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6 April 1992

TO: ALL PARTICIPANTS

Dear Sir/Madam

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEMINAR ON PEACE & SECURITY IN

N R ' 1- H 9 - E

I wish to thank each and everyone of you who attended and
participated in the abovementioned Seminar organised by our
Institute.

Please find enclosed a Summary of the Seminar Proceedings. Those
who wish to comment on the Draft summary should do so in wriging
by 24 April 1992.

Yours sincerely

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DR M RUKOBO

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6 April 1992

TO: ALL PAPER PRESENTERS:

Dear Sir/Madam

V N P P R N

I wish to thank you all on behalf of the Institute for your presentation at our Seminar recently on "Peace and Security in Southern Africa".

The Institute is considering the possibility of publishing the Seminar Proceedings in a Booklet form. This, of course, Wlll depend on whether we get the necessary resources and willing publishers.

Meanwhile, I invite individual presenters to let us know with the least possible delay if any shot; correction of importange for the ungerstanding of the text lg to he made. The deadline is fixed on 30 April 1992. If by then we haven't received anything from you, we will publish the integral version of your text as it is now. To those who made verbal presentations, may we please have your written papers by the above deadline.

Again, I wish to express my deep appreciation for your interest and active participation at our recent Seminar.

We certainIy 100k forward to continued cooperation.

Yours sincerely

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DR A M RUKOBO

QIREQTOR

ZIMBABWE INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIE
SUMMARY REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEMINAR ON "PEACE
AND SECURITY IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION" HELD AT
THE HARARE HOLIDAY INN, 11-13TH MARCH 1992
ORGANISING COMMITTEE:
DR. A.M. RUKOBO, DIRECTOR, ZIDS
DR . D.P. CHIMANIKIRE, SEMINAR CO-ORDINATOR-CUM-RAPPORTEUR

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INTRODUCTION

The Seminar on Peace and Security in Southern Africa was opened by the Director of the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies, Dr. A.M. Rukobo who outlined some of the objectives of the Seminar as: the identification, analysis and assessment of some of the new strategies for conflict resolution and economic development in Southern Africa prompted by the changing political situation in South Africa and the changing international economy landscape. More than 40 high ranking people participated in the 3 day seminar. These were drawn from the academic, government policy-makers in Zimbabwe, the Church and the Trade Unions in Harare.

(ii)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The department of Southern Africa and International Relations, 2108 would like to thank the Institute for sponsoring the seminar on Peace and Security in Southern Africa. Thanks are also due to the following serving as Chairpersons for different sessions: Dr. A.M. Rukobo, Director, 2108; Dr. L.J. Chingtambo, SAPES TRUST; Dr. T.O Chirawu, Deputy Director, National Museums and Monuments and Mr B.K. Chakaodza, Senior Researcher, 2108. The Department is indebted to Mr Henry Chiwawa, Mrs Naomi Wekwete-both Researchers at 2108 and Ms Mavis Musakwa AND Ms Noreen Tembo, Seminar Secretaries for their support and assistance in organising the seminar at various stages.

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7. The Role of The Liberation Support Ccmmittee
Jonah H. Gokova, Christians for Liberation

in Southern Africa

The Character of Trade TniSAB6GAah&4%&##e

Prospects - Ms V. Hove, Assistant Se:retary,
Ministry of Industry & Commerce

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Southern Africa: An American Perspe:tive -
chert Jackson, Seehnd Secretary, U.

1 ZIMBABWE'S FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS THRUST ON PEACE AND

SECURITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA - DR T.J.B. JOKONYAI SENIOR

& SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

In his contribution, the Senior Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr Jokonya said that Zimbabwe's approach to the Southern African Regional environment has been based on principles and guided by its foreign policy - emanating not only from Zimbabwe's national ethos, but also from the Charters of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

Zimbabwe, Dr. Jokonya said, guards the principle of self-determination and independence for itself as seen by its refusal to appear a 'client' state of any other power, but also champions the same for the people of South Africa. As for Namibia, Zimbabwe did everything consistent with its means to help bring independence and majority rule to that country and South Africa. The Senior Secretary told participants that Zimbabwe contributed funds to the OAU Liberation Committee for use by the Liberation movements of Southern Africa. As Chairman of NAM, Zimbabwe hoped to launch the Africa Fund for Southern Africa which aimed assisting not only the liberation movements in Namibia and

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(q. South Africa, but also the Southern African States threatened by Pretoria's destabilisation acts.

