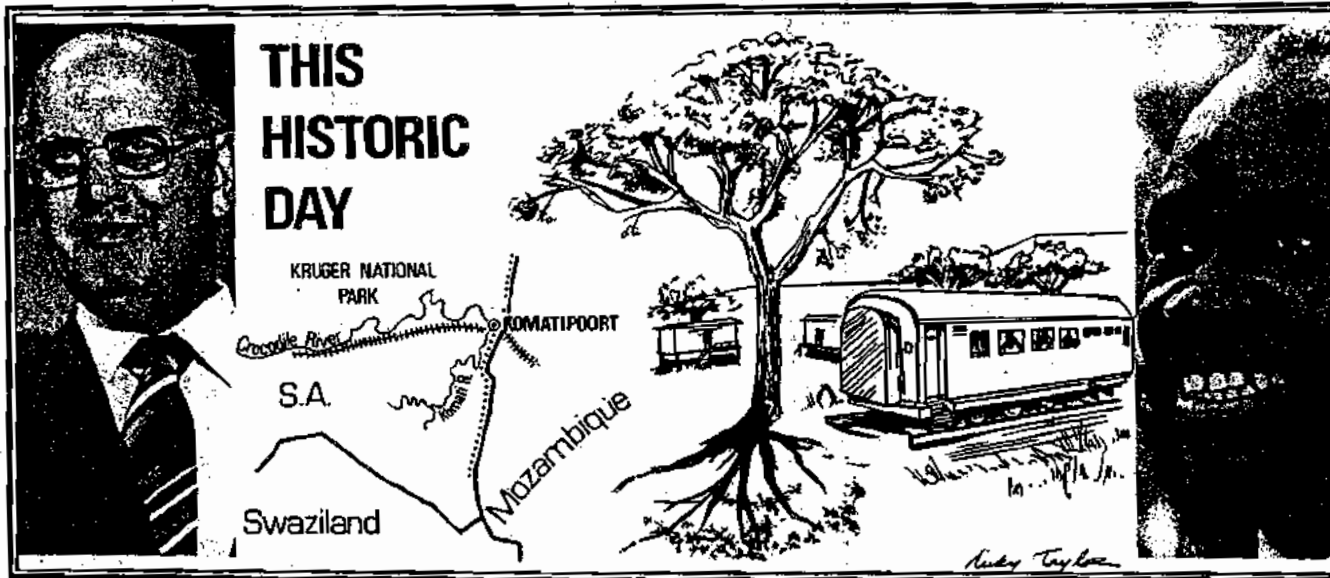
Each state will appoint high-ranking representatives to serve on a Joint Security Commission (JSC) which will supervise and monitor the agreement.

The telling section of the agreement is contained in Article 3, which sets out 13 obligations each state has agreed to honour.

These include:

- Forbidding and preventing the organisation of irregular forces, armed bands or mercenaries in their territories.
- Eliminating from their territories bases, training centres, places of shelter, accommodation and transit for anyone contemplating terrorism.
- Eliminating caches of arms.
- Eliminating command posts, communication and telecommunication facilities for would-be terrorists.
- Prohibiting the installation of radio broadcasting stations, including unofficial or clandestine ones which may endanger the security of the state.
- Taking appropriate steps to prevent the recruitment of people for terrorism.
- Preventing the transit of would-be terrorists from either country to the other or to any third state which has a common boundary with either South Africa or Mozambique.

In the 11 articles of the agree-



THIS  
HISTORIC  
DAY

ment, there is one which states that the contracting parties "shall prohibit within their territory acts of propaganda that incite a war of aggression against the other".

Article 1 simply says that the two states — known throughout the agreement as the "high contracting parties" — undertake to respect each other's sovereignty and independence and to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other.

The second article says that the states shall resolve differences and disputes by means of negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or other peaceful means and undertake not to resort to the threat or use

of force.

Article 3 contains the major provisions. Article 4 says the international boundary between the states must be effectively patrolled. Article 5 prohibits acts of propaganda and Article 6 says the treaty does not conflict with international agreements.

Article 7 commits them to maintaining periodic contact, article 8 allows them the right of self-defence, and article 9 sets out the operation of the Joint Security Commission.

Article 10 merely names the treaty "The Accord of Nkomati", and Article 11 says the agreement comes into force today.

## 10 hectic days in the life of a bushveld hamlet

By Clyde Johnson, Lowveld Bureau

**KOMATIPOORT** — It took 10 days of hectic organisation and preparation for this Komatiport to prepare for this morning's signing of the non-aggression pact between Mozambique and South Africa.

Late yesterday afternoon the final stages of the historic ceremony were being rehearsed as South African and Frelimo soldiers — once arch-enemies — practised drill procedures which were to be part of the event on the banks of the Komati River.

Although much has been said and published about the non-aggression pact, the inhabitants of Komatiport were merely bystanders as arrangements got under way 10 days ago. Since then however the townsfolk

of this tiny hamlet on the Mozambican border have proved they can handle any situation. "Show me another small town which, in 10 days notice, can provide facilities for people more than double its population," said the mayor, Mr Johnny Henn.

Since the influx of military and other officials, the tiny municipality has provided health, refuse and purified water facilities without a hitch. Mr Henn, a farmer and businessman, said he was convinced from the word go that the signing of the treaty would take place at Komatiport.

"In 1974 it was at Komatiport where it all happened when refugees fled across the border from Mozambique. Surely it is here where matters should be put right."

In addition to having several hundred visitors to their town to witness the historic event, Komatiport's 1 500 inhabitants were honoured to have the Prime Minister visit them for the first time.

To welcome Mr P W Botha the railway station was spruced up, buildings given facelifts and for the first time in 70 years, the bridge across the river was painted.

Komatiporters generally summed up the situation as follows: "Up to 1974 we were friends with Mozambique — then we became neighbours till 1984. From next week we will be partners and our only hope is that the rest of the world will take note and assist us to capitalise on our partnership."

**'Peace pact  
a result of  
intensive  
diplomacy'**

MAPUTO — The agreement on non-aggression between Mozambique and South Africa is the "result of three months of intensive diplomacy which began in Mbabane in December, writes Paul Fauvet of the Mozambican news agency AIM.

But before this there was a history of contact between the two countries.

Some dealt with police matters in which both countries, despite their opposed ideologies, had a common interests. These contacts began shortly after Mozambican independence on June 25 1975.

These contacts did not prevent South Africa from waging what Fauvet alleges was an "undeclared war against Mozambique". Ministerial meetings between the two countries were held at the South African border town of Komatiport in December 1982 and May 1983.

At both meetings, Mozambique insisted that South Africa would have to drop its alleged support of the Mozambique National Resistance movement.

The South African delegation insisted on the primacy of economic agreements, rejected proposals for a security accord and demanded that Mozambique expel all African National Congress members



DATA

1984.03.16

FONTE

THE CITIZEN  
(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Machel claims 'victory'

MAPUTO. — The non-aggression pact to be signed by Mozambique and South Africa today, widely seen as a victory for Pretoria's policy, is seen here as a win for Maputo, especially over anti-government rebels.

Maputo's view is illustrated by the announcement last Tuesday of a mass rally to be held in the Mozambican capital on Saturday "to hail the leadership of the (ruling) Frelimo Party for the victory which the accord with South Africa represents".

The government here has given massive publicity to its talks with Pretoria. When President Samora Machel and the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, sign the pact today on the banks of the Nkomati river on their common border, the ceremony will be broadcast live.

## Accord

After reaching agreement on the accord in Cape Town two weeks ago, the Mozambican negotiating team was given a heroes' welcome by a buoyant Mr Machel at a

presidential palace reception.

While the negotiators were still in Cape Town, Mr Machel told diplomats the talks were "the result of the political and military victory of the Mozambican people".

Using careful diplomatic language at a ceremony to welcome a new Polish ambassador and clearly not wishing to offend South Africa at a critical juncture, Mr Machel added that they followed "the defeat of the policy of armed banditry" which had opened up prospects for peace in Southern Africa.

## Attacks

"Armed bandits" is the term used by Mozambican leaders to describe members of the Mozambique National Resistance, an organisation which the government alleges is backed by South Africa and has been responsible for hundreds of guerrilla and sabotage attacks in recent years.

Pretoria publicity denies supporting the guerrillas.

The president's remark about a "defeat" of the MNR refers to a series of

army offensives against them over the past year. At the beginning of this year, Mr Machel said many MNR bases and more than 3 000 prisoners had been captured during the sweep.

