



Victims of Renamo in Mozambique.

AFRAPIX

**WHICH** shall it be, a Southern Africa gradually moving toward some kind of regional political integration and playing a growing, strategic role in helping to fashion a more just South-North relationship, or an area where future generations are condemned to surviving amidst the ashes of today's states ravaged by wars of secession?

Let's take a look at the Mozambican case, where Rhodesian-sponsored destabilisation, begun in 1975 and taken up by South Africa in the early 1980s, interrupted the process of nation-formation before it had matured.

Renamo's destruction of schools, rural clinics, shops and other infrastructures shattered national points of reference which

**The possibility of escalating "feudal" wars, a ravaged economy and millions of deaths is staring Southern Africa in the face, says Carlos Cardoso, director of the Mozambican news agency Aim, who, in this article, argues for an integrated regional policy.**

tors can do little against the corruption of the "nouveau riche". Thousands of abandoned and orphaned street children beg and steal, slowly acquiring the skills that will make them the samurais of future gangs commanded by urban warlords.

By now, there may be as many as 3 000

for US agricultural aid, including trucks and tractors, which they deploy to fatten their wallets as untaxed public transport and equipment for hire to the rural family sector. A climate of peasant revolt against these officials is growing, while in the cities the ever increasing cost of living is forcing workers into strikes whose solution is extremely hard to envisage.

All these are examples of what one might call the internalisation of destabilisation, the unchecked growth of what Renamo's founder, Rhodesia's top security official Mr Ken Flower, in his latter years called the "Frankenstein" of Southern Africa. The aggression has overflowed already into Zimbabwe and Zambia, while almost a million Mozambican refugees

## Integration or collapse?

are vital for a people made up of many ethnic groups, races and religious creeds. A vicious cycle of violence, misery and more violence set in and gained a life of its own. Entire areas of the country had their material base destroyed.

Untold thousands of Mozambicans now survive on plant life normally eaten by antelope. For years they have had neither salt nor sugar, neither meat nor fish. Their swollen eyes speak of horror. Their black skins have turned grey.

Other sources of violence were unleashed as the years went by. Dispossessed peasants, groups of bandits with no allegiance to any particular organisation, hastily demobilised units of the Mozambique Armed Forces (FAM/FPLM) and units of a Zambia based group called Unamo roam the countryside stealing and killing. In the urban areas the new elite's more capable sec-

children whom Renamo has brutalised and trained to kill indiscriminately. I have spoken to 12-year-olds who murdered newborn babies and their mothers as part of their military training in Renamo camps.

Ivory, precious stones, animal skins - the riches of the country - are stolen and sold at ridiculously low prices by private and state dealers who have developed an interest in war and use public office to accumulate capital illicitly. In Maputo, by now, it is not difficult to buy weapons.

In these desperate circumstances, the Mozambican government adopted an IMF and World Bank sponsored economic recovery programme which contains the usual IMF "medicine" of huge cuts in state social sector expenditure. A process of fast social stratification set in. State officials in the cities get rural land titles. Many of them do not work the land. They use it to apply

stretch to breaking point the humanitarian assistance capacity of Malawi, Swaziland and the Eastern Transvaal.

In some areas of Mozambique where the power of the state has withered away, Renamo gangs who have severed links with the rest of the group, Unamo groups and ex-FAM/FPLM units live under the chieftanship of local "regulos" and queens - a process often facilitated by the expropriation of land by local Frelimo officials. In other areas people have simply gone back to old forms of local rule under the leadership of ancient lineages. In short, one is witnessing the refeudalisation of power in parts of the country, which will develop into secessionist wars if peace does not come soon.

What now gives many of us sleepless nights is the possibility that a part of Renamo is told to accept President Chissano's



principles for direct negotiations while other sectors are ordered from South African soil to continue fighting. It depends on whether President De Klerk can put an end to the apparatus that still commands Renamo.

In your country too, there is a tendency to disintegration. The clashes in Natal already have some of the characteristics of Renamo's type of systematic terrorism: the cutting off of ears and limbs, vigilante, Inkatha and Ama-Africa groups coming to your homes and killing indiscriminately.

It is my belief that important sections of military intelligence and parallel structures of power in the SAP are doing in South Africa what they have done in Mozambique: financing and commanding a process of carnage which they propagate as "black on black violence". In South Africa, old unsolved contradictions in society are gaining a military dimension.

Equally frightening is the prospect of the Afrikaner ultra-right moving blindly towards the proclamation of a third Boer Republic, the insane creation of a "whitetan". The possibility exists that Afrikaner will kill Afrikaner in the same way that South Africans of Zulu descent are killing each other, and the South African economy which is the backbone of the regional sub-system will collapse. The whole of Southern Africa will enter a process of redefinition of nations, lasting possibly for 100, 200 years. Feudal wars will destroy the region. Add Aids, desertification and other looming eco-

logical crises and you'll have an idea of what awaits us all if the ultra-right is allowed to materialise its insanity.

