

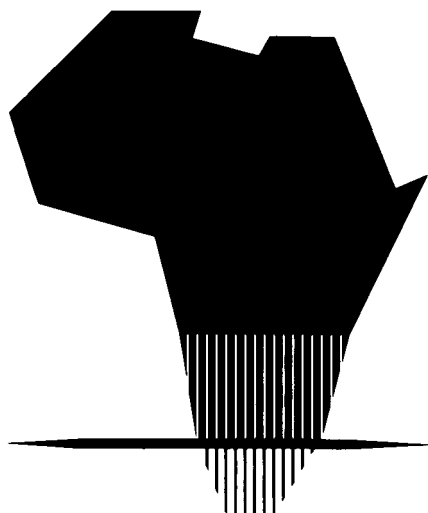
FRONT LINE AFRICA



THE RIGHT TO A FUTURE

S U S A N N A S M I T H

FRONT LINE AFRICA THE RIGHT TO A FUTURE



AN OXFAM REPORT ON CONFLICT AND POVERTY IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA

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Contents

	Page
Acknowledgements	v
General notes	vii
Abbreviations	viii
Introduction	1
Section I : Regional constraints on development	
Chapter 1 : Background to South Africa's policy of regional destabilisation	5
Chapter 2 : The 'destabilisation' phase of South Africa's regional policy	21
Chapter 3 : The human dimensions of conflict	41
Chapter 4 : How conflict disrupts relief and development work	77
Chapter 5 : South Africa's economic integration with southern Africa	99
Chapter 6 : The economic costs of destabilisation	133
Chapter 7 : South Africa's regional policy: recent developments and future prospects	142

Section II : Global and national constraints on development

Chapter 8 : Trade, debt and problems of national policy	159
Chapter 9 : Three case-studies: Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola	208

Section III: The roles of Britain and the European Community

Chapter 10 : The role and responsibilities of Britain	259
Chapter 11 : The role and responsibilities of the European Community	299

Section IV: Conclusions

Chapter 12 : Summary and key considerations	319
Notes	329
Appendices	369
Further reading	387



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Susanna Smith
February 1990



General notes

Geographical focus

Oxfam's current programme in southern Africa supports a wide range of work in Angola, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. This book concentrates on those countries where we have up-to-date, direct experience. This is why the book does not deal in depth with developments in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland.

'Front Line States'

The 'Front Line States' are those states in southern Africa which have formed an alliance to fight apartheid and white minority rule in South Africa. They are formally constituted as a group led by one of the Presidents, elected periodically, and they meet regularly to coordinate their policies. The member states are Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

SADCC

The members of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), at the end of 1989, were Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Namibia is expected to join on independence.

Currency conversions

Pounds sterling, US dollars, the South African Rand, and European Currency Units (ECUs) are used throughout this book according to normal convention. Where other currencies are used, a sterling equivalent has been provided alongside, at the official rate of exchange for the month or year in question.



Abbreviations

ACP	: African, Caribbean, Pacific
ANC	: African National Congress (South Africa)
ARMSCOR	: Armaments Corporation (South Africa)
AZAPO	: Azanian People's Organisation (South Africa)
BLS	: Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland
CMEA	: Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CONSAS	: Constellation of Southern African States
COSATU	: Council of South African Trade Unions
ESAF	: Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility
FLS	: Front Line States
FNLA	: National Front for the Liberation of Angola
FRELIMO	: Mozambique Liberation Front
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
GNP	: Gross National Product
IBRD	: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
IDA	: International Development Association (World Bank)
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
MDM	: Mass Democratic Movement (South Africa)
MNR	: Mozambique National Resistance
MPLA	: People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola

NACTU	:	National Confederation of Trade Unions
NF	:	National Forum
OAU	:	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	:	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAC	:	Pan-Africanist Congress
PTA	:	Preferential Trade Agreement
RENAMO	:	Mozambique National Resistance
SACBC	:	Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference
SACC	:	South African Council of Churches
SACU	:	Southern African Customs Union
SADCC	:	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADF	:	South African Defence Force
SATS	:	South African Transport Services
SWAPO	:	South West Africa People's Organisation
UDF	:	United Democratic Front
UNCTAD	:	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNHCR	:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITA	:	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
ZANU	:	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	:	Zimbabwe African People's Union

SOUTHERN AFRICA





Introduction

February 1990 was a significant month for southern Africa. Watched by the world, Nelson Mandela walked free after 27 years as a political prisoner in South Africa. He was released just days after President de Klerk had announced important initial reforms, including the unbanning of the African National Congress and other key organisations, and the lifting of some aspects of the State of Emergency.

At the same time, Oxfam workers in South Africa, Mozambique, and Angola were facing less newsworthy developments. In South Africa, Oxfam fieldworkers learned that President de Klerk had refused to meet representatives of several rural communities which we have supported in their battle to resist forced incorporation into the South African 'homelands'. In Mozambique, there was growing concern that another outbreak of famine would occur, because armed conflict was preventing relief aid from reaching large numbers of people. In Angola, the delivery of relief aid to people in the drought-affected areas in the south was hampered by the continuing war.

This book aims to inform the public debate on southern Africa from our viewpoint and experience as a relief and development agency. Oxfam has been working in the region for over thirty years. A fifth of all our overseas grants is spent there. Our work is directly affected by the massive scale of human suffering and the daunting obstacles to peace and just development which we witness.

Drawing on Oxfam's direct experience, this book focuses on southern Africa during the 1980s, tracing developments up until the end of 1989. It examines the range of pressures — global, regional, and national — which lie

behind conflict and poverty, and which have impeded development. It shows how these pressures combine to affect poor people in their struggle for a better life. In particular, we identify three major obstacles in the fight against poverty, underdevelopment, and oppression. They are apartheid in South Africa, the unequal economic relationship between the underdeveloped South and the industrialised North, and the marked failure of southern African nations to promote equitable development.

Front Line Africa: The Right to a Future goes on to look at the policies of Britain and the European Community towards the region's complex array of problems. The book ends with a number of recommendations to the British government, the European Community, and the governments of southern Africa, which we believe could contribute to the relief of poverty and suffering.

We argue that the 1990s bring an unprecedented opportunity for the international community to help establish a non-racial democracy in South Africa. This would not only remove a central cause of regional instability, but it could also boost the economic prospects of the wider region. Further, more far-reaching measures are needed to support increased levels of production and fairer trading terms, to promote debt reduction, and to improve debt-management strategies in southern African states. Much depends on the international community, and whether it has sufficient political will to match this challenge. It is also vital that development policy errors are addressed by the southern African governments. More responsive and accountable systems of government are essential to the fight against poverty.

Britain has a key role to play. Indeed, its extensive, deeply-rooted links with South Africa and the wider region mean that if it is not going to be part of the solution, it will remain part of the problem.