Government officials said the capture and army

## FROM PAGE 1

occupation of key MNR bases had made it considerably more difficult for arms and other supplies to reach the rebels.

## Success

They added that this, and the success of recent diplomatic efforts to win Western support, had contributed to what is seen in Maputo as a change of strategy on the part of South Africa.

The officials claimed Mozambique had been

trying to establish a relationship of peaceful co-existence with its neighbour since independence from Portugal in 1975 and had proposed "the principle" of a non-aggression agreement in 1982.

They also felt there had been some pressure on South Africa from the United States.

Speaking privately, the officials said the initial attitude of the Reagan administration, which reversed the policy of Pres Carter and began a policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria, had

encouraged South African belligerence.

But they claimed that recent changes in the US position, which they did not identify, had introduced "a positive element" in the search for peace.

It is a peace that Mozambique badly needs. The MNR was wrought extensive damage to the entire economy through attacks on roads, railways, farms and shops and kidnapping foreign technicians working on development projects.

The government clearly

does not expect the MNR to disappear overnight with the signing of the non-aggression pact and some officials have said a period of MNR "gangsterism" could be expected to follow it.

Nevertheless, the vogue word in Maputo these days is peace.

There was a women's march for peace in the city on Saturday and the government printed special peace accord posters with a dove, olive branch and the word "Paz" (peace) in large letters. — Sapa-Reuter.

# 'SA bullied Mozambique into signing pact'

By Jasper Mortimer,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

KASANE (Northern Botswana) — South Africa has "bullied" Mozambique into signing today's Nkomati accord, President Quett Masire of Botswana has said.

"South Africa is bullying us (Frontline states) all into signing accords like that. The pact was not entered into because both states saw it to their mutual advantage," the President said yesterday. "It was more out of fear."

"I would not be happy being forced into a situation like that," he added.

The treaty could bring stability and progress to the whole of Southern Africa "if it lasts", the President said. But if Pretoria were to use the accord to "keep down" black South Africans "then I do not think it has a chance of enduring".

Asked his opinion of the proposal by Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda that the leaders of the nine Southern African Development Co-ordina-

tion Conference states hold a summit with South African premier Mr P W Botha, President Masire replied that if the other SADCC states wanted such a meeting he would go along with it but would not propose such a summit himself.

"We would not feel better entitled to talk to the South African whites than the South African blacks are entitled to the South African whites."

"If I could talk to Mr P W Botha, and if I could be sure that my talking to him would help him to talk to Nelson Mandela, I would certainly talk to him."

The President made the following points:

- The Nkomati accord would have no effect on the SADCC, except that it might enable Mozambique's economic development to progress faster. The SADCC states would continue to develop their economies themselves even if South Africa were to become democratic.

- Despite border incidents, Botswana-Zimbabwe relations were "improving and good".

- He was not averse to a formula for Namibian independence that bypassed UN Security Council Resolution 435 so long as the new formula was

"fair". However, Resolution 435 had the advantage of being "a world body position born of discussions in which South Africa was involved".

The peace accord was bitterly attacked by Botswana MPs.

The heated debate on the issue was sparked by the policy speech of Foreign Minister, Mr Archie Mogwe, who said that the achievement of peace would be "futile and shortlived" because the underlying causes of the conflict were not being dealt with.

A Government MP, Mr David Magang, said the pact had not been reached on an equal basis and that South Africa wanted to force its neighbours into signing such agreements.

He added that Botswana had no need to sign any pacts as it had no aggressive intentions.

Other MPs said the latest "so-called" initiative by Pretoria was aimed at dominating its neighbours militarily and economically.

None of the speakers in the debate spoke in favour of the Nkomati accord.

DATA

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FONTE

"THE STAR"

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Nkomati Accord paves peace path, Pik

By David Braun,  
Political Reporter

With the signing of the Nkomati Accord South Africa would be at peace with virtually all its neighbours, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

Addressing a National Party public meeting in Meyerton on the eve of the signing of the Accord with Mozambique, Mr Botha said that if two countries so far apart politically could overcome their differences and show

their willingness to co-operate and help each other, then nothing could stop all the peoples of South Africa from being closer through controlled reform and mutual respect for one another.

He also confirmed that the Government was hopeful of coming to understandings on security matters with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, while there was no security problem with Zimbabwe.

In a wide-ranging speech which dealt with several aspects of the Government's current diplomatic tactics in southern Africa, he predicted that every South African — irrespective of colour or political affiliation — would be assured, proud and happy once the contents of the Nkomati Accord were made public.

"A new pattern is emerging in Southern Africa in which the leaders of the region have come to the conclusion that they will serve the interests of all their peoples best by negotiation and agreements of this nature."

The Governments of Mozambique and South Africa were telling the world they were sincere in their desire for peace and that the region as a whole could tackle problems round a conference table rather than shooting it out on a battle field, he added.

With regard to Zimbabwe, Mr Botha said South Africa and that Government endeavoured as far as possible to maintain correct international practices, rules and regulations with one another, and Zimbabwe had made it known publicly and privately that it would not brook terrorist attacks from its soil on any of its neighbours.

Mr Botha repeated the Government's willingness to take part in a regional conference of leaders of southern Africa as suggested by Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

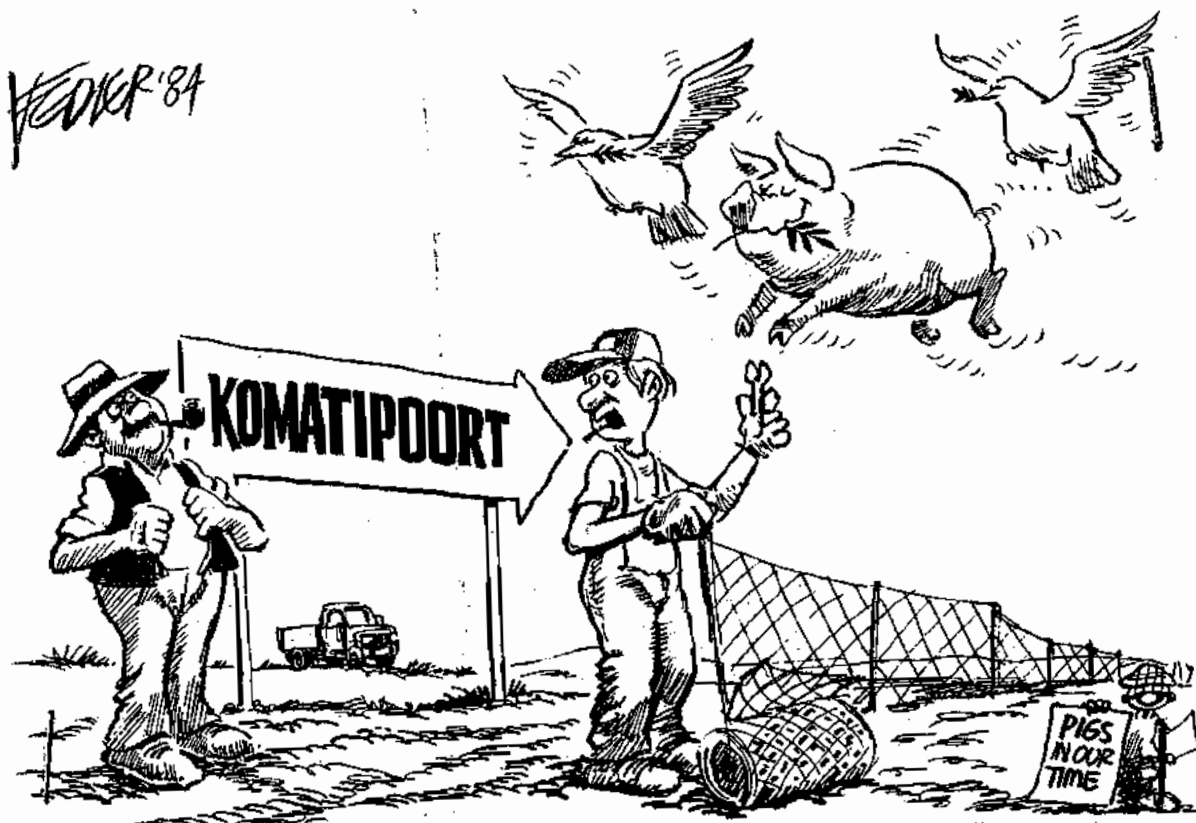
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FONTE THE STAR

(johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO



"Man, I always knew those Bothas were clever, but jislaaik . . ."



