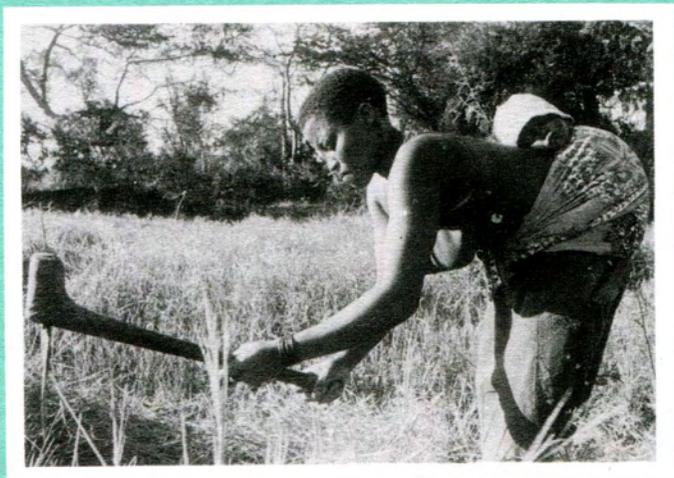


APARTHEID'S WAR ON ITS NEIGHBOURS



Leaders of the frontline states
speak out about the Apartheid
regime's destabilisation of
Southern Africa.

MAVIS MUYUNDA – ZAMBIA
JORGE REBELO – MOZAMBIQUE

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Sheffield City Council chairs the National Steering Committee of Local Authorities Against Apartheid which was established in 1983. Over 200 local authorities have an anti-apartheid policy and the National Steering Committee consists of 25 Councils elected by a biennial conference.

In May 1988, LAAA convened a national conference on 'Building Links with the Frontline States'. Attended by 40 local authorities and representatives from all the Frontline States, the conference pledged support for "people to people links between Britain and the frontline states as part of the struggle to end Apartheid and bring peace to the Southern Africa region".

This pamphlet has been published by Sheffield City Council to assist this process. Further copies can be obtained from the Publicity Department, Sheffield City Council, Town Hall, Sheffield, S1 2HH. Discounts are available on large orders.

INTRODUCTION



Councillor Mike Pye

In 1986 the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group warned that, unless effective economic sanctions were imposed on South Africa, "the descent into violence would be accelerated" and "the cost in lives may have to be counted in millions." That prediction has proved to be no exaggeration.

In Mozambique alone nearly six million people rely on emergency relief because of the terror and destruction caused by South African-backed bandits. Following a visit there in April 1988, the US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Roy Stacey, accused the bandits of carrying out "one of the most brutal holocausts against ordinary human beings since World War Two."

And the situation is also serious in Angola where South African attacks killed over 10,000 people in 1985 alone. Today, between 600,000 and a million people are homeless and there is a growing need for emergency relief.

Though less severely hit by direct military aggression, the other frontline states have suffered from the economic impact of South Africa's war with its neighbours. A land-locked country like Zambia has to pay huge additional transport costs because of the sabotage of rail routes through Mozambique. And this means that vital exports, which earn foreign currency to pay back development loans, cannot easily reach their destination.

Much attention has focused on the debt problems of Brazil and Mexico. But the debt burden of Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania *relative* to their economies is much greater. This leaves them vulnerable to pressure from international financial institutions, which have insisted on stringent conditions during negotiations on loan repayments.

Meanwhile, South Africa itself has been given a helping hand by 34 of the biggest international banks which agreed on 24 March 1988 to reschedule the Apartheid regime's debt *without* making any political demands.

So the frontline states are told by the International Monetary Fund to cut Government spending on essential services, but South Africa is allowed fresh credit facilities to keep its war machine going.

People in Sheffield are particularly conscious of these harsh realities because of our friendship link with Kitwe, Zambia's second largest city.

Situated in the potentially prosperous copperbelt, Kitwe's economy has been crippled by South Africa's disruption of the regional rail system. In December 1986 food riots broke out in the city after an austerity programme imposed by the International Monetary Fund had forced up prices. Now Zambia's government has defied the Western banks and introduced its own economic plan, which limits debt payments to ten per cent of the country's export earnings.

With priority going to controlling inflation and developing industry, very little is available for health and housing. In Kitwe, one in five children do not reach their first birthday and there are only fifty doctors for a population of half a million.



*Left to Right:
Mrs. Betty Horton, Councillor Peter Horton (Lord Mayor of Sheffield 1987-88), Mr. Chesota (Zambia Commission), Mr. Peter Lishika (District Governor of Kitwe), Councillor Phyllis Smith (Lord Mayor of Sheffield 1988-89) and Ms. Diane Stanley (Lady Mayoress).*

As a small token of our friendship, the people of Sheffield raised £10,000 in six months towards the cost of a new health clinic in Kitwe. That effort led to the formation of a Sheffield-Kitwe Society and plans are being made to send local medical and dental students to work in our sister city.

Several British towns and cities have similar links in Southern Africa, and others are interested in developing them. In May 1988, Local Authorities Against Apartheid held a conference to discuss 'Building links with the frontline states'. Attended by 160 participants, including representatives from 40 local authorities and delegations from all the frontline states, the conference was inspired by the keynote speeches of Zambia's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mavis Muyunda, and Jorge Rebelo, a leader of FRELIMO of Mozambique.

In this pamphlet, we publish their statements as a contribution to the discussion on this vital issue.

Councillor Mike Pye

Chair, Sheffield City Council – Anti-Apartheid Panel

GETTING TO KNOW THE FRONTLINE



Six countries in Southern Africa have become known as the frontline states – Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Below are a few facts about each of them.

ANGOLA – A country five times the size of Britain with a population of only 8.4 million, Angola was under Portuguese colonial rule until 11 November 1974. Shortly before independence, South African troops invaded from the south and by November an armoured column was within 125 miles of the capital Luanda. That attack was repelled but Apartheid military forces based in illegally occupied Namibia have penetrated deep into Angola on many occasions since.

In 1981, the USA joined South Africa in openly giving military support to UNITA, a rebel army which has attacked mining towns, sabotaged railways, mined harbours and destroyed crops and food stores. In southern Angola, the war has halted vital health programmes and reduced the areas under cultivation. Up to one million people have been made homeless and are totally dependent on assistance to survive.

Angola is a potentially wealthy country with its own oil, diamonds and iron ore. However, the war has disrupted production and total foreign debts are now about 2.4 times the size of the country's annual export earnings. This has made it difficult to raise living standards after years of colonial rule. In 1984, per capita income was only \$302 (as compared with \$8,570 in the UK) and life expectancy was 43 years.

BOTSWANA – As Bechuanaland it was one of three British protectorates (the others were Swaziland and Basutoland, now Lesotho). Following independence in 1966, Botswana played a key role as a refuge for Zimbabweans resisting Ian Smith's illegal white minority regime in

Rhodesia. It has also been a sympathetic transit route for South African refugees.

Because of the Apartheid regime's illegal occupation of Namibia and the Caprivi Strip, Botswana is surrounded on three sides by South African troops which have attacked targets inside the country on several occasions, including the capital, Gaborone.

