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R E P O R T

of the Political Affairs Committee

on the political situation in Southern Africa

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A Series: Reports - B Series: Motions for Resolutions, Oral Questions - C Series: Documents received from other Institutions (e.g. Consultations)

* = Consultation procedure requiring a single reading

**II = Cooperation procedure (second reading) which requires the votes of a majority of the current Members of Parliament for rejection or amendment

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By letter of 9 November 1989 the Political Affairs Committee requested authorization to draw up a report on the political situation in Southern Africa.

At the sitting of 11 December 1989 the President of the European Parliament announced that the committee had been authorized to report on this subject.

At its meeting of 7 November 1989 the committee had appointed Mr Capucho rapporteur.

At the sitting of 15 December 1989 the President of the European Parliament announced that he had also requested the Committee on Development and Cooperation to deliver an opinion.

At its meetings of 21 March 1990, 17 July 1990, 20 September 1990, 16 October 1990, 8 November 1990 and 18 December 1990 the committee considered the draft report.

At the last meeting the committee adopted the motion for a resolution by 20 votes to 11, with 3 abstentions.

The following were present: Crampton, acting chairman; van den Brink, third vice-chairman; Capucho, rapporteur; Alliot-Marie, Aglietta, Aulas, Balfe, Belo, Bethell, Blot, Cassanmagnago Cerretti, Cheysson, Coates, Cravinho, Ephremidis, Ferrer, Habsburg, Hänsch, Herman, Klepsch, Lalor, Langer, Lenz, McMahon, Martin, Medina Ortega, Muller, Newens, Newton Dunn, Oostlander, Penders, Piermont, PirkI, Poettering, Romeos, Sakellariou, Trivelli, Vecchi, Verde i Aldea, von Wechmar (for Morodo Leoncio) and White.

The opinion of the Committee on Development and Cooperation is attached to this report.

The report was tabled on 19 December 1990.

The deadline for tabling amendments will appear on the draft agenda for the part-session at which the report is to be considered.

A

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the political situation in Southern Africa

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its previously adopted resolutions on Southern Africa of 15 February 1990¹ and of 14 June 1990²,
 - having regard to the statements made by European Political Cooperation on 12 February 1990, 20 February 1990, 6 April 1990 and 14 September 1990,
 - having regard to the statements made by the European Council in December 1989 and June 1990,
 - having regard to Rule 121 of the Rules of Procedure,
 - having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of the Committee on Development and Cooperation (A3-369/90),
- A. whereas development and lasting peace in Southern Africa are inseparable from the political processes in progress in each of the States in the region, namely the consolidation of independence in Namibia, the ending of armed conflict in Angola and Mozambique and the dismantling of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa,
- B. whereas the international community comprising the UN, the front line countries, the EEC and its Member States, the USA and the USSR may without interference play an increasingly important part in encouraging and supporting the peace and democratization processes in progress in Southern Africa,

regarding Namibia:

- C. whereas the New York agreements of December 1988 were decisive in creating a new political dynamism with concrete results throughout Southern Africa, since they not only guided Namibia's independence process, but also solved such problems as the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops and dismantling of SWAPO bases in Angola and the military withdrawal of South Africa, back to their own countries,
- D. whereas the elections in Namibia for a constituent assembly were 'fair and free', an opinion confirmed by the European Parliament special delegation which visited the area for this purpose,
- E. whereas this demonstrates once more that it is a mistake and offensive to maintain that universal suffrage and a multiparty system are unsuitable for certain African cultures,

¹ OJ No. C 68, 19.3.90, p. 135

² OJ No. C 175, 16.7.90, p. 161

- F. whereas it also proved that resolving conflicts by negotiation is the only solution compatible with the best interests of the populations involved,
- G. mindful of the positive way in which the Namibian Constituent Assembly fulfilled its role in a spirit of reconciliation, decisively aided by the spirit of cooperation shown by the parties involved and in particular by the constructive attitude displayed by SWAPO,
- H. mindful of the statement by the European Council in Strasbourg, reaffirming the readiness of the Community and its Member States to support the development of an independent Namibia with ample aid programmes and expressing a willingness to welcome Namibia as a member of the new Lomé Convention, should Namibia wish to accede to it,
- I. whereas the Security Council accepted Namibia as the 160th member of the UN on 18 April 1990, by a unanimous decision,
- J. whereas there is still a sensitive territorial dispute between Namibia and South Africa, which is continuing to administer the enclave of Walvis Bay, claimed by the Namibian constitution itself as an integral part of national territory, and UN Resolution 435 failed to solve this issue, but referred it back for direct negotiations between the two States involved,

regarding Angola:

- K. whereas there has been a civil war in Angola for the last 15 years between the RPA Government (People's Republic of Angola) and UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola),
- L. whereas the Government of Angola committed itself to the New York agreements and to compliance therewith, despite the huge social and economic costs to the country that this entailed,
- M. regretting that the Gbadolite agreement negotiated through the mediation of President Mobutu of Zaire has failed to produce a lasting cease-fire, of being clearly misapplied in practice,
- N. whereas, in a statement on 6 April 1990, European Political Cooperation called for an immediate cease-fire and for direct talks between the parties involved, undertaking to provide substantial and effective aid for the reconstruction and economic and social development of Angola as soon as the peace process allowed,
- O. concerned that Angola has recently been struck by widespread famine, exacerbated by drought, over a large part of its territory, where the people are afflicted by nearly thirty years of war; noting also the prompt response by the international community in providing emergency humanitarian aid to those suffering from famine, and recognizing that the success of current operations is due solely to the opening of 'peace corridors' agreed by the disputing parties to facilitate access to the stricken areas,
- P. mindful of the conclusions of the Central Committee of the MPLA regarding proposals for constitutional reform to be submitted to Congress in December, which are aimed at the adoption of a multiparty system,

- Q. whereas the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angolan territory, which was suspended in summer 1989, has since been resumed and is due to be completed by July 1991,
- R. drawing attention to the flexibility displayed by UNITA in recognizing the State of Angola and the President of the Republic, while at the same time showing no interest in taking part in the transitional government pending elections,
- S. recalling that, in addition to the MPIA (the governing party) and UNITA (a movement which took up armed struggle), there are other political forces in the country which, until recently, were unable to express their views.
- T. whereas direct talks have been initiated between the conflicting parties as a result of Portuguese diplomacy,
- U. whereas the ceasefire in Angola is a prerequisite for the normalization of social, economic and political life in the country, to be achieved in particular through the holding of free elections and the creation of a unified army.

regarding Mozambique

- V. whereas soon after achieving independence in 1975, Mozambique too was affected by armed conflict, with the emergence in 1977 of RENAMO (Mozambique National Resistance) - a movement initially backed by the Republic of South Africa - which waged a campaign of guerrilla attacks on military, economic and civilian targets,
- W. whereas Mozambique is now in a very serious situation with widespread famine which is producing the highest level of general malnutrition in the world today and an estimated total of more than 3 million refugees from the conflict, about 1.2 million of whom have fled to Malawi, Zimbabwe and the Republic of South Africa,
- X. drawing attention to the attempted mediation by African Heads of State during the first series of talks between the parties in dispute, which was unfortunately unsuccessful,
- Y. whereas the preliminary draft constitutional revision adopted at the beginning of September by the Central Committee of FRELIMO and by the Mozambican Parliament, heralded fundamental reforms such as the adoption of a multiparty system, abolition of the leading role of the Party and guaranteeing freedom of expression and of the press,
- Z. whereas direct negotiations between the disputing parties were finally initiated in Rome in June this year under the auspices of the Catholic Church (Community of Saint Giles),
- Za. whereas, although the results of the first meeting were unspectacular, the parties involved expressed their commitment to establishing a common working platform to put an end to the conflict and bring about the appropriate political, economic and social conditions for achieving peace and normalizing the life of all Mozambicans,