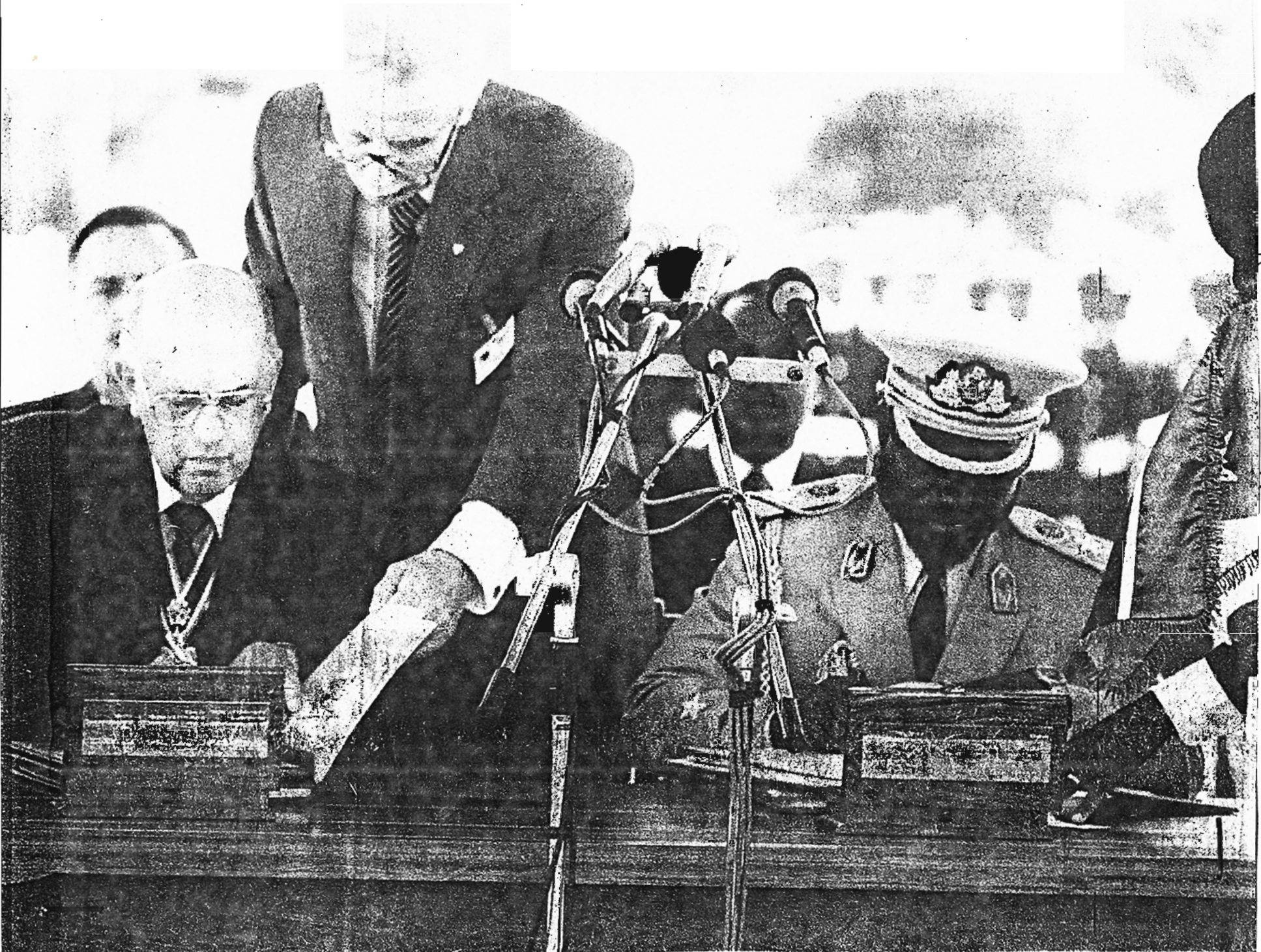
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THE STAR

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

The meeting in a railway carriage in the bush straddled nations  
and ideologies on the surface, at least.

# Peaceful lowveld an ideal site for signing

By Clyde Johnson,  
Lowveld Bureau

With all the pomp and glory associated with official ceremonies, the signing of the Nkomati Accord yesterday took place in typical lowveld conditions.

It was hot and humid and the countryside along the banks of the Komati River was green and beautiful.

Apart from the chatter of humans, it was quiet — and the restful atmosphere made it an ideal site for a peace agreement.

As temperatures reached the 40 deg C mark by mid-afternoon, many of the distinguished guests removed their jackets.

The large crowd of Mozambicans, South Africans and foreign guests who attended the historic meeting milled around the tent town on the river banks as the Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha, and President Samora Machel met in a railway coach.

In addition to the ceremonial site with its dais and three large pavilions, the temporary tent village comprised refreshment and dining tents, first aid and attractive "instant gardens" and a Press tent with excellent transmission facilities.

Delegates from all over the world attended. Despite the sweltering heat the crowd waited patiently while President Machel and Mr Botha held discussions in the railway coach on the Mozambique-South

African border.

The crowd cheered loudly as the two leaders reached the dais and seated themselves at the signing table.

And the cheers turned to thunderous applause as Mr Botha and President Machel exchanged pens for the signing and shook hands.

Children on the Mozambican stand were particularly excited, waving flags and jumping excitedly after President Machel made his speech.

Although security remained tight throughout the proceedings, formality between the Mozambican and South African guests eased once the accord had been signed.

In the dining and refreshments tents they mixed freely and, all round, the hope was expressed that only good would come from the accord.

Mozambicans at nearby Ressano Garcia witnessed the historic event from 200 m away.

Dressed in ceremonial costumes and waving flags, men, women and children sang and danced all morning, expressing their delight at the peace initiative.

Banners across the railway line welcoming the accord attracted attention.

Prelimo soldiers in full bush uniform and armed with AK-47 rifles kept a close watch as journalists moved across to the singing Mozambicans at Ressano Garcia.

But at all times they were polite and patient and one photographer was even able to draw a smile from a tired soldier who had been on duty for nearly six hours.

At the end of the day President Machel and his wife slowly walked towards a crowd of supporters.

He raised his hand and shouted something to which the crowd loudly retorted: "African border."

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THE STAR  
(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

# Nkomati Accord: Gathering GIANT LEAP of enemies that was a ... FOR PEACE

By Peter Sullivan  
Political Correspondent

South Africa's step towards reconciliation with black Africa yesterday has been acclaimed by the West and was cautiously observed by all the Front Line States.

Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe were represented at the signing ceremony for the Accord of Nkomati by their respective ambassadors to Maputo.

So were the other member states of the SADCC — Southern African Development Coordinating Conference — Swaziland, Malawi and Lesotho.

The three big power western states, America, Britain and West Germany, all sent telegrams of congratulations to Prime Minister P W Botha.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher said she hoped the agreement would bring mutual benefit to the people of both countries; President Ronald Reagan expressed his personal admiration; and Chancellor Helmut Kohl said his government wished the agreement would be a solid basis for good relations between the states concerned.

## Russia and China

Besides the hundreds of South Africans VIP's at the river bank ceremony, at least 39 Maputo-based diplomats representing countries from Russia and China to Britain and America, attended the ceremony.

South Africa produced 24 diplomatic envoys to Pretoria.

The atmosphere was extremely friendly — almost merry — as delegations mingled with each other and guests swapped stories over lunch.

The day in the hot sun was marked by touching reports of human beings once at war suddenly becoming friendly, and while the politicians stressed the importance of history being made, reporters regaled each other with tales of symbolic happenings.

An illustration of how the signing of the treaty affected ordinary people comes from the way South Africa helped shine the Mozambique bands' buckles.

This military band admired the shining brass shown by the South African contingent, and when they explained that the metal polish, Brasso was unobtainable in Maputo, a huge can of the stuff was handed over.

South Africa also helped refurbish the Mozambiquan railway coach President Machel used — it was sent to South Africa for a quick revamp before being taken to the site.

## Mix freely

Red and white balloons with the one word "Paz" written on them were let off by Mozambiquan children shortly after the ceremony.

And if there was a single Portuguese word everybody at the ceremony had learned by the end of the day it was this word for peace.

Security men and the military were much in evidence all day but the signing took place without any major hitches.

Crowds were allowed to mix freely with each other and reporters were given excellent telex, telephone and photographic facilities.

The only real complaint was that the two important photographic opportunities were marred by unsympathetic policemen who obscured some photographers shots.

But at the end of the day most of the 1000 people who witnessed the ceremony appeared to feel something both important and delightful had occurred.

