

South Africa vs. SADCC

shambolic

rather than symbolic. To "kill the
multiracial democracy in Southern Africa.

Pretoria has since been determined to make the front line
appear
prosperous
ideological
ruled
threatened
to succeed.

if the newly-independent radical states were

- the argument

of apartheid

inefficient

inherently

that

-

states

black

plank

were

dream"

A

states
of
central
majority-
would
be
allowed

has

shown

Africa

South

SADCC

successive raids before its annual conferences, each designed
demonstrate
initiatives.

November 1981 commandos attacked the Beira-Zimbabwe railway
and
second conference in Malawi.

sabotaged port facilities in Beira itself prior

in
to
In
line
SADCC's

to sabotage

hostility

capacity

violent

SADCC

it's

its

to

to

The third SADCC conference, held in the Lesotho capital of Maseru in January 1983, was marred by SADF raids on Beira's oil storage facilities and a Maseru abattoir, both SADCC-funded projects.

In

January

Swaziland

was

preceded

Africa's Maputo

railway and MNR sabotage of the Swaziland-Maputo line.

another commando raid on

Mbabane,

meeting

annual

South

1985

the

the

by

in

Counting The Cost

Since its formation, SADCC has struggled to create the conditions for

It

has

and

South African aggression.

economic growth and development in the troubled
done

in the midst of a

downturn

economic

region.

global

so

cost of Pretoria's
estimates cannot adequately convey the human costs

The
full
incalculable.
Financial
or
the
have
had to bear the additional costs of the rapid escalation of South
African aggression which has resulted in:

loss of SADCC members' potential growth. SADCC

destabilisation

states

is

war

damage such as the South

sabotage

of

Zimbabwe's air

direct

*
(SADF)
Angola's
Mozambique.

Cabinda

enclave

and

port

facilities

in

African
oil

force,

Defence
refineries

Force
in
Beira,

Zimbabwe's army in Mozambique to guard the Beira railway

pipelines.
month

* extra defence spending, including the stationing of one-quarter
of
and
oil
to
maintain
through
Mozambique. Defence eats up 40% of government spending in Angola.

It costs Zimbabwe about \$5 million

transport

guarding

troops

routes

8000

its

a

* the costly care and resettlement of refugees, the burden falling
on
850,000
displaced Mozambicans.

and Zambia which have sheltered most of

Malawi

the

additional

front
MNR

*
land-locked
sabotage
Chicualacuala
economical
Benguela
secure coastal areas.

route

rail

by

transport and energy costs, particularly

line

states.

Since

1983,

for

on
railway have confined Angola's economic development

the sea. Unita and

attacks

SADF

to

bandits has denied Zimbabwe

the

use

line

to

Maputo,

potentially

of

for

the
instance,
the
most
the
to

its

tourism,

exports

and

lost

Transport

*

earnings.

following severe delays or the nonarrival of export
Mozambique's

Beira

deserted hotels.

are now dilapidated. The homeless now fill

have caused

problems

orders

once-fashionable tourist resorts around Maputo

the

to

be

invisible

lost

deliveries.

and

capital's

source

of

a

vital

* lost production, both agricultural and industrial. Angola, once
import

a major exporter of agricultural produce is now forced to
80% of its food: in 1986 alone food production fell by 16%.

[Box or tone

The production of coffee, Angola's main export crop is due to
increase from 231,000 bags in 1986/7 to 314,000 bags in 1987/88.
But this is way below the 4.3 million bags produced in 1972/3
before South African destabilisation took off.

During his October 1987 visit to the US, President Joaquim
Alberto Chissano announced that Mozambique was producing only
"25% of what we were producing in 1973" after MNR bandits had
destroyed much of the country's economic infrastructure.

End box/tone]

At its 1988 conference, held in Arusha, Tanzania, SADCC estimated
cost
that

its members at least \$30 billion. This figure amounts to:

from 1980 to 1986 South Africa's destabilisation

had

- more than the region's total GDP of \$25 billion in 1985

- equivalent

to over a third of SADC countries'

total

export

earnings from 1980 to 1984

- greater than the amount of overseas development assistance

received over the same period.

to some analysts, these costs are rising at a rate

\$4 billion a year. The price of opposing
received

According

about

from

has

international community. Excluding Tanzania, SADC received
\$8.6 billion in aid between 1980-84.

of

apartheid

the

only

support

greater

been

than

far

the

goal

SADCC's

of
development.

About 40% of BBC food aid to the region is now "triangular" which assists through Conservative agricultural Britain Government's SADCC's should Regional not promotes consist agricultural development in the region.

Food Security Project, ensuring that food aid does of

aid,
press for a long term commitment from the BBC to

commitment to development

reducing
But,

reflecting

dependency

surpluses

the
over

instead

dumping

own

aid

EEC

but

Aid and Austerity

severe

economic problems and crippling

The
SADCC members has forced them to seek credit from international Fund agencies is (IMF).
frequently linked to the 'structural adjustment programmes' which

the IMF has imposed on the region's governments. In other words, British

comes with strings attached.

the World Bank and

assistance to

International

development

Monetary

Southern

British

Africa

facing

debts

most

like

aid

million made available to Zambia in 1987
implementation of a 'structural

to
The
Â£30
Lusaka's
agreement'
with the IMF. The agreement led to such austerity that food riots
broke.
Recent aid to Mozambique (Â£5 million) and Tanzania (Â£25
million)
has been tied in a similar way.

in Lusaka and industrial unrest in the

adjustment

copper

tied

was

out

The 'belt-tightening' policies imposed by the World Bank and
tend
unrest
for South African destabilisation.

and occasional political turmoil provides

hit the most vulnerable groups.

resulting

further

The

to

IMF
social
scope

The conditionality of British aid undermines the regional self-reliance at the core of the SADCC ideal and implies that aid will be withheld if IMF and World Bank policies are not implemented. Similar strings are now being attached to EEC funds. A recent grant to Mozambique was made available only after Maputo agreed terms with the IMF and World Bank.