Zb. welcoming the reopening of direct negotiations between the disputing parties under the auspices of the Catholic Church and the Italian Government and noting the preliminary agreement concluded on 1 December 1990 concerning the presence and role of the Zimbabwean army during the period leading up to the cease-fire,

regarding the Republic of South Africa:

Zc. whereas, since the election of President De Klerk on 14 September 1989, the South African Government has displayed considerable courage and a clear willingness to undertake political reforms and take steps towards the dismantling of apartheid,

Zd. whereas these measures make an invaluable contribution to bringing about the conditions necessary for a broad national dialogue aimed at establishing a new constitutional order,

Ze. whereas, the substance of any political change in South Africa is now dependent on negotiations between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and organizations representing the population, such as the ANC,

Zf. whereas, by way of preconditions for starting in-depth negotiations following the recent lifting of the state of emergency, the ANC called for the return of exiles, the release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of the army from certain black townships and, subject to these conditions, renounced its armed struggle,

Zg. whereas, during the round of talks between the government and the ANC in Pretoria in August, the government agreed to create the necessary conditions for the return of political exiles and to release political prisoners starting from 1 September,

Zh. deploring the dramatic increase in the violent confrontation between ANC supporters and the INKATHA movement which has already resulted in thousands of deaths and which may jeopardize the success of the negotiation process, if they are not stopped,

Zi. noting the declaration on South Africa adopted by the European Council on 15 December 1990,

Zj. whereas Southern Africa has great potential to lead the political and economic development of sub-Saharan Africa in association with other regions.

regarding Namibia:

1. Congratulates the people and the State of Namibia on their national independence, proclaimed in March 1990, and welcomes them warmly back into the international community;

2. Draws attention to the exceptional example of the process of independence in Namibia, achieved following settlement of the conflict through negotiation and subsequently characterized by a spirit of openness and dialogue on the part of all involved, which led to the adoption of a constitution based on pluralist democracy and human rights;

3. Calls on the parties concerned to resolve the Walvis Bay issue by the same means;
4. Urges the Council and Commission, as well as the Member States, to increase aid for the development of Namibia, particularly within the framework of the new Lomé Convention;

regarding Angola:

5. Welcomes the re-establishment of direct talks between the parties in dispute, under Portuguese mediation and in the presence of observers from the USA and the Soviet Union;
6. Urges the RPA Government and UNITA both to adopt more flexible positions so that a properly monitored ceasefire may be brought about without delay, thus enabling social and political life to return to normality, democracy to be established in the country, and full expression to be granted at the appropriate time to all political forces involved in reconstructing the country;
7. Welcomes the prospects for political democratization, as seen in the draft constitutional reforms approved by the Central Committee of MPLA, which provide for a multiparty system;
8. Calls on the Council, Commission and Member States immediately to increase urgent humanitarian aid to alleviate the desperate problems of famine in this country, in addition to the promised substantial and effective aid for the reconstruction and economic and social development of Angola; highlights by way of example, the agreement between the disputing parties which has enabled 'peace corridors' to be opened up, thus allowing international aid to reach the stricken zones;

Regarding Mozambique

9. Congratulates the Mozambican Government and RENAMO on the successful conclusion of the preliminary agreement whereby the Zimbabwean army will be concentrated in the Beira and Limpopo corridors and RENAMO will cease all offensive military action in these areas;
10. Encourages the parties to continue the negotiations in the same spirit of dialogue, with the aim of achieving a complete ceasefire and peace in Mozambique,
11. Welcomes the adoption by the Mozambican Parliament on 2 November 1990 of the constitution due to come into force on 30 November which makes provision for elections by universal suffrage and secret ballot, the creation of a multi-party system, equal rights for all religious faiths and the legitimization of private property alongside state property;
12. Calls on the Council, the Commission and the Member States immediately to increase urgent humanitarian aid to the thousands of refugees dispersed in the neighbouring countries and to the victims of famine in Mozambique, in addition to the vital and substantial aid for the reconstruction and economic and social development of this country;

regarding the Republic of South Africa:

13. Welcomes the unequivocal success of the negotiations in the latest meeting in Pretoria between delegations from the South African Government and the ANC, the final communiqué of which recognizes that the way is open for formal negotiations towards a new constitution that would eliminate the legal basis of apartheid and guarantee equal rights for all citizens;
14. Hopes that all democratic political forces will be able to take part in these negotiations;
15. Recognizes the crucial roles played throughout this process by President De Klerk and the ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who with determination, political courage and a clear sense of the higher interests of the country and its people, have tried to ensure that the conditions are created for peaceful transition in South Africa to a pluralist, fully democratic system along non-racial lines;
16. Expresses its profound concern at the violent clashes between supporters of INKATHA and of the ANC and other groups made possible by the complicity of certain members of the South African police; takes the view that this violence may jeopardize the positive results of the negotiating process, but at the same time hopes for the success of the dialogue between representatives of the government, the ANC and all progressive forces;
17. Welcomes the UN resolution unanimously adopted at the recent Forty-fourth session and, in accordance with that resolution, stresses the need to maintain 'the existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes';
18. Calls on the Council, the Member State governments and the ACP governments to implement and monitor strictly all officially declared sanctions against the apartheid regime until such change has occurred;
19. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission and the governments of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa.

B

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

I. Introduction

1. A report on the political situation in southern Africa will encounter a number of difficulties at the outset, the first of which is the problem of defining the geographical area covered by this term which refers to an enormous African subcontinent without precise boundaries. A satisfactory solution to the problem would be to restrict ourselves to the situation in four states which are undergoing profound political changes - Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa - developments in these countries being decisive for the future of the entire region.

2. In Angola and Mozambique, after fifteen years of independence and fratricidal armed conflict, negotiations have started aimed at bringing about national reconciliation and peace, while the one-party, initially Marxist, regimes are making significant progress towards democracy and multi-party systems.

3. Namibia gained its independence following successful negotiations and an electoral process which was considered to be free and fair. Everything indicates that further progress will take place in an atmosphere of peace and political stability.

4. In South Africa, although the legal foundations of apartheid persist and violent clashes among the population are on the increase once again, there are clear political indications of the changes called for by organizations representing the overwhelming majority of the people and supported by the international community.

5. Another difficulty, as far as this report is concerned, is the rapid development of the political situation in the region under consideration. Any considerations and proposals set out here may be overtaken by events, in particular by the negotiations taking place between the contending parties in South Africa, Angola and Mozambique.

II. Namibia

6. The New York Accords on Namibian independence³ and the events which followed were a decisive factor in the creation of a new political impetus with clear repercussions throughout southern Africa.

The problem of Namibia was not the only matter at stake in these negotiations. Much broader interests were also concerned, involving the neighbouring states, the two superpowers and Cuba. All these countries therefore took part in the negotiations and solutions were found to matters such as, on the one hand, the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops and the dismantling of SWAPO bases in Angola and, on the other hand, the military withdrawal of South Africa to within its own borders.

³ Concluded in December 1988.

7. The special representative of the UN Secretary-General, Mr Ahtisaari, considered the elections for a constituent assembly in Namibia to have been 'free and fair', a view shared by inter alia the special delegation of the European Parliament which visited the country at the time. The South African President, Mr De Klerk, accepted the election results and emphasized his country's willingness to take part in constructive cooperation with the Namibian Government.

