

"Africa Confidential", Landau
 NO. 14, 2 July 1936
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 ; ' I Pieter B0thaf' s beleaguered white ied Govern- _I' Hague but Signalied Is'he would
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 ca coal, steel, ilon and g0id 'i- j_ " ,
 ' f0Irr a. deal with the powerful Zulu legderI Chief cIIoinIs. N_0'lle owfthese 111eIasIu
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 .0. """" Gatsha (MWEOSUWU) Buthelezi.- " " ..__-
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 I mxestor 1'11 South Aflica 11:111.. .
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 tation with the United States and Japar'itf-r if Howe" . 11 sanctions have a 4- 3 Third .
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 fails to achieve the release 01' the jailed african 'ar'e' Britain 5 Margaxizt Thatcher,'
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 Of. bari On the A_NC arid the' initiation 01' .21 ; Gandhi, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda Z
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 ation was real 11110 raised the .. : .
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e West s'sup'ply I01" strategist

'I- ws1111rt10ns 1.11s Thatchei' gave InothiInIg'I awa y in I1IhIe minerals such III'vana
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, ,.1 . 7V.
' gold and uranium. Mrs Thatcher noted that in several cases the Soviet Union was the only other major supplier and this would have obvious consequences for Britain 4 'and .the West's 4' Strategic interests. Se'condly,:-.-she awarned ' '_Of. the azcrippling sanctions could havevon the economies of neighbouring states such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mdzambique .7 'which have been increasing ' their trade with South AfrieaxBothai-land his Foreign 1 ' Minister Pik' Botha -

:South Africa would 'retaliate by repatriating black have repeatedly warned that workers and withdrawing infrastructural facilities ifI black unemployment 11.? 1s exacerbated

gThe Frontline States are priv ately hoping that they would be let off the hook if South Africa s majorI " western trading partners. - Britain, the United States, Japan, West Germany, Trance and Italy - could agree on a package of substantial sanctions to be reviewed accordingI to progress towards specific . goals.

::-_The fragility and vulnerabthty of the South Afri-can eeonom

oreign Affairs 0mm 5 week. South African Am5assaL'or DCHIS Worralls ala that If sanetlons H _

were imposed South Africa might consider renegmg on its mtemational loans By all accounts SA _eReserv V'Bank Gov ernor Gerhard De Keck and his Treasury officials - who have been scrupulously careful HEX er to suggest the possibility ofI a defauItI - nearly hit the roof

Aware that the crunch for Britain - as one of the .-'-2.-.'v - 1-. . v)!"

South Africa 5 big three trading partners _ is close at hand Mrs Thatcher is following a dual strategy: -. ' Firstly, she is making cleaij to Botha in correspon-gamete - and from a position of strength mounting a . ' lIione holding operation against sanctions - that _Ho_w'e ' I: ah

- 6an110t be sent bacI: Ie111pty: -handed. A. " 1. I Whateyer Hoive' c me'

will use the EEC accbrd to argue that the dialogue ' Io tiIO n has not been exhausted aria um s

cede these measures she has already sionalled to the EEC- measures which have already featured in a Commohuealth short list. In addition 5 e may prepared to cons sider a visa regime for South African passport holders and Other financial measures such as the ending of the double taxati on agreement iith South Africa Mrs Thatcher IrnigIhtI eten concede a ban on fruit and wine impons in the interests of Commonixealth unity and heading 0lf a public_ row with the Queen. But 'she is determined to resist what has become the Common sealth bottom- line Ifor' consensus on a sanctions pacIzI age - 'the sex ering of air links iLith South Af rica or, at least, the denying of landing lights to flights emanati ng from South Africa soil. On this lattei issue Mrs Thatcher has been successfully lobbied by the B4 chairma an Lord King who on the eye oIfI IpIriiIIatisation has pointed bin that Siiissai'r 4' not bound by EEC or_ Com-monwealth agreements - would merely take Io) el BAI'S lucrative air traffic to Sdut h AfIriea

:w

I'Mrs Thatcher also has the real threat of a serious split in the ToIrIy party to_ worry about. Approxim- lmy 8(I) IriIght- -Iwing hI'lIIPs against any furthei sanctions -e. 3. 15131551343 _,...'-...- 1..