[Indented in tone or boxed:

There is no one better than ourselves that know better our needs and priorities. We must not accept the habit of plans being made outside our region.

Mozambique's President Samora Machel at SADCC's Founding Conference in Lusaka, April 1980.

End of indent or box]

Destructive Engagement

With a few notable exceptions, Britain and the United States have failed to condemn or counter South African aggression. London and Washington have consistently vetoed the most effective response - the imposition of sanctions.

"it

February

1986, British Foreign Minister

In
Howe
rejected the front line states' call for sanctions on the grounds
that
South African
now when there was some kind of change." Yet 1986 saw
increasing
repression within
the
townships.
detained
since the State of Emergency was declared.

would be wrong to increase pressure on

Thousands have been killed and over

South African with the

SADF entering

Geoffrey

20,000

Sir

Sanctions Plus

In fact, SADCC's economic vulnerability to South Africa has
exploited
sanctions
Department opposed calls for sanctions on the grounds that
Africa
states
sanctions of its own.

retaliate 'against

Washington

apartheid.

Pretoria,

against

London

August

would

front

line

1986

the

to

the

US

been
postpone
State
South
with

by

and

In

in June 1985, responding to a question on

Similarly,
Mrs Thatcher replied, "Have you looked at how goods are going
get in and out of Zambia and Zimbabwe? Close Beit Bridge and
are
through which the maize went to keep people alive".

you going to do it? When there was drought that's the

sanctions,
to
how
route

Yet within months of her comments Zimbabwe's million tonne
surplus
That same year, Zambia also enjoyed a major maize surplus.

helping relieve food shortages - in

South

was

maize
Africa.

SADCC
exists to undermine the argument that sanctions will
hurt
South
alternatives
benefit some of the more vulnerable front line states.
sanctions,
the
with South Africa.

Africa's
to economic dependence. Some sanctions

value of the rand and so improve the terms of SADCC's

especially by creditor banks, would prompt a fall

only
practical
even
Financial
in

trade

neighbours

offering

could

by

But while politically committed to sanctions, SADCC members themselves can have little effect. In August 1987 Zimbabwe was forced to drop plans to impose trade sanctions on South Africa, including the denial of landing rights to South African Airlines, in the face of the threat of counter-sanctions.

1986, nearly 10% of Zimbabwe's exports, worth

In million, went to South Africa. But 21% of the country's imports worth \$205 million came the other way, making Zimbabwe vulnerable to a cut-off of supplies. A shortage of vital machinery and spare parts for industry, agriculture and mining would cause economic chaos and political austerity,

and social unrest resulting from

\$123

the

14

Many white Zimbabwean industrialists who maintain close personal and business links with their South African counterparts have not switched from their old sanctions-busting routes. In 1987, about 80% of Zimbabwe's exports still went via South Africa even though it is \$200\200\224\$300 cheaper to route a container via Beira than Durban.

Nevertheless, some elements of Zimbabwe's business community, concerned about their economic vulnerability, have established the Beira Corridor Group headed by Dennis Norman, a former agriculture minister debenture the degree of confidence in SADCC's most vital project.

issue in 1987 was heavily oversubscribed,

Ian Smith's government.

The in

Group's indicating

The tide is turning. About 204,000 tons of Zimbabwe's exports passed through Beira in 1986, an increase of 13% over the previous year. Between October 1986, when Zambia Consolidated Copper abandoned South African routes, and March 1987 Beira also handled 17,000 tons of Lusaka's vital copper exports.

[End Box]

* SADCC's next priority is the reopening of the Benguela Railway which runs from Zambia's copper belt, through Zaire to Lobito on Angola's 1980, the line has been closed since 1975 as a result of Unita attacks.

Atlantic coast. Apart from a brief interlude

in

in

1987

Dos

Santos

Within

weeks,

since

1975.

September

President

met of Societe Generale, the Belgian majority

the Benguela line. The Angolan government holds only 10% controlling company's stock but it has paid the salaries employees

But representatives of the its secretary Simba Makoni announced a \$400 million ten-year plan develop the Benguela railway through the Lobito Corridor. Traffic on the Benguela railway has been restricted to less than a at least the African assurances that the line will be secure. If South Africa succeeds in seizing Cuito currently under siege from the SAD? and Unita, they would be able to strike into Angola's central plateau and seize the Benguela.

third of the line. The restoration of the track would cost like

million but potential sources of finance, Development Bank and the World Bank, require

with owner of of executive to

the strategic fortress

Cuanavale,

\$280

SADCC's

town

11

human

terms,

5 million Mozambicans haveâ\200\231 been

and war, 3.8 million of whom face starvation.
displaced

In
famine
600,000

Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe estimated that 1
people had died and 8 million refugees displaced since 1980 as
result of South African aggression.

persons in Angola alone.

by
are
1988,
million
a

In February

affected

There

and

four

According to UNICEF, eight and a half million peasants have been
dislocated

and
with
starvation.

The relief organisation estimates that from
1983-85

at least 200,000 people died as a direct result of South
African
aggression, including the blocking of emergency relief
supplies.

In Mozambique

(food
shortages,
the
deaths

of
four
minutes.

and Angola alone, war-related
disruption of health services, etc)
death

children each year - one

the
120,000

causes
every

dislocation

threatened

million

half

a

Stranglehold

Pretoria is able to employ its military might and economic muscle to stifle its neighbours' independent development. In 1985, South Africa's greater than power gives neighbouring states whose economies have been underdeveloped and distorted by colonial rule.

combined GDP of the SADCC states. Its

domestic product (GDP) was three

stranglehold

apartheid

economic

regime a

gross

times

over

the

the

members continue to depend on South Africa
communications;trade;energy

supplies;and

SADCC

32g

thousands

source of foreign exchange.

migrant workers whose remittances remain

for

of

employment

transport

for

vital

a

Transport

routes

and Mozambique provide the most natural,

Angola

efficient

There was not even a direct rail link between Zimbabwe and Africa

South Africa has been able to force neighbouring states to trade along its transport network.

a sanctions-busting line was built

to the sea for their

land-locked

and

neighbours.