Implications of the Accord of Inkomati will be speculated about for weeks to come but there is little doubt that it is being seen as a major diplomatic coup for Mr P W Botha and his Minister of Foreign Affairs.

# It's an historic day on the Komati as two countries settle for peace



The Komati riverside site where Mr Botha and President Machel will sign the treaty today. Beside the Komati River is a tent town and numerous vehicles being used to establish the site for the ceremony. PHOTO BY RAYMOND FRESTON

## Excitement high on eve of signing

WHILE excitement mounted in South Africa last night over the signing today of the non-aggression pact between South Africa and Mozambique at Komatipoort, key black states in Southern Africa adopted a diplomatically correct but distinctly cool attitude.

Although invited jointly by South Africa and Mozambique to witness the ceremony, most of the sub-continent's leaders decided not to attend personally and either to send relatively low-ranking envoys or none at all.

Officially most of the eight member states of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) must have viewed the pact as a "bitter-sweet" treaty between South Africa and Mozambique.

The publicly most hostile stance was taken by Botswana, whose Foreign Minister, Mr Archie Mogwe, told the Botswana National Assembly that the peace resulting from the pact would be "short-lived and futile" because it did not remove the underlying cause of the conflict.

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

President Quett Masire of Botswana is chairman of the SADCC. Top men in the South African Department of Foreign Affairs were known to have hoped he would agree to attend. He is generally regarded as a "moderate".

South Africa and Mozambique aside, the most high-powered delegation appears to be that of Swaziland, whose team will be led by the Prime Minister, Prince Bhekimpoti, and the Foreign Minister, Mr R V Dlamini. The conservative Swazi government has particularly close relations with South Africa.

Whatever excitement is generated by the historic meeting at Komatipoort today, it will almost certainly not stem from the presence of long established

leaders such as presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Hastings Banda of Malawi, and Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho.

Newer leaders on the African stage like Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, will almost certainly not attend.

But, in spite of the absence of the big names, the ceremony — which will be attended by the heads of all diplomatic missions in South Africa and by hundreds of South African VIPs — will be an important milestone in South African foreign policy.

It will formally establish the first non-aggression pact between South Africa and an internationally-recognised black state and represents a thawing in the hitherto strained relations between South Africa and most of its black-ruled neighbours.

The treaty may set a precedent for similar treaties between South Africa and its neighbours and, as such, create a

climate of peace in which discussion and co-operation may replace abuse and hatred.

The treaty should, moreover, be seen in the wider context of Pretoria's accord with Angola over the withdrawal of South African troops from Southern Angola and the re-establishment by Angola of her sovereignty over the vacated territory.

It should similarly be viewed against the backdrop of the associated, but cautious hopes of a settlement in the protracted dispute in Namibia.

No black state has publicly indicated it is prepared to follow Mozambique, however. Mr E R Sekhonyana, Foreign Minister of Lesotho, has, on the contrary, stated that Lesotho has no desire for a non-aggression pact with South Africa.

The proceedings at Komatipoort and the signing of the Nkomati Accord, as the pact has been dubbed, will be witnessed by an estimated 1 000 guests and will be recorded by as many as 300 foreign and local newsmen.

● See Page 2

Bop TV, SABC to cover signing

By J MANUEL CORREIA  
TV Correspondent

A BOP TV news team was last night on its way to Komatipoort to cover the signing of the historic Accord of Nkomati between South Africa and Mozambique this morning.

Bop TV said last night that it would provide coverage of the event and an analysis of what the treaty would mean to the region.

The SABC will broadcast the proceedings live on all its channels this morning.

There will also be radio coverage.

At least 71 foreign correspondents accredited in South Africa are at Komatipoort in addition to a huge South African press contingent.

Several foreign TV networks are understood to have approached the SABC for film footage of the event.

History rolling into place with the White Train

By GEOFFREY ALLEN

THE White Train, to form a central part of the signing of the South African-Mozambique non-aggression pact, arrived at the high-security site in the early hours of yesterday morning.

During the night, the Mail was told by a railways source that the train had been "cleared straight through" from Pretoria and the line near Komatipoort was being patrolled by the military.

While high-ranking officers from the police, security police and military swarmed round the site where South African premier Mr P W Botha and Mozambican President Mr Samora Machel will sign the treaty, preparations for the event were going ahead apace.

Already the tent town on the banks of the Komati River had been erected, as had the spanking new railway platform on to which the two heads of state will step after

spending 15 minutes together in the White Train, previously used for the British royal tour of South Africa in 1947 and subsequently by governors-general.

From the platform they will be driven to the signing table which is to take place under canvas.

If it rains, there is a contingency plan to sign the accord inside the train.

Though dozens of senior officers are on site, the entire operation is being masterminded from Pretoria with special open phone lines linking Komatipoort with the administrative capital.

Obvious danger points are the kopjes across the Komati River, from which snipers or other armed dissidents could launch an attack on the dignitaries and foreign and local heads of state.

But it is understood those hilltops are teeming with armed security men who long since anticipated the vantage point they offered.

DATA

1984.03.17

FONTE 'THE STAR'

(Johannesburg)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## Cautious welcome by Press

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The signing of the non-aggression pact between South Africa and Mozambique yesterday has been cautiously welcomed by Fleet Street.

But the deal is one-sided, claims the Financial Times, while The Times warns South Africa not to forget, amid all the euphoria, that its main problem is still "the philosophy of apartheid".

And the right-wing Daily Express, under the headline "The New Wind of Change", warns Prime Minister P W Botha of the dangers ahead, notably the alarm felt at home by many conservatives.

In a leading article the Financial Times describes the treaty as "a considerable achievement" which should herald a real reduction in tension in Southern Africa.

The newspaper says the deal could prove to be a catalyst for a peaceful settlement and independence in Namibia.

## 'We are far from friends'

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

MAPUTO — The meeting between President Samora Machel and Prime Minister P W Botha on the banks of the Nkomati River "is not a meeting of friends — far from it", declared Radio Mozambique yesterday.

In an editorial read out before the eight and nine o'clock news bulletins, the radio described yesterday's ceremony as a "meeting of realistic leaders who have decided that a policy is needed that guarantees that neither country serve as a base for attacks on the other".

The Mozambique news agency AIM reports that the editorial points to the contrast between President Machel and Mr Botha.

President Machel has behind him a people who are building socialism in a country that was won, weapons in hand.

On the other hand "P W Botha represents the interests of a capitalist minority whose prosperity rests on the apartheid system".

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1984.03.17

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THE STAR  
Johannesburg

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The meeting ... the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, greets President Samora Machel of Mozambique as they prepare to confer.



The pomp ... the two leaders stand to attention as the national anthems are played.



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(Johannesburg)

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## Nujoma hits SA delays'

Mali Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, said yesterday South Africa's call for a multi-party conference on Namibia was a manoeuvre aimed at delaying independence for South West Africa.

Mr Nujoma was speaking at the Lusaka office of the party secretary-general, Mr Humphrey Mulemba, with Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo.

Mr Nujoma also ruled out SA suggestions that talks on SWA should include the Angolan Government and the rebel Unita movement.

"The problem of Unita and Angola is an internal problem and including them in our discussions is yet another racist tactic to delay the independence for Namibia," he said.

South Africa was not happy to see Zambia and other frontline states helping his independence movement, he said.

And Mr Mulemba assured the leaders that Zambia was committed to the liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa.

## Botswana head says SA bullied for peace

KASANE. — The President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, yesterday claimed Mozambique had been bullied into signing the Nkomati Accord.

Speaking at a news conference at the reopening ceremony of the Chobe Game Lodge near Kasane in north-eastern Botswana, Dr Masire spoke to the Press about the situation in Southern Africa.

Asked whether he felt South Africa had "bullied" Mozambique into signing the pact, Dr Masire said:

"I think South Africa has bullied us all into signing pacts like that."

He said it was not something freely entered into, but "it is more out of fear we are all being pressurised into signing accords like that".

Dr Masire said he could foresee similar pressure brought to bear on Botswana, as had already happened to Lesotho and Swaziland.

But he said the Nkomati Accord could bring stability and progress to Southern Africa. Asked whether he felt

Pretoria was sincere in its peace offer, he said:

"I can't see how they can not be sincere. The only thing is, have they the willpower to translate it into reality? But I'm sure they want peace as we all want it."

He said the accord would not work if it helped keep down those struggling for equal opportunity and a share in the running of South Africa.

Dr Masire also said he felt the accord would have no effect on the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

can Development Co-ordination Conference.