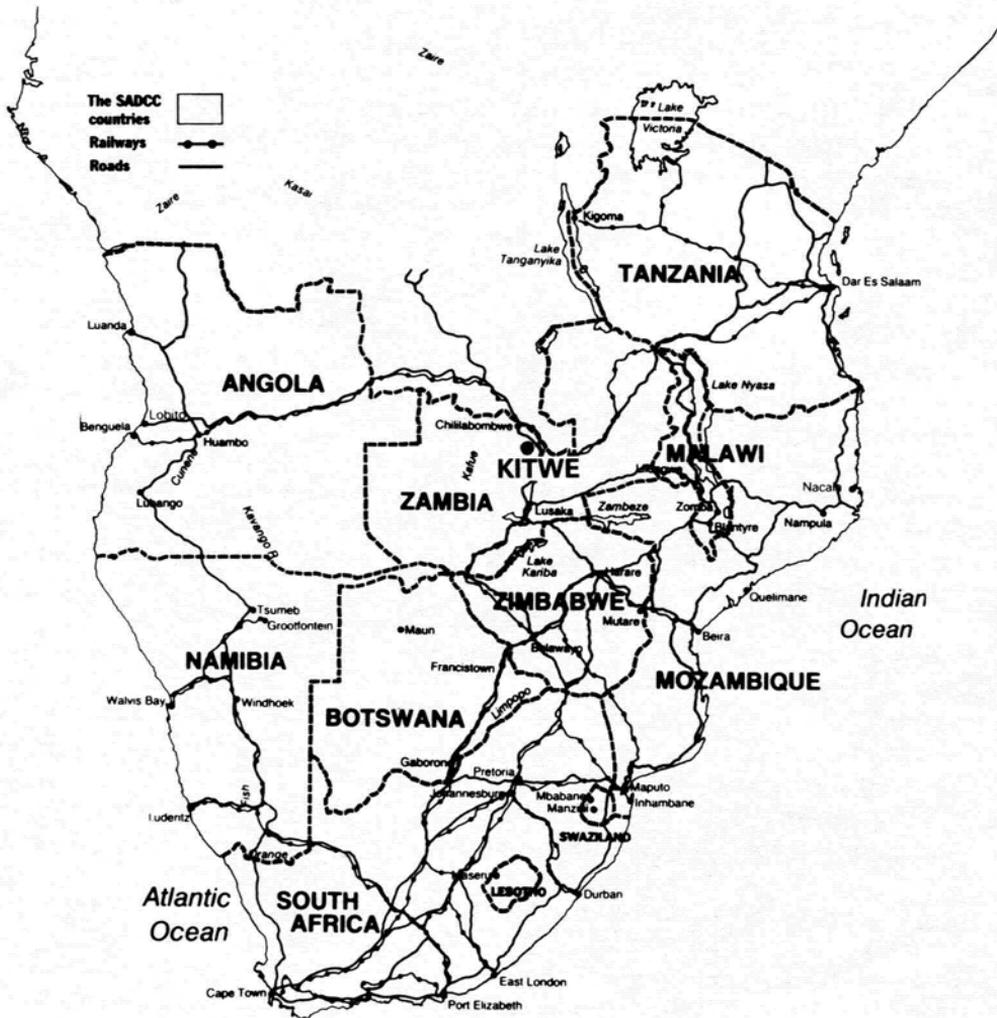
Despite its huge size, Botswana has a population of only 1.1 million. As a British protectorate, it was included in a customs union with South Africa in 1909. This created a heavy dependence on an economically more powerful neighbour and, today, Botswana's trade deficit with South Africa exceeds the revenue it gets from customs union tariffs. In January 1986, Peter Mmusi, the Vice-President of Botswana, commented that "the abolition of Apartheid would be the greatest single contribution which could be made to the economic development of the region".

MOZAMBIQUE – After a decade of armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, Mozambique became independent on 25 June 1975 and was then able to provide support for ZANU in its battle to end racist rule in Rhodesia. Mozambique's decision in March 1976 to close its border with Rhodesia cost the country about one-third of its foreign currency revenue earned through rail and port charges. Meanwhile, the Smith regime's Central Intelligence Organisation created the so-called 'national resistance' (known as the MNR or RENAMO) as a disruptive military force that could operate inside Mozambique.

After majority rule was established in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the MNR nearly collapsed but an airlift by South Africa of trained reinforcements brought the bandits total strength to about 10,000. The MNR has caused economic havoc in Mozambique by driving people from their homes and sabotaging key economic installations, especially the three main railways. In 1984, Mozambique signed a non-aggression accord with South Africa but support for the bandits continued. This was confirmed in 1985 when the Mozambican army captured the MNR's main base about 100 miles north of Beira and captured notebooks detailing help from South Africa.

The Apartheid regime has also put Mozambique under intense economic pressure. In 1973 the port of Maputo handled 6.8 million tons of goods from South Africa. After independence, traffic was steadily reduced and by 1983 was down to 1.1 million tons. South Africa has also applied sanctions by cutting the number of work permits for Mozambicans. Both measures led to a sharp drop in foreign currency earnings which are vital for the repayment of international debts.

South Africa's undeclared war against Mozambique has created a crisis situation and, in 1988, the United Nations made its second appeal for emergency relief.



TANZANIA – A German colony from 1884 to 1914, Tanzania was administered by Britain as a UN trust territory until 1961. It was the first of the frontline states to gain independence and in the 1960s became a refuge for many exiled African nationalist leaders.

Tanzania supported Frelimo's liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism in neighbouring Mozambique and joined with Botswana and Zambia in establishing the Frontline States after Britain failed to act effectively to end racist rule in Rhodesia.

In July 1979, Tanzania hosted a meeting of the Frontline States to discuss plans for the establishment of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC – see below). Though not directly affected by military aggression, Tanzania suffers from South Africa's economic disruption of the region and has taken responsibility within SADCC for trade and industry.

Major droughts have also had an impact in recent years, forcing Tanzania to spend foreign currency on food imports when it has huge international debts of \$3,200 million – 9 times the country's annual export earnings.

ZAMBIA – Formerly the British colony of Northern Rhodesia, Zambia won independence in 1964 and was immediately faced with the problems caused by Ian Smith's declaration of UDI in Rhodesia, its southern neighbour. Zambia was a founder of the Frontline States and paid a heavy price for supporting liberation movements fighting Portuguese colonialism and white minority rule.

Between August 1977 and July 1979, for example, Rhodesia carried out 25 raids on Zambia, including an attack on the Chikumbi refugee camp near Lusaka where 629 Zimbabwean refugees were killed on 19 October 1978.

Zambia has also had to overcome the legacy of colonialism. On achieving independence there were only 100 Zambians with university degrees. The formation of the University of Zambia in 1966 has meant that the country now boasts 8,000 graduates. But, despite such achievements, Zambia remains over dependent on the export of copper and has foreign debts of \$5,700 million. Like Zimbabwe, Zambia has been badly hit by the Apartheid regime's disruption of the region's transport links. The Benguela line through Angola has been out of action since 1980 and copper exports have to either go through Tanzania or South Africa itself. This leaves Zambia economically vulnerable and makes trade expensive.

Despite its own problems, Zambia supports the liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa and currently chairs meetings of the Frontline States.

ZIMBABWE – Until the 19th century Zimbabwe was a prosperous region with an economy based on agricultural production, gold, copper and textiles. In 1890, the country was invaded by forces of the British South African Company led by Cecil Rhodes, who established Salisbury (now Harare) as the country's capital.