South

Yet

route

economical

until

1975.

in

South

arteries

track

Africa.

Africa

Mozambique.

Africa

dominates

regional

of the regional economy.

in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa, over 25% is

Through surrogate forces like Unita and the
has sabotaged alternative rail routes through Angola

in

MNR,

transport,

Of the 90,000 km

controlling

of

the

railway

South

South

and

File:wowsadc1

; April 1988

PROGRESS POSTPONED?

The Southern African DeveIOpment Co-ordination Conference (SADCC)
1980.

was formed immediately after the liberation of Zimbabwe in
SADCC exists to promote the region's economic development in
the
face
independent
are sovereign states but the Lusaka Declaration with
neighbours
which SADCC was founded affirmed that "economic liberation is
as
recognised
vital
that they were "free but everywhere in chains."

political freedom." SADCC's member

South African destabilisation.

Pretoria's

states

as

of

is

SADCC
regional
main goals:

a unique attempt to mobilise

national

interests

deveIOpment. The Lusaka Declaration outlined

its

for
four

* to reduce economic dependence, particularly - but not solely -

on South Africa

* to forge the necessary links for regional cooperation and

economic integration

* to mobilise-and exploit member states' own resources

* to achieve economic liberation through international

cooperation

the

was

1975,

buffer

the

and

states of Rhodesia, Angola

apartheid regime had been

Until

white-ruled

But

after

Mozambique

completed South Africa's encirclement. White South Africa was

traumatised

independent

socialism,

apartheid.

successful liberation struggles

Angola's MPLA, Zimbabwe's

as

front line states, committed to

the

behind

Mozambique.

Frelimo

in

1980

as

newly

and

to

a serious political and ideological

secure

and

of

multiracialism

liberation

inspired.

threat

Africa

South

black

were

in

The

Immediately after Robert Mugabe's ZANU came to power in Zimbabwe,

Tanzania,
the front line states of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique,
Zambia and Zimbabwe joined with Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland
to
form
Zimbabwe's
liberation struggle had exposed their economic vulnerability. But
their
co-
operation.

sacrifices also demonstrated the benefits

support

states'

SADCC.

shared

front

line

The

of

of

of
the
lethargic international response
food programme has been made all the more urgent in
to
Recent years have seen famine in Mozambique
of food in Angola. But Malawi, Tanzania
produced maize surpluses. The drought renewed
SADCC's
the
light
recent
famine.
severe
shortages
Zimbabwe
have
urgency
behind the development of SADCC's Regional Food Reserve and food-
swapping arrangements between member states.
SADCC's food security projects aim to reduce reliance on the food
aid
of
international power politics. Among SADCC's recent successes are:
*
high-yield strains of sorghum and millet
successful \$16 million improvement programme
produced
subject
the
and
itself
which
flows
ebbs
and
and
the
to
the
is
a
has
a regional early-warning system has been developed to
*
food shortages and arrange advance relief.
predict

is
woodfuel
keen to develop resources
has 69 projects covering coal, electricity,
SADCC
and
renewable energy sources. The region has a surplus of electricity
generating
capacity but severe problems with making this
energy
available.
SADCC
Malawi's
unexploited coal reserves not least because SADCC members
cannot
afford to spend valuable foreign exchange on fuel imports.
Energy is also a source of SADCC members' economic dependence on
South Africa. Landâ\200\224locked Zimbabwe was forced to import 35,000
tonnes of petrol, diesel and aviation fuel at a cost of Â£8
million in January 1987. The 200-mile Beira oil pipeline through
which Zimbabwe usually imported its oil has been sabotaged by
Pretoria's MNR surrogates.

like
erosion of forests, desertification and a

Many people still depend on woodfuel, a reliance which has caused
the
in
the productivity of land. Access to electricity is also
hampered
by South African-sponsored sabotage of supply lines and pylons.

deterioration

pragmatic approach is based on neither

Its
forces. SADCC has resisted Western pressure to

SADCC is not an EEC-type common market or a centralised
planning
agency.
nor
marxist
a
strictlyâ\200\224commercial, market-based approach to its work, insisting
on its right to determine the region's own priorities. But it has
set up private sector business councils (at national and regional
levels)
trage and
coâ\200\224
ordinated investment.

regionally

industrx

through

market

boost

adopt

to

12

A more recent SADCC priority is "investment in production", the theme of SADCC's February 1987 conference in Botswana. SADCC members are beginning to mobilise domestic capital to take advantage of their own natural resources and markets, reduce member states' reliance on primary exports and secure greater self-sufficiency in trade and industry. In September 1987, for instance, Zambia shifted the processing of its iron ore from South Africa to refineries in Zimbabwe.

Avoiding 'Another Lebanon'

is not strategically vital to the

South Africa
global
whole
\$5000
million
equivalent to Belgium or Argentina.

economy.
contributes only \$40-\$50 billion to total world
billion.
no

The regional economy of Southern

a market, the

than that of

As
larger

region's

population
its

Nigeria

and

is

health of

Africa

as

the
a
of
100
is

trade

of
GDP

in

concern

Lebanon'

'another

the region

in

The aid which is trickling into SADCC partly
the

But

anyone's

interest.

reflects

Western

region's

infrastructure, given the economic potential of a

post-apartheid

Southern Africa. SADCC also represents an avenue for non~colonial

powers

spread

influence,

raw

materials.

generate goodwill and secure access to

minimize the destruction

and the Scandinavian

countries

valuable

hardly

Canada

like

is

of

to

to

to SADCC members up to 1991. However, SADCC has
only

The 1988 Arusha conference heard that over \$1000 million has been
pledged

far

secured

vital

regional projects. Even this ambitious target only goes some way

to

destabilisation

since 1980.

repairing the damage caused by South African

of the \$6.4 billion it needs

for

34%

493

so

by

the
recently

the value of much Western aid to SADCC

Unfortunately,
been
reduced
United
States
has
also provided \$15 million in covert aid and ground-to-air Stinger
missiles
consistently
claimed
railway,
SADCC's only railway route to the Atlantic.

counter-effect of power
donated about \$30 million to SADCC yet

responsibility

attacks on

politics.

rebels in

Benguela

Angola.

