

THE BATTLEFRONTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

COLIN LEGUM



AFRICANA PUBLISHING COMPANY
a division of Holmes & Meier
New York / London

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	xiii
INTRODUCTION:	xv
1948-1987: THE MAKING OF A CRISIS	xv
Origins of the Crisis	xvi
The African View of the Crisis	xviii
The Western View of the Crisis	xix
The Soviet-Bloc and Cuban Role	xxiii
The Role of the Chinese People's Republic	xxvi
The Future Outlook	xxvii
1975-1976: HOW THE SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE FAILED	1
Overview	1
Pretoria Negotiations with Liberia	2
Pretoria Negotiations with Central African Republic	4
Pretoria Negotiations with Zambia	4
The Dar es Salaam Declaration	6
Stand of the Ivory Coast	9
The Victoria Falls Conference	11
1976-1977: THE YEAR OF THE WHIRLWIND	20
THE ROAD TO WAR: January-April 1976	22
The Ringmasters: Role of the Front-Line Presidents	26
The Performers: The Fighters and The Politicians	29
African National Council (ANC): The Rise and Fall and Rise of the Bishop	30
The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU): (1) Eclipse of Sithole	31
The Zimbabwe African National Union (2) The Emergence of Robert Mugabe	33
Zimbabwe African People's Union: Joshua Nkomo—An Old Star Rises Again	34
The Patriotic Front: A Marriage of Convenience	35
Zimbabwe Independence People's Army: The Guerillas' Internal Struggles	36
THE DEFENDERS	
(1) The Rhodesians; Who Will Stay?	38
(2) Where Will South Africa Stand?	39

BATTLEFRONTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Fourth Front: Angola's Neighbour, Namibia	42
The Interlocutor: Dr Kissinger's Diplomacy	44
THE KISSINGER SHUTTLE: 'GETTING OUT OF A BLOODY MESS'	47
Round One: Dar es Salaam, 14-16 September.....	48
Round Two: Lusaka, 16-17 September	49
Round Three: Pretoria, 17-18 September	49
Round Four: Pretoria, 19-20 September	50
Round Five: Lusaka, 20-21 September	52
Round Six: Dar es Salaam, 21-22 September	52
Round Seven: Zaire, 22 September	53
The Diplomatic Snafu: Who Was Lying?	53
Climax and Anti-Climax: Smith Says 'Yes'; the Africans Give a Qualified 'No'	55
The Road to Geneva: Britain's Reluctant Role in 1976	56
The Geneva Conference—In Which Chairman Mao Is Proved Right ..	57
Smith's New Strategy	58
Who Speaks for the Africans?	58
Proposals for a Transitional Government	59
What Role for Britain?	60
The End of Geneva	61
A New British Initiative: This Time Smith Says 'No', the Africans Say 'Perhaps'.....	62
Britain's Proposals for a Transition Government.....	63
The Mercenary Factor in the Rhodesian Conflict.....	66
The International Trust Fund	67
Full Circle: Smith's Second UDI	68
The Russians' Ringside Seat	69
1977-1978: ANGLO-AMERICAN COOPERATION AND A NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE	74
THE THREE ARENAS OF CONFLICT:	77
(1) South Africa	77
(2) Rhodesia/Zimbabwe	79
(3) Namibia	85
The African Role in the Diplomatic Process	88
The Front-Line Presidents	88
The Role of Zambia.....	91
The Role of Other African States	92
The Role of the Patriotic Front.....	93
THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CRISIS	94
American Policy	94
British Policy.....	97

European Policies.....	98
Soviet Union's Policy	98
The Cuban Policy.....	99
China's Policy	100
1978-1979: THE APPROACHING COLLAPSE OF WHITE RESISTANCE IN RHODESIA	104
THE THREE ARENAS OF CONFLICT	106
1. Namibia.....	106
2. Zimbabwe-Rhodesia	109
3. South Africa.....	114
THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CRISIS	116
The Role of the Western Powers.....	116
The Role of the Communist States	119
The Role of the African States	122
1979-1980: THE ROAD TO AND FROM LANCASTER HOUSE	126
Prelude to Lusaka, May-July 1979	127
The Lusaka Commonwealth Conference, 1-7 August 1979.....	129
From Lusaka to Lancaster House, August 1979.....	131
THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE, 10 September-21 December 1979	131
Lord Carrington's Role	131
The Role of the Front-Line Presidents	132
The Role of the Commonwealth	133
The Negotiating Process.....	133
The Legacy of Lancaster House.....	140
Rhodesia on the Eve of Independence	142
The Role of Gen. Peter Walls	144
Zimbabwe-South Africa Relations	145
Namibia After Zimbabwe.....	146
INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICA CRISIS	149
The Western Role in Southern Africa	149
The Soviet and Cuban Role.....	150
China's Role.....	152
The Future.....	152
1980-1981: THE FAILURE OF DIPLOMACY AND WEAPONS.....	155
The Different Elements of the Southern African Conflict.....	155

BATTLEFRONTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Constraints on the Behaviour of South Africa and its Neighbours ...	156
The Impending Collapse of the Southern African Political System ...	157
NAMIBIA: THE ROAD TO AND FROM GENEVA.	158
Aspects of Collaborative Behaviour.....	158
Last Round of the UN Negotiations (January-November 1980)	159
The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance: A New Factor.....	162
The Geneva Conference (7-14 January 1981).....	162
South Africa's Stand on Namibia.....	164
The Interests of Outside Powers.....	165
THE ANGOLA-SOUTH AFRICAN BORDER	166
Military Operations in Angola.....	166
How Far Will SA Go in Angola?	168
The Mozambique-South African Border	170
The Zimbabwe-South African Border	171
Waiting for Godot, or the \$64,000 Question.....	172
1981-1982: DARKNESS AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL .	176
THE AREAS OF ARMED CONFLICT	177
1. The Angolan-Namibia Front.....	177
Similarities of Regional Conflicts in the Middle East and Southern Africa	178
Operation Protea: A Notch Closer to Conventional War	180
2. The Eastern, Northern and Western Front	181
3. The Internal Front	183
South Africa's Policy of Destabilizing its Neighbours	183
THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT	186
Reagan Joins the Negotiations, January-April 1981	186
Introduction of Linkage between a Settlement and Cuban Troop Withdrawals, April-May 1981.....	189
The Clark Mission, June 1981.....	190
SA Escalates the War and Renewed Pressures for Sanctions, August- September 1981.....	192
Hopes Rise for Agreement, September-October 1981	194
Collapse of the New Initiative, October-December 1981.....	197
Negotiations Again Break Down: The Issue of Elections, December 1981-March 1982.....	199
Breaking the Deadlock, January-June 1982	202
A New Climax: The New York Talks, July 1982	205
THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL ACTORS IN THE CONFLICT.	207
Angola: The Pivotal Partner in the Negotiations	207
Unita: Waiting in the Wings	210
Zambia—President Kaunda's Approach to Pretoria.....	212
Zimbabwe and Mozambique: A Tight Alliance.....	212
The Front-Line States: Champions of Peaceful Negotiations	214

CONTENTS

Southwest African People's Organization of Namibia (Swapo)— Pretoria's Principal Antagonist in Namibia.....	215
Republic of South Africa: A Regional Power in Need of Friends.....	217
THE ROLE OF THE MAJOR FOREIGN ACTORS	221
The United States: Learning to Work with Its Allies	221
Western Europe and Canada: America's Troubled Allies	224
The Soviet Bloc: A World Power Unable to Help its Friends after Independence	226
Cuba: Angola's Fighting Ally.....	227
The People's Republic of China: Maintaining a Low Profile	228
The United Nations: The Source of Legitimacy.....	228
Appendix 1: Text of Western Constitutional Proposals for an Independent Namibia	229
Appendix 2: Swapo's Response to the Western Proposals	230
Appendix 3: The Position of the Frontline States, Nigeria, Kenya and Swapo	232
1982-1983: THE DYNAMICS OF VIOLENCE	236
Parallels with the Middle East	238
Anatomy of Violence.....	239
THE DESTABILIZATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA: AREAS OF CONFLICT	243
Angola: The 'Two Koreas' Plan	245
Mozambique: The National Resistance Movement (MNR).....	245
The Origins and Aims of the MNR	247
The South African Connection with the MNR.....	248
Reasons for the Success of the Mozambican Rebels	249
Leadership of the Mozambican Rebels.....	251
Zimbabwe: A Second Unita in the Making?	252
Lesotho: SA's Most Vulnerable Neighbour	253
Botswana: A Gathering Place for Refugees	255
Zambia: A President's Fears	255
The Seychelles: The Smoking Gun	256
NEGOTIATIONS FOR A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT	257
THE COURSE OF EVENTS—August 1982-June 1983	257
War on the Ground: Talk on the Sidelines (January to July 1983)....	262
Role of the Local Actors in the Conflict	265
—Angola: Thirsting for Peace.....	265
—SWAPO: Fearing a Sell-Out.....	266
—The Frontline States: Taking Their Lead from Angola	266
—Unita: Savimbi's Growing Shadow over Angola	267
—The Republic of South Africa: Pretoria has Everybody Guessing ..	268

BATTLEFRONTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

THE ROLE OF THE MAJOR FOREIGN ACTORS	269
—The Western Contact Group: Friends but No Longer Partners.....	269
—The Soviet Bloc: A Leading Actor in a Minor Role	271
—Cuba: Only too Glad to Return Home	271
—China: Back in the Ring.....	272
1983-1984: PAX PRAETORIANA OR PAX AFRICANA? ..	275
THE COURSE OF EVENTS, June-December 1983.	279
The Western Front—Angola and Namibia	279
The Lusaka Talks on Namibia, 10-12 May 1984	284
The Slow Pull-Out from Angola, May-July 1984	288
THE ROAD TO NKOMATI	289
The Nkomati Accord, 16 March 1984	294
African Reactions to the Nkomati Accord.....	295
—The African National Congress.....	295
—Other African Leaders	299
—Reactions from other Countries	300
Post-Nkomati Developments, March-June 1984	300
THE NORTHERN FRONT.	301
Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Botswana.....	301
The Border with Lesotho.....	304
THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL ACTORS IN THE CRISIS.	305
South Africa, the Regional Power.....	305
The Role of the Front-Line States	309
The Role of the Liberation Movements	312
The Role of Unita and the MNR	313
ROLE OF THE EXTERNAL POWERS	315
The Contact Group	315
Portugal's Role	316
The Role of the United States.....	316
The Role of the Soviet Bloc	319
The Role of Cuba.....	321
Appendix 1: Nkomati Accord.....	323
Appendix 2: President Machel's Speech at the Signing Ceremony.....	326
Appendix 3: President Botha's speech at the Signing Ceremony	328
Appendix 4: The Arusha Statement by the Front-Line States	330
1984-1985: SHIFT FROM THE PERIPHERY TO THE VORTEX OF THE VIOLENT CONFRONTATION.....	333
THE COURSE OF EVENTS, July-December 1984	334
Continuing Search for Namibian Independence	334
Progress of the War in Namibia; Casualties and Cost.....	343
Progress of the War against Unita	345

CONTENTS

THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL ACTORS IN THE CRISIS.....	346
South Africa, the Regional Power.....	346
The Role of SWAPO	349
The Role of the African National Congress.....	349
Zimbabwe's Role.....	349
Botswana's Role	351
Lesotho's Role	353
Swaziland's Role.....	353
Mozambique's Role	354
FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT PRETORIA DECLARATION	
BRINGS NKOMATI ACCORD TO VERGE OF COLLAPSE.....	358
Angola: Unita's Role	365
The Frontline States	367
ROLE OF THE EXTERNAL POWERS	367
The Role of the Contact Group	367
United States.....	368
Cuba's Role	369
The Role of China and North Korea	369
The Soviet Role	370
1985-1986: AN EMBATTLED SOUTH AFRICA FACES A	
FUTURE OF INCREASING ISOLATION.....	374
Overview	374
The West Changes Course.....	375
Impact of African Policies on the West	377
Impact of External Pressures on South Africa	377
The Situation in Southern Africa at the End of 1986	378
The International Campaign for Sanctions against South Africa.....	379
Impact of Sanctions on South Africa's Neighbours	382
Counter-Sanctions	383
The Disinvestment Campaign	384
THE COURSE OF EVENTS:.....	384
Namibia and Angola: The Diplomatic Front	384
Namibian-Angolan Fighting Front	388
Angola's Internal Military Front.....	389
The Mozambique Arena: Withering of the Nkomati Accord	395
THE AFRICAN ARENA	400
The Role of the FLS	402
Military Intervention in Southern Africa	403
The Role of FLS Members	403
—in Mozambique.....	406
—in Zimbabwe	407
—in Zambia	409
—in Botswana.....	410

BATTLEFRONTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

—in Lesotho	411
—in Swaziland	411
—in Malawi	412
—in Tanzania	413
Other African Countries	413
—Role of Zaire	413
—Role of the OAU	414
—Role of South Africa	414
—South Africa and the West.....	415
—South Africa's Attitudes towards the Communist World.....	416
—South Africa's Policies of Destabilization.....	418
—Role of the African National Congress	418
—Role of Swapo.....	419
THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA	419
ROLE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS:	419
The Nassau Accord	419
The Eminent Persons Group	420
Sir Geoffrey Howe's Mission to Pretoria	425
The Commonwealth Mini-Summit in London	426
Britain's Role: the Domestic Debate	429
ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY	430
EEC-South Africa Trade	432
ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES	433
Sanctions vs Constructive Engagement	434
The Sanctions Campaign	436
US Policy towards SA	438
US policy in Angola and Mozambique	441
ROLE OF THE SOVIET BLOC	443
ROLE OF CUBA.....	445
ROLE OF CHINA.....	445
ROLE OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS	446
INDEXES	
SUBJECT INDEX.....	449
NAME INDEX	450