SWAPO won a clear absolute majority (41 of the 72 seats) but failed to gain the two-thirds of the seats needed for it to adopt the constitution on its own.²

8. These developments show that it is incorrect, indeed slanderous, to maintain that universal suffrage and multi-party systems are not appropriate for certain African cultures. It is also clear that negotiation is the only means of resolving conflicts which is compatible with the fundamental interests of the populations concerned.

9. The proceedings of the Constituent Assembly reached a satisfactory conclusion with the unanimous adoption of a text on 9 February 1990. In this connection, European Political Cooperation³ issued a statement warmly welcoming the fact that the process of self-determination of the Namibian people had effectively reached its conclusion, acknowledging the manner in which the Constituent Assembly had carried out its task in a spirit of understanding and reconciliation and looking forward to welcoming Namibia officially into the community of nations on 21 March as a fully sovereign, democratic and independent state.

10. It must be recognized that the success of the Namibian independence process and the speed with which the constitution was adopted were due in large part to the spirit of cooperation shown by the parties concerned, in particular SWAPO, whose actions and words gradually proved to be moderate and realistic. An example of this is the inclusion in the Namibian Government of individuals who are neither members of nor linked to SWAPO.

11. The Strasbourg European Council⁴ reaffirmed the willingness of the Community and its Member States to support the development of the newly-independent Namibia through aid programmes.⁵ The European Council also stated that it was open to the idea of including Namibia in the new Lomé Convention, should it wish to join.

12. On 21 March the Namibian people celebrated their national independence. This occasion was, significantly, witnessed by inter alia the US, Soviet and West German Foreign Ministers as well as the President of South Africa. On 18 April, by unanimous decision of the Security Council, Namibia became the 160th member of the United Nations.

² The United Democratic Front (UDF) came second with 21 seats. The remaining ten seats were shared by five other political movements.

³ Dublin, 20 February 1990.

⁴ December 1989.

⁵ The Community's aid programme for Namibia is set at 19 m ECU this year, as compared to 12 m ECU in 1989.

13. It should not be forgotten, however, that there is still a delicate territorial dispute with South Africa, which continues to administrate the enclave of Walvis Bay⁶, an area claimed under the constitution of Namibia as an integral part of its national territory. UN Resolution 435, which laid down provisions governing Namibia's independence, did not solve this problem, given South Africa's refusal to give way, referring it instead to direct negotiation between the two states involved.

III. Angola

14. After more than a decade of armed struggle against the colonial power, Angola achieved independence in 1975, shortly after the revolution which liberated Portugal from the totalitarian regime which had governed it for nearly 50 years.

The agreements concluded at the time in Alvor (Portugal) with the liberation movements which had waged the armed struggle were unable to prevent Angola from rapidly subsiding into civil war between the Government of the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) - recognized by the international community and supported in particular by the USSR and Cuba - and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) led by Jonas Savimbi, supported principally by the USA and South Africa.

15. While negotiations on the New York Accords were taking place, the repatriation of the Cuban military contingent providing backing for the FAPLA (the Angolan armed forces) began and the South African army withdrew to within its own borders⁷. These developments enabled the two sides to conclude the Gbadolite Agreement with the mediation of President Mobutu of Zaire.⁸

16. The agreement - which was clearly dubious as far as its practical implementation was concerned - and the hand-shake between the President of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos, and Jonas Savimbi had no lasting results in military terms.

In fact, at the end of last year the FAPLA, claiming that there had been repeated violations of the cease-fire, launched a fresh military offensive against positions held by UNITA in the south-east of the enormous territory covered by Angola. The ensuing counter offensives included the sabotaging in April 1990 of Luanda's energy supplies, which made the already extremely precarious living conditions in the capital even worse.

17. The Twelve, acting within the framework of European Political Cooperation, reiterated⁹ their appeal for an immediate cease-fire and the holding of direct talks between the parties and undertook to grant substantial and effective aid for the economic and social reconstruction and development of Angola as soon as the peace process allowed.

⁶ The only deep-water sea-port on the Namibian coast.

⁷ As a result of the agreement signed on 22 December 1988, the 50 000 Cuban troops stationed in Angola will be repatriated by July 1991.

⁸ The agreement, signed on 23 June 1989 in the presence of eighteen African heads of state, announced that all hostilities would cease on the following day.

⁹ Declaration of 6 April 1990.

18. The winds of democratization and institutional reform have also reached Angola - a country whose population has been decimated by nearly three decades of war, economic problems and, recently, famine throughout a large part of its territory.

For example, the MPLA Central Committee has initiated an assessment¹⁰ of a number of highly significant amendments to the constitution which may make peace a viable proposition. The Central Committee completed its work in July and the conclusions - to be submitted to the Congress in December - point to the need to develop a multi-party system and state explicitly that the Party must prepare to win its place in society on merit, without resorting to authoritarianism or repression. The conclusions specifically advocate the separation of State and Party.

19. In the meantime the Tripartite Commission for the verification of the New York Accords, composed of representatives from Angola, Cuba and South Africa, together with observers from the USSR and the USA, met in Luanda¹¹ and welcomed the resumption of Cuban troop withdrawals, which had been broken off in the summer of 1989. By 1 October this year, 76% of the total should have been repatriated, with the remainder (12 000 troops) returning by 1 July 1991.

20. In recent months, the political situation appears to have improved, despite the continuation of military activity. Thus, on 7 April UNITA agreed to recognize the State of Angola on the basis of the Alvor Accords and announced it was prepared to cease all hostilities. Subsequently, it recognized José Eduardo dos Santos as President of the People's Republic of Angola and indicated that it was not interested in joining a transitional government until elections were held.

On 24 and 25 April, official representatives of the MPLA and UNITA established direct formal links in Évora (Portugal) following lengthy and delicate moves by Portugal's diplomatic services. A second round of direct talks, with the participation of the Portuguese Secretary of State for Cooperation, took place in Oeiras (Portugal) on 16 and 17 June.¹² These contacts were resumed in August and were continuing at the end of September, still in Portugal.

21. In the current negotiations, UNITA is calling for recognition by the Angolan Government, the setting of a date for free, multi-party elections and the creation of a unified army. It will accept a cease-fire only on these conditions.

The government, for its part, is unwilling to recognize UNITA, claiming that this is impossible under the present constitution. It wishes to negotiate a cease-fire first. It is hoped that the current impasse can be resolved at the next round of negotiations, which will be attended by observers from the USA and the USSR (at the suggestion of the Portuguese mediator).

¹⁰ March 1990.

¹¹ 5 March.

¹² The Dublin European Council (26 June) included in its final communiqué a positive reference to these talks, which were held under the auspices of Portugal.

IV. Mozambique

22. The State of Mozambique came into being through a political process which was simultaneous to and in many respects similar to the case of Angola, except for the fact that the armed struggle against the colonial power was waged essentially by a single movement, FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front), which assumed power as a matter of course upon independence in 1975.

23. However, in Mozambique, too, armed strife sprang up shortly afterwards with the emergence in 1977 of RENAMO (Mozambique National Resistance), whose nature and origin were unclear and which until then had been virtually unknown. This movement, which was supported by South Africa in the initial stages,¹³ carried out widespread guerilla strikes against military and economic targets¹⁴ as well as civilians.

24. As the civil war spread, political, economic and social problems became more acute. Today, Mozambique is in a crisis with widespread famine and an estimated figure of more than three million refugees as a result of the conflict, of whom around 1.2 million are in Malawi, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

25. As in Angola, following domestic pressure as well as pressure from the international community, indirect negotiations have started between the two sides with a view to seeking a cease-fire and a peaceful settlement.¹⁵

Since then, a number of high-level diplomatic contacts have taken place, involving in particular senior officials of the State Department and the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition, the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, has held talks in Nairobi with President Arap Moi of Kenya and President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who have taken on a mediating role in the peace process.