Known as Southern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe became a British colony with white settlers enjoying a privileged position. Britain came under increasing pressure to allow majority rule but Rhodesia's government, led by Ian Smith, illegally declared independence in 1965 and established a close alliance with South Africa. This triggered a long and costly armed struggle which ended in 1980 after negotiations in London had led to an agreement on a constitution and the holding of elections. The two liberation movements, ZANU and ZAPU, won an overwhelming vote of confidence and Zimbabwe was able to take its place as a Frontline State.

Zimbabwe is the most developed of the independent states of Southern Africa and industry accounts for nearly 30 per cent of its gross domestic product. The country's natural resources include coal, chrome, hydro-electric power, copper and silver. But most mining operations are foreign owned and South African companies still control one quarter of Zimbabwe's entire capital stock.

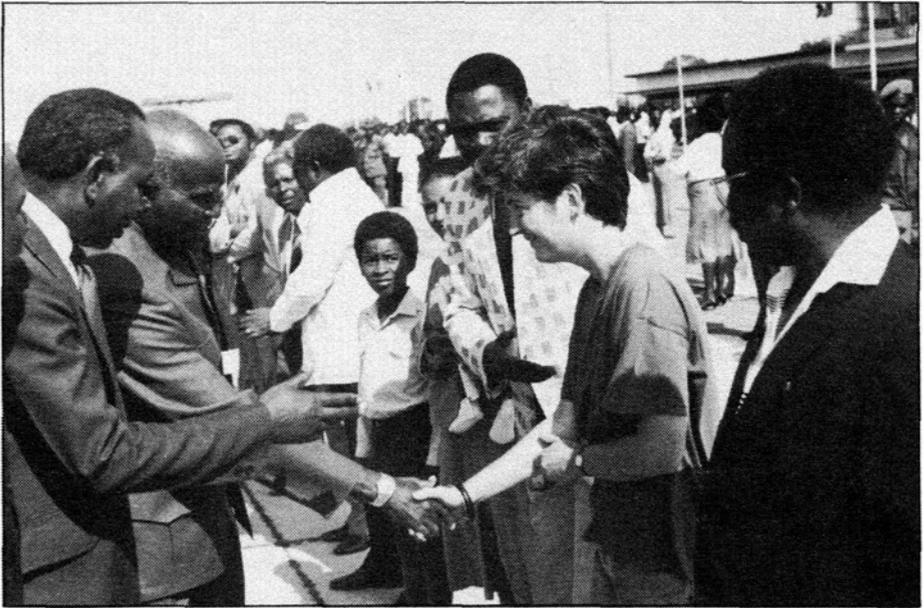
Another problem is transport. The natural outlet for Zimbabwean exports is by railway to the port of Beira in Mozambique. The port itself has been attacked by South African commandos and the railway line has been constantly sabotaged by the MNR. Zimbabwe now has to commit 12,000 troops (a third of its army) to help Mozambique to defend the vital Beira rail link.



SADCC – The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference brings together the six Frontline States and Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland. Formed in 1980, SADCC is not a free trade area with a large central administration, like the Common Market. Decisions are made by consensus and their implementation is delegated to individual countries.

SADCC's aim is to reduce economic dependence on South Africa. It is a response to the Apartheid regime's so-called 'total strategy' which uses military and economic destabilisation to weaken the majority ruled states.

SADCC has attempted to increase economic development through regional co-ordination and now has 398 projects, costing \$4.8 billion, of which half are either underway or completed. Responsibilities within SADCC are as follows:



Claire Horton, daughter of Sheffield Councillor Peter Horton, made a personal visit to Kitwe in September 1987. On her return, she reported on the acute health problems facing Sheffield's sister city where over one in five babies die before their first birthday. Claire's report was used to launch the Kitwe Health Clinic Appeal. Above, Claire Horton is introduced to Zambia's President, Kenneth Kaunda, who chairs meetings of the frontline states.

Mozambique – transport and
communications

Angola – energy

Zimbabwe – food security

Botswana – livestock

Swaziland – manpower

Tanzania – industry and trade

Zambia – mining

Lesotho – tourism

Malawi – fisheries, forestry, wildlife

SADCC faces an uphill task – between 1980 and 1986 South African destabilisation is estimated to have cost over £10,000 million. That figure is more than all the foreign aid given to SADCC states over the same period. Meanwhile, Britain halved its aid contribution between 1980 and 1986, when only £81 million was provided.

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'The Debt Crisis and the Frontline States' – Prof. John Loxley

ELIMINATING APARTHEID



Mavis Muyunda, Zambia

My first duty is to express my profound and sincere gratitude to the National Steering Committee of the Local Authorities Against Apartheid for kindly inviting me to come and deliver the keynote address at this very special and important conference. It is a singular honour for me personally, and indeed my country, to have been chosen to play this role. Your invitation, I must add, symbolises a recognition of the humble contribution that Zambia continues to make to the fight against apartheid. I am immensely grateful.

My second duty is to thank all the local authorities that are members of Local Authorities Against Apartheid, for what you are doing to support the struggle against apartheid and in favour of freedom and liberty for all the people of South Africa and Namibia.

The theme of this conference is "Building Links with the Frontline States." Who are the Frontline States one may ask? The Frontline States consist of the following countries: Angola, Botswana, Mozambique,

Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Nigeria. They are called “Frontline States” because they are on the frontier between independent and free Africa and apartheid South Africa and Namibia, which South Africa occupies illegally and to which it has extended the policy of apartheid.

Being on the frontier, the Frontline States have been instrumental, on behalf of Africa, for promoting change in South Africa and in pressing for the independence of Namibia. Because they have been called upon to play this historic role, the Frontline States have also been the victims of South Africa’s policy of destabilisation.

Before I describe what destabilisation means for us and the rationale for building links between us, let me tell you something about the policy of apartheid itself as practised by the Government of South Africa.

South Africa remains the only country in the World where the law requires one set of citizens to dominate and exploit another, purely on the basis of colour. In the rest of the World we have long accepted the simple fact that it is God who determines the colour of an individual and his race. In South Africa, this is a function of the legislator. There, the law determines who is black, white or in between.

The grading of races is the corner-stone of the apartheid system. It enables the South African Government to distribute its favours more easily. This distribution is strictly according to the racial groups. Individual attainment, performance and excellence, do not matter if the individual is in a wrong category. The blacks who are in the lowest category of the racial hierarchy have fewer advantages and most of the disadvantages. The law determines for them, for example:

- the size and quality of the land which they as a racial group can own;
- the areas where they should live;
- the jobs they should do and the wages they should receive;
- whether they should take part in national politics;
- the quality of education they should get for themselves and their children;
- what trains or buses they should ride on;
- what chairs they should sit on;
- the washrooms they should use; and
- until recently the kind of partner they should marry.

Such, Mr. Chairman, is apartheid. That is what the blacks have been fighting against, with all the means at their disposal. What they demand is the abolition of institutionalised racism and exploitation and the establishment of a government that represents all the people of South Africa.

It is important to point out here that the blacks of South Africa have not always used violence to protest apartheid. You will recall that the African National Congress was established in 1912.

Between that time and 1960 only constitutional methods of protest were employed. These, however, won blacks no concessions whatever from the South African Government. On the contrary, and especially after 1948, repression simply intensified and the position of the black majority continued to grow worse and worse.