Dr Masire said he would consider attending a meeting between SADC countries and the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha — as suggested by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda — but had certain reservations.

Dr Masire also said he would be prepared to talk to Mr Botha "if I could be sure my talking to him could help him to talk to Nelson Mandela ...". — Sapa.

## Pik's hope for internal accord

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK  
IF South Africa could come to an understanding with neighbours as diametrically opposed to it as Mozambique, little stood in the way of accord among people of all race groups within South Africa, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, told an enthusiastic crowd of more than 1 000 in Meyerton last night.

Mr Botha said that with the signing of the Nkomati pact today the governments of Mozambique and South Africa would have sent a message of peace to the world.

"It shows the world that this region has leaders who can settle their differences around a table — instead of shooting it out."

Mr Botha said South Africa had a remarkable amount of technological knowledge of which it could be proud and there was no reason why this could not be shared with its neighbours.

He said if South Africa and Mozambique — countries with two completely different systems of government — could work together, there was nothing to prevent a striving for peace inside

South Africa by all "responsible" people — blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians.

"There is nothing to prevent us from internally reforming without sacrificing our self-determination on the basis of respect for the human value of all."

Mr Botha welcomed the offer by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to host an all-party conference on South West Africa, but warned that just as the Nkomati accord had been easy, a solution to the South West African-Angolan situation was difficult.

"Swapo has no more reason to fight. We don't demand an inch of South West Africa. If they want one man, one vote, they can have it."

He warned that even if there was peace in South West Africa, South Africa would not cut back on its military strength, which he described as "our guarantee of success in the Southern African region".

He said that with the signing of the agreement today, South Africa would be at peace with virtually all of its neighbours.

# The struggle will continue, says defiant PAC

The Star Bureau  
LONDON — The Pan Africanist Congress has issued a defiant statement here that it will not be dissuaded from its purpose by the Nkomati Accord — but it is reticent about bases for its future activities.

"That is a delicate matter at present," is all a London spokesman would say on that issue. "But the accord is not going to change our strategy. We continue to lead the people in the struggle."

The main thrust of the PAC statement is that the South Africa-Mozambique accord has been brought about by South African aggression.

gression.

"The PAC of Azania, like the rest of committed Africa, views with grave concern the current developments in Southern Africa, culminating in the signing of the so-called Nkomati Accord," said the spokesman.

The PAC considered the developments to be "the result of racist South Africa's aggressive destabilising policy against the Frontline and neighbouring states."

"This policy, carried out in the political, military and economic fields, violates the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of these states, and its specific aim

is to terrorise these states into expelling freedom fighters and members of the national liberation movements."

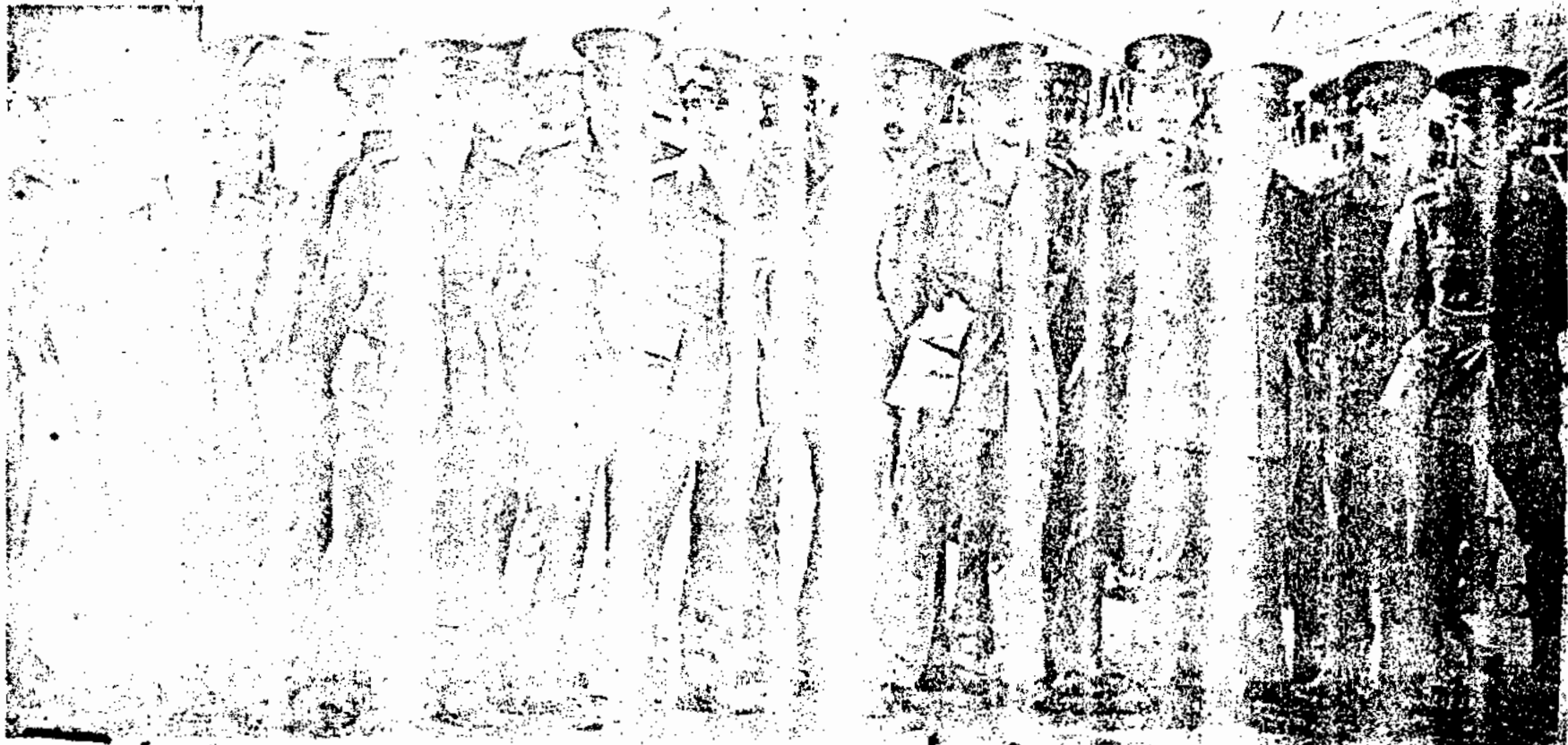
The spokesman added that South Africa had been orchestrating the line that the just struggle of the black people of the country was foreign-orientated, foreign-inspired and externally planned, and could therefore be "dried up" by cutting off external support, supply and sanctuary to members of the liberation forces.

The PAC had repeatedly stated, he said, that the sole cause of all the problems of Southern Africa was the policies of South Africa.

There could be no peace in the region until white domination was totally eliminated there.

Any other arrangement would not only prove temporary but would also give an extended lease of life to the policies of South Africa.

"While the PAC takes note of efforts currently undertaken by the people's governments of Mozambique and Angola in pursuit of their national sovereignty and territorial integrity, the PAC, too, has a mandate from the people of Azania vigorously to pursue the liberation struggle to final victory," the spokesman concluded.



Uniformed and plainclothes police made the already difficult task of Press photographers at Nkomati doubly difficult — by blocking

the view. One man, leaning against the barrier around the platform, was dragged off by three plainclothes security men.

DATA

1984.03.17

FONTE THE STAR

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

MINISTÉRIO DOS PORTOS E TRANSPORTES DE SEGURANÇA  
DEPARTAMENTO DE DOCUMENTAÇÃO E INFORMAÇÃO

(Johannesburg)

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Nkomati

# O acordo do rio

Escolheu-se um sítio impregnado de espírito africano. Com água a correr no fundo de um vale antigo, cujas raízes mergulham num solo castanho pródigo em promessas.

Falou-se em gado, o símbolo da riqueza, em colheitas férteis, em paz. Afinal era o grande encontro. Eram os chefes que tinham vindo falar na grande Indaba, a reunião.

Dez mil leituras diferentes podem ser feitas dos discursos de Machel e Botha em Nkomati, mas há leituras que vão ficar sempre suspensas.

Foram frases ditas meio em monólogo, meio em diálogo entre dois africanos. Foram pausas, foram meros olhares... tudo trocado na retórica única daquela parte do Mundo.

O seu significado, esse vai levar muitas estações de chuvas e de seca até ser inteiramente compreendido. Vai ser parte dos contos dos narradores itinerantes, que o vão levar de aldeia em aldeia e relatá-lo com mimica rica em círculos à volta de fogueira.