Unita

Unita

The

has

the

for

has

to

it

13

SADCC's central goal of regional self-reliance would be promoted by freeing British aid from conditions imposed by the IMF and World Bank where the region's governments consider the social costs of structural adjustment programmes to be too high.

Tied Aid & Associated Financing

Despite Mrs Thatcher's enthusiasm for the free market, recipients of British aid are not free to shop where they like. Britain's bilateral aid programme is increasingly tied to the purchase of British goods and restrictions on trade.

SADCC members are forced to buy British goods rather than purchase each others products from within the region. According to recent studies, these restrictions reduce the value of aid by about 25%.

Under "associated financing" deals, donors from the industrialised countries of the North compete for involvement in development projects. Companies in the donor countries often link up with bureaucratic interests in the receiving countries. Projects are then all too often chosen according to the interests of certain groups and the ease with which they can be financed rather according to proven need.

The construction of prestige projects - like the presidential residences and Kamuzu academy of Malawi's President Banda - leads to huge commercial debts, suck in imports and contribute little to economic development.

SADCC's trade and industry programme exists to prevent such distortions by ensuring that the region's own resources are used in development projects wherever possible. As the second largest industrial power in Southern Africa, Zimbabwe is able to produce many goods needed throughout the region. But goods which could be produced within SADCC are still imported from Europe or the United States. Zimbabwean exporters cannot compete with the credit arrangements of associated financing schemes enjoyed by exporters from the industrialised North.

Not only does associated financing prevent SADCC members developing their industrial base. It also assists European and North American penetration of regional markets on which SADCC members' own industries depend.

Restrictions on the procurement of goods need to be loosened to allow SADCC members to buy products from each other and project aid linked to exploiting SADCC's own industrial capacity. Norway already supports "import support schemes" which allow aid to be used to buy goods from within the region and which therefore promote trade between SADCC members.

1986

the

was

under

assisted

the Third Lome Convention has the EEC

Railway Corridor must be financed by funds diverted

secured £69 million in credit from Britain in March
broader and long-term European commitment is

Only

the

Beira Corridor programme and SADCC's attempts to link Malawi with
the Tanzara rail network. This means that major projects like the
Nacala
from

other urgent projects within SADCC's member states.

Angola

1988

but

a

In

November

a

proposal to set up a new budget line to assist SADCC's resistance
to "campaigns of economic and political destabilisation conducted
by
effectively

vetoed the proposal with the support of the Commission's

British

president who feared a "dangerous precedent".

The EEC's long-term advance commitments fail to take into account
SADCC's

and

costly incidents of Pretoria's

aggression. The BBC should follow

the example of other donors and increase its support for SADCC in
line with the rising costs of South African destabilisation.

ever increasing needs in the face of more

South Africa." However, the European

European Parliament

Commission

presented

frequent

needed.

with

Unfortunately, Britain is unlikely to set the pace. When
Britain's commitment to SADCC is criticised, Government
representatives refer to an additional £103 million contributed
through the EEC (European Economic Community) between 1986-1998.

But,

while in 1980 British ODA to Southern Africa made

under

37%

17.7% by 1984. The government has responded to calls to

aid
between
commitments.

of all EEC ODA, its share had been nearly

just
to
increase
current

shifting

existing

halved

simply

money

by

up

British aid to SADCC through the EEC should be expanded to
the
BBC
to
depriving
members'
national projects of scarce funds. Britain should
support
a new line in the EEC's annual budget to permit a
response
to
aggression.

the unforeseen, additional costs of

allow
SACCC
also
rapid
South African

maintain its commitments

without

British Food Aid

While the United States and EEC have dumped their own grain
mountains

on the region, Britain has pioneered "triangular
deals"

through which grain surpluses are purchased
SADCC for use in the region's famine-stricken areas.

In 1986 Britain provided 21,500 tonnes of maize for famine relief
in Mozambique, every sack of which was purchased from Zimbabwe.
Mozambique got the grain and Zimbabwe received £4.5 million from
the sale of its surplus maize.

food
from within

The apartheid economy also exhibits many of the weaknesses of the SADCC rather than from Western technology its neighbours.

member states. It is heavily dependent on industrial

exports and on foreign inputs
finance to energy and migrant

mineral

labour

from

and

-

be

So South Africa's economic relationship with its majority-ruled neighbours is one of interdependence. In many ways, South Africa would imposed wholesale counter-sanctions. They would cause the loss of vital revenue and jobs within South Africa and further aggravate existing tensions within businesses would quickly lose regional markets to European competitors.

the South African establishment. For example,

shooting itself in the foot if

it

British Aid 59 SADCC

African aggression has aggravated the

South economic crisis and increased the urgency of aid and assistance to SADCC'S, member SADCC and of Pretoria's economic embrace.

states. Yet Britain has remained lukewarm

consistently

criticised

region's

efforts

towards

break

out

its

to

at SADCC's Lusaka conference,

Britain

refused

In

1984,

*

provide

rehabilitation of

slowly."

South

was to punish the victim.