The banning of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress in 1960 in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre of that year and the subsequent imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues removed all channels for peaceful protest and set the stage for the start of the armed struggle and further repression and violence.

The international community has abhorred this violence and has put increased pressure on South Africa to abandon apartheid.

Predictably, South Africa has responded to these pressures by defiance and violence. Zambia's President has met leaders of South Africa twice, to see if a way to peace could be found. These efforts have not been rewarded with success. All Commonwealth efforts to persuade South Africa to end apartheid have failed.

- South Africa's negative attitude has been conditioned not only by its own economic and military power but also by the support it continues to enjoy from the major nations of the West. It has, therefore, responded to the aspirations of the black majority with what it has termed "total national strategy" which involves all sectors of the white community in a military-led defence of apartheid.

This strategy has four basic elements: exaggerating the threat of communism, increased repression at home, denying independence to Namibia and the destabilisation of all the neighbours of South Africa.

Although, there is no communist threat against South Africa, the Government of that country has continued to act as if there was one. It has talked of the Cape route as being threatened by Moscow. It has also said that the African National Congress is dominated by Communists. All this is intended to win sympathy and support from the Western countries. The diplomatic and other support given to South Africa by some nations of Western Europe and America is partly a response to this propaganda.

In South Africa itself, the lack of a meaningful response and leadership by the Government has increased the sense of restlessness by the entire black population. As you will recall the Soweto uprising of 1976 was conducted almost entirely by school children. In addition, the current phase of the struggle in the townships is dominated mostly by young people.

The South African Government has unleashed all its military power on these people. The number of black people killed in state violence increases day by day. The number of those in prison or detention is also growing. A very large percentage of this number consists of children under the age of fifteen.

Owing to the increase in black resistance, the South African Government has resorted to creating conflicts amongst the black people.

The so called black-on-black violence is managed and directed by the regime itself in the same way as it has used the so called "vigilantes" to attack those who are fighting for change. The Government also uses murder as an instrument of policy. The recent death of Mama Dulcie September is a clear example of this.

The imposition of unprecedented Press censorship hides from the world the immensity of the crisis of South Africa. Because the crisis continues, the South African Government recently found it necessary to ban 17 anti-apartheid organisations and tightened its control over universities.

As for South Africa's external policies aimed at extending and protecting apartheid, these are well known to you. You are aware, Mr. Chairman, of South Africa's policy on Namibia. It has continued to hold on to Namibia despite reaching an agreement with the United Nations on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978. In doing so, South Africa has secured the support of the Reagan Administration which has linked the independence of Namibia to the departure of Cuban troops from a third country – Angola.

Let me now revert to South Africa's policy of destabilisation. Mr. Chairman, South Africa's campaign of destabilisation against its neighbours has clear objectives. These are to prevent their neighbours continuing their support to the black people of South Africa and Namibia and to increase the dependence of these countries on South Africa. The campaign of destabilisation has, therefore, consisted of military attacks and the destruction of social and economic infrastructure in these countries.

Angola was the first to be attacked in 1975. When South Africa was defeated, it joined hands with UNITA. Since then the programme of violence has continued and the United States has stepped up the supply of sophisticated arms to UNITA. These actions have led to the closure of the Benguela railway since 1975 and to the destruction of important infrastructure in Angola. Against this background were held the recent talks in London involving Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States.

In Mozambique, South Africa inherited the bandit forces of RENAMO first created by Ian Smith. Their destruction of infrastructure such as railway lines, roads, oil pipelines, schools, hospitals, clinics and food storage facilities is intended to increase our dependence on South Africa and inflict maximum suffering on the ordinary people of Mozambique. The scale of the activities by the RENAMO bandits has recently been fully exposed in the excellent report prepared for the US Government by Mr. Robert Gersony.

South Africa's acts of violence against its own people, Angola and Mozambique have produced very large numbers of refugees, around one million.

Nor have Angola and Mozambique been the only targets of South African aggression. The rest of us – Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia – have also been the subject of military attacks, kidnappings and economic sanctions. South Africa's efforts to promote bandit organisations in Zimbabwe and Zambia have failed.

In an effort to bring peace to our region, the Frontline States have signed two agreements with the South African Government the Nkomati Accord on Mozambique and the Lusaka Agreement on Angola. In both cases, the agreements have been broken by the South African Government.

Against the background of what I have said, in what ways can the Local Authorities Against Apartheid and the Frontline States build links? In my view, our links should, in the first place concentrate on eliminating apartheid, the main cause of our problems in Southern Africa. The activities you have already undertaken to enforce a cultural boycott of South Africa and to strengthen sanctions against and disinvestment from South Africa are commendable to us.

But more requires to be done. I am thinking here of support to the refugees and all the people who are displaced in their own countries. I am thinking also of greater publicity against apartheid and all its evils including, above all, the opportunity for all the people of South Africa to live in peace as sisters and brothers. I am also thinking of greater contact between your goodselves and the leaders of the liberation movements so that you can judge for yourselves whether all the evil propaganda made against these people is correct. I am finally thinking of contacts between your leaders and the leaders of the Frontline States so that you can establish for yourselves what we all stand for.

Mr. Chairman, let me now conclude my statement with the words of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity and the Frontline States,

“If the rest of the world had continued to placate Hitler and Mussolini, today we would have been under the domination of Hitler. However, common sense prevailed. The rest of the world rose to the occasion, fought and defeated Hitler and Mussolini.”

This National Conference and the world, should therefore let common sense prevail against this unprogressive and inhuman system of Apartheid.

The Hon. Mavis Muyunda MP is Zambia's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

A FUTURE FOR OUR CHILDREN



Jorge Rebelo, Mozambique

During the ten years that the Mozambique people were fighting for their freedom from Portuguese colonialism, our liberation movement FRELIMO received invaluable solidarity and support from friends throughout the world. This solidarity played an important role in our victory. The combination of the efforts of our people within our country, and forces abroad – especially in isolating the Portuguese regime – contributed towards the successful conclusion of our struggle.

In the years after our independence the new Mozambique state continued to receive support from old friends and new. Some came to Mozambique to contribute their skills, as cooperantes, to our own development programmes. Others continued to support Mozambique from their own countries – for example in combating the attacks of the minority Rhodesian regime on Mozambique in the early years of our independence; and more recently in exposing and campaigning against South African aggression and destabilisation of our country, as well as the other Frontline States.

It is in this light that we see this conference organised by the Local Authorities Against Apartheid in London. And it is in this spirit of solidarity and cooperation that we are happy to participate in this conference, and we thank you for this opportunity.

We are conscious of the vital role of local authorities in the governing of Britain. We are also conscious that the system demands the dedication and largely voluntary effort of elected Councillors, battling for the most vital day-to-day concerns of the British people: the needs of the children, the old, the under-privileged, problems of housing and the environment. Our local authorities share the same kind of concerns.

Your organisation, Local Authorities Against Apartheid, and your presence here today is evidence of your wider concern with the welfare of peoples in other lands, and of your political understanding that the struggles are linked: opposition to the racist system of apartheid in South Africa is part of the building of racial harmony in Britain. The Frontline States are committed to the struggle against apartheid but, as they stand at South Africa's doorstep, they are also the first victims of the apartheid regime's external aggression.

