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# Cold Comfort Farm Trust

## Zimbabwe Institute for Southern Africa

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### MEMO

20 December 1990

#### RE: ZISA FACTSHEETS

We enclose, for your information, our latest factsheets on

- \* ANC on Land Reform
- \* EC Relaxes Sanctions
- \* ANC Conference
- \* Patterns of Future Regional Co-operation
- \* 1990 ANC National Consultative Conference
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For any further information on the above topics, please contact us.

Yours sincerely

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ZIMBABWE INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

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## **Zisa factsheet**

22 nd December 1990

Reference 1.19.1 F 245

### **ANC on land reform**

*In South Africa, where 87 percent of the land is owned by whites and the remaining 13 percent by blacks, there is a growing debate on this emotive issue. Below is a summary of a 20-page report of the African National Congress (ANC) Land Commission workshop held recently. The workshop was mandated "to discuss the present crisis around land, and its resolution." It was attended by delegates from most ANC regions, community leaders from rural areas, specialists in various land related issues and regional and international representatives.*

According to the report, most delegates agreed that:

- \*"The state should play the principal role in effecting a major redistribution of land."
- \* "There is an urgent need for a programme of affirmative action regarding the acquisition of land for black people and in support of aspirant black producers."
- \* Nationalisation of land is not necessarily the only instrument for land redistribution: "In the context of a mixed economy there would only be selective nationalisation, and the distribution of this land would be based on land use needs."
- \*"No compensation to be paid in foreign exchange for repatriation, even in relation to companies."

On "particular issues which need to be addressed seriously in order to develop a land policy for a future non-racial, non-sexist South Africa", the following issues were discussed:

- \*"The need to satisfy the land hunger experienced in the country and redress the present discriminatory land occupation."
- \*"The need for a process through which victims of forced removals can be returned to to their land."
- \*"The need for a land claims commission to provide a mechanism through which land claims can be adjudicated."
- \*"The need for an investigation into restructuring agriculture to make it more equitable, economically viable and sustainable."



"The workshop recognised the need for a programme of affirmative action in regard to acquisition of land for black people and in regard to supporting aspirant black producers. The conclusion of the workshop was that these and other issues need, as a matter of urgency, to be discussed within the framework of the building of a new South Africa. Accordingly a process of consultation at all levels within the organisation is to be initiated. Central to this process is the decision to form land commissions in all of the ANC's regions."

The ANC Land Commission, which forms part of the ANC Legal and Constitutional Negotiations Task Force, is this month expected to produce a discussion paper on a future land policy in South Africa.

The paper will come at an opportune time in view of the recent announcement by President F.W. de Klerk that the controversial Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 will be reviewed during the next parliamentary session.

## **Reaction**

The South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) dismissed the ANC report on land as "totally unacceptable" for the agriculture community and a direct contradiction of the principles of a freemarket.

"Such ill-considered viewpoints create unnecessary uncertainty and are not conducive to economic growth and development which at this stage are essential in the interest of all inhabitants of South Africa," said SAAU president Nico Kotze in a statement.



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<b>Zisa factsheet</b>
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22 nd December 1990

Reference 1.15.13.2 F 246

## EC relaxes sanctions

The European Community (EC) decided on December 15 to end its ban on new investment in South Africa but left in place several economic sanctions designed to force Pretoria to abolish apartheid.

Still intact is a ban on imports of iron, steel and gold coins agreed upon in 1986. The EC leaders said this ban could be lifted once South Africa introduced legislation to repeal the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act. The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 reserved 87 percent of the land to white ownership. The 1950 Group Areas Act segregates housing, carving up residential areas for whites, blacks, Indians and Coloureds. The EC introduced another set of sanctions in 1985 in accordance with United Nations resolutions. These sanctions have not been reviewed by the EC and are:

- \*An embargo on exports and imports of arms and para-military equipment.
- \*Refusal to co-operate in the military sphere.
- \*Recall of military attaches accredited to South Africa and refusal to grant accreditation to military attaches from Pretoria.
- \*Discouraging scientific and cultural agreements except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in supporting it.
- \*Freezing of official contacts and international agreements in the sporting sphere
- \*Ending oil exports.
- \*Ending exports of sensitive equipment destined for the police and armed forces.
- \*Prohibition of all new collaboration in the nuclear sector.