The

further money for SADCC while existing

funds

Mozambique's railways were being

spent

African-backed MNR but the British

slow pace of progress was due to sabotage
government's

for

to

the

"too

the

response

by

Yet

can

should

commitment

similar take-up problems.

follow

the

support

Britain

its

experienced

doubled

even where attacks delay or halt specific projects,
still
initiatives.

be transferred to other

SADCC

simply
from \$50 million to \$100 million when it

example of Italy which

By

*
states
line
Zimbabwe)
prices).
million in 1986.

fell

Aid

1986, British bilateral aid to SADCC and
the
had declined to 55% of its 1980 value. Aid to

states (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia

front

the

from £100 million in 1980 to £57

SADCC fell from £133 million in

to

million

1980

to

line
front
and
(1980
£75

last Labour Government, British ODA commitments to

* In 1985 British overseas development assistance (ODA) stood
at
only 42.6% of its 1980 peak. During the period of 1977-79,
under
the
Southern
African
the
Conservative Government was elected. From 1980-82, British ODA to
SADCC
to
\$104.7 million.

members fell to \$173 million. By 1983-85 it had shrunk

countries

totalled

million.

\$250.4

1979,

In

16

[In Tone Or Box:

huge swathes of Mozambique. The war-torn country

Attacks by the MNR rebels have aggravated the famine which
still
threatens

was

short

needs

(831,000 tonnes) from April 1987 to the May 1988 harvest. In 1987

4

faced

starvation.

million people out of a population of 14 million

by more than a third (284,000 tonnes) of its

grain

still

In December 1986 Mozambique's Department of Food Security
projected a shortfall of 160,000 tonnes in basic grains until the
next harvest in May 1987. With basic needs estimated at 357,000
tons, expected supplies amounted to no more than 196,000 tonnes.
By the time the May harvest arrived drought and war had ensured
that it was the lowest for 30 years. Only 21,000 tonnes of maize
and 19,000 tonnes of paddy rice were marketed.

End Tone or Box]

its

South Africa's military occupation of southern Angola in
of
prevent
recovery.

disastrous 50% drop in the price of oil
severely reduced Angola's foreign exchange earnings.

surrogate army Unita has continued to

The

support

economic

in

1986

have SADCC countries escaped the debt crisis which

Nor

afflicts

many developing countries. At the end of 1985, SADCC's collective
debt

region's

gross domestic product (GDP).

\$14 billion, equivalent to 50%

totalled

the

of

of

of

prices which cut the

commodity
on mineral and agricultural exports. Increases in

The poor economic performance of SADCC members was largely due to
depressed
members
dependent
the
cost
their
balance of payments difficulties, forcing SADCC countries to seek
even more credit. When severe shortages followed the collapse
of
oil
long-term
credit until it joined the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

prices in early 1986, Angola was unable to secure

imported manufactured goods

aggravated

earnings

further

In May 1987 Mozambique agreed a package of new economic
with the IMF which it too joined in 1984. The package includes
\$45
million
pay
will need about \$1 billion a year in foreign aid until well
the next decade.

million loan for industrial investment and \$700
for essential imports. But the IMF predicts that

measures
a
to
Mozambique
into

Britain's commitment to SADCC is likely to remain shaky as long as it sees aid to Southern Africa as a means of avoiding sanctions. The government seems prepared to treat the wounds of destabilisation but won't confront the bully. SADCC's programmes are vulnerable to South African attack as long as Pretoria continues its hidden war against its neighbours. But Mozambique's President Chissano recently stated that "we cannot wait until we have won the war before we start rehabilitate the economy." SADCC remains committed to the long march to economic independence.

Britain could increase the real value of aid and boost trade within SADCC by pressing fellow EEC members to replace national procurement restrictions with broader European or SADCC-wide criteria. Britain should also press for more open access to the BBC for SADCC members' exports and preferential access for SADCC products in the event of South African counter-sanctions.

Regional self-reliance would be further promoted by using British project aid funds to develop industry within SADCC in order to reduce the region's imports.

Keeping the

Peace?

The British government has sent military advisers to train officers in the armed forces of Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland. Officers from other SADCC states also attend military training courses in Britain.

In a deal announced shortly after Samora Machel's death in October 1986, Britain supported the formation of a 600-strong battalion, partly funded by the giant Lonhro Corporation, to guard the Nacala railway line. The British Army also doubled the number of Mozambican officers at its training centre in Nyanga, Zimbabwe.

Britain's military support for Mozambique and the other front line states is neither exceptional nor sufficient. In September 1987 President Francois Mitterand committed France to the defence the Nacala railway line which is more vulnerable to attack than the well-guarded Beira line. A number of French firms are involved in Nacala's rehabilitation.

Britain's commitment is also tied to the government's determination to to offset the clamour for sanctions against South Africa. At the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver, Canada, in August 1987, the British government proposed additional military and technical aid to the front line states as an alternative to economic measures.

About 300 former British servicemen are currently serving in the SADF. Alan Gingles, Sandhurst graduate and former member of the Ulster Defence Regiment, was one of them. He was killed by his own mine while planting the device on a railway line in Mozambique. A white ear found in a nearby tree and notes for a novel about Northern Ireland were the only clues to his identity.

The British government has failed to halt the recruitment of British mercenaries and ex-servicemen into the SADF. Nor has Britain taken any action over South Africa's '5 Citizenship Amendment Act. Since it was passed in 1984 half a million British passport holders are subject to conscription. One in every ten troops patrolling the townships is a British passport holder, enjoying the full rights of British citizens.

WAR ON WANT

REPORT ON BRITISH AND EUROPEAN AID TO THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN
DEVELOPMENT CO-ORDINATION CONFERENCE

by

Mike Allen and Paul Goodison

DRAFT COPY ONLY

STRICTLY NOT FOR QUOTATION

Trade

of

half

SADCC trade still

Over

Africa

although precise figures are complicated by BLS membership of the customs

from

South

SADCC

members was four times higher than the total value of intra-SADCC trade.

