

## MOZAMBIQUE-SOUTH AFRICA

ARB (1-29 Feb '84)

### Security Pact Planned P-7131

In a breakthrough for South Africa in its confrontation with the black front-line African states, Mozambique agreed on February 20th, to sign a "mutual security" pact with her southern neighbour outlawing guerrilla attacks across the border.

Mozambique will forbid the banned African National Congress (ANC) from using its territory as a base for guerrilla and sabotage attacks on the republic. In return Pretoria is expected to withdraw its backing for the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MNR) whose activities have disrupted the Mozambique economy.

The agreement came during talks in Maputo between President Machel and Mr. "Pik" Botha, South African Foreign Minister. Mr. Machel is now expected to meet Mr. P. W. Botha the South African Prime Minister for summit talks in Lisbon. There they are expected to sign agreements on trade, technical assistance and tourism.

Mr. "Pik" Botha, whose delegation included Gen. Malan, the Defence Minister, and Mr. Louis le Grange, Police Minister, had talks with President Machel lasting more than an hour. Then the two delegations of ministers sat down to review the results of working parties established in January to assess the four areas of co-operation (p. 7092).

### Joint Statement

A joint statement afterwards said the two sides had agreed on the central principles concerning security arrangements between the countries. We intend entering into a formal agreement in this regard."

They agreed that the region had been "plagued by conflict for too long" and that this had "retarded progress in the resolution of the common problems of our region."

The statement said President Machel had "reaffirmed the principles of peace, stability, progress and good neighbourliness which underlie the current discussions."

Mr. Botha told reporters that both governments were working on "the details and formulation" of the security

agreement and would like to conclude negotiations "as soon as possible."

The South African Press Association in Johannesburg later quoted Mr. Botha as saying more had been achieved in Maputo than he had hoped. "I look forward to the next few months, during which we will have to build trust and alleviate suspicion", he was reported as saying.

Although the discussions centred on security matters, the joint statement said the delegations had also reviewed the activities of the bilateral working groups set up to discuss economic affairs, the Cabora Bassa Dam project and tourism. The two governments expressed satisfaction with the progress which had been made in these areas, as well as security.



Asked if there was any connection between the peace moves between South Africa and Mozambique and the recent accord between Pretoria and the Angolan Government, (see below), Mr. Botha replied: "A pattern is now developing in terms of which the governments and leaders of Southern Africa seem to realize that they all stand to gain from co-operation, and from stability and peace."

[The talks in Maputo followed the establishment on February 16th of a joint commission by South Africa and Angola to monitor a troop withdrawal by Pretoria from southern Angola (p. 7150).]

(R. Maputo 20/2, D. Tel, GD 21/2)

## Reaction and Comment

News of the pact was given splash treatment in both South Africa and Mozambique. But despite official enthusiasm on both sides, rebels opposed to President Machel in Mozambique—and said in the past to be supported by Pretoria—warned the fight would go on (see below).

In a front-page report the Afrikaans daily *Beeld*, described the talks as "a magic breakthrough for peace." A rival Afrikaans daily, *Die Vaderland*, headlined its front page report: "African National Congress a Loser in Peace Consultations."

According to *Die Vaderland*, the peace agreement will acknowledge the right of Mozambique to give diplomatic and moral support to the ANC but compel it to expel all military members of the ANC from its territory and deny logistic support to ANC guerrillas entering South Africa by alternative routes.

In return, South Africa will not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks on Mozambique by the rebel Mozambique National Resistance, and undertake not to assist the MNR logistically.

In Maputo, the official daily, *Noticias*, published what was almost unthinkable in Mozambique, only months ago—a photograph of President Machel shaking hands with Mr. Pik Botha. It was noted that neither man was smiling. But diplomats and observers saw publication of the photograph as a clear signal that relations between the two countries had changed fundamentally.

Meanwhile, in Lisbon, an MNR spokesman said no security agreement would stop the seven-year guerrilla bush war. The apparent progress made between Maputo and Pretoria "will not affect our drive," the spokesman said.