Dr. Jekonya said that as part of the Non-Aligned Groups at the U.N. Zimbabwe worked hard to have the U.N. put into Namibia an UNTAG team that could ensure free and fair elections in Namibia prior to the March 1990 elections. The Harare Declaration on Southern Africa, adopted by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, which was eventually adopted by the UN General Assembly has become a blueprint for a negotiated solution to the question of South Africa.

The Senior Secretary explained that the climate conducive to negotiations can be created in South Africa, the kind of end result envisaged as democratic by the international community, and the procedure of re-admitting South Africa into the international community.

2. REGIONAL SECURITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA VS SOUTH AFRICA'S

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POLICY OF DESTABILISATION (AN OVERVIEW) - PROFESSOR HASU IT
PATEL UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE.

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In his introduction, Professor Hasu Patel attempted to define the concept of Peace and Security. He said Peace and Security is usually associated with the absence of violence and war from groups or individuals. He pointed out that Peace and Security can also be of non-military nature:

e.g. Social peace

Psychological Peace which can be perceived by either the state or individuals.

Economic Peace, which can be expressed in the absence of unemployment, economic mobility and absence of material hardships.

Water security, expressed in the absence of draught - which has affected almost everything adversely because nothing is possible without water.

Prof. Patel, however, said that Peace and Security considerations had to take into account both internal and external dimensions which can be either military or non-military.

CONFLICTS IN THE REGION

Conflicts in the Southern African Region have been basically generated by White's domination over blacks as evidenced by the formation of liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique.

Prof. Patel said although South Africa's Destabilisation has been lowered for now, there is no guarantee that it can not come back again. He observed that the issue of land which has generated a lot of heat in Zimbabwe is being watched closely by the white South Africans.

Prof. Patel characterised peace process in

- Zimbabwe (the Unity Accord);

- Angola (the Peace Record and forthcoming elections in September 1992).

- Mozambique (the more that 10 sessions held between the Mozambican Government and Renamo - to establish a 4th Peace Accord).

- South Africa (CODESA) - is a confidence building process for a peaceful solution to the South African Conflict).

On internal conflicts in South Africa, Prof. Patel said that de Klerk's proposal should be accepted but that the right wing of the white community are still a danger and that a right wing coup remains a possibility in South Africa. Prof. Patel also talked

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of the danger posed by the South African Defence Force (SADF) because of its possession of nuclear weapons.

Prof. Patel said a New South Africa Will be a major power but, he saw major problems in integrating all armed military groups in South Africa because of sheer size and lack of manpower.

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3. THE MOZAMBIKAN PEACE ACCORD AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION - PAULO TEMBEI EMBASSY OF MOZAMBIQUE HARARE.

In his presentation, Mr Tembe said that RENAMO's demands as a precondition in signing a PEACE ACCORD are very unrealistic. Mozambique, he said, is committed to peace in the region and the Nkomati Peace Accord testifies to that effect. But Renamo has proved to be a stumbling block in attaining lasting peace in Mozambique.

More than one and half years have gone by since the Mozambique government and the MNR met in Rome for the first direct talks and agreed to work towards an end to the bloody conflict that in 15 years has claimed more than a million lives. The FRELIMO government has had to bend over backwards to accommodate to Renamo's ever increasing demands. Mr Tembe said all this has been to no avail. In fact, he added, Renamo is not yet ready to be a political party.

Mr Tembe said that the situation in Mozambique is compounded by the fact that many countries want to join in the negotiations -

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e.g. the U.K. and Sweden. He said this complicates the whole

4(a) THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE
FORMATION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN SOUTH AFRICA & PROSPECT
FOR A DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOCIETY - MAX MLONYENI ANC
CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE IN ZIMBABWE.