26. There was a long break in negotiations, owing to the difficulty of reconciling the negotiating positions of the two sides, during which military hostilities continued.

Initially, the essential differences were said to be caused by RENAMO's refusal to recognize 'the established order' (which apparently meant observing and recognizing the present constitution and the institutions based on it).

27. FRELIMO, while prepared to accept a revision of the constitution, will only agree to change the existing order through the present state bodies and using machinery established by law. It accepts the participation of individuals, groups or organizations in the political transformation process, provided that they comply with these principles from the outset.

¹³ Following a meeting held last December with President Chissano of Mozambique, President De Klerk reaffirmed that South Africa was giving no official support to RENAMO and promised to take measures to prevent illegal aid being provided by private South African bodies.

¹⁴ It practically paralysed the production and distribution of energy produced by the major hydro-electric project at Cahora Bassa.

¹⁵ Nairobi, July 1989.

RENAMO advocates a global agreement on national reconciliation - including the formation of a transitional government and the holding of elections to a constituent assembly - with a cease fire to take place afterwards.

28. The preliminary draft revision of the constitution adopted in early September by the Central Committee of FRELIMO¹⁶ points to far-reaching reforms and the abandonment of programmes and doctrines based on the model of the 'people's democracies'. In particular, it advocates a multi-party system, the abolition of the leading role of the Party and freedom of expression and freedom of the press.

If these constitutional amendments are implemented, the peace process is likely to be given an extremely valuable fresh impulse. If RENAMO's main demands are accepted, which would signify a clear commitment by FRELIMO to the democratization of Mozambican society, its negotiating position will be weakened and it will lose international credibility if it does not give ground on certain other claims.

29. Clearly, this initiative by FRELIMO is likely to encourage the West to give more support to the Mozambique Government during the peace process and the economic reconstruction of the country. This emerged recently in Washington¹⁷: at a meeting with President Bush, President Chissano is said to have reiterated his wish to open direct negotiations with RENAMO as soon as possible and to implement the political reforms already announced. US assistance for Mozambique, both humanitarian aid and aid for modernizing and developing the economy, has been growing as the country has gradually moved out of the sphere of influence of the USSR.

30. Meanwhile, direct contacts were planned to take place between the two sides on 12 June in Blantyre (Malawi) but RENAMO failed to attend, for reasons which have not been fully explained. Everything indicates that RENAMO demanded the prior withdrawal from the 'Beira and Nacala corridors'¹⁸ of military forces from Zimbabwe and Malawi and that this condition was not accepted.

31. Lastly, from 8 to 10 June, direct negotiations between the two sides opened in Rome under the auspices of the Catholic Church (Community of Santo Egidio)¹⁹. The talks were attended by the Archbishop of Beira, D. Jaime Gonçalves.

This first meeting achieved no spectacular results but the final communiqué shows the commitment of the two sides to 'finding common ground in order to put an end to the conflict and create political, economic and social conditions which will help bring about peace and normalize the lives of all Mozambicans'. A second round of negotiations was held in same place in August but was equally inconclusive.

¹⁶ To be submitted to the People's Assembly in October 1990.

¹⁷ 13 March 1990.

¹⁸ These 'corridors' provide access to the Indian Ocean for these countries.

¹⁹ This Community has carried out important relief work in Africa, in particular amongst the people of Mozambique.

32. RENAMO refused to attend the third round of negotiations, planned for the second half of September, until the Mozambique army, acting in conjunction with the Zimbabwean army, halted the major military offensives said to be under way in the centre and north of the country.

V. The Republic of South Africa

33. With the election of President De Klerk on 14 September 1989, the final months of last year and the first few months of this year have produced a number of political developments which may lead to a decisive turning point in the situation in South Africa towards the full democratization of the regime and the complete abolition of apartheid, although this crucial objective, to which the overwhelming majority of the South African population aspires, is still some way off.

In yielding to popular pressure, international diplomatic pressure and economic sanctions, the new South African Government has adopted a highly courageous stance in favour of democracy and has clearly paved the way for political reform.

34. Thus, on 15 October, eight political prisoners, including seven ANC leaders, some of whom had been convicted in the Rivonia Case along with Nelson Mandela, were released.

On 16 November, De Klerk announced he was requesting Parliament to abolish the Separate Amenities Act and had decided to abolish racial restrictions governing access to beaches. On 23 November, he signed a declaration stating that various areas were declared free trading areas. On the following day he announced the first four residential areas to be opened to all races, following the adoption of a law on free establishment areas.

35. However, it was in a speech given on 2 February that President De Klerk announced far-reaching measures of exceptional political significance:

- the imminent unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, the historic leader of the ANC;
- the immediate legalization of the ANC, the PAC and the South African Communist Party and the abolition of restrictions on 33 organizations, including the UDF (United Democratic Front);
- the liberation of political prisoners held as a result of membership of or involvement in the above organizations, except those convicted of crimes such as murder, arson or terrorism;
- the suspension of executions of prisoners on death-row, until Parliament had considered a Bill abolishing the rule which makes the death penalty compulsory for certain crimes and guaranteeing the right of appeal;
- the immediate lifting of all restrictions on the media;
- the lifting of restrictions imposed on 374 citizens released conditionally under the state of emergency;
- the abolition of the law on the separation of certain public amenities;

- the lifting of the state of emergency 'as soon as circumstances justify it'.

President De Klerk also announced that he was prepared to negotiate with a view to achieving objectives acceptable to all South Africans, in particular a new democratic constitution guaranteeing the protection of minorities, individual rights and equality before the law.

In the sphere of foreign policy, he stressed the thaw in relations with neighbouring countries and called for a conference of the states of Southern Africa and the adoption of a joint reconstruction programme for the sub-continent.

36. The international community and the Community institutions gave a swift, positive response to these declarations, particularly following the release of Nelson Mandela after 27 years in captivity.

From the public communiqués and the resolutions adopted by the European Parliament (February part-session), the Commission (3 February) and European Political Cooperation (12 February), the following points should be noted:

- the measures announced are an important contribution to creating the conditions needed for a major national dialogue which will make it possible to adopt irreversible reforms leading to the complete abolition of apartheid by peaceful means and the installation of a fully democratic, non-racial regime;
- if these negotiations are to be fruitful, the state of emergency must be lifted²⁰, political prisoners amnestied and a climate of confidence established;
- aid must continue to be given to the victims of apartheid and economic, financial and diplomatic pressure on South Africa maintained, as the legal foundations of the apartheid regime are still in force.

37. In September 1985 and September 1986, the Council of Ministers of the European Communities adopted two packages of restrictive measures concerning South Africa, the express aim of which was the complete abolition of apartheid. These measures included the following:

- the withdrawal of military attachés and a suspension of military and nuclear cooperation;
- an embargo on the export of arms and paramilitary equipment;
- a ban on the sale of oil and sensitive technology;

²⁰ A partial state of emergency was decreed in August 1985 and temporarily lifted between March and June 1986. On 12 June 1986 the authorities decreed a total state of emergency, to be renewed annually. The state of emergency was an instrument used, for example, to restrict the right of association and the right to hold demonstrations, as well as providing the basis for detentions without trial and measures to restrict freedom of residence and freedom of movement.

- moves to discourage sporting and cultural links;
- a ban on the import of Krugerrands and certain iron and steel products;
- a recommendation for a halt to new investment in South Africa.

It is difficult to quantify the direct and indirect impact of these measures on the South African economy. However, it is agreed that they had at least a political effect of undeniable importance on the South African authorities and the anti-apartheid movements.

38. The Foreign Ministers of the Twelve, meeting on 20 February, were not unanimous regarding the continuation of sanctions against South Africa, a situation which affected the credibility of European Political Cooperation.