(GD 22/2)

The Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Mugabe, welcomed the current dialogue between South Africa and its black neighbours saying that the success of the negotiations would depend on South Africa's willingness to honour its pledges. Speaking in Parliament in Harare, Mr. Mugabe said he had been assured by Mozambique and Angola that their talks with South Africa were aimed at achieving peace in southern Africa from which Zimbabwe could also benefit. Mr. Mugabe said that his

Government was continuously being informed on the negotiations and that there was no cause for concern.

The Zimbabwean leader said his country could benefit tremendously if South Africa and Mozambique reached an agreement. He said that the rebel group which was fighting against the Mozambican forces would then stop attacking Zimbabwe's rail and oil lines passing through Mozambique to the Indian Ocean. Mr. Mugabe dismissed a suggestion that the current dialogue would undermine efforts by the nine-nation Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to lessen the dependence of black countries on South Africa. He said the talks could even lead to a situation of increased co-operation within the organization. (R. Harare 23/2)

## "Momentum for Peace"

Radio Lusaka said in a commentary that today, in the southern African region, a momentum for peace and stability had been created through co-operation and dialogue which held the possibility for development and progress which was unthinkable only a few short months ago. The record read like a peacemaker's textbook and credit must go to all the countries of southern Africa.

"What is happening is that they are opting for realistic policies based on the essential interdependence of the region instead of the political rhetoric that through the years has heightened tensions, increased instability and promoted confrontation.

"In a nutshell, this is the picture. South Africa and Angola and South Africa and Mozambique are involved in frequent face-to-face negotiations on ending the war in Angola and on normalizing relations.

"President Kaunda of Zambia is playing an important role in bringing South Africa and Angola together. Tanzania has described the South African-Mozambican talks as hopeful. The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), consisting of nine nations in southern Africa, has done nothing to upset these developments and, in fact, by not inviting the ANC and SWAPO—which the ANC condemned as conciliatory—SADCC promoted the cause of dialogue and peaceful process.

"At the same time the major Western powers, and particularly the United States, are not only actively trying to bring about reconciliation in southern Africa but are thrilled over what has been achieved so far. The Americans have expressed pleasure and optimism while the British have hailed the peace pact between South Africa and Mozambique as 'a major diplomatic breakthrough.' The British Foreign Office issued a statement declaring: 'We have long believed that only through negotiations can enduring solutions to the problems of southern Africa be achieved.' Then there was the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr. Jaime Gama, who said that the normalization of relations between Mozambique and Pretoria 'was a great step towards world peace.'

"What is happening in southern Africa today is that the states of the subcontinent have taken a good hard look at their security and economic realities. The point to stress is that with the frontline states and South Africa co-operation for the common good any action against one becomes an action against all, and all will resist with the considerable force and influence they have at their disposal.

"The subcontinent of southern Africa could be heading into an era of prosperity and goodwill unprecedented in its history. The momentum has been created and all signs are that it is being maintained." (R. Lusaka 23/2)

The *Daily Nation* (Nairobi) thinks that it is still too early to tell how, or even whether, the agreement between South Africa and Mozambique will work. But the fact that the two nations have committed themselves to try a peaceful way to solve their differences is significant and worthy of support.

"It is the second time in a week that Pretoria has reached agreement with a frontline State to resolve problems peacefully. At a meeting in Lusaka on February 16th, South Africa and Angola, with the mediation of the United States, agreed to set up a joint commission to facilitate South African withdrawal from southern Angola and establish a ceasefire.

"The two developments put together amount to a rare, even perhaps historic, opportunity for the nations of Southern Africa to chart a peaceful future. For the first time there is a hope that the region can avoid the major conflagration

towards which it has seemed headed in the recent past. What follows now will determine whether the past week's steps will climax in a lasting peace."

"As South Africa and Angola admitted during the Lusaka talks, there are many complex and unresolved issues which must be addressed before enduring peace can come to the region. Many of these will demand difficult decisions that may sometimes be politically unpalatable at home."