The Chief Representative of the African National Congress in
Zimbabwe, Cde Mlonyeni gave a profile of the struggle in South
Africa. Among the important issue he spoke of was the
establishment of a South African Patriotic Front in Durban, which
forum was attended by about 90 different political, religious
organisations. He said that the ANC believes that a Patriotic
Front must go beyond the mere confines of the ANC and PAC and
should therefore encompass as many organised groups as possible,
including the Bantustans. The idea is, said the ANC Chief
Representative, to maximise as far as possible, the isolation of
the Pretoria regime. He pointed out that the Patriotic Front was
_____ the precursor of CODESA, although some people felt that CODESA
was not capable of delivering the goods, that it was nothing but
a mere talk-shop. Cde Mlonyeni explained that CODESA is not an
end in itself but a process and ANC is determined to succeed
having been given the mandate to negotiate by its Congress. He
concluded by saying that the ANC is now looking at the economy
into the South African
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and that April 17 1992 Congress .

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economy and the

4(8) PAC A VIEW

Cde Bamba Ndwandwe of the Pan Africanist Movement of Azania (PAC) said in his contribution that the PAC's view is that people take up arms because talking has not been possible. He said that the PAC is not opposed to negotiations, but has got a stand on these negotiations.

The PAC Representatives said that the PAC demands that de Klerk must first declare that he is in favour of one-man-one-vote; the PAC also wanted to know who is to preside of the funeral of Apartheid and witness the birth of the New Nation in South Africa.

Cde Ndwandwe outlined the problems pertaining to CODESA. For example, he said that the various committees set-up by CODESA do not fit in any real life situation because no Constitutional Agreement exists yet to support their work. He said there is need to set-up a traditional framework before going into details not supported by any Constitutional Agreement.

On the Patriotic Front, Cde Ndwandwe said it was a failure

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that PF collapsed just after its launching because of
the for majority rule.

4(C) BCM (A) VIEW

Cde Strike Thokoane, Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)

Representative in Harare said in his contribution that although the BCM is a late-comer into the politics of South Africa, it is indeed a force to reckon with. He said the BCM has so far managed to politicise the people in South Africa (blacks), but there is still need to politicise the whites about the evils they are committing in South Africa. The BCM feels that this could be done by whites themselves and not by the oppressed blacks.

Cde Ndwandwe said the BCM believes that negotiations with the enemy are useful, but should not be allowed to stop the struggle.

In this regard the BCM feels that all forms of the struggle should be maintained. The BCM also wants any negotiations to be held outside South Africa in a neutral country. Further, the BCM is shocked by the untimely repatriation of guerrillas back to South Africa before a constitutional agreement is reached.

On CODESA, Cde Thokoane said that his organisation shuns it because CODESA lacks honest negotiators. He said CODESA business is mostly done in secrecy.

He said the fact that de Klerk had made

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many friends in Africa, O A.U, U.N, the Commonwealth, etc believe South Africa is free. He said BCM wants full freedom and not half a loaf.

5. AFRICA FUND: ITS SOLIDARITY WITH THE PLIGHT OF THE FRONT-

INE STATES - MRS L. PRASAD ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER -

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LNQLL.

Mrs Prasad outlined the objectives of the Africa Fund which was set-up by the Non-Aligned movement at the its 8th summit in Harare in September 1986. The major objectives for launching the Fund were defined as:

1. To strengthen the economic and financial capability of the Front-Line States to fight the apartheid regime of Pretoria and to support the Liberation Movements in South Africa and Namibia in their unrelenting struggle against racist and colonialist oppression; and
2. To assist the Front-line States to enforce sanctions against South Africa and to 'Cope with' any 'Terrorist' action by the racist regime.

Mrs Prasad re-affirmed India's commitment to the Africa Fund and liberation of South Africa. This commitment is manifest in the policies of Mahatma Gandhi (the father of India) and in Africa, Jawahar Nehru; Indira Gandhi; Rajiv Indian government.

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THE ROLE OF THE CHURCHES IN FOSTERING PEACE IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA - REV. MUROMBEDZI C. KUCHERA GENERAL SECRETARY OF
THE ZIMBABWE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

Speaking on the "Role of Churches in Fostering Peace in the
Southern African Region" Rev. Kuchera said one of the roles the
church plays is to persuade the fighting forces to go to the
Round Tables and discuss peaceful means of ending the conflicts.
He added that the church believes that no amount of military
fighting would solve the problems involved in the disputes.
Rev. Kuchera said that during the war of liberation in Zimbabwe,
the churches, through the Zimbabwe Council of Churches, through
its services division, the Christian Care, provided food, clothing,
shelter and education to the families of political
victims as well as the education of the political victims
themselves. The church furthermore participated in the ;

1) Lancaster House Peace Process;

2) Peace efforts in Mozambique;

4) in South Africa the church is actively involved going on
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3) Namibian Peace Process;

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evidenced by its involvement in CODESA. All these efforts ;

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the support of the Zimbabwe Council of Churches.