The majority, in accordance with the resolution adopted by Parliament²¹, took the view that, despite the positive steps already made, the ultimate objective of the sanctions - the complete abolition of apartheid - was still some way off, the state of emergency was still in force and there were still many political prisoners, so that any softening of economic sanctions would be premature and counterproductive.

The UK Foreign Minister, however, considered that European companies should be authorized immediately to invest in South Africa, particularly in the light of Pretoria's promise to lift the state of emergency. On the same day, the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons South Africa's unilateral decision to do this.

At all events, a consensus was reached on the adoption of positive measures to help the victims of apartheid and on relaunching cultural and scientific cooperation, on the basis that such cooperation helps achieve the fundamental objective, which has not changed: the complete abolition of apartheid.

Since then, following their visit to South Africa at the beginning of April, the 'troika' confirmed that economic sanctions would be relaxed only when it was clear that the process of dismantling apartheid was irreversible.

39. On 17 and 19 April, President de Klerk announced major new measures to Parliament:

- the abolition during the current legislative period of the Separate Amenities Act (segregation in certain public amenities);²²
- the replacement next year of the Group Areas Act (segregation in residential areas) and the Land Acts (segregation as regards access to land ownership) by non-discriminatory systems.

He also promised to abolish the definition of racial groups underlying the Population Registration Act but left the amendments to this act to the negotiation process, with the aim of reaching agreement on a new

²¹ 15 February.

²² This law was abolished by a large majority in the three chambers of Parliament on 19 June.

constitution.²³ Lastly, he reaffirmed the principle of universal suffrage on condition that it be accompanied by constitutional protection for minorities.

40. On 17 May the 238 state-run hospitals which until then had been reserved for whites were opened up to the whole population and a restructuring of services was announced in order to ensure equality of access to health care. At the same time, it was announced that the authorities were prepared to discuss the introduction of a single national education system.

41. Finally, on 8 June the state of emergency was lifted, with the obvious exception of the province of Natal, where violence between rival black communities justified special security measures.

42. Essentially, however, all political developments in southern Africa today are dependent and focused upon the negotiations between the South African Government and the organizations representing the population, in particular the ANC, with which the first preliminary meeting was held in May. Statements made by both sides at the end of this meeting justified cautious optimism regarding the success of the negotiations to follow.

The prior conditions laid down by the ANC for the holding of negotiations on fundamental issues following the lifting of the state of emergency were the return of those in exile, the release of political prisoners²⁴ and the withdrawal of the army from certain black areas. The Government stressed the need to abandon the armed struggle and normalize the domestic political situation.

43. On 26 June the Dublin European Council adopted an important declaration on southern Africa. It repeated the call for all parties to renounce violence and to refrain from advocating violence and expressed a desire to encourage by all possible means a rapid opening of negotiations leading to the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. It also proposed an increase in funds for the programme of positive measures to support the victims of apartheid, in particular to assist the return and rehabilitation of those in exile. As regards sanctions, it was in favour of considering a gradual relaxation of pressure when it became clear that the process of change already under way had become irreversible.

44. In August a new, highly successful round of talks was held between the Government and the ANC in Pretoria. The ANC finally announced the suspension of the armed struggle, while the Government undertook to pave the way for the return of political exiles, to start releasing political prisoners from 1 September, to review certain aspects of the Law on Internal Security²⁵ and to reconsider lifting the state of emergency in Natal.

Also of great importance were the part of the joint communiqué calling on all sectors of the population to seek a peaceful solution to their problems and

²³ The text in question is a legal provision within the Constitution of South Africa.

²⁴ The Government accepted the conclusions of a working party set up during the contacts with the ANC to consider the issues of political prisoners and political exiles. Since then it has released 48 political prisoners.

²⁵ E.g. the ban on communism and the 'bannings' of individuals.

the commitment to taking steps to establishing machinery for communication at local, regional and national level.

The way was thus left open for substantive negotiations on the adoption of a new constitution, in which the issue of dismantling the remaining legislation upholding apartheid and the delicate matter of constitutional protection for the rights of minorities will certainly be raised²⁶.

45. Given the positive developments in the political situation in South Africa, the question of whether to relax or even lift completely the sanctions imposed on the country has now become particularly acute once again.

Certain states agree with the ANC that any relaxation of sanctions would be premature so long as the legal basis of apartheid persists or at least so long as no significant progress has been made in the negotiations (which have not yet been formally opened) on the adoption of a new constitutional order.

The European Parliament, for its part, adopted a resolution on 14 June in which it maintains that the sanctions policy must not be modified before the conclusion of a constitutional agreement.

Other states believe that the process of democratization is already irreversible and that it is important to encourage President De Klerk to pursue his reforms and negotiations by bolstering his political position, in particular among the radical or sceptical sectors of the white population. They take the view that visible support from the international community, in the form of a relaxation of sanctions, could encourage the process of negotiation and accelerate the democratization of South Africa.

46. Recently, the violent clashes between sympathizers of the ANC and the Inkatha movement have intensified and, if not checked, could compromise the negotiations. There is in fact a growing movement within the ANC which favours a suspension of negotiations and a resumption of the armed struggle. Once more, however, Nelson Mandela has achieved an internal political climate enabling the negotiations to continue.

Much is expected of moves by the Government to strengthen the preventive and repressive security apparatus, and of the success of contacts at all levels, proposed by Nelson Mandela, between leaders of the two movements.

²⁶ According to leading members of the governing party, this objective could be achieved by setting up an upper chamber in Parliament representing the various socio-cultural groups.

O P I N I O N

(Rule 120 of the Rules of Procedure)

of the Committee on Development and Cooperation
for the Political Affairs Committee

Draftsman: Mr M. MCGOWAN

At its meeting of 23 January 1990, the Committee on Development and Cooperation appointed Mr MCGOWAN draftsman.

At its meetings of 18 September 1990 and 17 October 1990 the Committee considered the draft opinion. It adopted the conclusions on 17 October 1990 unopposed with 7 abstentions

The following took part in the vote: Mr Saby, Chairman; Ms Bindi, Vice-Chairman; Ms Aulas, Vice-Chairman; Mr McGowan, draftsman; Mr Arbeloa Muru (deputising for Mr Rubert de Ventos), Ms Cassanmagnago Cerretti (deputising for Mr Borgo), Ms Daly, Ms Dury (deputising for Ms Pery), Mr Fernandez Albor, Ms Hermans (deputising for Mr Tindemans), Mr Lagakos, Ms Lehideux, Mr Mendes Bota, Ms van Putten, Mr Perschau, Mr Pons Grau, Ms Quistorp (deputising for Mr Telkämper), Ms Schmidbauer, Ms Simons, Ms Valent (deputising for Ms Napoletano), Ms Van Hemeldonck and Mr Verhagen.

INTRODUCTION

Though the situation in Southern Africa is changing rapidly at a political level since the liberation of Nelson MANDELA in February 1990, the underlying economic features of the countries which make up Southern Africa and their development needs are barely changing at all. For some of the countries of Southern Africa, most notably Angola and Mozambique, economic and social development have been retarded while the governments have been forced to spend scarce resources on defence measures and equipment. Because of the strong sense of solidarity which exists between the Front Line States all have borne the brunt of the effects of the wars being fought in Angola and Mozambique. The cost of the wars have been shared in different ways. Malawi, for example, has housed and sheltered 650,000 Mozambiquan refugees; Zimbabwe has undertaken along with Tanzania to provide resources for the military protection of the Beira Corridor; Zambia has supported tens of thousands of refugees from Angola and from pre-independence Namibia.