Let me take your thoughts for a moment out of this London theatre – some six thousand miles to the Indian Ocean coast of Africa, to my country of Mozambique. You would recognise many services and institutions, but would quickly see how severe are the pressures on those services and how severe the constraints on government whether at local or central level.

Our country is more than three times the size of the United Kingdom. But it is in a long strip along the coast covering nearly 2,000 miles from the northernmost tip bordering Tanzania to the southernmost point bordering South Africa. You can imagine the logistical problems this would present in an under-developed country even under peaceful conditions, and we are facing an undeclared war from South Africa that makes a prime target of our road and rail transport system.

Our population of some 14 million is thinly scattered. Our national recurrent budget is at the rate of some 2 million dollars a day, a tiny sum in comparison with the resources one of your inner city Councils has for local needs, and still finds itself stretched. So we are very poor indeed, even by third world standards.

We have the potential for development. Only one acre in five of arable land is being worked. We have further land suitable for livestock, and 50 million acres of forest. We have sugar and tea plantations; millions of cashew and coconut trees. We have coal reserves of more than 7 billion tons; and natural gas. We are in a region where neighbouring countries have drawn their wealth from the mines; most of Mozambique's mineral deposits have yet to be quantified.

Our colonial inheritance came from Portugal, the most backward of

European colonial powers and the last to leave Africa, driven out by our people's struggle in Mozambique, and similar struggles in Angola and in Guinea-Bissau on the Atlantic coast of Africa.

I said a moment ago that we are poor, our own mineral resources an unknown quantity. In the colonial period the Portuguese sent Mozambicans as migrant labourers to the mines of South Africa and by inter-state agreement collected part of their wages in gold. The gold paid for the labour of these Mozambican miners went directly to Portugal.

Portugal's total profits are unknown but it is estimated that at the time of Mozambique's independence in 1975 Portugal had reserves of about 600 tons of gold. In the former colony on the other hand, the newly established Mozambique Central Bank had assets of precisely one million dollars.

We are proud of what our people achieved despite Mozambique's difficult start. You may have heard of the new policies we adopted of taking free education and health services into the rural areas, after a colonial regime that thought mainly of urban schools, hospitals and private clinics for the settlers.

You in your local authorities know of the work and resources needed to treat adult illiteracy in Britain where it runs at 1 or 2 per cent. When we formed a transitional government in 1974 leading to our independence in the following year, the Portuguese had left us an illiteracy rate of nearly 93 per cent. Not one Mozambican in ten could read and write.



Adult Literacy Campaign

Typical Village School

After independence we turned much of the nation into a school. Five years later we held our first national census. The overall illiteracy rate was down to 72.2 per cent; if we take the age group from 15 years to 24, the illiteracy rate had fallen to 57 per cent.

You will have heard how we dismantled the virtual apartheid of the colonial housing system by abolishing private landlordism and making accommodation available to working families at low rents.

Our constitution guaranteed equal rights for women and men. We fought the colonial prejudice against education for women. We made it possible for local democracy to take root where elections had been unknown under colonial practice. In elections to local assemblies at the grass roots voting is still by show of hands – so many of those who grew up under colonialism are as yet unable to read and write. In the second round of general elections held in 1986 we were able to introduce the ballot box and written voting papers at least down to district level.

We have nearly a thousand community-based courts with judges elected from and by the neighbourhood, who give their services part-time on a voluntary basis. These courts deal with the principal family and domestic disputes. We have full-time judges too, in the courts handling cases where prison sentences may arise.

We still have a long way to go. In a developed country such as yours you can measure the standard of living by the two thirds of households with a family car, or the 95 per cent with a refrigerator. In Mozambique we pride ourselves that by 1980 nearly half of Mozambican families had the minimum sanitary facilities in their homes. In the early 1970s that was true of a mere 3 per cent of households.

There is much more that could be said about Mozambique's economic and social progress in those first five years of independence from 1975 to 1980. We made an ambitious ten-year development plan from 1980 to 1990. We were looking forward to what we called "The Decade of Victory over Underdevelopment". We were confident of what we could do for our people's welfare.

The prospects were bright as we were able to start a new era of regional cooperation, with the creation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). SADCC was formed at a meeting in Lusaka in April 1980 just a few days before Zimbabwe's independence. SADCC has a highly positive purpose, namely the genuine, concerted and equitable economic development of all the peoples in the region.

Within SADCC, Mozambique has responsibility for coordinating the transport sector, a choice made on the basis that three of the five rail-port systems in the southern African region are located in our country. The three vital routes – known as the Limpopo Corridor, the Beira Corridor and the Nacala Corridor – offer a friendly alternative to the landlocked

countries to that of doing all or most of their trade through the hostile environment of racist South Africa.

We were encouraged when our neighbour Zimbabwe overthrew a racist minority regime and achieved independence. This was a victory of the Zimbabwean people, but also one of vital concern to what had become known as the Frontline States.

This alliance took shape shortly before Mozambique's independence, when Presidents Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Seretse Khama of Botswana, and Samora Machel of FRELIMO began to meet to discuss the changing face of southern Africa presented by the fall of Portuguese colonialism, and how to counter Rhodesian and South African aggression. The four were later to be joined by Angola's President after Angolan independence, and by the head of government of an independent Zimbabwe.

These consultations have as you know become a regular practice, although without the encumbrance of any formal institutions or executive, and we have the valuable contribution of Presidents Oliver Tambo of the ANC and Sam Nujoma of SWAPO.

In the early days of Frontline consultations, the issue of ousting the illegal Smith regime in Rhodesia was high on the agenda. Just as FRELIMO's liberation struggle had benefited from the support of Tanzania and Zambia, we in newly independent Mozambique felt a duty and readiness to assist the Zimbabwe freedom fighters. We provided transit and base facilities.

In March 1976 just nine months after our independence we decided to apply the United Nations resolution imposing mandatory sanctions against the illegal regime in Rhodesia. Mozambique closed its borders with that country. It was not a decision taken lightly. We knew it would cause us heavy financial loss and effectively close down two of our most important railways and virtually paralyse two out of the three major ports. An independent international study later concluded that the decision cost Mozambique more than 550 million US dollars in revenues foregone from rail and harbour traffic, tourism and similar losses, and military retaliation by the Ian Smith regime. Mozambique suffered air raids, cross border assaults and commando raids on bridges, a power station and fuel deposits.

This period brought another development whose full danger no-one appreciated at the time. Rhodesian Security decided to recruit and train former Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army, ex-convicts and other malcontents to harass the ZANU guerrilla fighters and divert the attention of Mozambique's own armed forces. The creation of a spoiling force by the Rhodesian Security has turned into the menace known today as "armed bandits", the so-called Resistance or Renamo.

At Zimbabwe's independence eight years ago, apartheid South Africa, with its illegal occupation of Namibia and constant aggression against Angola, was isolated as the last bulwark of racist domination in the region. The South African minority felt increasingly threatened and hit out like a wounded beast. The apartheid regime escalated its strategy of destabilisation and international terrorism against its democratic neighbours. Angola and Mozambique have been the main targets.

In Angola the South African Defence Forces use open invasion as well as a surrogate force in UNITA. In Mozambique South Africa infiltrates its military personnel but usually as sabotage and killer squads or as instructors and advisers to the armed bandits the Pretoria regime took over from Ian Smith in the run-up to Zimbabwe's independence.