Ai sim. A parte mais difícil de entender dos diálogos e dos monólogos de Nkomati começará finalmente a ser compreendida.

Isto não impede contudo que a cooperação não se venha a verificar. De facto tudo indica até que ela venha a ser bastante activa.

Sol Krezhner, o Midas da indústria hoteleira sul-africana, que expandiu as suas operações até às ilhas Maurícias, está manifestamente interessado em estender a cadeia Southern Suns a Moçambique. De resto, o Hotel Polana, em Maputo, foi, até 1974, explorado pela Southern Suns. Krezhner está a estudar a ilha da Inhaca, áreas de Inhambane e a própria ilha de Moçambique como possíveis campos de investimento.

Dentro da actual política de desenvolvimento do sector, Moçambique não se oporia a «joint-ventures» com empresas sul-africanas.

Mas nem só de turismo vive um país

O governo sul-africano não tem projectos para conceder verbas de auxílio a Moçambique — disse uma fonte oficial em Pretória. «Mas o que faremos é criar condições para que o sector privado da África do Sul participe no desenvolvimento de Moçambique.»

Além do turismo, há uma série de campos onde a cooperação entre os dois estados poderá ser muito activa. A Anglo American, a gigantesca multinacional de Harry Oppenheimer, desfruta hoje das mais avançadas tecnologias mineiras do mundo, e tem certamente estófo financeiro para empreender por si projectos de viabilização e exploração de uma série de complexos mineiros em Moçambique.

Notou-se que a Anglo American esteve representada na cerimónia de assinatura do acordo de Nkomati e que Oppenheimer esteve pessoalmente envolvido nas conversas

de bastidores que acabaram por culminar com o Tratado Pretória-Maputo.

A agricultura é outro sector onde a participação sul-africana vai ter lugar. Escassos dias passados sobre a assinatura do acordo, foi-me dito em Johannesburg que cientistas do Departamento de Botânica da Universidade de Witwatersrand estavam já a tentar entabular contactos formais com as autoridades moçambicanas com vista a efectuarem um levantamento dos potenciais agrícolas do Sul do país. Os trabalhos seriam custeados por empresas agrícolas sul-africanas.

É um facto que ofertas directas de cooperação deste tipo estão a ser feitas intensivamente por organismos sul-africanos dispersos por uma série de campos, desde a ciência pura à radiodifusão, da economia às telecomunicações, dos transportes à medicina.

Pretória deu luz verde à cooperação e a natural iniciativa sul-africana faz o resto com um vigor que surpreenderia, se não fosse já esperado. Certamente que em pouco tempo, muita lacuna no capítulo de cooperação que existiu nestes dez anos de independência de Moçambique vai ser preenchida pelos sul-africanos.

«Em termos económicos, as grandes vantagens destes acordos vão ser para Moçambique» — disse Louis Nel, vice-ministro dos Estrangeiros sul-africano. De facto, poucas dúvidas restam de que, a continuar o actual ímpeto de «détente» entre os dois países, a África do Sul será em breve o grande parceiro comercial de Moçambique.

Mas, por enquanto, um acordo ainda a prazo...

Até hoje as autoridades sul-africanas nunca admitiram publicamente apoiar a Resistência Nacional de Moçambi-

que. De Pretória a registar apenas um depoimento feito em Agosto do ano passado pelo ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros Pik Botha em que foi manifestada «simpatia» pelas «correntes antimaxistas» em Angola e Moçambique. Do mesmo modo Maputo nunca foi mais longe do que admitir a concessão de apoio político e diplomático ao ANC.

Contudo o facto é que estes dois grupos (que nada têm que os identifique em objectivos ou legitimidade) existem e aumentaram o seu potencial operacional nos últimos anos. Sobre o seu futuro muito se pode especular, mas tudo terminará sempre em perguntas: durante quanto tempo ainda vai actuar a Resistência? Qual a dimensão da sua reserva de armamento? Que alvos vai escolher?

Todas estas perguntas se aplicam ao ANC com mais uma talvez: que projecção real tem a sua implantação política na crescente burguesia negra sul-africana. Será ela suficiente para dar continuidade a uma verdadeira luta interna sem apoios exteriores?

De facto, tudo se pode sintetizar numa só questão: com o acordo de Nkomati formalizado, quanto tempo vai levar para que a paz regresse de facto aos dois países?

O futuro

Hoje, todo o Ocidente aposta abertamente na opção de paz que Moçambique tomou. A África do Sul vai ser encorajada pelo mundo ocidental, de quem tanto depende, a cumprir à risca o que foi assinado em Nkomati.

Para Moçambique, o auxílio ocidental vai ser mais acessível e generoso. O país pode mesmo tornar-se numa espécie de prova para África de que o Ocidente favorece as vias de diálogo real e é afinal notavelmente tolerante quanto a opções ideológicas. O auxílio vai chegar sim, mas será ele o suficiente para ressuscitar o país? Será afinal este princípio de Nkomati, já que apenas de um princípio se trata, a fórmula mágica para recuperar dos resultados de uma década de instabilidade (ou desestabilização) que se traduziu praticamente na morte económica do país?

Ou será que o auxílio externo e a cooperação com a África do Sul vão criar apenas ilhas de desenvolvimento na aridez de um deserto económico?

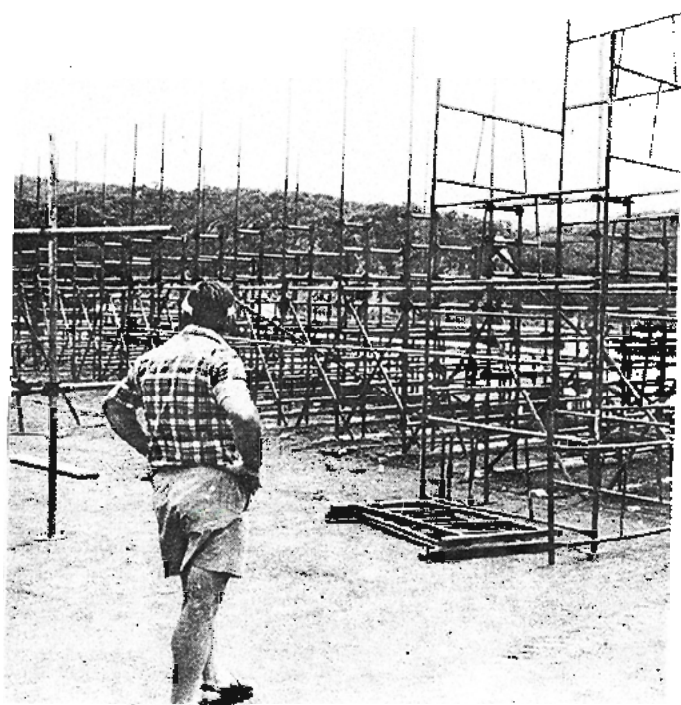
Até ao acordo de Nkomati houve por parte do governo de Moçambique, ou mais precisamente por parte do presidente Samora Machel uma grande coragem política e uma determinação de que o próprio tratado é em si um exemplo perfeito. Vai ser preciso que todo o aparelho de Estado em Moçambique esteja igualmente vocacionado para empreender as reformas necessárias, agora que Nkomati abriu a pausa para isso.

Assinar o acordo foi sem dúvida um acto de independência. Transformar as aberturas que o acordo cria em progresso real para o povo de Moçambique será reafirmar essa independência e para isso a luta terá que ser, sempre, continua. ■





*Confraternização entre militares moçambicanos e sul-africanos. O acordo estava já assinado*



*Preparação do grande dia. Operários sul-africanos montam a estrutura da bancada*

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ÁFRICA JORNAL (Portugal)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

## MÁRIO CRESPO

De garantias de segurança e de compromissos de não agressão trata o documento assinado em N'Komati. Contudo o documento é parte integrante de um projecto de relacionamento entre os dois estados muito mais amplo.

As bases desse projecto foram definidas em Dezembro último em Mbabane na Swazilândia, no que foi o primeiro grande frente-a-frente entre autoridades sul-africanas e moçambicanas. Foram ali delineadas quatro grandes áreas de cooperação entre Pretória e Maputo: segurança, economia, turismo e Cahora-Bassa. Destas quatro áreas apenas a segurança dispõe do mecanismo formal para passar à fase de implementação. O sucesso do acordo de Nkomati vai depender da eficácia das Comissões Mistas de Fiscalização que estão agora a ser estabelecidas para assegurar a aplicação integral dos onze artigos do acordo. Espera-se que estas Comissões entrem em funcionamento muito brevemente.