THE ROLE OF THE LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE - JONAH H.
GOKOVA - CHRISTIANS FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

Mr Jonah Gokova informed the seminar participants that the Liberation Support Committee emerged out of an attempt by a group of Zimbabwean progressive Christians to challenge South African policy of apartheid and to enable Christians and the Zimbabwean Public in general to express solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa. It was for this reason that The Liberation Support Committee was established in 1985 as an effort by a number of Christians in Zimbabwe who were concerned about the escalating destructive role of the South African apartheid regime, both within South Africa and in the Front-line States. Of late, Mr Gokova said that the Liberation Support Committee has been involved in the process towards assisting South African exiles to return home safely - one specific responsibility of the committee has been the production and dissemination of information on the conditions set for the safe return of South African exiles.

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THE CHARACTER OF TRADE IN SADCC AND FUTURE PROSPECTS -

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MS V. HOVE, MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

Ms Hove outline the objectives of SADCC as:

1. The reduction of economic dependence, particularly, but not only, on South Africa;
2. Forging of links to create a genuine and equitable regional integration;
3. Mobilisation of resources to promote the implementation of national, interstate and regional policies and concerted action to secure international co-operation within the framework of the strategy for economic liberation.

Ms Hove also pointed out that Trade in SADCC has been adversely affected by insecurity in the Southern African region which ranges from civil conflicts in Angola and Mozambique and the South African destabilisation policy against her neighbours. With Peace and Security assured in the Southern African region, Ms Hove said there is potential for prosperity which would improve the living standards of the people.

9. EAST/WEST RELATIONS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: AN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE - ROBERT JACKSON, SECOND SECRETARY, U.S. EMBASSY, HARARE,

In his contribution, Mr Jackson told the participants that in late 1980s and early 1990s relations between the East and West were transformed. and the policy of containment with its inherent competition and occasional confrontation became a policy of -consensus-building and COoperation. East and West found common ground in their approach to conflicts around the world, and Southern Africa was no exception.

The East/West cooperation, Mr Jackson pointed out has resulted in the drying up of large scale arms deliveries from the East as well as the withdrawal of East bloc troops and military advisers. For example, after Angola, Cuba and South Africa signed the Tripartite Agreement in December in 1988 linking Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola to Namibian Independence, Portugal, the 4WH-Set unten, and the USSR cooperated to secure the signing of the Angolan Cease-fire in April 1991. Thus, co-operation translated into the end of long civil wars in Angola and Namibia. Cooperation between the East and the West was central to the U.N. Supervised Namibian transition to independence and to democracy and to the signing of the Angolan cease-fire. Mr Jackson also

10. RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND PERCEPTIONS OF PEACE & SECURITY
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA - YURI F. POPOV EMBASSY OF THE RUSSIAN
FEDERATION HARARE.

Speaking of Russian's Foreign Policy and its perceptions of Peace & Security in Southern Africa, Mr Popov, said that Russia had declared herself a continuing state of the former USSR, taking over all Soviet commitments abroad. With the emergence of Russia having assumed the international role of the former Soviet Union, Mr Popov said, the principle of peaceful settlement of regional conflicts has become one of the cornerstones of Russian foreign policy. Applied to Southern Africa, the principle means that the intent is to render every feasible assistance to facilitate Russians

finding negotiated and just solutions to remaining disputes in the region.

Speaking on Russia's diplomatic relations with South Africa, Mr Popov explained that this may look odd and to some extent controversial from the point of view of certain leaders and forces unable to dispense with dogmatic mentality. He told us that long time ideologically motivated absence of participation

contacts between Moscow and Pretoria has become clearly inadequate and obsolete under the present circumstances and - as progress both in South Africa

and in the region. Conversely, Mr Popov, said that the physical presence of Russia in South Africa is aimed primarily at maintaining balanced interaction with principal forces of the country's society in order to encourage constructive developments in South Africa.

11. SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLITICAL & ECONOMIC SERIES TRUST (SAPES)
RESEARCH PROPOSAL - DR LLOYD J. CHING'AMBO SALES TRUST
HARARE.

Dr Chingtambo presented a Peace and Security Proposal for SAPES
in the post-apartheid era. The proposal looks at the long
lasting peace and security in the region.

Dr Ching'ambo pointed out that much has been talked about and
written on Peace and Security, but most of it has been in the
Western context on the traditional western style of security
concerns. He said nothing much has been done to see African
security in its proper context.

In looking at the African security context, one encounters the
problems of:

- undemocratic political structures;
- fragile policy making;
- economic and technological backwardness.

Dr Ching'ambo 3150 underlined the fact that ethnic problems in
many African countries undermine Peace and Security. He observed
in Africa.

peace and security

What will happen when apartheid is over?

Dr Ching'ambo said there will be reduced tensions between countries in the region and when apartheid disappears;

- new alignments will emerge in the region; ESAP programmes will run into conflict with issues of peace and security.

Dr Ching'ambo said that for lasting peace and security in the region to prevail there is need for a common goal approval rather than a national one. He pointed out that the presence of strategic minerals in the region could be a source of new conflicts.

Dr Ching'ambo warned that the accumulation of hard military ware at the expense of economic development does not guarantee peace and security for anyone.

12, PROSPECTS FOR A COLLECTIVE DEFENCE EFFORT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
- BRIGADIER P.V. SIBANDA ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY.

In his contribution, Brigadier Sibanda stated that the existence of the Southern African Inter-State Defence and Security Commission could be used as a basis for a future collective defence and security organisation, taking into account of the expanded and collective nature of this future organisation. As for whether prospects for a collective defence effort in Southern Africa exist or not, Brigadier Sibanda said that the reasons which brought about the existence of SEATO and the GGC exist in Southern Africa, albeit in varying degrees of intensity. Furthermore, Brig. Sibanda pointed out that the existence of cross border tribal connections adds impetus to the need for countries in this region to co-exist with one another for the benefit of its people.

Brig. Sibanda, however, warned that collective defence is not that easy to achieve; the success or failure of a future regional defence grouping in Southern Africa will therefore depend very much on the existence of a common threat and the acceptance by all member states of this grouping that they are indeed

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threatened, and there being some political will to establish a workable regional

CONCLUSIONE

THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE SEMINAR ON PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE:

The root cause of violence in the region has been apartheid and the main purpose behind South Africa's military and economic actions has been preservation of white minority rule.

While the structures of white supremacy are still intact, a significant change in the balance of internal forces has occurred in comparison with the situation prevailing when the 1948 legislation on apartheid was enacted; instead of being arrogant, the white minority is now on the defensive - they are now concerned with how much power to surrender in order to keep as much power as possible and even to ensure their own future.

However, there exists a difference of opinion as to the nature of present political realities. There are those who say that some meaningful changes are taking place both within the white ruling class and also the liberation movements and extra-parliamentary opposition whose presence is being felt through mass action. There are also those who see no positive progress, who regard the CCDEEA Forum not as a step forward but a step in the reverse direction.

The International Community has a responsibility to promote a peaceful resolution to the multiple conflicts in the sub-region, particularly the core conflict in South Africa itself.

The possibility of involving active international participants should be explored seriously.

The peace and economic security of the majority-ruled Southern African States are under enormous strain. Their economies are in a bind because of unequal exchange in the international market, ravaging drought and recent destabilisation acts carried by South Africa.

Effective ways and means of contributing to the Africa Fund should be explored.

Peace efforts in Mozambique should be encouraged as much as possible.

Research on Peace and Security in the African context should be carried out; and there is need for research on non-military aspects of security.

Relations between SADC and PTA should be thoroughly examined in light of setting up of a viable regional economic organisation.

All organisations, including the church, must encourage active peace and security initiatives in the region.

The possibility of exploring the setting up of a common defence strategy in Southern Africa should be explored.

Research on how best to integrate the South African armed units need to be carried out.

There is need for new forms of struggle in South Africa and the possibility of launching urban guerrilla warfare should talks fail.

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