The bandits were flown from Rhodesia to special camps in South Africa. Their numbers were increased by forcible recruitment among illegal migrant workers. South African instructors gave military training and saw to the supply of equipment, weapons and ammunition.

These bandits were infiltrated into Mozambique directly by land across the frontier with South Africa, or by sea and air to other parts of Mozambique. They acquired new recruits by the brutal method of intimidating young men at gunpoint into attacks on their own families or neighbours that left them with little choice but to remain with the bandits.

The bandits came into our country with orders to wreak havoc, to destroy the economic and social infrastructure and to terrorise the rural population. Many of you will have seen the grim photographs or television documentaries of the atrocities, the mutilation; the cutting off of noses and ears.

You will share our deep concern at the bandits' increasing brutalisation of children: the attacks on schools or on children in the fields to kidnap boys as young as 9 or ten years old, to turn them into killing machines.

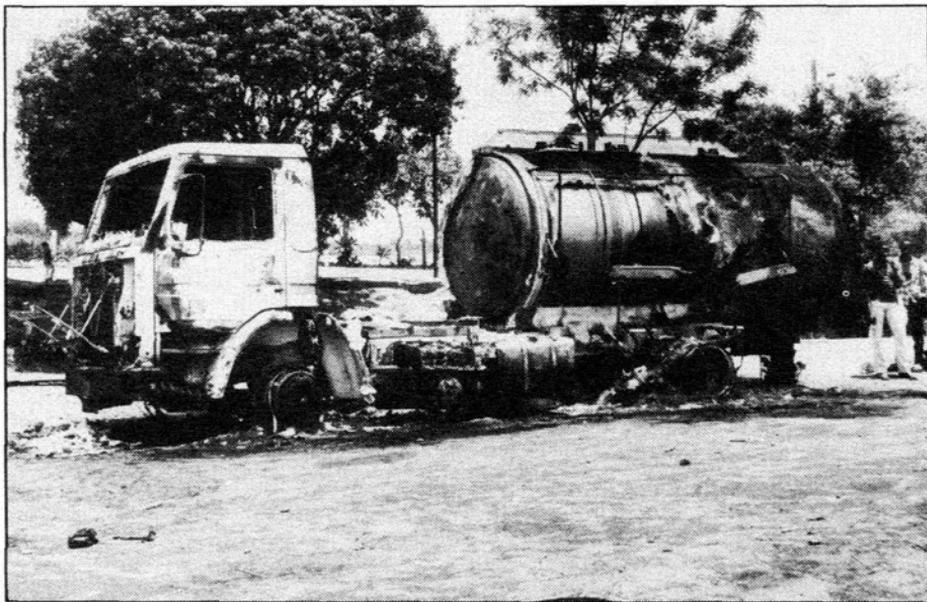
The armed bandits attack and loot small shops in the countryside, ambush crowded buses, lorries and trains, destroy villages and administrative centres, the health posts and the modest schools. They poison wells and steal or burn crops.

Let me try to quantify the damage caused in the seven years that our people have been facing this scourge imposed on us by a more powerful and pitiless neighbour. Between 1980 and 1987, the bandits destroyed or forced the closure of some 2,600 schools. Nearly half the primary network was put out of action. In the five years from independence we have succeeded in more than doubling the number of primary school places to 1.4 million. As I speak half a million Mozambican children are deprived of their education. Nearly a thousand teachers have been murdered or kidnapped or maimed, or have disappeared.

More than 700 health posts, clinics and rural hospitals have been destroyed, looted or forced to close, depriving more than 2 million people of health care – not only curative treatment but also the far reaching preventive medicine programmes of which we are so proud, and where we have been in the forefront of all of Africa's countries.

As a result – and here I quote a UNICEF study of last year – between 1980 and 1986, 320,000 children in Mozambique died of war related causes – almost a generation lost to our future.

On the material side, the bandits have looted and destroyed 1,500 small shops in the countryside, depriving the people of basic essentials for the home and their plots of land, and of a place to sell their farm produce. The bandits have destroyed more than 1,300 road vehicles and tractors, some 150 railway locomotives, and 44 production units including 2 sugar factories and 10 tea factories.



Brand new milk truck destroyed by MNR bandits, Nov. 1982, at Vanduzi, Manica province. Photo: Paul Fauvet

Whole villages are burned down and their inhabitants driven into the bush without any means of support, clothing or shelter.

It is this scorched earth policy directed by South Africa, coupled with the prolonged drought affecting parts of Mozambique, that explains why my country is in an emergency situation.

It explains why your television and newspapers have told you of widespread starvation, of millions of displaced persons in Mozambique. It explains why distinguished organisations in Britain, such as OXFAM, Save the Children Fund and War on Want – make special appeals for funds to meet the “emergency” in Mozambique.

It explains why we have with United Nations encouragement appealed to the wider international community for support.

The violence that is implicit in the whole philosophy of the apartheid regime has been projected beyond South Africa’s borders. Mozambique, despite its great plans and hopes, despite its great potential and resources, is in 1988 facing a national emergency with 3.3 millions of citizens affected by severe food shortages, and needs nearly a million tons of food aid.

The United Nations just a few weeks ago made its second international appeal for emergency assistance to Mozambique to a total of more than 300 million US dollars for food, health, logistics, agricultural and water supplies. This huge sum of money is required not, I stress, as development aid to advance existing social and economic projects; it is required to begin to replace what has been wantonly, cruelly and quite deliberately destroyed by armed bandits – recruited, trained, supplied and directed by South Africa.

Against this background you may well ask what is Mozambique’s relationship with South Africa. A country may choose its friends but not its neighbours. Under Portuguese colonialism, Mozambique’s land was in the hands of settlers and was farmed by peasants working largely under conditions of forced labour to supply raw materials for Portugal’s industries.

But Mozambique’s colonial economy was based not so much on production as on the supply of services to neighbouring countries, and to South Africa in particular. Mozambique’s colonial task was therefore to supply rail transport and harbour facilities and cheap manpower. The railway systems of which I spoke a few moments ago were cut horizontally across Mozambique to serve South Africa and the then British colonies that now form Malawi, Zimbabwe and Swaziland.

Mozambique’s economy was inextricably tied to the neighbouring countries. Those factors persist until today, though their significance has changed radically.

Now that colonialism no longer holds sway in the region, Mozambique and South Africa are competitors for the transport business to those ex-British colonies. Mozambique tries to compete by improving the quality of the rail lines, by creating container terminals in the ports. The South Africans have the military might to strike out at Mozambique’s transport systems – and they use it.

They were able to close our southern rail line to Zimbabwe, and the

central branch line to the huge Moatize coal mines – we no longer export coal and the mines are virtually at a standstill. The northern rail line functions sporadically, and Malawi's natural route to the seas is cut off. Our exports of tea have fallen from 20,000 tons to 600 tons. After independence Mozambique became for the first time ever an exporter of cement. With frequent sabotage of the small railway line from the limestone quarry, the cement production is no longer sufficient for our domestic needs, let alone export. But cement is a vital building component, and raw material for the cement factory now has to be imported – from South Africa.