Africa. The value of trade between South Africa and

In 1984 about 30% of SADCC

through

imports

passes

union.

South

came

many

alternative

South African products cannot compete on

While

world

market,

secured

through easy credit and attractive discounts. South African firms operating in neighbouring states will import goods from their own homeland

states

or on the world market.

rather than buy more cheaply from other African

custom in neighbouring

states

the

is

Energx

Africa supplies high-grade coal, electricity

and

products to most of its neighbours. It provides all

products required by Botswana, Lesotho

well

essential supplies

as

and

South
oil
petroleum
(BLS)
as
Zimbabwe.
electricity
Swaziland too.

South

Africa

currently

needs and most of the requirements of

Botswana

to
meets

Malawi,
all

of

refined
of
the
Swaziland
and
Lesotho's
and

Zambia

the old Portuguese colonial authorities,

Cahora Bassa Dam in Mozambique. Under an arrangement

Yet South Africa itself receives vital electricity supplies
from

the
agreed
with
own
energy goes first to South Africa and then back to Maputo. Maputo
is
African
electricity
of
the
regional
colonial
rule.

not directly linked to Cahora Bassa but to the South
â\200\224 a further example of the distortion

economy resulting from South

African-centred

Mozambique's

grid

Migrant Labour

remittances of its migrant workers provide

600,000 SADCC nationals work in South Africa.
Lesotho's

Approximately
wage
source of income. The country receives an estimated £150
from 150,000 migrant workers - over half the country's
- who earn a living in South Africa. Swaziland, Malawi,
and
their citizens working in South Africa's mines, on its farms
as domestic workers.

Mozambique also gain vital revenue from the

The
main
million
workforce
Botswana
of
and

remittances

does

migration

not only increase

Labour
South
Africa through reliance on wage remittances. The resulting labour
shortages in areas like Mozambique's Tete and Zambezia
provinces
have
led
soil
fertility
wages
of migrant workers. Another vicious circle.

to
and, therefore, an increasing dependence on the

deteriorating

cultivation

dependence

practices,

poor

on

Africa,

because

Thirdly,

South

regime's economic crisis and the plummeting value of the rand.

[End box]

of their close trade and currency

BLS have themselves suffered from

links

the

with

apartheid

Rand Aid?

is

over £1300 million

the region's kind uncle,

first glance, it may seem as if South African Premier

distributing customs

and purchasing neighbours' exports. But each year

receives

At

W.

Botha

union

revenue

South

Africa

states'

purchases of its own goods; at least £150 million in charges

for

the

-

70 million for 'invisible' services like insurance, tourism, and maintenance.

£900

million

to

redress

imbalance

p.29,

Apartheid's Second Front).

use of transport routes and facilities; and a further £60

its neighbours. SADCC is

from

in all, South Africa Inc.

around

business

neighbouring

gains

in

figures

Hanlon,

profit

(1982

from

from

All

the

P.

his

5

for

Pretoria

address to the opening session of the
February 1988 P.W. Botha signalled the

In

parliament

on

further

efforts by South Africa to break out of its isolation,

repeating

his

call

African

countries.

seems keen to revive its

of

Southern African States (Consas - an abortive

force

neighbouring states into a South African-dominated confederation)

through

coâ\200\224operation,

highlighting Lesotho's Highland Water Scheme, the Sua Plan

soda

ash

in

the modernisation of Maputo harbour.

project in Botswana and South African firms' involvement

Constellation

attempt to

insidious contribution

conference

regional

Southern

regional

start

white

its

of

of
a
to
"Weaving the Fabric"
front
SADCC was the nail in the Consas coffin. Although
by
the
membership
Lesotho,
Malawi and Swaziland means that all nine majority-ruled states of
Southern
line states, the additional
Africa can present a common front to Pretoria.
initiated
of
states
member
to
SADCC's
monarchy
Zimbabwe. This political diversity forces SADCC members to
their
programmes.
attention and energy on practical and
conservative
and
focus
mutuallyâ\200\224beneficial
Swaziland's
Mozambique
regimes
radical
Angola,
range
from
the
of
The organisation is less rhetorical than functional. SADCC does
not even take a position on sanctions against South Africa as its
members are divided on the issue. Each member recognises that
SADCC first needs to develop its own infrastructure and resources
to withstand the inevitably damaging impact of Pretoria's
punitive counterâ\200\224sanctions.

Finance Minister Abdul Osman has already asked

In what should be an important precedent for other creditor nations, Italy has cut Mozambique's debt interest repayments. The Italian government's move, announced in January 1988, will reduce the interest rates on Maputo's debt from 10-12% to 1.5%.

Mozambique's

the

British government to follow Italy's example and reduce

interest

payments

are

expected to follow Italy's example. The Soviet Union has

already

written off the interest on Mozambique's debts to Moscow. Britain

should

on

Mozambique's

government

should

Africa

but

support moves to reduce the burden of debt on SADCC members.

debt

The

only increase bilateral aid to Southern

its debt. The Scandinavian states and

reschedule

and

cut

the

repayments.

interest

Holland

follow

Italy's

example

and

on

not

23

Positive Policies

The British Government has been slow and stingy in its response to the acute crisis facing SADCC members as a result of South African destabilisation. The following policies would help restore a reputation already tarnished in the eyes of much of the world by the British Government's hostility to sanctions.

~

:1:

Britain should end its opposition to comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions and increase bilateral aid to levels comparable to those of 1980-1982.

Development assistance to SADCC should be additional 39 economic sanctions against South Africa and reflect both SADCC's own priorities and assist de-linkage from South Africa.

British aid to SADCC through the EEC should be further expanded to allow the BBC to maintain its commitments without depriving national projects of funds.

Britain should support a new line in the EEC'S annual budget to meet the cost of South African aggression and press for a long term commitment from the BBC to SADCC's Regional Food Security Project.

