

NOTES

- ¹ *The Globe and Mail*, 19 September 1987.
- ² Speech to Workshop entitled, "The Forgotten War in Southern Africa: Namibia and Angola," Skyline Hotel, Ottawa, 2 September 1987.
- ³ Discussed at length in D. O'Meara, "From Muldergate to Total Strategy," Centro de Estudos Africanos, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, 1984.
- ⁴ D. Geldenhuys and D. Venter, "Regional Cooperation in Southern Africa," *South African Institute of International Affairs Bulletin*, December 1979, p. 54.
- ⁵ Spelled out in: D. Geldenhuys, "Some Strategic Implications of Regional Economic Relations for the the Republic of South Africa," *ISSUP Strategic Review*, January 1981, pp. 17-24.
- ⁶ There is a wide literature on the role of the military in government since 1978. For a good summary, see: South African Council of Churches briefing paper, summarized in *Weekly Mail* (Johannesburg), 3 July 1987. See also: R. Davies and D. O'Meara, "Total Strategy in Southern Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1985.
- ⁷ *Weekly Mail*, 27 March 1986.
- ⁸ For detailed evidence on Pretoria's relations with the MNR, UNITA and other dissident groups — including evidence of the Rhodesian Intelligence Officer who formed the MNR in 1976 and handed it over to South Africa in 1980 — see: P. Johnson and D. Martin, *Destructive Engagement*, Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1986. On the reorganization of the SADF see: R. Davies, D. O'Meara and S. Dlamini, *The Struggle for South Africa*, Zed Books, London, 1984, Vol. 1, pp. 179-182; and P. Frankel, *Pretoria's Praetorians*, Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- ⁹ Analyzed in D. Geldenhuys, 1981, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰ The deep and complex ties binding the SADCC states to the South African economy are exhaustively analyzed in Joseph Hanlon, *SADCC: Priorities and Progress*, Economist Intelligence Unit, Special Report No. 182, London, 1984.
- ¹¹ Analyzed at length in R. Davies and D. O'Meara, 1985, *op. cit.*
- ¹² "Scope Paper," Chester Crocker to Secretary of State Haig, published by TransAfrica, 1981. The most detailed, well-documented analysis of US policy in Southern Africa in this period is W. Minter, *King Solomon's Mines Revisited*, Basic Books, New York, 1986.
- ¹³ UN Security Council Draft Resolution S/14654, 27 August 1981.
- ¹⁴ Documented in Joseph Hanlon's exhaustive study, "Beggar Your Neighbour: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa," Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1986.
- ¹⁵ D. Geldenhuys, "The Destabilization Controversy," *Politikon*, Vol. 9, No. 2, December 1982.
- ¹⁶ Report of a 1983 meeting of US State Department officials with ANC leaders, delivered to Canadian anti-apartheid groups by the Chief Representative, ANC Mission to Canada, Ottawa, September 1985.
- ¹⁷ Under Secretary of State, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, "America's Responsibility for Change," Department of State, Washington, 23 June 1983.
- ¹⁸ *Guardian* (London), 25 May 1984, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 June 1984.
- ¹⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 October 1984.
- ²⁰ For a detailed analysis of each of these points, see: R. Davies, "South African Strategy Towards Mozambique in the Post-Nkomati Period," CIDMAA, Montreal, 1985.
- ²¹ *Gorongozo Documents — Extracts*, Maputo, 30 September 1985. For continued S.A. support to the MNR, see statement by Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, to the hearings before the Sub-committee on African affairs, US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 24 June 1987, pp. 166-171.
- ²² See: the Johannesburg *Financial Mail*, 27 September 1985 and 11 October 1985.
- ²³ Statement by Defence Minister in bulletin of SADF, *Paratus*, November 1985.
- ²⁴ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 22 December 1985.
- ²⁵ "Critical Questions Remain about the Machel Crash," *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 1 February 1987. See also: *Guardian*, 21 January 1987. The crash occurred three days after Mozambique reported a South Africa assassination plot against Machel — *AIM* (Maputo), 16 October 1986.
- ²⁶ South African casualty reports, *Africa Confidential*, 18 November 1987; Namibia mutinies, *Weekly Mail* (Johannesburg), 4 November 1987; South African admission, *The Star* (Johannesburg), 18 November 1987.
- ²⁷ *International Herald Tribune*, 11 February 1987.
- ²⁸ Geldenhuys, 1981, *op. cit.*
- ²⁹ Memo to the Swedish International Development Agency, dated 16 February 1987. UNICEF has calculated that without South African destabilization, infant mortality rates in Angola and Mozambique would have fallen to that of Tanzania. The 100,000 famine deaths is definitely an underestimate, as at least this number of people are known to have died in the 1983 famine alone.
- ³⁰ Memorandum presented by SADCC to the 1985 Summit of the Organization of African Unity. SADCC terms these figures "conservative." One authoritative source has doubled the estimate of "lost economic growth" to US\$64 billion. Reginald H. Green and Carol B. Thompson, "Political Economies in Conflict" in Johnson and Martin, 1986, *op. cit.* By mid-1987 the cost of "additional military spending" was probably well over US\$5 billion, or more than the total projected costs of all SADCC projects.
- ³¹ R. Green *et al.*, "Children in the Frontline," UNICEF, January 1987.
- ³² People's Republic of Mozambique (PRM), *Economic Report*, Maputo, 1984; Johnson and Martin, 1986, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30; and Agencia de Informacao de Mocambique (AIM), "The Economy of Mozambique and apartheid's Destabilizing Action," Maputo, 25 October 1986.
- ³³ PRM, *Economic Recovery Programme*, Maputo, 1987 and AIM, 1986, *op. cit.*, statistical appendices.
- ³⁴ PRM, "Proposal on Emergency Actions in Face of the Aggression by South Africa," Maputo, October 1986; UNDRO Emergency Appeal on Mozambique, Geneva 1987, p. 2; and PRM, *Economic Recovery Programme*, p. 9.
- ³⁵ Speech by President dos Santos, 17 August 1987, Agencia Angola Press.
- ³⁶ *Africa Economic Digest*, May 1986; *Herald* (Harare), 1 August 1986.
- ³⁷ SADCC, *1985-6 Annual Progress Report*, paragraphs 6 and 70; PRM, "Proposal on Emergency Actions . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 9.

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