:effect .
 .'. am: fnnoih'itwf; 'M a 1.1. .41, -11;
 : .41.: ..'4.v1'm1,;.71:., ,r a:.-.;J, 1.3.
 .v5:2:s.u;m4,t. e. _1 :. sl 5.:
 have shown themselves to be better reorganised and
 more force: ul than a more nebulous group of
 _ between 30 and 50 f'wet" Tories grouping under the
 banner of Consenatives for Fundamental Change
 led by MPs Robert Adley, Timothy Rathbone and
 Huge Dyltes. But the real Tory resistance comes
 from the 30 Tory backbenchers .---i_ncluding three
 ' former minis: ers: -- and one Cabinet Minister (Tom
 King) Who have directorships consultancies or share-: ,
 ' holdings in companies listed by the United Nations
 as having assets in South Africa-.There are also 110'
 less than 25 Tory MPs who have enjoyed expenses-
 - paid 'trips to South"Africa"at' the invitation of
 Ambassador: Worrall;:::(Ironically,':::Messrs :.Adley,
 Dykes and Rathbone broke awayfromsuch a trip
 to discover the real South Africar'the same South
 . Africa that LordBarber, a regular Visitor to South
 '11
 Africa; discovered foi the first time asea member of
 the EPG.) But, perhaps, the most important factor
 in Mrs Thatcher, a reckoning 011 South Africa is the
 influence of her husband Dennis who is known to
 be highly sy mpathetic and as a director of Burmah
 Oil, is a frequent visitor to the country. ' ' ' ' ' 5; -.
 -Perhaps more significant than sanctions, though ,
 (and these are) already somewhat devalued in'their
 potential) are moves on both sidesfof the Atlantic
 to bring the ANC in from the'cold"of the Seviet
 orbit. Minister of State Lynda Chalker's meeting
 with Oliver Tambo represents a significant shift'in
 ' British foreign policy and has effectively boxed Mls'
 Thatcher into a position which makes the inclusion
 ..:of the ANC a Ipree-requisite for any British- backed
 settlement in South Africa This is ' _where Botha:
 eould run into trouble with his plans to Strike 21 dealI
 with Buthelezi Behind the iton lid Of repreSSioii,
 f widespread detention of trade iinion leaders chuich
 -' leaders, and civic and community leaders, and s: rin-
 gent press censotship the outline of a sulyil'al plan
 are taking shape Buthelezi Is call for the release ofI
 Nelson Mandela as a pre- reghisiie for his paltieipa
 tion in the national statutory counCil is the key to
 the plan. This was stressed by Buthelezi at a Ir'ally
 in Soweto at the weekend attended by 15,000 and.
 allowed to ptoeed in spite of the ban on political
 meetings and open air IgathIIIIerings. Buthelezi explain
 ned his position in a letter to thegauthoritative
 (Johannesburg) Financial 1110i! He made it clear in
 the letter that his (Buthelezi s) paitieipation did Inot
 depend on Mandela' s participation but merely on
 his release 'I'IWheIther or not the ANC mission in
 exile deeldes to participate, is a inatter which Dr'
 Mandela and Mr Ol iver Tambo ixill bait: to Sort out
 between tIheIrnseIelves, " BuItheleIin 11191;; ' " ' '
 Presidential prerogative
 g :I-lr
 This has presented Botha 1- at a critical junecture -
 with an opportunity to lelease Mandela ln response
 to a request tron: an "aeceptablef' black leader who
 commands real power_ (7 million Zulu s and more
 than a inillion paid- -up mernbers ofln/cmhq elainicd) .
 which vbtild be seen as unlocking the Ikey to black/I, '
 4 white Ipower Sharing and negotiation - 111th the 13105
 pect, in thezry at least, of breaking the cycle of
 violenIcIe-I in the eounItrIyI But it is highly douIbtfulI
 4.12;"; ...Ai'
 Trlj'

11. . 'u.-3;...-...;z.21:...12.1,... .. 541.3:

whether even Thatcher could be; seen to supportino
any deal 11 hich exeluded Mandela oi the ANC "

3111111211: arrangeme nts V1111 all become the subjeet
of debate and negotiation in the Nat 101131 St atutorv
Council,wllile Botha has to seek general appto 3.1
for his blaek/whi te power- sharing a'mngements '21
a special' federal congress sofethe tuiing Aan'onol
Party in mid- AugusL The empoxxeritigIIE-gislation
: 4'1

' The recent congress of Tunisia 5 domi llam ioli tical
party, the Partt' Soci; liste. Destourz'ewrz (PSD), has
been the scene for a further setback for the countty s
beleaguered prime minister, Mohammed Mzali. Dur-
ing the past few months, Mzali has had to suffer
the indignityof seeing the oetagenarian Tunisian
president-f'or-life, Habih Bourguiba,lreplae close
friends and strip him of one of his own ministerial
portfol' 105 in three ministerial reshumes (AC Vol. 27
No. '11) :.', : :1. 42; . . . - : -- -

In late April, the prime minister had to give up
his interior portfolio, (11. hlch he had held since Driss
Guiga fled the country after the January 1984 bread
riots) to Gen. Zine El Abidine' Ben Ali. the hardline
security chief who is reviled by manyTunisians as
the man responsible for the suppression in 1978 of
Tunisia's trade union federation. the Union Generate
des Travailfeurs Tunisz'ens (UGTT). anrlier Mzali
had to accept'a close political friend, Mczri Chekir;
being ousted as public administation minister by the

