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OVERSEAS NEWS

Financial Times writers look at the background to the raid on the Mozambique capital of Maputo

Why South Africa holds whip hand  
BY J. 1D F. JONES IN JOHANNESBURG

SOUTH AFRICA'S military capacity, overwhelmingly greater and more sophisticated than that of its neighbours, allows its generals to act with near-total impunity-so long as their political masters permit them to defy international chiticism

But Pretoria also has the capacity to make trouble for its neighbours without resorting to military action.

This is why domestic critics of yesterday's cross-border raid, who share the outrage at last Friday's terrorist bomb in Pretoria-argue that the government should not have allowed the military to bomb a neighbouring state.

Among the weapons available:

0 South Africa can apply  
1 irresistible pressure through its economic might. The economies non-military

of all the neighbouring states are in various ways dependent on the Republic, distressing though this is to them. , South Africa dominates the regional communications network, and thus the flow of trade. Even Socialist

Mozambique's port of Maputo could not survive without South African trade and technicians.

Land-locked Zimbabwe has a similar reliance on passage through the Republic.

Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho are in effect components in the South African economy.

The neighbouring economies still depend on South Africa as a market for the labour of their menfolk. Power, water and services are often interdependent. It follows-the critics maintain-that a South African Government determined on non-military admonition could crack a painfully effective whip, although that would not perhaps be so satisfying a sight for an angry and alarmed white electorate.

Q Throughout the region, Pretoria manifestly enjoys a network of information sources. In Zimbabwe, Mt Mugabe's government is suspicious of the loyalty of certain members of

the white population, including some who have stayed on in the security and defence areas. South African links of this sort spread far to the north.

0 Pretoria has the capacity to destabilise the region. Few independent observers now doubt that the South Africans have a supporting role in the Mozambique Resistance Movement which is a large thorn in President Samora Machel's flesh.

The Lesotho Government of Chief Leabua Jonathan insists that his enemies are sheltered and helped by SA. The Zimbabweans are convinced that Pretoria is determined not to allow them to show the world that a black government can be successful and stable.

Against all this, the South African Government remains aware that it represents only a 4.5m white minority in a country of 20m black Africans at the foot of a black continent which has cast off white rule. The South African military knows the difficulties regular armies encounter when pitted against guerrillas who enjoy the support of the peasant and urban population. They also realise how vulnerable their industrial infrastructure could prove when challenged by effective sabotage or the withdrawal of labour.

Attacks aim at key symbols of white rule  
BY OUR JOHANNESBURG CORRESPONDENT  
NEARLY one hundred incidents apparently involving the African National Congress (ANC) have been monitored by Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies since the beginning of 1981.

The loss of life, however, has been remarkably low, mainly because the ANC has been trying to concentrate its sabotage operations against government and military installations rather than indiscriminate terrorism. One of the grimmest aspects of last Friday's car bomb in the centre of Pretoria is that it may imply a change of policy, although South African officials have always scoffed at suggestions that the ANC was trying not to endanger innocent civilians.

This year has already seen about a dozen reports of sabotage and bombing. The Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg has been bombed twice. A

bomb in a Bloemfontein pass office killed three and wounded about 75 all blacks. These offices, which administer apartheid influx control, are popular targets for symbolic attack.

The ANC's most impressive guerrilla achievement was recorded in December 1982 with the infiltration of four bombs inside the top security Koeberg nuclear power station 25 miles north of Cape Town. The reactor had not been activated so no civil emergency ensued. But the final construction work was put back-it has still not been brought on stream-and the population of Cape Town was severely shaken. a

In the same month the Defence Force raided neighbouring Lesotho and killed 30 alleged ANC people.

Earlier in the year a wave of bombings, usually minor, struck Eastern Transvaal and Natal, often in remote areas within reach of Mozambique or Lesotho. Another shock came in Cape Town when a bomb was placed in a lift inside the President's Council building (successor to the Senate) in the city centre.