I've outlined the worst possible scenario. It need not go that way.

The other regional tendency is integration. The nations of Southern Africa share cultural, family and economic bonds which cut across today's borders. The Front Line has shown an inspiring sense of unity and political maturity in the face of attempts to divide it by "total strategy". SADC member states already devise national policies in rail transport, ports, civil aviation and telecommunications which take into account each other's needs.

In a post-apartheid Southern Africa this co-operation will expand and I, therefore, am led to contemplate a moment when each country's citizens will demand some kind of dual citizenship, institutionally manifested through voting for a regional parliament.

The SADF has consistently defended apartheid. Its commitment has been to promote white racist rule, not a nation of equals. It was defeated in Angola but not at home, and its internal foe, Umkhonto We Sizwe, does not yet pose a military threat. This is a huge obstacle to the negotiated abolition of apartheid.

It will take some courageous, long-term, strategic thinking by all anti-apartheid forces in South Africa and in the region to overcome this obstacle.

One idea worth contemplating, it seems to me, is the following: to invite the SADF's top officer corps to join the armies of a post-apartheid region in the creation of a regional force responsible for the defence of Southern Africa.

The sheer power of Africa's cultures, once placed at the disposal of white South African soldiers, would in time deliver a death blow to the racist ideology - much of it born out of fear and ignorance of the "black" world - which for too long has kept them isolated from the daily pleasure of belonging to the wider, pluri-cultural dimension of their country.

I noted with interest, in 1988, the insistent Conservative Party demand that the government establish separate barracks for the different races in the SADF. The inference is that the little racial integration which has occurred in the SADF has already dented its racist structure and ideology.

In addition, one cannot expect generals who have not been defeated at home to simply sit down and sign resignation papers. They must have a role, as President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe perceived, integrating units of the previous Rhodesian army into the country's armed forces and keeping General Peter Walls and other white officers in positions of command after Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980. Mozambique benefited immensely from that decision.

The armies of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Tanzania have considerable experience in joint operations. Military co-operation in the region already includes support to Mozambique from Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Angola, as well as a security arrangement in terms of which

Malawian soldiers help guard Mozambique's northern Nacala railroad.

And what about South Africa's military industry? Should we throw it out of the window?

Without wanting to sound absolutist, there are worrying signs coming from Europe, where moves towards a super-Europe may be aimed at guaranteeing a few more centuries of European international central-

**I have seen the professional destabilisers of your country turn mine into a sad and skinny hand stretched out to that ultimate form of domination: charity.'**

ity. If Southern Africa proves capable of seriously competing on the world market but does not show the military muscle to keep would-be dominators at bay, we may face unbearable pressure.

**HOWEVER** much I'd love to see all weapons disappear from the face of the earth, it would be unwise for the South to disarm before the North's military arsenals are reduced to parity with ours. For the last 500 years, European economic domination of extensive parts of the world has been supported by military intervention or the threat of intervention. I am yet to be convinced that the future will be radically different. (This does not mean that we should stop looking for "weapons" of regional defence that do not involve death and destruction.)

From being a liability to the region, could the South African military industry not become an asset in the future? Is its regional decentralisation possible so as to guarantee that no single state has total control over it?

The basis for all solutions is a shared view of what the future ought to look like. One of the central questions is the future of whites in South Africa. Sadly, hundreds of thousands of them still see themselves as whites or as white South Africans, and not simply as South Africans or Africans. That will take a long time to change.

So, what do the region and the anti-apartheid forces inside South Africa want? Do they want to get rid of those whites? Do they see them just as carriers of technological know-how or as South Africans who can pay back, by teaching, the knowledge they accumulated on the backs of cheap black labour? Do they think their racism is so inbred that it cannot be washed away and, therefore, that they must leave? Must they then be replaced by thousands of European experts whose anti-racism is doubtful, to say the least, and whose incomes will be sent to banks in their countries of origin instead of being invested in South Africa and the region?

It is the answers to these questions that will determine whether the idea of an integrated regional force has any value. (My opinion: I have seen the professional destabilisers of your country turn mine into a sad and skinny hand stretched out to that ultimate form of domination: charity. Don't let them do the same to your country.)

## **Idasa Johannesburg**

**is looking for a**

### **PROJECT CO-ORDINATOR**

The person appointed to the position of regional project co-ordinator will plan, organise and implement specific projects and programmes within the region, co-ordinating Idasa strategies and resources with relevant individuals and organisations.

This position calls for:

- \* good organisational and administrative skills
- \* a sound knowledge and understanding of the political situation in South Africa
- \* a commitment to the aims of Idasa.

Additional skills in your favour will be:

- \* bilingualism
- \* group facilitating skills

Idasa and two staff members will select the preferred candidate and the salary will be negotiated. The candidate will be required to commence duties as soon as possible.

A written application (including a summary of past experience) should reach Idasa, P O Box 32804, Braamfontein 2017 by March 8, 1990. Tel: (011) 403-3580/1/2/3/4.