Procurement restrictions on British aid to SADCC should be loosened and national procurement restrictions replaced with broader European or SADCC-wide criteria.

Britain should press for open access to the EEC for SADCC members' exports and preferential access to the EEC for products displaced by South African counter-sanctions.

Regional self-reliance would be promoted by freeing British aid from harsh conditions imposed by the structural adjustment programmes of the IMF and World Bank.

Regional self-reliance would be further promoted by using British project aid funds for industrial development within SADCC.

Britain should extend credit and cut interest payments on SADCC members' debt.

Military assistance to the front line states should be increased in proportion to the increase in South African-sponsored aggression.

Steps must be taken to halt the recruitment of British service personnel and the conscription of British passport holders into the SADF.

Breaking The Bonds

the

But
gloom
strides have made in some of the most crucial sectors.

meeting was not all doom

Arusha

and

as

great

Transport and communications have always held pride of place in
SADCC's
improve
Africa's 'squeeze card'.

own transport facilities in order to

programme
its

It is imperative

priorities.

remove

SADCC

for

to
South

* The volume of SADCC traffic using South African ports fell from
75% in 1980 to 58% in 1987. By late 1987, Zambia's copper exports
were
through
Tanzania, 20% via Beira.

from South

re-routed

Africa

being

away

80%

-

Mozambique

*
earnings
increase in trade through the reconstructed port of Beira.

in 1988 compared to \$45 million in 1986, reflecting

is expected to earn \$135

million

from

transport
an

* Around \$2 billion has been devoted to the rehabilitation of the Beira, Dar and Nacala railway routes. The upgrading of the Nacala railway line and container terminal are on schedule and the first phase of the Beiraâ\200\224Machipanda Railway completed.

capacity

Nacala port, which handles Malawi's trade, operated at 84%

*
of
its
The
rehabilitation of the Beira and Nacala corridor routes will allow
SADCC countries to reduce traffic through South Africa to nil
by
1992.

investments.

thanks

SADCC

1987

in

to

[Box or tone:

SADCC's Jugular

The 188-mile roadâ\200\224and-rail link through Mozambique's Beira corridor is a lifeline to the land-locked SADCC states of Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Through its MNR proxies, South Africa has previously closed the Zimbabwe-Maputo railway, denied Malawi access to the Indian Ocean along the Nacala and Beira routes and forced SADCC states to use outlets through South Africa.

African
The

The Beira line is crucial to SADCC's goal of reducing
dependence

on
South
step
self-
reliance.
Zimbabwean
freight daily but has recently averaged only 1400 tons. Operating
at
of
SADCC's regional traffic and triple Mozambique's foreign exchange
earnings.

full capacity the port of Beira would be able to take 60%

transport routes as a

line can carry

Beira

first

3500

tons

of

to

Western finance, secured through SADCC, is paying for heavier rails, reconstructed berths and a deeper harbour entrance to allow in ships of up to 50,000 tons. Mozambique's Beira Corridor Authority plans to triple the ports' capacity by 1990.

10

Harare

government

and control of Zimbabwe's economy. Since 1980, the government has acquired a controlling

redundancies and unemployment.

The

ownership

in

major

.August

the South African-owned retail and leisure giant.

1987, bought a third of the shares in Delta

like Central African

gradually

companies

reducing

is

Pharmaceuticals

South

African

independence

interest

in

and,

in

Corporation,

German

the West

by

that

sanctions

report

A

confirmed

ineffective.

sanctions"

by the most advanced industrial countries would

an immediate effect on the South African economy and at the

time protect the front line states from retaliatory sanctions

Pretoria.

recently

be

"targetted

have

same

by

by the front

confirmed

states

only

Starnberger

Institute

line
that

Institute

would

The

According
weakening
sanctions
Switzerland, including:

to
of
by

the report, published in 1987,
would
the
Britain, the US, West Germany, Japan,

apartheid

an
follow

regime"

"irrecoverable
selective
and

France

* a refusal to roll over loans and a ban on new ones which would
bring South Africa to the brink of bankruptcy and prompt a
massive flight of capital

* trade sanctions, particularly a ban on imports of South African
minerals and capital goods

The most immediately effective contribution Britain could make to
SADCC would be to end its opposition to comprehensive mandatory
economic sanctions against South Africa. The imposition of
sanctions remains the only meaningful option for those committed
to ending apartheid, halting South African aggression and
securing regional peace and development. British development
assistance to SADCC should not be an alternative but additional
economic sanctions against South Africa.

Interdependence

is

Africa

the region's economic

enjoys
South
Africa's
considerable profit from regional trade. In 1987, South
trade

imposing
In
its own retaliatory sanctions, South Africa would be jeopardising
a
invisible
earnings
trade, like transport insurance and port charges.

surplus with SADCC members was \$1.3 billion.

trade surplus along with its

powerhouse

hefty

from

and

South

South African investments in neighbouring states would also be at
risk.

of
private
private
stock.
receives
in
repatriated profits and dividend payments.

in Zimbabwe, 25% of the country's

interests own around \$1

South Africa

substantial

billion

Africa

stock

worth

total

Each

year

sums

15

Britain Claims to be more generous than

*

Western
donors but seven of SADCC's nine member states are members of the
Commonwealth,
and
responsibility.
Commonwealth
countries
-
including
have
bettered British aid to Tanzania.

has been eclipsed by other nations. Eight countries
Italy, Sweden, Netherlands, Denmark and Norway -

Despite these ties, British aid to

to which it has an

countries

historic

other

most

debt

The

in
the

produced

of mild

a package

sanctions

the face of the international campaign
EEC

decline in British ODA to the region was only
for

*

halted

in

1985

sanctions.

When

against

Pretoria in September 1985, the British government responded with
a £107 million increase in bilateral aid to Southern Africa.

