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THE SCANDINAVIAN
INSTITUTE OF
AFRICAN STUDIES



SADCC: AN UNCONVENTIONAL APPROACH
TO SOUTH-SOUTH REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Introduction by: Reginald Herbold Green

AFRICA: WHICH WAY OUT OF THE RECESSION

Conference held in Uppsala 20-23 Sept. 1982.

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Coordinating Common Interests: SADCC in Retrospect and Prospect

By Reginald Herbold Green¹

Our determination to seek a peaceful, non-racial and prosperous region in which our people can have hope for the future develops naturally into a commitment to work together. It was out of this solidarity that SADCC was born. It was not conceived as a platform for rhetoric nor a plaything for those who desire a larger canvas on which to experiment with their patent solutions for Africa's problems. Rather, SADCC has grown out of a common awareness of common interests. Its immediate objectives are well defined and limited. SADCC exists only to the extent that the Member States breathe life into its common programmes and projects. It does not have an autonomous existence, separate from the priorities of the Member States.

- SADCC Chairman, President Q.K.J. Masire
of Botswana, 1982 SADCC Summit²

We are all committed to development for the benefit of our peoples. Because of our different experiences, histories and situations the particular means we use including the balance of state, public enterprise, joint venture, co-operative, private enterprise and peasant contributions varies. Each of us has sought to develop policies, approaches and institutions appropriate to the development needs and political aspirations of our people. Of course we are interested in exchanging experience and hearing suggestions on how we could enhance the pace of development by and for our people whose welfare is ultimately the only measure and justification of development. But equally obviously the final decisions on appropriate policies and institutions rest with our people.

- Blantyre SADCC Chairman, Minister
P.S. Mmusi of Botswana, 1981³

SADCC is a free association of sovereign states, the work of which is implemented on the basis of consensus and with emphasis on the national efforts ... It is due to this practical approach that we have been able to see so much concrete progress since the Maputo conference.

- Finnish Delegate, Blantyre SADCC, 1981⁴

There can be little doubt that SADCC is shaping up to be a much more formidable organisation than South Africa's rival confederation of Black-ruled states. That said, dependence on South Africa will continue for the foreseeable future.

- Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 1981⁵

This introduction does not seek to present a comprehensive historical, programmatic, institutional or strategy/policy review of SADCC. That is done in SADCC's own words in the following three papers. Rather it seeks to highlight certain trends, characteristics and issues in respect to where SADCC has been, is and is going, and their relevance to economic reconstruction and renewed development in Southern Africa.⁶

In 1978 discussions began on how systematic economic coordination for liberation and development could be built in Southern Africa on the basis of political and partial specific project coordination pioneered by the Front Line States. The potential value of action along these lines was seen by several FLS Presidents, and official exploration of ways and means spearheaded by President Khama of Botswana. The decision to convene an international conference of FLS economic ministers and potential cooperating governments and agencies on the basis of a statement of objectives and broad programme approach agreed by the ministers was taken by the FLS foreign ministers in February 1979, and the initial SADCC Annual Conference held in Arusha in July.

Further discussion led to the formal creation of SADCC, encompassing all the independent states (including about to be independent Zimbabwe) at the Lusaka Summit of April 1980. The Lusaka Declaration - Southern Africa Toward Economic Liberation⁷ - set out SADCC's goals, working approach and programmatic priorities. Following evolution of initial programme and project areas (largely in transport and communications) the Maputo SADCC in November 1980 was held to mobilize external pledges of support.

During 1981 SADCC developed a cycle of an annual Summit (July, Harare), SADCC with international invitees (November, Blantyre) and three Ministerial and Official conferences (before the Summit and Annual Conference and in Mbabare in June). The transport and communication work developed rapidly with a formal Southern African Transport and Communication Commission (SATCC) created by Convention with a permanent coordinating and technical staff. Programme development in other areas began to build up. The Blantyre SADCC was basically a discussion and evaluation of cooperation rather than a pledging meeting.

The 1982 SADCC meeting cycle will run into January 1983 with the postponement of the Maseru annual Conference at the Gaborone Summit in July. The programme review at the June Luanda Ministerial meeting showed significant progress in several areas and that each SADCC member had undertaken coordination in at least one sector. Commitments to SATCC programme projects had reached \$870 million (\$698 million external) and 51 of the 97 projects identified at the Maputo SADCC were under implementation or completed. The Permanent Secretariat was opened in September following introduction of the Executive Secretary at the Gaborone Summit. With the Maseru Summit SADCC will have completed three annual cycles of meetings and - counting the Arusha SADCC - held a major conference in each member state.

How Is SADCC Different?