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'-.l ..-' ' . -K a

' president's latest protege, vMansour Skiri. ,Skiri, who
recently'teplaced 'the president's confidant of'tive
decades, 'Allala Laouiti had been governor of the
presidentis' birthplace,"l&l0nastir;-and so come -to
political 'prominence. :Another blow fell on 5 May
' when the premier's protege in'the national education
post,"Mohamed Frej Chedli, was forced out, and
replaced by AbdelazizraBen Dhia, 'who had been
higher education minister;-His post went in turn to
another presidential favourite, Amor Chadli, who
had been rector of Tunis university during' 115 recent
reOrganisation but who also doubles as the presii
dent 5 personal physician. 'There were several other
mino'r"changes affecting the youth and sports,"
finance and justice portfolios as welI - all decreed
by President Bourguiba' ' s 1'1 1'

' .-The party con gress 11 as a source of concern to
Mzali -- not least because of the succession issue.
According to the constitution after the president 5
death his post should devolve on the prime minister
until the next National Assembly elections, but it is
by .'no means eenaitt that the prime minister will
succeed'in the face of Competition from influential
figures in -'the "palace at Carthage. 'issues such 'as
ministeriai'changes initiated or sanctioned by the
president are seen as'crucial pointers to the prime
minister's 'stability'and the president's
particularly his referencesito the'prime minister -:

...-.. ..

-1'"5".1 .1-...-.1..Y'- -

__are eagerly combed for further evidense cf. Mzali's.
current status.iAlthough herreceived the expected 7
presidential benediction during the president's speech
to the congress on 19 June,'it was'couehed in such
'speeches 1: -

___ --union martyr Ferhal Hached - appointed to sweeten

:1 '.1;:...1..1_:1:me'5;1.1(1,...311..A .Lxru.;...Wuu_la.L-.u..le- ..Mhu .'m/ ...".n
... . , . 1

1;s_/. 'krlc.T.-;:... (1.2: -12.- .

hast ...
 ' understand that 11151512011111 also be decisions on the - 7 - ' .
 Group Areas Act - its repeal and replacement with
 a ulocal option" policy and a possible review of the
 race classification laws. f :12?;:_:_-11r:1_.'.:i".:::(1151 r':
 _ - But the basic concept of separate development .will
 still re ain intact, and this is likely :to pro.e.the
 ' occasion for an immediate head on. collision if any
 of these ela borate political structures are ever put -"
 ' .f eould be passed by Parliai'nent _-a- 1' ek latex. _'Xx'e . into motion as vehicles fo
 r negottatton.'
 - 5,1 111113 1.; 1.1.21.1. _ 131111 11.11 the
 "'...';u; - . . _'.
 . 11111: 'L. 1.11
 g 10mic terms that Rizali must have. felt even more
 insecure than before. Instead of acknowledging him
 as his suCEessor :Jas has been the' case in the past-
 President Bourguiba merely stated that the prime
 minister was worthy of his confidence as prime
 minister and as secretary general of the DSP,
 today, as in the future. ' -' .:._ - 5 .;-'-
 - After being damned 111111 this faint praise, the
 prime minister then went on to suffer further humili-
 ationsmThe'new political bureau of the party (a
 crucial source of power in which Mzali is the secret-
 ary-general) nevertheless contains large numbers of
 . enemies; his officially designated collaborators; the
 '- newly instituted deputy'seeretary generals of the
 party, are all bitter enemies - Mansour Skiri, Amor
 Chadli and Gen Ben Ali. -- .1: .. - - . '
 Even worse, although the txx enty metnbers of
 the political bureau are normally appointed by the
 presideht, 11115.90 members .of the party"s central
 _ecommittee are elected by the congress. On this occa-
 sion, 'howevel',.-_the president . simply .arrogated #to.
 hiniseif-the n'ght'of nominating them '- despite pro-
 'tests from the 1,120 :congress delegat'es .from' the
 2,600 DSP party cells." This move effectively under
 mined 'Mzali'si powerbase inside theparty 'as 'his
 friends and nominees lost their places on the central
 comntitteeby presidential tiathhe Final humiliation
 came'aS-Mzali himself was left to justify the 'presi-
 'dent's actidn to the assembled del e.gates 'The presi-
 dent xxanted; he told them,-- to avoid the,. ' .
 negativix aspects of the usual voting procedure ishich
 are often traumatic, taken as a reference to argu-
 ments during the 1971 and 1979 congresses: -
 1:711
 famih' misfortunes 1;" . :._.-
 - 'As a result 01' the congress the Mzali has se en his
 support in the party machinery whittled away to
 virtuallv nothing. And, four days after the congress
 finished 'the president moved against the prime
 minister 5 wife, by announcing the disappearance of
 'th'e ministry for women s and family affairs create d
 by Mzali in November 1983. Mrs Fathia Mzaii had
 already been'iforeed out from the DSP'sTpoliieal
 bureau, of Which 'she had been a member'since 197 ,
 a few days'before,-when the president announced
 the new makeup of the bureau. The only consolation .-
 in -all this has been that the'minister' of'work,
 N'onrcddinc Hached -'the Son of Tunisias trade
 the pl11 Of repressionlast" year,: has 11:117. lost 1115 -
 post; ' The ministry has been absorbed iiito' thesocial
 ----- aete- eMTs

 eurit) port1oli0 under Ridha Hamza. ; g