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but all have been attacked by the MNR with South African support. The Beira line is now protected by several thousand Zimbabwean troops and is increasingly busy. but the railway to Maputo remains cut.

There has been covert support by South Africa for dissidents in southern Zimbabwe. Men trained and armed in South Africa are inñ-\201ltrated to reinforce a combination of internal dissidents and armed bandits.

Zambia is chronically weak because of the collapse of the copper market on which it depends. A third of its copper exports has to travel through South Africa because the Benguela railway through Angola has been cut by UNITA. South Africa employs a combination of carrot and stick in trading with Zimbabwe and Zambia. Favourable transport rates and credit terms are offered as an inducement to increasing dependence. South Africa's industries beneï-\201t from the trade. but the government periodically disrupts the trafï-\201c to show disapproval of the political stance of its

customers.

MALAWI â\200\224 BACKING BOTH SIDES

THE ATTITUDE of Malawi's President Banda to South African policy is ambivalent. He supports SADCC with its aim of reducing the region's dependence on transport through South Africa. At the same time he has until recently allowed MNR forces to operate from bases in Malawi. and these groups have attacked Malawiâ\200\230s own links with the coast through Mozambique. South Africa has compensated for the economic losses to Malawi by offering discounts on freight charges through South Africa.

in

the

region â\200\224 Botswana.

THE CAPTIVE STATES

WHILE MALAWI has some choice in the matter. three countries
Lesotho and

Swaziland (the 'BLS states') â\200\224 have little ability to reduce their dependence on South Africa. All three are tied to it through a customs union in which no duties are charged on goods traded between the members; the BLS states also receive a share of the revenue collected by South Africa on imports from elsewhere. The disadvantage is that South Africa has imposed high tariff barriers to protect its own relatively high-cost industries; as a result most of the goods on sale in the BLS states are produced in South Africa.

The BLS states would need massive help from outside if they opted for sanctions against South Africa. They are nevertheless outspoken in their opposition to apartheid and the destabilisation policies of Pretoria. and they all belong to

SADCC. They have also resisted pressure to recognise the 'bantustanâ\200\231 states created by South Africa.

A high price is paid for this deï-\201ance. Botswana has suffered a commando raid on the capital in 1985 and periodical car bomb explosions. In Lesotho. South Africa has sent terrorist groups into the country and imposed border blockades. Swaziland. too. has received cross-border raids from South Africa (allegedly in search of ANC i-\201ghters).

COUNTING THE COST

THE TERRIBLE COST of destabilisation in the region is illustrated by a calculation from the United Nations agency UNICEF. In Angola and Mozambique the mortality of children under 5 has risen due to the disruption of health services and food supplies. By comparing with Tanzania where mortality has fallen. UNICEF estimates that half a million children died unnecessarily between 1980 and 1986. In addition to this a quarter of a million women. men and children have died from more direct results of the i-\201ghting.

The economic costs have also been staggering. SADCC estimates a total of more than \$10bn for the i-\201ve years from 1980. Of this \$1.6bn is direct war damage and \$3.1bn the cost of higher defence spending; lost economic growth accounts for about \$2bn. UNICEF calculates that between

1980 and 1986 destabilisation has cost the SADCC countries more than double the amount they received in aid from the West.

WAR ON WANT

APART FROM emergency and long-term projects in SADCC countries. War on Want is campaigning at home for a greater understanding of the problems facing Southern Africa. The Front Line States would need support in their drive for self-reliance even if they were not under attack by South Africa. If sanctions are finally applied the help of Western governments will be crucial: the Front Line States cannot be expected to bear the brunt of South Africa's inevitable retaliation. War on Want will press for financial aid and trading concessions to ease their burden. Without this kind of support there will be no end to the oppressive domination of the region by South Africa. and no respite for countries that are desperate to get back to peaceful development.