SADCC's record is distinctly different from that of most regional South-South economic coordination or integration groupings in Africa and more generally.

The first is the speed of movement from initial planning to inauguration to substantial ongoing programme. The first official steps toward creating SADCC were taken in 1979,³ the formal launching was in 1980, by mid 1982 a number of substantial programmes and concrete projects were operational. Per contra ECOWAS has been under negotiation at least since 1975 and has yet to make any significant progress on its

primary goal of trade barrier reduction while the Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area under negotiation since 1977/78 is only now beginning programme preparation (and lacks the signatures of several of its anticipated founding members).⁹

A second is the degree of harmony which has characterised to date. This is in sharp contrast to the East African Community (even over its 1967-70 high noon) much less the Central African Common Market or SACUA). Certainly not all SADCC states have agreed on exact priorities or even details of approaches and programmes, but the differences have proven soluble expeditiously and without putting major strains on the coordination commitment and framework.

A third is the degree of member state leadership and involvement. Most regional groupings depend heavily on central secretariat, technocratic and even external initiatives in pre-planning, launching, programme development and policy formulation. SADCC has been the creature of its members (initially potential members) throughout with serious Head of State and Government, Ministerial, Official and Coordinating Country attention to strategy, policy, programme, project and institutional design.

Perhaps most unusual is a fixed determination to minimise administrative superstructure. For two years SADCC had no central secretariat, making do with limited part-time personnel from Botswana and co-opted individual helpers. As founded the Secretariat has two senior staff. In programme areas the delegation of coordination to partner states has meant very limited (in a few cases no) full-time technical staff until a programme has a number of projects when SADCC accepts the need for a small, basically technical coordinating commission. Only in one case - SATCC - has that stage been reached. This is in sharp contrast to ECOWAS, PTA and EAC.

A fifth difference has been the ability to agree on priorities and to act on that agreement. To have identified 97 transport and communications projects as priority in 1980 (only 3 have subsequently been dropped and 12 added) and moved into implementation of over half (51) less than two years later demonstrates a real ability to choose and to follow through.

SADCC's programme content is distinctly unusual. The initial concentration on transport and communication is unique¹⁰ as is its choice of Food Security/Agriculture as its second main area. While industrial coordination is a common major focus - at least on paper - energy and mining are not. At least as different is the absence of trade liberalisation as a separate programme area (as opposed to a consequential requirement or component in sectoral programmes such as industry).

Seventh, SADCC has been able to move ahead in a context of economic crisis. 1979-82 has been marked by worsening economic situations in each SADCC member state's economy and external balance crises in a clear majority. The 1973-75 economic crisis resulted in a series of restrictions which helped destroy the EAC, Nigeria - probably the most committed ECOWAS member - has twice increased restrictions on imports from ECOWAS members, in ways inconsistent with the Treaty and without consultation, to deal with balance of payments problems.¹¹

An eighth difference often cited - lack of rhetoric and politics - is rather more arguable. SADCC's major statements and speeches do not lack either content or style (eg compare the Lusaka Declaration to a typical UN resolution). What is true is that SADCC has been careful not to set unattainable targets or make extravagant claims. Its goals of dependence reduction and development as set out and articulated are hardly small or easy ones, but the present situation's constraints are recognised and the individual steps forward proposed are made with a clear attempt to strive for the possible and, once it is attained, to take another step. The supposed non-political character depends on one's definition of politics. Reduction of dependence, especially but not solely on the Republic of South Africa and development as economic liberation to meet basic needs

are hardly non-political in any broad sense of that term. Indeed they are more political than the stated goals of most regional cooperation groupings. What is true is that SADCC is an economic means to further specified common interests which does not wander into statements on issues which are not directly relevant to regional economic coordination for dependence reduction or development nor attempt to impose uniform positions on political economic issues and options for which no possible consensus exists among its members.¹² But in this the contrast is more with the OAU (except for the Lagos Plan of Action) than with PTA, with the UN General Assembly than with SELA.

Some Determining Elements

If SADCC is different, the question arises as to why. That cannot be answered by cataloguing differences. A complete analysis would need to go deeper into geographic, political economic, political organisational and historic contexts (in a state by state as well as regional basis) than is practicable here. However, SADCC as a regional coordination process has a number of "special" characteristics which go far toward answering the question why it is different and, perhaps, toward assessing its probable future trajectory and importance.