Depois da Segurança, Cahora-Bassa é o dossier que se encontra mais avançado e um acordo formal, é aqui apenas uma questão de tempo. Há contudo um aspecto do dossier Cahora-Bassa sobre o qual ainda não há acordo. Trata-se da segurança da linha de transporte de energia. Circulos oficiais sul-africanos dizem-se dispostos a partilhar com Moçambique o patrulhamento dos 800 quilómetros de linhas de alta-tensão desde a barragem até à fronteira. Mas ao que parece Maputo tem resistido a esta ideia insistindo em garantir por si, apenas com os seus próprios meios militares, o fluxo contínuo de energia da barragem até ao seu único cliente. Portugal, por seu lado, tem-se recusado a participar nas operações de segurança e nada indica que a atitude do executivo de Lisboa se venha a alterar.

Mas sem dúvida, nestes primeiros tempos da era pós-Nkomati o receio de todas as partes envolvidas nas negociações de Cahora-Bassa reside na continuação das actividades de sabotagem da linha de transporte. O acordo de não-agressão retirou aos rebeldes da Resistência Nacional de Moçambique o apoio logístico e a retaguarda segura.

Mas a linha sempre foi um alvo favorito da guerrilha devido à sua vulnerabilidade e tudo indica que há vastas quantidades de material de guerra acumulado em Moçambique pelos rebeldes. A linha de Cahora-Bassa pode continuar a ser o objectivo principal da guerrilha, até porque o Grupo não parece ter nem estrutura, nem motivação ideológica suficientemente definida para manter a pressão em todas as frentes tradicionais sem auxílio externo contínuo.

Vai ser certamente difícil a Moçambique garantir por si só a segurança de tão extenso objectivo. Mas por outro lado o preço político de admitir em território moçambicano tropas da África do Sul poderá ser demasiado alto, mesmo para uma figura carismática e cheia de prestígio em África como é o presidente Samora Machel.

Não há dúvida de que, apesar da relutância de Lisboa, uma participação portuguesa na defesa da linha de Cahora-Bassa poderia ser a solução mais elegante e aceitável para um problema que Moçambique por si só não vai poder resolver.

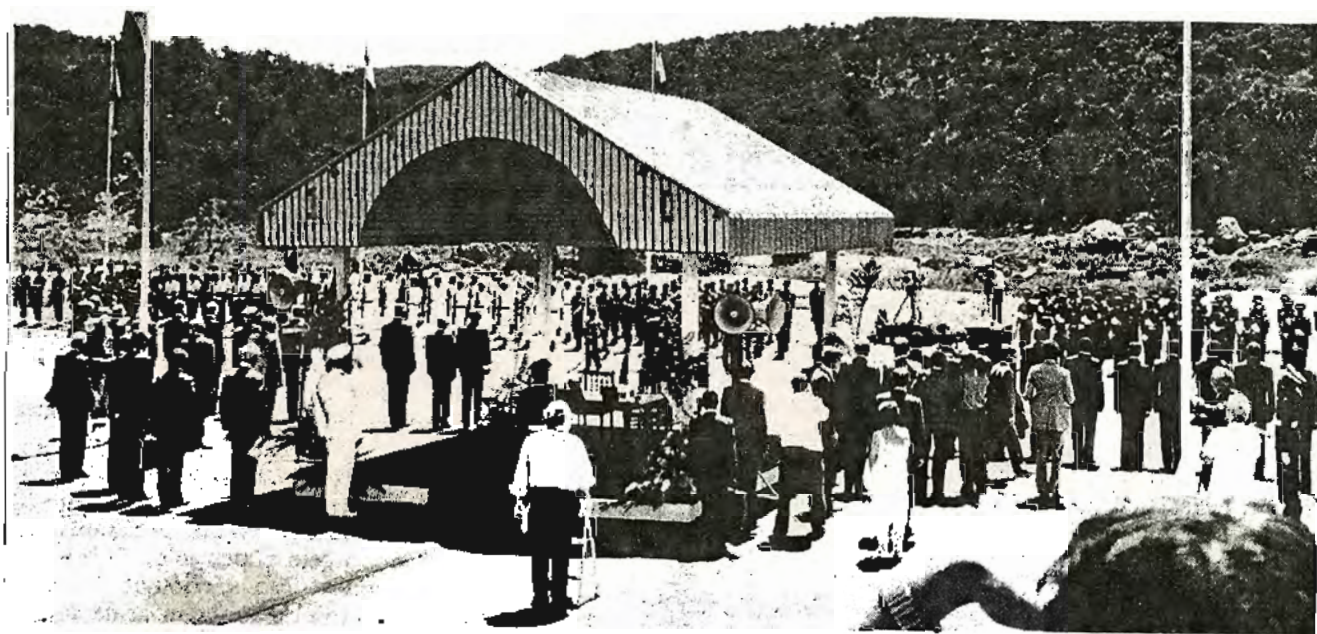
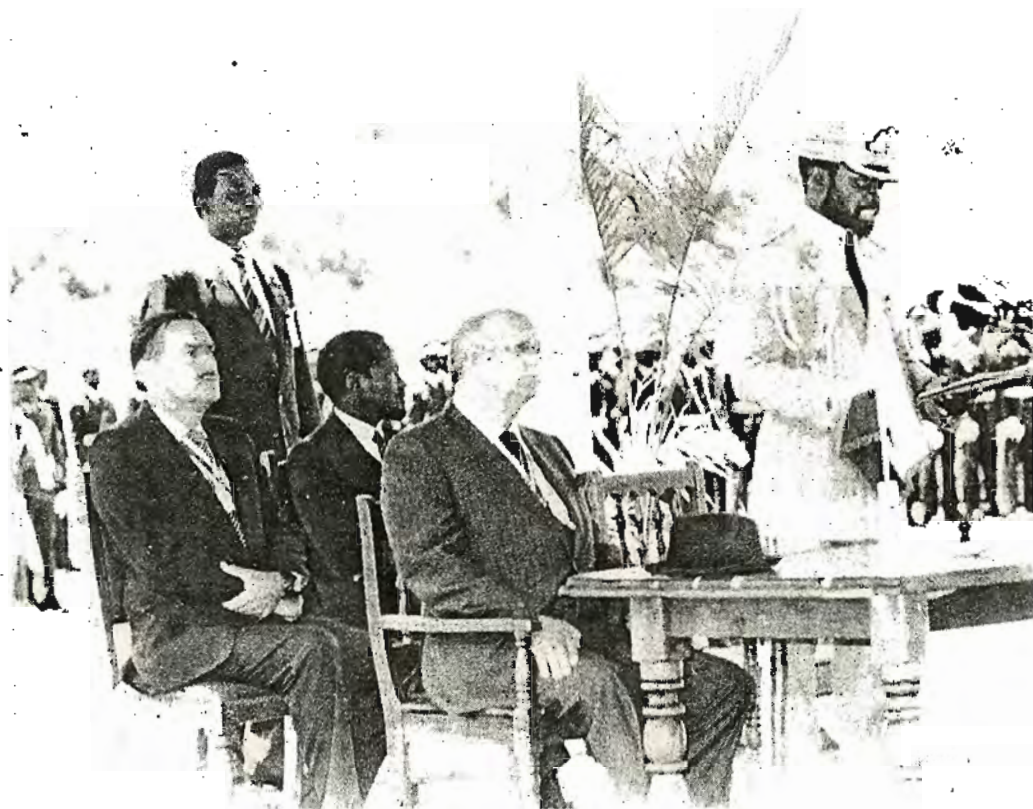
### Um acordo entre governos... não entre povos

É muito pouco provável que Moçambique volte a ser o centro da romagem anual de centenas de milhares de turistas sul-africanos que de caravana às costas faziam das praias do Sul de Moçambique um arraial de férias que durava praticamente da Páscoa ao Natal. Era outro contexto e era sobretudo outro país. Para já, nada indica que o Acordo de Nkomati e o que quer que se lhe siga modifique a actual situação.

«Estes são acordos entre Governos... ainda não entre povos», diria Samora Machel. «Estamos ainda a trabalhar no Turismo!» E de facto ainda nada há de concreto. Muito provavelmente, Moçambique prefere o turista do travel-cheque, que paga pelo superluxo de um hotel de férias, à família da caravana que tudo traz de casa para as férias e atrás de si pouco deixa além de latas e garrafas vazias. De resto, este tipo de turismo só é possível em condições de grande intimidade nacional, e essa não existe, nem nunca existiu, entre a África do Sul e a República Popular de Moçambique. Não é o acordo de Nkomati que a vai criar.