Our defence capacity in Mozambique is limited. The South African military authorities are able to supply the armed bandits by submarine and air, with helicopters, airplanes, and parachute drops. They provide instructors and sabotage teams, sophisticated radio equipment. The South Africans went so far recently as to mount cipher communications between a bandit base in South Africa and so-called external representatives in Portugal and Federal Germany.

In an attempt to stop the bloodshed, Mozambique in March 1984 signed an agreement with South Africa, the Nkomati Accord, whereby both sides agreed that their respective territories would not be used for attacks against the other. In the run-up to the agreement and when negotiations had long been under way, the South Africans provided large reinforcements in personnel, equipment and ammunition to the bandits based within Mozambique. The South African military have never observed the agreement and have continued supplies to their surrogates.

You may also recall the occasions before and since Nkomati when regular forces of the South African army have attacked targets in Mozambique, bombing houses in the Maputo suburbs, killing Mozambican civilians, and claiming that their target was the African National Congress (ANC). Our position on the ANC is clear. We give our political and diplomatic support to the ANC as a liberation movement, but as the ANC well understands, we in Mozambique can not contribute in a practical way to their military efforts.

We did provide rearguard bases to the Zimbabwean freedom fighters in their struggle against the minority regime in Rhodesia and we imposed sanctions on that regime – at great cost to ourselves. We have not provided and do not provide rearguard bases to the ANC, but the ANC has a diplomatic mission in Maputo.

This brings me to the issue of mandatory sanctions against South Africa that I know is a matter of keen debate in Britain and in Western Europe as a whole. In broaching this theme, it may be worth recalling once again that South Africa has for years been applying its own form of sanctions against its northern neighbours, and against Mozambique in particular. For example it unilaterally cancelled the agreement on gold payments for

Mozambican miners; it reduced that labour force from nearly 120,000 to some 30,000. It systematically diverted rail traffic and largely boycotted Maputo port. In 1973 South Africa shipped nearly 7 million tons of freight through Mozambique. In 1986 it shipped little more than half a million tons. Maputo port was left with 5.5 million tons of idle capacity.

The SADCC member states expressed their policy on sanctions at a summit meeting in 1986. While individual member states may not be able to apply sanctions, the vulnerability of the SADCC States should not be used as a pretext for others not imposing those sanctions. SADCC members will strengthen their cooperation to lessen any adverse impact on themselves from sanctions and in this regard will expect the international community to render them the maximum assistance.

Mozambique's policy is clear. We support any measures that will contribute to bringing apartheid to an end, and to isolating the apartheid regime for that purpose. We support the policies and practice of boycott in the sporting, cultural and other spheres, and the application of economic sanctions.

We in Mozambique experience the sanctions from South Africa. For the historical and geographical reasons I have tried to explain, and from our position of economic weakness – our rail links, our migrant labour force, the dependence of our capital Maputo on a power supply through South Africa – we in Mozambique are not able to apply sanctions against South Africa.

That in no way reduces our commitment to the applications of sanctions by others, especially those countries that have the economic power to apply such sanctions. It is their sanctions that will have the most impact on South Africa.

We hear it said in some quarters that sanctions should not be applied because they could hurt the neighbouring countries. But we are already suffering enormous damage at the hands of South Africa, tens of thousands of lives being lost, especially of children. We are willing to accept the burden that sanctions may bring if this sacrifice brings closer the end of apartheid, and brings nearer the prospect of lasting peace. We know that as long as apartheid exists so will our people's present suffering.

It is argued by some that sanctions will not work, that they failed in Rhodesia. Rhodesia could fall back on colonial-fascist Portugal of the time and on South Africa. South Africa today has no comparable ally. We feel that sanctions can be effective if they are applied with seriousness of intent and with appropriate monitoring. We should also bear in mind the psychological effect of strong sanctions – effects on the white population who have already reacted to the sporting and cultural isolation, and effects on the black population, for whom solidarity with their struggle is a source of comfort and encouragement.

It might be argued that it is hypocritical of us to call for sanctions if we ourselves do not apply them. I know this audience will join me in saying that the minor costs and inconveniences to European or United States exporters and investors who cut their links with South Africa are a small price in comparison with the tragic sacrifice already being borne by the people of the region.

Let me say as I said earlier: the Frontline States are committed to the struggle against apartheid but as they stand at South Africa's doorstep they are also the first victims of the apartheid regime's external aggression. We have everything to gain from the overthrow of apartheid and the installation of democratic practices in South Africa. We have everything to gain from peace.

I have left myself little time to address the forms of action appropriate to local authorities in Britain in their action against apartheid and in forging links with the Frontline States. The Conference Workshops will provide the real focus for that discussion. I know that you must operate within limits very narrowly defined by law, and at a time when increasing pressures are being exerted on the spending powers of local authorities.

Let me offer some very general comment. Within the area of educating and informing the public and public opinion, the truth of the situation in southern Africa should be explained to your electorates and communities. The armed bandits attacking Mozambique and their South African backers have large propaganda funds and some powerful friends. We see that our reality in Mozambique is often presented in distorted form in the British media.

Our people are portrayed as victims, but often the fact and identity of the aggressor is left out of the picture, as is the courage and determination with which our people fight back against the South African onslaught, and rebuild their shattered homes and communities.

Twinning links have already begun or are in hand between Britain and Mozambique. These are an encouraging beginning, and we hope that they can be built on in practical ways so that there are meaningful links between schools, workplaces, and interest groups.

We in Mozambique – even more than our neighbours who were under British rule – have a shortage of skilled and experienced personnel. This affects all walks of life, including naturally those complex areas of urban administration, housing management, and improvement of the environment – areas in which your authorities have so often led the world in innovation and working methods. We have young Mozambicans ready and willing to learn who can benefit from scholarships and courses, and particularly from working attachments in such technicalities as fire prevention and sanitation, and so many others.

If it is possible for local authorities to provide or open the way to direct

material assistance then Mozambique's needs are almost endless, but I could draw your attention to just three examples of particular need that are sometimes left a little behind in the current programmes of action.

Our health services put great stress on preventive and mass medical programmes targeted at the rural areas. The urban hospitals are however important referral centres for the outlying districts, and you would find them sadly lacking in resources. They suffer from a chronic shortage of equipment for the wards, recreation areas, kitchens and even cleaning work.

Our educational services are still battling to establish universal primary schooling. Secondary schools consume a substantial proportion of the education budget but they are under-equipped and their maintenance is deficient. Science laboratories and technical workshops are either inadequate or all too often non-existent. Here is an area of obvious need.