The African National Congress (ANC) reacted angrily to the EC decision and demanded that sanctions should be maintained. An ANC resolution at the consultative conference which ended December 16 stated that the ANC could not endorse the lifting of sanctions while the basic institutions of apartheid were still in place and while the security forces used violence against black people. The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) also campaigns for no relaxing of sanctions yet. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said: "The government's viewpoint that the process of change is irreversible is beginning to enjoy wider recognition. This also means the President's initiatives have started a dramatic reversal in South Africa's foreign relations."



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## **Zisa background paper**

22 nd December 1990

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### **Patterns of future regional co-operation**

*Below the co-director of the Centre for the Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, Robert Davies, examines prospects for improved regional co-operation between a new South Africa and its sub-Saharan neighbours and points out that Pretoria's existing regional policy, premised on reinforcing ties of dependency, will have to be changed.*

It is common cause across the political spectrum that the ending of apartheid will open up a new era of regional co-operation in Southern Africa.

The Frontline alliance and Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) have long identified apartheid as the root cause of instability in Southern Africa.

Developments in South Africa since February 2 have given rise to great optimism in the region. The SADCC has indicated that a South Africa "free of apartheid and a dream of economic, military and political hegemony over the rest of the region will be most welcome" in its ranks. Similar sentiments have been expressed by the Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area (PTA), which held a heads-of-state meeting in Swaziland last month.

All this takes place at a time of profound change in the world economy. The ending of the Cold War has coincided with a trend towards the emergency among the major Western economic powers of rival trading blocs.

There are indications that the core industrial countries will increasingly for their attention inwards and towards the opportunities now being created for them by changes in Eastern Europe. Current technological developments are at the same time tending to reduce demand for the types of raw materials which colonialism marked out as Africa's specialisation in the world economy.

These developments will provide a strong impetus for countries outside of the major trading blocs to forge closer economic co-operation. No African country can any longer afford to look to its future place in international economic relations exclusively in "north - south" terms. "South - south" co-operation will have to assume a more prominent place in the future development strategies of countries located outside of the core blocs.

The case of southern Africa, all countries in the region can potentially benefit from closer co-operation in a post-apartheid era. The markets of Africa will be of considerable importance to a future democratic, non-racial South Africa's efforts to become a significant exporter of manufactured goods.



In a number of areas, South African technology is more appropriate for other African countries than that from elsewhere. Neighbouring countries are also in a position to supply South Africa with a range of inputs essential for industrial development - from hydroelectric power and water resources to, in the medium to longer term, mineral products.

Close co-operation with a post apartheid South Africa also holds the prospect of these countries gaining greater access to the South African market for their own products. In strategic terms, a regional economic alliance could reduce the vulnerability of all countries to pressures from powerful extra-regional forces. It could also strengthen the bargaining power of the region in relations with the rest of the world.

A key question for Southern Africa will be how and on what terms will the closer regional cooperation, which objective circumstances are dictating as an imperative, be structured after apartheid. This issue cannot, in my view, be adequately addressed without coming to terms with the heritage left by existing patterns of regional interaction.

First, it is essential to recognise that existing regional economic relations are characterised by acute disparities and imbalances. The development of capitalism in Southern Africa was a process which led to a relatively high level of interaction between the economies of the different territories of the sub-continent, but the pattern was uneven. The principal poles of accumulation were located in South Africa, while the other territories became incorporated into the emerging regional sub-system in subordinate roles - as labour reserves, service economies and markets for South African goods.

These imbalances continue to characterise contemporary regional economic relations. For example, the SADCC has estimated that South Africa exports to its nine original member states exceeded imports from these countries during the period 1983-86 by a factor of more than 5 to 1 (with exports of US dollars 5,1 billion versus imports of less than US dollars 1 billion).