The solidarity which exists between the states of Southern Africa has also manifested itself by the creation of the SADCC - probably the most advanced and effective regional grouping on the African continent. Established in order to better coordinate efforts to reduce dependency on apartheid South Africa, SADCC has proved particularly effective in canalising joint development efforts at sectoral policy levels.

Trade policy and the moves towards the creation of a Southern African economic community have been led, not by SADCC, but by the Preferential Trade Authority of Eastern and Southern Africa. The PTA, based in Lusaka, has under very difficult circumstances begun to make progress in reducing obstacles to trade between the various countries in the region.

In spite of such common efforts, it must not be forgotten that the countries of Southern Africa are nevertheless very different in terms of their economic structures, their social structures, and indeed their political systems. In terms of their gross national product per capita the following comparisons are useful (source: World Bank, 1988).

Angola	532 \$
Botswana	1050 \$
Lesotho	410 \$
Malawi	160 \$
Mozambique	100 \$
Namibia	1272 \$
South Africa	2290 \$
Swaziland	790 \$
Tanzania	160 \$
Zambia	290 \$
Zimbabwe	660 \$

The above figures demonstrate that even if one bears in mind other factors, such as those proposed by the UNDP recently, development priorities vary for each country and needs also vary. The figures for Namibia should be treated with caution given very wide racially determined income inequality.

South Africa

For the first time since the countries of Southern Africa obtained their independence from colonial rule, they are able to look forward to a new relationship with South Africa. The fact that South Africa now has a chance of becoming a united, democratic and non-racial country is completely transforming the development perspective of the region as a whole. But although such change is now possible it is by no means assured. Many things could happen which could destroy even the best made plans for the abolition of apartheid. Yet South Africa still holds the key to the region's development: if democratic and non-racial reforms are established irreversibly, harmonious economic cooperation may follow; if negotiations between the South African Government and the ANC collapse for whatever reason and apartheid continues then the region will be forced to pay the price of more years of instability and disruption.

For these reasons it is crucial that economic and political sanctions against South Africa be maintained. Clearly the international opprobrium for the White South African Government linked to the struggle within South Africa for one man one vote has moved the South African Government in a direction which may otherwise have taken much longer. Sanctions must also be maintained because they provide President De Klerk with the means to argue against the extremist wing of his own party and against the extreme right that there is a bonus attached to a peaceful resolution to the problem. Nobody apart from the extreme right has an interest in a violent solution to the problem. Having said that the scenario of prolonged violence and even a possible coup d'etat against President De Klerk cannot be excluded. Already the South African authorities themselves and the ANC have confirmed the existence of extreme right death squads. The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie COETSEE announced the appointment of a judicial inquiry into "hit squads" at the end of January 1990.

The situation in the province of Natal is a cause of much concern where for more than four and a half years violent skirmishes and killings have occurred as a result of opposition between the Zulu Inkatha Movement and the ANC. In the KwaZulu tribal homeland, many groups have been armed directly or indirectly by the South African authorities in order to attack ANC targets. Acts of retaliation inevitably followed and Chief Buthelezi has done nothing to calm the Zulu people who he leads. While such fighting continues, it not only provides a reason for the South African Government to maintain a state of emergency in the region, it also promotes a negative image abroad of "blacks fighting blacks". This undermines the ANC negotiating position in spite of the fact that all the other South African homelands have pledged their support to the ANC and its allies. Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders such as Walter Sisulu have made great efforts to bring about an end to the fighting in Natal and President De Klerk has declared that no arms are being provided officially to the violent groups in Natal.

Yet sadly in August 1990 the Inkatha provoked clashes with ANC supporters spread to many black townships. Many independent witnesses have indicated military support by army units for Inkatha attacks. In spite of attempts by the government and the ANC to bring about an end to such unrest the situation remains extremely tense and worrying. The government must act to contain the security forces and punish offending units.

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The South African Government has itself admitted that sanctions work in spite of the fact that trade with European countries has continued. In 1989, according to the IMF Directory of Trade Statistics, South African exports to the larger EC Member States were as follows (in millions US \$): France - 755, Italy - 2621, Spain - 439, UK - 1465, West Germany - 1553. At the same time exports to South Africa from these countries have increased.

Foreign investment in South Africa from Europe and particularly from the United States has been considerably reduced and many companies have withdrawn from South Africa. Even though the UK has lifted the ban on direct investment in South Africa, the recent Dublin Summit confirmed the Community policy of maintaining sanctions. The Council did agree to "consider a gradual relaxation of the pressure when there is clear evidence that the process of change already initiated continues".

The Financial Times has pointed out that capital sanctions imposed by bankers, not politicians, are by common consent the ones that have caused South Africa the most pain. The effect of net capital outflows from South Africa has been considerable and equivalent to what would have been experienced had the gold price been 200 \$ an ounce instead of 400 \$ over the past five years. Consumer boycotts have also been an important political element in the sanctions campaign. Oil and arms embargos forced the South African Government into extremely costly self-sufficiency programmes which it would of course have rather done without. The refusal of the US banks to reschedule RSA debt in 1985 led to increased pressure on the apartheid government to initiate reforms.

However, it is important to bear in mind that South Africa has developed significant economic relations with many countries on the African continent itself. 32% of its manufactured goods are exported within Africa. 12% of South African foreign investment is made in Africa (1 billion US dollars in 1988). Two-thirds of South African exports to the African continent go to Malawi and the Front Line States. Zimbabwe sells 60% of its manufactured products to South Africa. South Africa has managed to maintain such commercial links by building large storage areas in four African countries (Zaire, Cote d'Ivoire, Togo and Rwanda) from where goods are resold.

This indicates that although a post-apartheid democratic South Africa will have urgent internal development needs of its own, particularly if it is to reduce the enormous wealth disparity between the white population and the rest of the country, - to improve education, health, housing, rural development and communications particularly in the neglected non-white areas - it will nevertheless have a significant contribution to make to the development of the Southern Africa region as a whole. Interestingly, following the independence of Zimbabwe and the consequent removal of sanctions from the ex-Southern Rhodesia, the newly independent state managed an 8 per cent growth rate in its first year - and that at a time when the world economy was in a more deprived state than is the case today. Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress have spoke of the need to create a Southern African Economic Community; similar ideas emerged from the recent SADCC Conference.

For the time being the international donor community must continue to provide humanitarian aid and assistance to the victims of apartheid in South Africa. In 1990 the European Community provided 30 million ECU and in 1991 this figure is likely to be doubled at least. As Nelson Mandela mentioned in

his speech before the European Parliament in Strasbourg, this has made a considerable contribution to alleviating difficulties experienced particularly in the black townships where education and health centres have been supported.

Now the European Community must be prepared to extend its aid in order to assist with democratisation process in South Africa. It should also involve itself directly or via the United Nations High Commission for Refugees with the organisation for the return and resettlement of the tens of thousands of South Africans who were forced into exile by the apartheid system. The UNHCR will need to be able to work within South Africa as well. Currently, as a result of apartheid they are not able to do so. When a general amnesty is granted urgent action will be required. The European Parliament must ensure that resources are made available in the 1991 Budget for this.

Southern African economy

The development of the Southern African economy and its accompanying social development is strongly conditioned by what happens inside South Africa. But each and every state of Southern Africa has a sovereign responsibility to decide on its own development priorities. In taking such decisions the governments of the states of Southern Africa have not in general been able to plan their country's future as the weight of international economic factors has so frequently made them deviate from their original course. Their decision taking has therefore inevitably and generally been short-term, responding to dramatic changes in world prices for minerals and raw materials and not to theories of sound economic management. As elsewhere, costly investment projects in mining or mineral extraction still had to be paid for even though receipts from the exports of such materials slumped - thus aggravating the problems of indebtedness. Now that the region faces the costs of reconstruction and economic integration, and given the urgent need for continuing emergency relief and development, special consideration should be given by the member states of the European Community to debt relief for Angola, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This is not to say that economic management and administration cannot be improved considerably in the countries of Southern Africa - on the contrary, improvement in management and administration is a sine qua non of their future development. But the degree to which this is possible depends very much on outside assistance particularly in higher education and technical training.