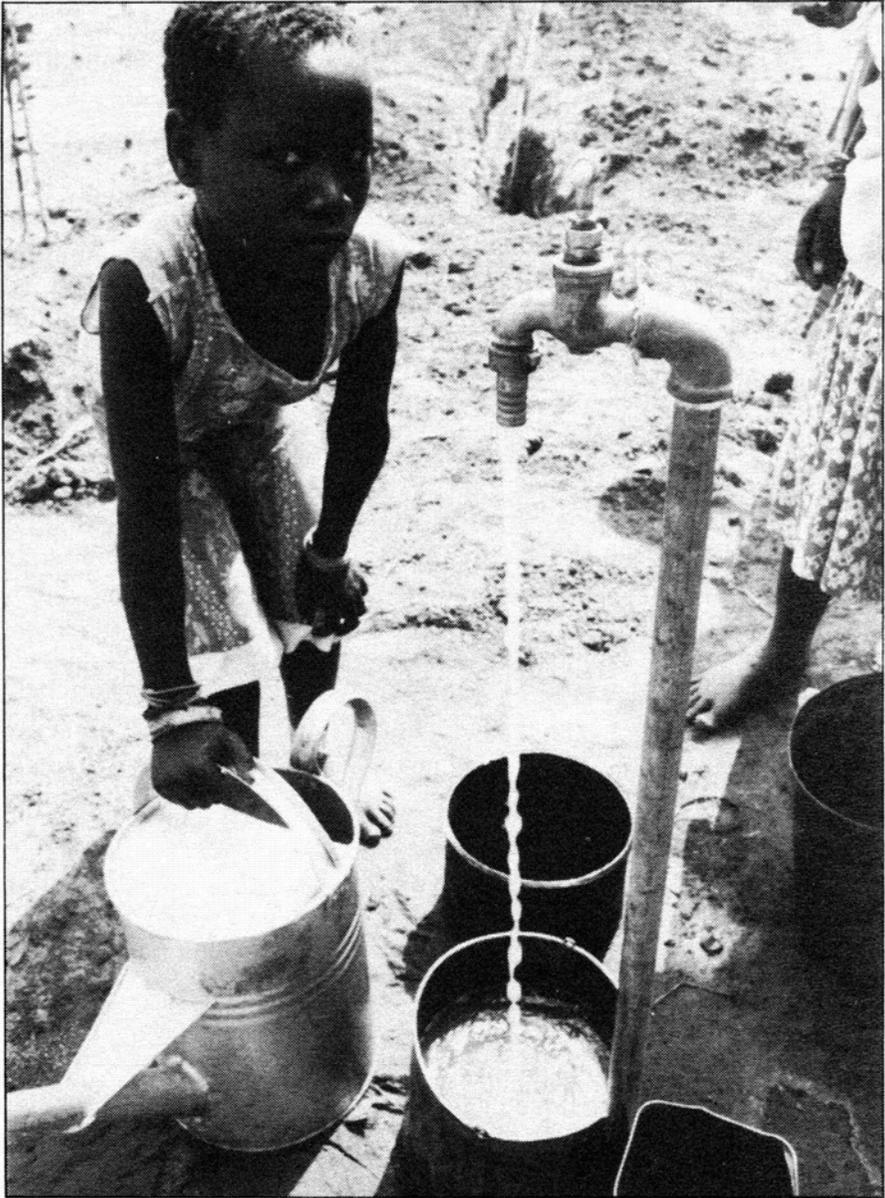
Public transport in the larger towns is a constant headache. The maintenance staff lack the experience to keep the full fleet of buses running, and as there is little foreign exchange for spare parts the buses grind to a premature halt. In the port city of Beira, for example with its notional fleet of 54 buses including 22 from British Leyland, only 7 buses are available to run. You might find it hard to imagine or believe, but as I left Maputo to attend this meeting, the public transport company was facing the situation of having only 40 buses operational – to serve a capital city of more than a million people.

We must not lose sight of the broader issue: your actions in Britain, our actions in Mozambique have an essential common purpose. We all want to see a happier, healthier environment for our people, and a secure future for our children. Our common opposition to the odious system of apartheid is an integral part of our fundamental desire to seek peace and racial harmony: harmony in Mozambique, harmony in Britain, harmony in southern Africa, harmony in Europe.

When FRELIMO called for national liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism, the Mozambique people claimed their right to build a non-racial society. We won that right and we defend it. Here today among friends I feel that you also defend that right at home and abroad. It is therefore with great confidence and with gratitude for the opportunity you have given me to present a view from Mozambique that I say:

A LUTA CONTINUA!

Jorge Rebelo is a member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Frelimo Party, Mozambique.



COLLECTING WATER TO IRRIGATE CROPS, CHICUALACUALA, GAZA PROVINCE.

Drought and rebel forces have disrupted the lives of the people of Gaza Province, in SW Mozambique, and the population of Chicualacuala has been forced to depend on food aid. Peace is vital if they are once again to become self-sufficient. Credit: Ian Bray/Oxfam

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Building Links

- help to educate people in Britain about the problems facing the Frontline States
- find out what other people are doing locally and co-ordinate your efforts
- if local links with the Frontline States do not already exist, contact the relevant organisations listed in this pamphlet for advice.

Trade

- encourage your local authority and Chamber of Commerce to promote trade with the Frontline States
- contact Anti-Apartheid Enterprises, Traidcraft and other marketing companies for details of the products they sell.

Aid

- support the campaigns of aid agencies like Oxfam, War on Want and Christian Aid
- press the British government to send more aid.

Measures Against South Africa

- join the Anti-Apartheid Movement
- boycott South African and Namibian goods
- support the release of Nelson Mandela and all prisoners of Apartheid.

Solidarity With Women

- publicise the impact of Apartheid destabilisation on women in the Frontline States
- ensure that aid goes to women's co-operatives
- develop links with women in the Frontline States.

The Liberation Struggle

- campaign for an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the abolition of Apartheid itself
- inform people about the liberation struggle of the ANC and SWAPO.

USEFUL ADDRESSES

Local Authorities Against Apartheid, Publicity Department, Town Hall, SHEFFIELD S1 2HH. Telephone: 0742 735195.

Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 Mandela Street, LONDON NW1 0DW. Telephone: 01 387 7966.

Embassy of the People's Republic of Angola, 5th Floor, 87 Jermyn Street, LONDON SW1. Telephone: 01 839 5743.

Botswana High Commission, 6 Stratford Place, LONDON W1N 9AE. Telephone: 01 499 0031.

Mozambique Information Office, 7a Caledonian Road, LONDON N1 9DX. Telephone: 01 278 8691.

Tanzania High Commission, 43 Hertford Street, LONDON W1. Telephone: 01 499 8951/4.

Zambia High Commission, Zambia House, 2 Palace Gate, LONDON W8 5LS. Telephone: 01 589 6655.

Zimbabwe High Commission, Zimbabwe House, 429 Strand, LONDON WC2R 0SA. Telephone: 01 536 7755.

UK One World Linking Association, c/o Oxford Development Education Unit, Oxford Polytechnic, Wheatley, OXFORD OC9 1HX.

OXFAM, 274 Banbury Road, OXFORD OX2 7DZ. Telephone: 0865 5677.

War on Want, 37-39 Great Guildford Street, LONDON SE1 0YU. Telephone: 01 620 1111.

Christian Aid, P.O. Box No. 1, LONDON SW9 8BH. Telephone: 01 733 5500.

International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Road, LONDON N1 8LR. Telephone: 01 359 9181.

Anti-Apartheid Enterprises, P.O. Box 533, LONDON N1 9YB. Telephone: 01 837 9977.

TWIN Ltd., 345 Goswell Road, LONDON EC1V 7JT. Telephone: 01 937 8222.

Traidcraft plc, Kingsway, GATESHEAD NE11 0NE. Telephone: 091 487 4018.

African National Congress, P.O. Box 38, 28 Penton Street, LONDON N1 9PR. Telephone: 01 837 2012.

SWAPO of Namibia, P.O. Box 194, LONDON N5 1LW. Telephone: 01 359 9116/7.