* Since 1980 the British government has committed £30 million
to

SADCC transport projects. But it was only in the face of a fierce
international campaign for sanctions that the British

Government

expanded

from

£12

since

September 1985 when Britain began to push 'positive measures'

of

regional
that
two-
thirds of British pledges to SADCC have been made available.
Britain
levels
comparable to those of 1980-1982 and ensure that such aid assists
projects
a
package
a
programme of sanctions.

should increase bilateral aid to SADCC states to
which address SADCC'S own needs and priorities. Such
should
to

its support for SADCC, increasing its
in 1983 to £35 million in 1987. It

as 32 alternative to sanctions

a supplement rather

development

commitment

substitute

million

only

than

is

be

Euro-Aid

The Commission of the European Community supported the formation
of SADCC and the EEC has funded a number of vital projects.

*

rehabilitate
belt

Tanzara railway link between
Salaam.

the Tanzanian port of Dar es

contributed

February

Zambia's

million

to
copper

1987,

\$22.1

EEC

the

and

the

In

Individual

*
commitments
pledged
between Zambia and Dar.

to

EEC members have also

SADCC. In September 1987,

a further \$12 million to repair the vital

oil

made

their

own

for

instance,

specific
Italy
pipeline

-

the

work

between

1980 and 1985 the EEC failed to fund

But
SADCC's
vital
network. Transport rehabilitation receives only 40% of the
allocation to the region. The BBC has shown little commitment
de-linkage. It is co-financing the Lesotho Highland Water
which will serve South Africa's industrial heartland.

most
transport
EEC's
to
Scheme

rehabilitation

Mozambique's

of

-

Shared practical problems are addressed through sector-based programmes. Each SADC member has a specific responsibility. Mozambique is in charge of rehabilitating transport, its most crucial source of income and the key to regional co-operation and de-linkage. Botswana relies on beef exports for much of its foreign earnings so it is responsible for developing animal disease control. Angola, a major oil producer, supervises SADC's energy programme.

In drawing on the national resources and expertise of its members, SADC's action-based programmes operate without a huge bureaucracy. SADC has only a very small central staff based in the Botswana capital, Gaborone.

had to withstand South Africa's "total onslaught."

SADC's survival is itself a major achievement. It has not only

It
born in the midst of a world economic recession which brought a collapse of prices for the region's exports and severe cuts development assistance.

was
on
in

SADC members have resolved to "weave a fabric of regional cooperation" to disentangle themselves from South Africa's economic tentacles. The combined wealth of the front line states is only just over a quarter of South Africa's. But their economic vulnerability is not a natural state of affairs. European colonial powers, business corporations and the apartheid regime itself combined to bind neighbouring states to South Africa's economy.

Southern Africa is a fertile region and rich with valuable minerals - coal, chrome, copper, platinum, diamonds, nickel, iron, bauxite and gold. Minerals account for over 60% of regional export earnings. The rest are largely agricultural products. But the collapse of world commodity prices has brought about an acute shortage of foreign exchange, the funds required to pay for imports of manufactured goods. Unable to pay for machinery, spare parts and other vital resources, most SADC countries are unable to
own
production. It is a vicious circle.

their dependence on imports by

expanding

reduce

their

Aid cannot compensate for the decline in the region's power. So a key SADC priority is the rebuilding of the economy,
to
local industry and reduce its economic dependence.

its rich base of raw materials

exploiting

purchasing
region's
develop

Problems

most

recent

years

recent conference, held in

SADCC's

in

January 1988, reflected the organisation's problems and progress.

In

by

deteriorating

and

Angola

African-

sponsored banditry.

each country has been

9; trade. On top of

Mozambique

South

continue to suffer

in

particular

Arusha,

Tanzania,

terms

adversely

affected

this,

from

is

Africa

workers

increasingly able to use

South

migrant

organisation and unemployment within the apartheid economy

made

stable

experienced

South African employers.

workforce is now a more attractive

as an economic sanction.

Rising wages,

dispensable.

workers

migrant

more

many

proposition

deportation

the

A

of

union

have

and

for

In 1986 South Africa threatened to repatriate Mozambican migrant miners whose repatriated wages provided up to one-third of their

homeland's foreign exchange. In February 1988 Pretoria

announced

the repatriation of 1000 Malawian miners on the grounds that they were "Aids carriers".

was

forced

to back

Pretoria

mining employers' organisation. Plans to repatriate

But

of

Mozambican miners following opposition from the Chamber of Mines,

the

of

Mozambique's migrant miners have folded as the Chamber feared the disruptive effect of the sudden loss of a skilled and experienced

section of the workforce. About half of them (about 30,000) will now be allowed to stay although fresh recruitment is banned.

expulsion

down

the

all

on

[Box:

Rand Zone and Customs Union

Lesotho

Botswana, African-dominated customs union. Lesotho and Swaziland? use South value Botswana's of the rand.

currency, the Eula, is also closely tied to the

Swaziland (BLS) are part

their own currency

African

rand

and

and

the

the

as

of

South
the
of
fate

have been bound to South Africa's customs union
they

BLS
when
customs
ensures that there is a free flow of trade between BLS and
Africa
union.

but high tariffs are imposed on imports from outside

were still British protectorates. The

since

1909

union
South
the

collects

Pretoria
it
redistributes between the members. This revenue is a vital source
of
of
the Lesotho and Swaziland governments' revenue and about a
third
for Botswana.

income for each of the BLS states. It provides about half

and administers the tariff revenue

which

,

hidden
dominates trade and production within the union.

There
are
economy
inevitably
Few
businesses in the BLS states can compete with their South African
counterparts
their
machinery and manufactured goods.

costs. Firstly, the

from which

developed

nearly

import

must

they

most

all

high tariffs on imported goods protect South

industries and force BLS states to buy South

Secondly,
own
which
made elsewhere. So South African firms, unable to compete on
world market, enjoy a local captive market.

may be more expensive and of poorer quality than

African

Africa's
goods
products

the