«Um acordo para  
cumprir» — Sa-  
mora Machel. Ao  
lado, Pieter Bo-  
tha e atrás Roelof  
Botha e Joaquim  
Chissano



De uma tribuna improvisada, forças moçambicanas e sul-africanas prestam honras a Machel e Botha

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ÁFRICA JOURNAL (Portugal)

CLASSIFICAÇÃO

O acordo de Nkomati

# Ganhou a diplomacia moçambicana

O acordo de não agressão concluído entre Moçambique e a África do Sul, nas margens do Nkomati, foi considerado pelos analistas da situação africana um passo extremamente importante no complexo processo político da África Austral. Pelo seu carácter singular suscitou interpretações diversas: satisfação e júbilo, compreensão e simpatia, tristeza ou remoções maldosas, de tudo se encontra dos que se dedicaram à tarefa de tentar compreender e explicar o acontecimento. De entre as razões desta singularidade destaca-se o facto de a história moderna não nos ter habituado à solução pacífica dos diferendos, apesar dos votos piedosos das chancelarias diplomáticas, das declarações políticas da boa vontade e das inúmeras convenções e resoluções da ONU.

GOMES VITAL \*

Um acto desta natureza é passível de diversas leituras porque encerra um peso específico objectivo que afecta de forma distinta os múltiplos interesses que se entrecruzam na África Austral. E, pois, natural que os diferentes interessados digam, ao tentar apreendê-lo a forma como ele afectou os seus próprios interesses.

Já não é tão natural que se tente denegrir somente uma das partes, numa tentativa de prejudicar os objectivos, princípios e acção do país africano que nele se envolveu: Moçambique. É porque essas interpretações, que nos parecem inaceitáveis, nos vêm de sectores com algum peso, como por exemplo o «Le Soleil», jornal oficial da senegalês «Jeune-Afrique», revista de larga difusão em África, pareceu-nos de interesse contribuir para o debate.

Não podemos concordar com o tom lamurioso e tendencioso das análises de «Jeune-Afrique», nem com as «denúncias» do «Le Soleil», nem, muito menos, com as que nos chegam de paragens estranhas, como o Zaire... Não pelo carácter francamente ilegítimo dos autores — cujo palmarés na luta contra o apartheid ou, mesmo, pela libertação da África está longe de ser brilhante — porque nessa de argumentos pode até acontecer que um argumento verdadeiro e cristalino venha de más fontes, mas, sobretudo, porque, ao falsear a leitura dos factos, esses textos engrandecem e revigoram o apartheid ao torná-lo o vencedor desta etapa.

## Vitória diplomática moçambicana

Nada mais falso, todavia. Um pacto de não agressão não pode ser uma vitória da África do Sul porque nunca foi seu objectivo estabelecer relações pacíficas com os seus vizinhos do Norte. Nunca foi sua luta compor pacificamente seus eventuais diferendos com a Frelimo, mas eliminá-la. Impedi-la de chegar ao poder, primeiro, e, depois, perante a inelutabilidade da independência de Moçambique, minar a sua base e destruí-la têm sido elementos constantes dos programas de todos os governos do apartheid de Warrerd a Pieter Botha.

Antes, apoio político, económico e militar ao regime colonial; depois, pressões económicas e agressões contínuas; antes, apoio a grupos fantoches, tentativa de criação de movimentos alternativos à Frelimo; depois, o boicote de destruição

damental na independência do Zimbabwe, dinamizou o movimento pela criação da Conferência de Coordenação do Desenvolvimento da África Austral e, agora, impõe o respeito pelas suas fronteiras e pelo seu regime.

Aliás, o diálogo como método de resolução de diferendos, se é estranho à ilegitimidade histórica do apartheid, não o é à Frelimo nem aos partidos irmãos que constituíram a CONCP. No seu primeiro Congresso, em Setembro de 1962, no momento em que a vanguarda moçambicana decidira lutar por todos os meios pela independência nacional, a Frelimo dirigiu uma proclamação ao povo português em que reclamava negociações; o PAIGC, em Novembro de 1960, e o MPLA, em Junho do mesmo ano, haviam feito o mesmo.

Semelhantemente, Mandela, nas suas alegações no julgamento de Rivonia, mostra como o ANC que, durante 50 anos, defendera «uma política de luta pacífica» era obrigado... «pela história que não foi feita por nós...» a «resolver a disputa entre o governo e o seu povo pela violência e pela força».

A escolha da violência como meio de conquistar os seus direitos legítimos não foi pois opção unilateral dos movimentos de libertação. Foi-lhes imposta pela arrogância, intransigência e agressão permanentes dos adversários. Um acordo de paz, que respeite os direitos e interesses dos seus povos, foi sempre defendido pelos movimentos que constituíram a CONCP. A asserção segundo a qual a adopção de uma política de negociação representa um recuo ou uma mudança estratégica fundamental nas posições políticas essenciais é um desconhecimento dos principais elementos dessa política.

## Apartheid: crime contra a humanidade

Igualmente falaciosa a tese de que o acordo representa uma traição à África ou a destruição da Linha de Frente. Por um lado, os cinco parceiros de Moçambique aprovaram unanimemente a assinatura do pacto; por outro, a África não tem apoiado convenientemente a luta assumida por esses países. Não restam dúvidas que a inquietação e o ódio provocados pela conquista da independência pelos chamados «países progressistas africanos» — Angola e Moçambique, em particular —, não decorrem da aquisição da independência, em si, mas da certeza que soberaram lacunar de que levariam a sério os propósitos de independência, paz e progresso inscritos nos seus programas.

Quando Andrew Young, na reunião de Malta sobre o Zimbabwe, esclareceu que a razão de ser da presença dos Estados Unidos nessas negociações...

Todavia, era imperioso evitar que recaísse unicamente sobre os ombros desses dois países ou dos da Linha de Frente todo o esforço de um combate que é africano por natureza e mundial por opção e declaração das Nações Unidas.

Efectivamente, a OUA tem inscrito essa luta no seu programa e a ONU declarou o apartheid crime contra a humanidade e comprometeu-se a bani-lo sobre a Terra. O apartheid deixou assim de ser uma confrontação de raças, uma luta entre brancos e pretos para passar a ser considerada como ofensa a princípios universalmente reconhecidos, e em cujo combate a humanidade inteira é parte interessada. Entretanto, de facto, os países da Linha de Frente suportam o embate racista, com medíocre ou inexistente retaguarda porque a África tem ajudado pouco enquanto que a Europa e a América reforçam continuamente o regime.

Em Novembro passado, a comissão das Nações Unidas para a Namíbia, no relatório apresentado à Assembleia Geral, declarou que «os principais países ocidentais haviam aumentado a sua colaboração com o regime sul-africano, contribuindo para a persistência da política da África do Sul e da sua ocupação da Namíbia». Quanto à África, a OUA reconheceu no seu último Conselho de Ministros que não tem cumprido os compromissos sucessivamente assumidos de apoio aos países da Linha de Frente...

Em contrapartida, estes enfrentam situações económicas e sociais particularmente difíceis. Moçambique, sobretudo. A seca que assolou o litoral e o Sul do país no segundo semestre de 1983 é a maior deste século: com mais de 4 milhões de pessoas afectadas, perdas calculadas em mais de 150 milhões de dólares, o Governo moçambicano necessita de centenas de milhares de toneladas de cereais para contrabalançar a crise e combater a fome e a malnutrição.

Por outro lado, os bandos armados e enquadrados pela África do Sul tudo fazem para arrasar as infra-estruturas económicas e sociais existentes, sabotar a organização do país e lançar o pânico nas populações. Tudo isso tem como pano de fundo a situação económica difícil em que se encontra o país desde a independência.

Sem quadros para dinamizar a infra-estrutura herdada, aliás inteiramente concebida para servir a África do Sul e dela directamente dependente; sem recursos de fácil exploração, como Angola; sacrificado durante anos para apoiar a luta de libertação do Zimbabwe; sem amparo real, nem africano nem extracontinental; obrigado a partilhar as dificuldades dos países vizinhos, também extremamente enfraquecidos por crises estruturais ou situações conjunturais difíceis.

Tudo isso levou Moçambique a considerar que a consolidação da sua independência passava pela negociação de um acordo que lhe permitisse respirar e que, como declarou Samora Machel, no momento da assinatura, não pôe em causa o seu comprometimento com a luta de libertação conduzida pela OUA e pelos países da Linha de Frente.