In 1981 there were more than 50 incidents throughout the country, ranging from a rash of explosions in the Durban and Port Elizabeth areas to a rocket attack on the major Voortrekkerhoogte military base just outside Pretoria. These incidents occurred even though the South African military launched an apparently successful pre-emptive and punitive strike at ANC command posts in the outskirts of Maputo, Mozambique's capital, in January 1981.

The previous year, ANC saboteurs raided Sasolburg, headquarters of the country's vital oil-from-coal industry, and destroyed eight fuel tanks. Since then security arrangements at key points of South African industry have been strengthened, at the cost of serious strain on available (white) manpower.

The three minutes that brought death

MAPUTO - It took just three minutes. local time South African

rockets struck a factory and houses in a Maputo suburb leaving several people dead. The attack was made on a for 'Friday's car bomb attack on the South Africa' Air Force headquarters in Pretoria, jam factory and homes in the 3' suburb of Matola where, according to residents, - no I ANC members are now living- The residents said the ANC left the suburb after the South African commando raid in January, 1981, which killed 13 members.

Soldiers, police and militia fired at a South African attack force of seven aircraft. Anti-aircraft batteries gunned-1 ing the Matola bridge, which carries all road traffic to Maputo, opened fire. Maputo. Hours later, the city was calm. Soldiers manned roadblocks on the main road leading from the capital; 1 Workers at the Somopal jam factory pointed out the: corpses of three workers 1 A fourth worker lay in a "fluency for militant nationalists factory bathroom seriously wounded in his chest and legs A rocket wounded another worker, outside the building.

The raid took place while 1 employees were changing clothes to start work. Nearby ' houses came under rocket and ' machinegun fire. A woman' cultivating her garden was wounded.

About 220 yards from the factory, the home of the director of the state advertising company, intermark, was partly destroyed. Sixteen holes made by rockets pockmarked the garden of the house,

-AP

At 7.20 ,am / 1 Security services, #and outside the country, the , launched ever ANC re- emerges as leading force in exiled opposition j' The AFRICAN National Congress (ANC), which yesterday formally claimed responsibility has 're-emerged in the past seven years as the leading force in the exiled opposition to white A minority rule.

Despite being the principal target of the South African both inside ANC has successfully carried out several dramatic attacks on

key installations, as well as numerous smaller operations against police stations and The raid took place nine t'government offices. miles from the centre of A The Pretoria bombing, how- 'ever, is the first such incident to have claimed a large number of civilian casualties, and appears to represent a conscious escalation of the campaign for the violent overthrow of the south African regime.

-,It suggests a growing in- within the ANC, as opposed to the more cautious strategy of the Marxists who have tradi- tionally been prominent in the :the movement.

Top ohicials of the ANC, in. cluding Mr Oliver Tambo. the President have warned on several occasions recently of the likely escalation of the cam- paign, as South Africa has more drastic

reprisals against neighbouring countries for allegedly harbour- ing ANC guerrillas.

South Africa's overwhelming military superiority in the region has nonetheless forced the ANC to keep both its formal training camps and its offices yhY'lQUENTIN PEEL, AFRICA EDITOR Oliver Tambo

well away from the immediate neighbouring states.

Lusaka is the headquarters of the movement, and the base for Mr Tambo himself, as well as the national executive commit- tee and the Revolutionary Coun- cil, Which amounts to the ANC military command. However, there are no military bases in Zambia, which would be well within range of attack by the South African Defence Force.

Estimates of the number of potential guerrillas within the movement range up to 5,,000 most of them trained in Tan- zania and Angola, with some facilities in Algeria.

The only representative ohice in a state bordering South Africa is in Botswana, where the Government has always been scrupulously careful to prevent any hint of military activity. The Lesotho office has not been reopened since the South African raid on Maseru last December, nor is there any formal presence in Zimbabwe.