In the last five years there has been an evolution throughout Southern Africa in terms of general economic policy making. Those countries, such as Tanzania who for many years operated a highly centralised economy, have privatised much of the parastatal sector in order to increase efficiency. They have also willingly or unwillingly gradually conformed to the strictures of the multilateral financial institutions by diminishing the number of civil servants, devaluing currencies and trimming budgetary expenditure in general. The role of the private sector has been expanded and producer prices for agricultural products have been raised. In return such countries who followed these policy patterns were able to draw on new money from the World Bank and the IMF.

Too frequently the first casualties of such policies have been the mass of the population who have suffered cuts in the health and education field. Many donors including the European Community have attempted to bridge this gap in resources by granting funds to allow governments to pursue their educational

and health programmes. Where the remedy has been seen as being worse than the disease, the EC has tried to step in with "a human face" and save essential services. But its resources in spite of the Lome Convention, have been inadequate given the needs of the population.

Countries such as Malawi and to a certain extent Swaziland have traditionally been more "free enterprise" than many of their neighbours. Malawi's agriculturally based economy provides 95% of its export earnings. However the economic base of the country responsible for its foreign earnings is extremely restricted depending almost entirely on large estate-grown cash crops in the hands of relatively few wealthy estate owners. The large mass of the population are peasant farmers who have an increasing difficulty (partly as a result of floods followed by drought) in producing enough to survive. The 650,000 Mozambiquan refugees who occupy large parts of the southern part of the country have made the situation more acute in spite of massive inputs of food-aid. Malawi remains one of the world's poorest countries and the scarcity of land for the poor people in the midlands and the south, linked to the large number of refugees, makes poverty even more acute.

Swaziland, which is a member of the South African Customs Union and whose currency is tied to the rand, has an economy which is based on private enterprise. 83% of the country's imports comes from South Africa and 37% of its exports go to South Africa. Its economy is agriculturally based with over half the land being leasehold where most of the population live. Freehold land of individual tenure farms provide 75% of the country's exports. Sugar is particularly important in this context and the Lome Convention provides valuable support for private sugar exporters. General standards of living are relatively high throughout the country and health and education programmes operate better than in many other countries of the region.

The major economic power in the region apart from South Africa would appear to be Botswana. Both Namibia and Botswana rely heavily on mining and mineral resources, including diamonds, for their income. In both cases the mining which is carried out is done so by foreign conglomerates - most of the profits find their way out of the country to South Africa, the United States, the U.K. and Germany. Unlike Namibia, Botswana is able to earn foreign currency from its livestock industry, with the European Community securing much of this trade. The environmental impact of intensive livestock management particularly by the large cattle ranches has been severe and communal grazing land has also suffered the effects of drought and over-grazing. Coming to terms with this is clearly a development priority. Botswana has also tried to diversify its economy but agricultural development outside of the livestock sector has been difficult as local maize producers find their prices undercut by cheaper South African imports of maize. One of the consequences of this has been increased urbanisation. Botswana is one of the few countries in Southern Africa (and outside) to have an effective early warning system and storage programme in the event of possible drought. In 1984 two-thirds of the population were receiving supplementary food-aid.

Zimbabwe, having gained independence as a result of a long guerilla war a decade ago, has benefitted from a well developed transport infrastructure and reasonably productive agricultural sector. Economic growth in the early years of independence was only checked by the severe drought and a recession in metal and mineral prices. The economy has also had to bear the cost of high defence spending as a result of the war in Mozambique and a threat to Zimbabwe's own frontiers by RENAMO guerillas. Unemployment has become a

serious problem in recent years as, in spite of the government's policy on land distribution (land is sold on a willing-buyer, willing-seller basis, and none has been expropriated from the old landowners) people are still moving to the towns. Though the government maintains a strong commitment to the service sector, it has been able to develop private industry alongside heavier state involvement.

The war situation which both Angola and Mozambique have experienced since independence has, in parts of both countries, seriously limited food production and most other types of income generating activity. The plight of war affected people - those displaced by the war or those who have experienced direct suffering is acute. In a draft report prepared by the Government of Mozambique and the U.N., the priority requirements for the 1990-91 period are detailed for 4 million war affected people. Particular attention is sought for the 1.4 million internally displaced Mozambicans and 154.000 returnees to the country.¹

The Emergency appeal for 1990/91 emphasises direct humanitarian assistance such as emergency health care, supplementary feeding programmes for children, seed and tool acquisition and distribution, improvement of water supplies and sanitation and other emergency rehabilitation activities. This programme must obtain Community funding; the previous appeal 1989/90 provided no pledges for institutional support to the WFP and the UNHCR with severe consequences for the poorest and most deprived populations.

1990/91 Emergency Requirements . Mozambique

Summary Financial Table

<u>Sector</u>	<u>US Dollars</u>
Food Aid	56.900.000
Logistics	34.000.000
Relief and Survival Items	14.381.250
Agriculture	8.120.730
Health	10.401.500
Drinking Water	910.200
Primary Education	1.207.346
Programme of Assistance for Returnees	6.600.000
Institutional Support	3.278.000

Total	135.799.026 US \$

The World Bank has sponsored an Economic and Social Rehabilitation Programme in Mozambique which has been operational since the beginning of this year. Consisting largely of infrastructure projects, it aims to complement the government's macro-economic reforms.

¹See details of the situation as regards refugees and displaced persons in the Report of the Mission of Enquiry on Refugees and Displaced Persons in Southern Africa of the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly, (Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola, April 29 - May 12 1989) (AP/10 of 24 July 1989)

Mozambique's economic problems have their roots in the colonial exploitation of the nation's resources. Mozambique subsidised both Portugal and South Africa with cheap coal, sugar and sisal as well as other tropical products. Independence led to a massive exodus of qualified individuals, capital flight and immediate economic collapse. Collectivisation and socialisation of the means of production were started, though since 1980 liberalisation has gradually spread. But, the war with RENAMO has burnt the country's meagre resources (42% of the budget in 1986) and production of all major crops is below levels achieved in 1975. The country has already reached its limit for disasters both from war and from natural calamities including drought and floods. There are hopes for an end to guerilla activity as the government and RENAMO move towards peace talks. In June 1990, talks scheduled to take place in Malawi between RENAMO and the Government were postponed. They eventually began in Rome in mid-July 1990. Meanwhile RENAMO groups continue to attack aid convoys and health centres within Mozambique.

The economic situation in Angola resembles that of Mozambique to some extent, except that the war with UNITA has, if anything, cost the country dearer; up to 60 per cent of budget expenditure has been on defence. Only the off-shore oil industry has managed to maintain production; 65 per cent of its output is exported to the U.S. Petroleum constitutes a third of Angolan GNP and 90 per cent of its export income.

The potential wealth of the country far exceeds that of Mozambique however as Angola has important mineral deposits currently under exploited due to military instability in the south of the country. Copper, manganese, diamonds and phosphates are all to be found in considerable quantities.

Yet, the country is very poor in human resources and skills. When the Cubans began to withdraw they took with them not only military supplies but also medical equipment, doctors and qualified nurses. Large sectors of the country are now virtually without any health service, qualified doctors or medicines. Once again large scale humanitarian assistance is urgently required to help the 1.6 million internally displaced persons and local population affected by war. Huila Province in the south of the country, houses many of these displaced persons, yet few have access to even primary health care facilities; agricultural tools and seeds are also needed before the rainy season begins.

