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DCI Notes
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2/27/80
W. J. ...

SOUTHERN AFRICA

- 1. Rhodesian election a milestone
Sense relief have behind us

Real implications for U.S.

- 1. Rhod elec reinforces desire of black states not to allow last vestige of white domination in

Southern Africa

Bound to be important psychological impact

After years of armed struggle won at ballot box -

But also not just black-white vote - intra black, intra tribal selection bound instill sense confidence, maturity

- 2. U.S. under more pressure than ever to support this
- 3. Issue will be whether those pressures build rapidly or whether pragmatic considerations prevail.

Mugabe's dilemma

Probably very little to do w/his professed Marxism

Dependence on So. Africa

Transport
Subsidy

To degree needs to produce quick results
"Peace dividend" will need So. Af. coop -
much more diff w/o So. Af. help or at least
_____ acquiescence.

But - radical wing, ANC and other So. Af. guerilla(?) groups will be pushing to take activist role vs. So. Af.

Fortunately Frontline states likely be more passive

(Why?)

Also So. Af. playing Mugabe with "hands off - wait and see" attitude.

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South African strategy based on notion of constellation of Southern African states to be formed by persuasion and economic pressure--countered by Black state constellation

Too early measure impact on internal So. Af. situation

But - Bound to heighten sensitivities of Black pop.

So. African response so far has been to initiate "reforms"

Minor internal reforms and "national conference on future of South Africa" called by Botha will not be likely to convince blacks of South African government's good intentions

-Nature of reforms:

- Botha wants to remove most irritating aspects of legalized radical discrimination and give urban blacks more control over their own affairs and a greater economic stake in the white areas
 - He hopes to consolidate some of the more "fragmented" "black homelands" into more viable entities
 - He intends to give coloreds--those persons of mixed blood--and Asians a political role in the white areas in which they live
 - He envisions a form of common South African citizenship for all races
 - The government recently granted black trade unions the right to organize and has removed an anachronistic law that kept blacks from becoming skilled workers
- The blacks do not see these reforms as a big deal. They want ultimately the whole pie of one man-one vote
- A possible effect of even these reforms may be to lead to a split in the Nationalist Party which, depending on how it goes, may either help or hurt Botha's plans. If he is able to move the moderates with him, this could result in isolating the extreme right of the Nationalist Party and, ultimately, the formation of another party.

The South Africans appear to believe that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan may have tipped the scales of Western reaction in South Africa's favor. They hope that the West may see the need for greater reliance on South African minerals and on South Africa's strategic position. Consequently, they envision a softening of Western opposition to South Africa's internal policies.

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Soviet reaction also figures in equation

- a. Surprised at Mugabe victory; difficult time changing gears
- b. Congratulations only to PF and on coalition
- c. Will seek opportunities for influence in Zimbabwe and to do so will make overtures to Mozambique, Tanzania and count on better organized ZAPU for long run. Will work on ZANU elements.
- d. Evidence of Soviet activity to convince Mugabe of their support (e.g., visit of Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister this week to Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, and Tanzania, with efforts to get into Rhodesia)

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