The SADCC project, which was launched in 1980, was rooted in a critique of these disparities and imbalances. It argued that development in the SADCC member states required a more balanced pattern of regional economic interaction.

In a context where Pretoria's regional policy was premised on reinforcing ties of dependency - for both economic and to gain greater strategic leverage - the SADCC defined its immediate priority as "a reduction of external dependence and in particular dependence" on South Africa. While significant progress has been made in reconstructing regional transport infrastructure (severely damaged by Pretoria's destabilisation policies), the SADCC itself has acknowledged that only modest results have so far been achieved in altering fundamental disparities.

These disparities represent one of the realities which has to be taken into account in considering the the future pattern of regional economic interaction; another is the legacy of apartheid destabilisation. Unicef has calculated that 1,3 million people died in Angola and Mozambique between 1980 and 1988 as a direct or indirect result of Pretoria-sponsored wars.

Economic and military aggression is estimated to have cost the nine original SADCC member states' economies the equivalent of US dollars 60,5 billion. Pretoria-sponsored wars were primarily responsible for reducing Mozambique to its present plight as one of the poorest countries in the world (with a per capita gross domestic product estimated to be between US dollars 125 and US dollars 150 a year) and for creating conditions in which Angola and Mozambique have the unenviable record of the highest rates of infant mortality in the world.



The African national Congress (ANC) has on numerous occasions indicated that it agrees with the SADCC that future co-operation between a democratic, non-racial South Africa and the rest of the region should be based on principles of equality, mutual benefit and interdependency, rather than hegemony and dependency.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said in Maputo in July that a situation in which some countries in the region prospered while people in others starved would be "intolerable" and "inacceptable" for a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

The ANC's recent "Discussion Document on Economic Policy" proposed that "greater regional co-operation" should be constructed "along new lines which will not be exploitative and which will correct imbalances in current relationships".

The same document said that this would necessitate "prioritising the interests of the most deprived of our neighbours in certain areas, according to basic principles of affirmative action". This is not an argument in favour of a non-racial South Africa paying reparations for the crimes of apartheid; rather a proposal that in forging new patterns of co-operation, which will benefit all, the balance of advantage should in a number of areas be tilted in favour of the most deprived countries, particularly where their vital interests are at stake.

Another principle which both the ANC and SADCC have supported is that a new regional order should not be imposed, but rather be the product of negotiations between all the sovereign and free peoples of the region. Such negotiations could be expected to define principles and parameters for co-operation in all the main sectors of regional economic interaction.

While forging closer regional co-operation after apartheid accords with the aspirations both of the SADCC and of major anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa, it is also a terrain in which a number of other important actors have become extremely active, particularly in the period since the initiation of talks on Angola/Namibia.

South Africa's Africa trade, which halved in dollars terms between 1980 and 1985, has increased significantly since 1988. Although complete figures are not published, government officials have said that by 1990 trade with Africa accounted for 10 percent of South African exports compared to 6,5 percent in 1984.

South Africa's electricity supply authority, Eskom, announced that it had entered into new contracts with Zambia and Zimbabwe as well as increasing its sales to existing regional customers. Transnet reported that it earned 30 million Rands in the six months to July 31 1989 by playing "big brother" to the transport services of neighbouring states.

This increased activity has not been confined to current commercial transactions. various attempts have also been made to draw independent African states into strategic planning about future regional economic relations.

An article published in the August 8 edition of the Sunday Times claimed that "an ambitious development programme which could led to a Southern African common market" had been put to nine of the 10 SADCC member states by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs. Efforts to involve international financial institutions in discussions on this issue have also been made.



While all the implications of these developments are not yet fully clear, the possibility cannot be ignored that new realities are now being created which could be difficult to alter in the future.

Not only could this have implications for the future pattern of regional relations, it could also affect domestic reconstruction especially if it leads to contracting new conditional loans.

A broader range of forces urgently needs to become involved in the debate if regional economic co-operation after apartheid is to achieve its full potential and create a firmer base on which all the peoples of the region can better shape their own destinies and secure better terms for themselves in international economic relations.