Angola has undertaken many economic and political reforms, has attempted to reform its administrative structures, and has applied for the IMF membership. The EC is assisting with a 35 mECU sectoral import programme but doing relatively little as far as humanitarian aid is concerned. This is something which must be remedied.

Namibia having only recently achieved independence now faces the challenge of promoting greater social equality with economic growth. Developments in Namibia are being keenly watched by the white population in South Africa and a successful transition in Namibia will have important implications for the process of change in South Africa. In this context, it is important for the international Community in general and the European Community in particular, to pursue policies which help Namibia to sustain strong economic growth. The European Community must ensure that Namibia's terms of accession to the Lomé Convention are as favourable as possible and that the full range of Lomé development assistance instruments are rapidly deployed. This may well require special attention to be paid to establishing Namibia's trading

relations with the International Community after decades of economic isolation.

In addition, the European Community should make additional resources available for regional cooperation in Southern Africa, in order to facilitate Namibia's early and effective incorporation into the SADCC Programme of Action.

Regional coordination

Cooperation amongst the countries of Southern Africa is more advanced than in other parts of the continent. Their mutual opposition to apartheid has provided them with a common cause; they have all suffered both economically and in human terms as a result of the deliberate policy of the South African Government.

In a study published by the UN Economic Commission for Africa, destabilisation was determined to be the main cause of the region's economic setbacks. Increased support was requested from the international donor community for rehabilitation programmes, technical assistance, clothing and shelter and other primary needs of the people of the Front-Line States.

The Fourth Lome Convention contains a strengthened section on regional cooperation with more resources which may be used by the countries of the region, via SADCC, to improve industrial and agricultural production and extend communications and transport infrastructures. The last SADCC conference, early in 1990, emphasised the main themes of Enterprise, Skills and Productivity; it recognised also the need to better coordinate national macro-economic programmes and policies. A catalogue of good intentions is proposed.

Until now regional coordination has been confined to different sectors of activity by the SADCC countries, with the SADCC secretariat providing the main organisational support in spite of its very small staff. SADCC has been mandated by its Member States for negotiating purposes with the European Commission.

Conscious of the need to improve commercial relations the SADCC countries have attempted to take on board the trade sector, conferring the task to the Tanzanian Government. However, the existence of the Preferential Trade Authority (PTA) which covers Southern and Eastern Africa has led to complications and a duplication of effort. Given the advances made by the PTA it would seem appropriate to leave commercial matters with them for the time being particularly as they have succeeded in establishing a common list of goods eligible for tariff-free movement, a clearing house based in Zimbabwe to facilitate exchange and a number of other facilities assisting trade relations. Export promotion, in particular, could be given additional support by the EIB, for example, which could also assist SADCC's Export Pre-Financing Revolving Fund Schemes.

Neither of these organisations as they now stand would be able to assume the responsibilities which will be required in the context of a future Southern African Economic Community (SAEC) - which the ANC amongst others envisages. SADCC has begun to reflect upon the implications of the development of an SAEC but no conclusions have yet been drawn. What is significant however is that for the first time Southern African States are

seriously envisaging a future without apartheid, and therefore with a more cooperative and constructive southern neighbour. That, of course, changes everything.

In development terms, and for the foreseeable future SADCC will be able to continue to coordinate various infrastructure projects financed by the international community. What is not so clear is how to improve the efficiency of much of the humanitarian aid which is channeled to the region in order to assist the poorest sectors of the population. Regional cooperation could be strengthened in this context even though organisations do exist to facilitate food-aid operations. The World Food Programme has an area coordinator based in Zimbabwe; the UNHCR also has a Southern Africa regional coordinator.

The European Community, which has delegations in each Southern African State including Namibia, has yet to establish a coordinating office. In addition, given the responsibilities and the work pressure on the members of staff of the different delegations, (the majority of whom are technicians, engineers or administrative officials) insufficient attention is paid to humanitarian aid. Much could be gained, and humanitarian resource allocations better spent if each delegation in the region had an officer with specific responsibilities in this field.

Conclusion

The European Community and its Member States are the main international donors in Southern Africa. The European Parliament has consistently given considerable priority during the budget discussions to those lines which provide resources for aid to Southern Africa - indeed it was the Parliament which created these budget lines (Lines 9530 and 9531, now Lines 7.5070 and 7.5071). NGOs also make major contributions both to relief and development efforts in the region.

Particular efforts will be needed now, to support moves towards democratisation in the region in addition to continued support for humanitarian and infrastructure projects. Political pressure must be maintained to encourage the peace efforts in Angola and Mozambique.

The complementarity which exists between the countries of Southern Africa and their close political relationship founded on the struggle against apartheid must be maintained and enhanced in order that economic cooperation may be promoted more fully. The independence of Namibia has shown that political change even within South Africa is possible, based on democratic principles. The European Community must endeavour through the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa until irreversible changes occur, and by increased development and cooperation to actively promote peace and reconciliation in the region.

Recommendations

1. Resources for humanitarian relief operations should be increased, and emergency aid provided, for the countries of Southern Africa; assistance should also be provided to government structures which are often understaffed and ill-suited to deal with relief efforts and coordination.

2. The European Community should accelerate the commitment of resources provided under Lome IV for refugees and displaced persons.
3. Particular priorities should be established to help children who are the casualties of war and who need special care and attention either provided by government sponsored institutions or by family groups and voluntary associations.
4. Longer term development efforts which are geared to an end to the conflict situation should be envisaged in order to regenerate the region's productive capacity, making it less dependent on raw material production.
5. More attention should be given to the region's food security in conjunction with SADCC; in particular more use must be made of triangular food aid operations, food storage programmes, the provision of tools and equipment, and early warning systems to help forecast drought etc.
6. Continued support must be given to the development of the transport and communications networks in Southern Africa by the provision of materials and equipment, including rolling stock for railways. While extending the Nacala, Tazara, Lobito and Beira projects consideration must be given to their complementarity with the South African transport system given its potential usefulness in an apartheid-free democratic South Africa.
7. Sectoral import programmes, part financed by the European Community, which provide valuable spare parts and equipment for industry and transport should be continued and expanded.
8. Training programmes both in technical and management subjects continue to merit Community support; additional efforts need to be made in the educational sector at primary and secondary levels where NGO programmes can be co-financed by the Community.
9. Commercial and trade cooperation must be more substantially encouraged by the Community, notably by the provision of resources to assist the operations of the PTA Clearing House, in order to enable countries of Southern Africa to trade more amongst themselves.
10. The EC should encourage its Member States to cancel all their aid debts starting with the least developed developing countries. On multilateral debt, the EC should use its influence with SADCC's major creditors, the IMF and the World Bank, to press firstly for more concessional funds;
11. Governments of Southern Africa should facilitate the granting of visas to NGO officials who often have difficulty in gaining recognition by the authorities and thus find coordination more difficult when operating within a given region where cross-border operations are sometimes necessary.
12. More stringent efforts should be made by the political authorities in the Community to stop all private arms supplies to RENAMO and UNITA rebels and all other States, particularly the United States, should be asked to do the same.

13. The European Community should provide financial resources to encourage the development of democracy in South Africa particularly by the creation of democratic institutions in Southern Africa and in South Africa and enter into discussions with all political parties which have now been legalised in order to see how such resources might best be spent.
14. The European Community should not consider the possibility of opening a Commission delegation in South Africa until "profound and irreversible changes" have taken place in that country as was recognised by the European Council meeting in Strasbourg and Dublin.