I [would like to support War on Want's work in Southern Africa.

enclosed is a

, (93% to War on Want)

'Please see far receiptl .-

' I am, I would like to become actively involved in War on Want's Southern

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campaigns against the causes of poverty and provudos general support for the
Charity War on Want War on Want funds practical development prolocts Wthh aim
to eradicate poverty In thirty different countries of A513, Africa and Latin America

JULY 1987

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The Campaign Against World Poverty

22nd April 1988

Mr Oliver Tambo
c/o Chief Representative Mr M Misimange
African National Congress
28 Penton Street
London N1 9PR

Dear Mr Tambo

We would like to invite you to speak at our conference on "Peace and Development in the Front Line States".

It will be held on 9th June 1988 at the conference hall of the International Sugar Organisation, Haymarket House, Oxendon Street, London.

It will initiate a series of intensive campaigning and

The conference will launch War On Want's 1988 campaign on Southern Africa.

fundraising activities from 11th to 19th June by our members as part of "War On Want Week 1988".

Southern Africa will be the focus of our campaigning activities for the rest of the year.

The campaign will be based on our report on British Aid to the Southern African Development Coordination Conference", a copy of which is enclosed for your attention.

We will invite representatives from Southern Africa, Europe and Britain to highlight the role of SADCC, the increasing conditionality of aid to the region and SADCC's future prospects.

The conference will aim to influence policy makers and opinion formers in Britain.

(unionists, local government leaders, solidarity groups, development

The audience will include MPs, MEPs, leading trades

The campaign aims to increase the profile of SADCC and argues the case for increased and improved British and European aid and investment to the region.

War On Want is one of Britain's largest development charities. We campaign for and fund long-term development projects in over 30 developing countries, including Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

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against its neighbours and the joint struggle waged by yourselves and the Front Line States against the apartheid regime.

Yours,

agencies and the media.

As President of the African National Congress, we would like you to

[H open the conference by outlining the extent of South Africa's war

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Company Secretary is, Benedict M. Bimberg. War On Want Charity No; 208724. Bank Details Nat west Southwark Branch 51-S003AIC No, 08261.

Our provisional agenda is as follows:

Introduction to delegates and speakers - Mrs Glenys Kinnock

Morning Session â\200\224 SADCC Speaking

"SADCC and Independence from South Africa" â\200\224

Speaker from a Southern African state to address
the problems facing the region and future prospects.

War On Want

"SADCC's role in the future of Zimbabwe/Angola/Mozambique" â\200\224
Testimonies from speakers from individual SADCC states.

"Achievements of SADCC" â\200\224

Speaker on the origins & progress made by SADCC.

"SADCC after South Africa's liberation" â\200\224

Speaker on SADCC's future in a free Southern Africa.

1.00. â\200\224 2.00.

Lunch

Afternoon Session â\200\224 Aid & Investment in SADCC

"European support to SADCC â\200\224 the Italian Example" â\200\224

Speaker from the Italian Aid Ministry.

"Sweden's role in Southern Africa" â\200\224

Speaker from the Swedish Government.

"EEC aid & investment in SADCC" - Speaker from AWEPA.

"Britain's role in Southern Africa" â\200\224

The Rt Hon Gerald Kaufman MP, Shadow Foreign Secretary.

"British support for SADCC" - Speaker from HM Government.

Closing remarks â\200\224 Mr Francis Khoo, General Secretary, War On Want.

We are also hoping to secure further speakers to address specific
aspects of SADCC's development and investment policies.

We eagerly await your reply and hope you will be able to attend.

Yours sincerely

Mr Francis Khoo
General Secretary

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FRELIMO militia
accompany a food
convoy en route for
emergency distribution
in Gaza province,
Mozambique.

National Congress (ANC). However, some more fundamental objectives have clearly found expression in South Africa's actions:

0 The Front Line States are to be kept in a state of economic dependence on South Africa. Apart from the obvious benefit to South Africa's economy, this ensures that they will find it very hard to sustain sanctions against apartheid. There has been systematic sabotage of transport links and pipelines that offer alternatives to the present traffic through South Africa.

0 The Front Line States are to be kept in a state of political weakness and instability. Two Prime Ministers (Lesotho and Zimbabwe) have survived attempts to assassinate them, and three capitals (in Lesotho, Botswana and Mozambique) have been invaded. There have also been deliberate interruptions of electricity supplies from South Africa, sudden border closures, delays to freight traffic and restrictions on migrant labour. Most serious of all, dissident groups have been fostered and given military support for continuous campaigns of infiltration, sabotage and terrorism against civilians.

ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE

THESE TWO countries have suffered most directly from Botha's policy. Both have been subjected to air attacks and commando raids by South African forces, while Angola has endured outright invasion.

More devastating than these occasional attacks is the constant harassment by South African-backed terrorist groups. In Angola support is given to UNITA, which started as a liberation movement and collaborated with the Portuguese before independence. Its leader Jonas Savimbi also gets support from the US government.

In Mozambique, South Africa backs the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR or RENAMO). This had its origin as a fifth column set up by the Rhodesian government before the creation of Zimbabwe. Like UNITA, it is kept in action by cross-border reinforcements and air drops inside the country.

These two surrogate armies have similar methods and focus their attacks on similar targets. They terrorise local people and create starvation by disrupting food production: villages are burned and medical centres and schools are destroyed.

schoolteachers and health

officials.

Local

Atlantic

Ocean

workers are killed or tortured. All the achievements of the two governments since independence are under attack.

In both countries the invading groups attack transport links to the coast. In Angola the Benguela railway from Zambia to the port of Lobito was first cut in 1975 and has remained closed. In Mozambique there have been regular attacks on the oil pipeline from the port of Beira to Zimbabwe and the railways from Zimbabwe to Beira, Maputo and Nacala. These are crucial to any attempt to reduce the region's dependence on South Africa.

ZIMBABWE. AND ZAMBIA

NEITHER of these two countries would find it easy to sustain economic sanctions against South Africa.

Zimbabwe has successfully rebuilt its economy after a civil war, and is trying to bypass the links that bind it to South Africa. For this purpose the road, rail and pipeline connections with the coast through Mozambique are vital.

the
front-line states.
Jonny Matthews Format

THE ONLY WAR WORTH

THE COUNTRIES of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) have been working since 1980 to reduce their economic dependence on Southâ\200\230Africa. The response of the South African government has been ruthless and aggressive. It goes well beyond the government's claim to be defending the country's way of life against subversion from outside. South Africa aims to keep the entire region in a state of weakness and economic bondage.

strategyâ\200\230 of response to the opponents of white rule. whom he blamed for a 'total Marxist onslaught' on the South African way of life.

Neighbouring 'Front Line Statesâ\200\230 are principal targets of the Botha strategy. The aim is presented as that of discouraging their support for groups like the African

â\200\234There is no price for blood, no cost that can be assigned to the thousands who have died as a result of actions instigated and supported by apartheid.

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Memorandum presented by SADCC to the 1985 summit of the Organisation of African Unity.

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THE â\200\230TOTAL STRATEGYâ\200\231

SOUTH AFRICA'S government has been dominated by military thinking ever since PW Botha (a former Defence Minister) became its leader. In 1977 he devised a 'total

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22nd April 1988

Mr M Misimange
Chief Representative
African National Congress
28 Penton Street
London
N1 9PR

Dear Mr Misimange

Please find enclosed an invitation to Mr Oliver Tambo to address our conference on the Front Line States, to be held in London on 9th June 1988.

I am sending this invitation Via your office following a discussion with Mr Ismail Coovadia yesterday.

I would be most grateful if you could forward this invitation on to Mr Tambo, along with the enclosed draft copy of our report on British Aid to SADCC.

This report will form the basis of our 1988 campaign on the Front Line States.
attention.

An additional copy has been enclosed for your

The conference will launch both this report and our 1988 campaign on the Front Line States, which is to be our main focus for campaigning activities in the latter half of this year.

We are hoping to attract major speakers from Southern Africa, Europe and Britain who will address the problems facing the region, highlight the role of SADCC and detail the increasing conditionality of British aid to SADCC.

The audience will include MPs, MEPs, leading trades unionists, local government representatives, development agencies, solidarity groups and the media.

Any assistance you can grant us in this matter will be greatly appreciated.
you in the near future.

An invitation to attend the conference will be sent to

Many thanks.

Your

sincerely

Robert
Conference Organiser

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