"Namibia must be brought to independence, even with the prospect of a SWAPO electoral victory. But equally important also, Pretoria must seek peace with its black majority, giving it a meaningful say in the running of the country, thus eliminating the main cause of conflict in Southern Africa."

*The Daily Nation*, however, enters the provision that the agreements between South Africa and its neighbours must be more than just border arrangements to buy Pretoria time while it pursues its oppressive policies. "If that is all that Pretoria expects, then what we are seeing now will be no more than another false start." (DN 23/2)

### South Africa's Strategy

*The Times* (London) comments that Pretoria's sudden switch from aggression to detente in its dealings with its black neighbours is as puzzling to many South Africans as it must be to outsiders more used to news stories of verbal insults, guerrilla attacks and military reprisals.

The truth is, that South Africa's regional strategy has always been a judicious mix of the military and economic bludgeon on the one hand and the conciliatory diplomatic on the other. Pretoria is talking softly now, but it is still carrying a big stick behind its back.

The conciliatory phase seems to have begun in the final quarter of last year in the case of Angola and Mozambique. There had been contacts and meetings for a year or more before that, but these did not produce any clear results.

A nadir in relations with Mozambique was reached in the middle of last year after the car bomb on May 20th in a crowded Pretoria street which killed 19 people and wounded more than 200. Responsibility was claimed by the banned African National Congress (ANC).

South Africa responded at once with an air raid on alleged ANC houses in Maputo, where the car bombing was said to have been planned (p. 6828). In October, Pretoria sent a commando unit to bomb an ANC office after sabotage of petrol storage tanks at Warmbaths in central Transvaal (p. 6997).

Later in October, President Machel made a tour of European capitals in which he acknowledged his country's desperate economic plight and his desire for a fresh start in relations with Western countries and South Africa (p. 7020).

This was followed at the end of November and in early December by a European tour by Mr. Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, who also had a crucial, though at the time little noted, meeting in Rome with Dr. Chester Crocker, the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

January 16th saw the first breakthrough with a simultaneous meeting in Maputo and Pretoria of working groups on a range of security and economic issues (p. 7092). These paved the way for the historic ministerial-level meeting in Maputo on February 20th which thrashed out the terms of a non-aggression pact.

(TT 22/2)

### Neighbours Neutralized

*The Observer* (London) takes the view that the brazen nerve and lack of scruple with which the South African Government pursues its interests seems to be paying off.

The deal with Mozambique was a masterly demonstration of how to combine military and diplomatic means to achieve national ends, a combination which is not as easy as it looks (ask Mr. Shultz). In return for agreeing to call off the rebels of MNR, who have been causing havoc throughout Mozambique, the South Africans extracted from President Machel a promise to deny refuge to the guerrillas of the African National Congress. Taken together with the recent deal between South Africa and Angola, it is clear that the political geography of southern Africa has shifted, perhaps decisively.

One by one, South Africa has contrived to neutralize all its immediate neighbours. Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland have all been cowed by economic and military pressure. Angola

forced to sue for peace to get South African troops off its territory, and Mozambique harassed into surrender by the MNR. South Africa also has a powerful hold on Zimbabwe through control of its supply routes and could, at any time, tell Mugabe to pay 'cash and carry'. Tanzania, historically the most uncompromising enemy, is virtually on its knees.

Of course, any advance for the South African Government represents a setback for the political hopes of its black population. But if the deal with Angola represents the first step in a delicate process which will end with independence for Namibia and the removal of Cuban troops from Angola (as Washington sources assert), then even black Africans will have something to celebrate.

*The Observer* thinks, however, that even if this were to come true, it would bring little comfort to the ANC, now denied its principal foreign base in Mozambique. Perhaps it was never realistic to suppose that South Africa could be destabilized, as Rhodesia was, by guerrilla actions launched across the borders from much weaker neighbours.

The ANC will now have to seek an internal strategy, a task of extraordinary difficulty in a country as formidably policed as South Africa. Any country that denies its people basic human rights must, almost by definition, be unstable in the longer-term. But for the moment, at least, there can be little doubt that white supremacy in South Africa appears more secure than ever.

(OBS 26/2)