The first characteristic - and one critical to several of the others - is self definition. SADCC - as emphasised in the opening quotation from Chairman Masire - is a creation of the SADCC states based on what they believed and believe are the appropriate objectives, ways and means for a regional development grouping in Southern Africa. SADCC owes little or nothing to the standard neo-classical economic theory of common markets which is - however added to or disguised - at the heart of most South-South regional economic groupings and the chief influence of past membership by most states in other economic cooperation or integration groups has been to cause a quite overt search for a different approach to identifying goals and programmes and building structures. SADCC is, and has consistently been, intensely self-reliant and self-confident (in the sense of supposing that on basic goal, problem and programme identification Southern Africans will make mistakes but less and less serious ones than outsiders).¹³

Second SADCC has operated on the basis of pragmatic articulation of measures to achieve central long term development objectives determined of its initiation. The combination is as important as either half. SADCC is not "mindlessly pragmatic" in lacking a strategy or long term political economic objectives or in failing to relate its programme to them.

President Khama's opening address to the Arusha SADCC¹⁴ identified what has remained the central strategic goal:

We are gathered here today to try to chart a new course for the future of Southern Africa, to launch a new type of struggle for liberation - economic liberation... We can wage a successful struggle for economic liberation providing we can begin now, in the free states of Southern Africa, to plan together for our economic future.

The key elements¹⁵ - or basic long term targets - within the strategy:

- a. reduction of external dependence and in particular that on South Africa;
- b. building equitable regional integration;
- c. mobilizing national and regional resources to carry out projects and policies to achieve the reduction and implement the building;
- d. and acting together to secure international understanding and practical support.

were identified at the Arusha SADCC, embodied in the Lusaka declaration and used as tests of proposals and organising principles for programmes in subsequent reviews and policy papers.

Specific programmes have been prioritized, initiated and operated in the context of articulating and implementing these goals. Transport and Communication was seen as the greatest single dependence on RSA and one preventing tackling others (eg including regional trade, altering world trade patterns, reducing RSA leverage). Thus its leading role and the concentration within it on Indian Ocean links improvement for Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana plus self contained external telecommunications and the possibility of direct region/international

air links. Food security's early identification (interestingly following SADCC reflection on initial suggestions by the invited guests at Arusha) relates to the region's serious food dependency. The increasing dependence forced by the impact of the world economic crisis on member states' balance of payments has influenced the growing emphasis on industry, energy and mining (export expansion in this case). The articulation consciously relates to the goals, it is not random.

Flowing from the second characteristic is a third - criteria for programme area selection, emphasis and context. These are that.

- a. the sector be critical;
- b. include elements in which co-ordinated action will clearly be more effective than separate;
- c. be perceived as one of common or complementary (not divergent) interests;
- d. have enough importance for a state to undertake co-ordinating and proposal articulation responsibility;
- e. relate to SADCC's basic goods;
- f. manageable:

Chairman Masire of the Gaborone Summit¹⁶ emphasized this:

The SADCC Programme of Action is growing rapidly - and I hope not too rapidly to be effectively controlled. We should, in considering its further expansion, take care that we do not lose sight of the basic objections of SADCC. For there are many important and worthwhile activities in which Governments must emerge but which do not lend themselves to a regional approach... There are also some possible areas of activity the purpose of which is not primarily to reduce economic dependence on South Africa... Let us retain the sharp focus of interrelated projects in the SADCC Programme of Action which has been such an outstanding feature of our work to date.

Direct state participation, limited institution building and concentration on action is a very explicit fourth characteristic. Perceived common interests in particular actions are seen as essential to making the objectives real guides to resource allocation and direct national involvement as necessary for

such perceptions. Regional institutions are perceived as useful only when there is a proven need to provide technical support for co-ordinated action (eg SATCC) and to provide an overall framework for the major conferences and interaction among sectoral programmes (eg Secretariat). Otherwise it is perceived as a miscalculation of scarce personnel and as likely to distance SADCC from its member states and thus impede, not promote, action. The action therefore, is seen as ultimately by states on the basis of opportunities indentified, made possible and coordinated in the SADCC context not as a series of projects or corporations run on a multinational basis.¹⁷ The record in transport and communication does suggest that better planning, filtering national projects together in a complementary way, fund raising and implementation can be furthered rapidly and substantially in this way. SATCC is now extending its work to cover coordination of operations, maintenance and capacity utilisation as well the rehabilitation and new project work which were its initial foci.

A fifth characteristic is a distinct commitment to international cooperation including discussion of SADCC's past, present and future. The Annual Conference with invited guests is mandated in the Lusaka Declaration and at the Blantyre SADCC, Chairman Masire stated:¹⁸

This conference was convened primarily to fulfil the commitment which the Head of State and Government made in the Declaration... to provide a mechanism through which SADCC member states and their partners in the development effort can survey results, evaluate performance, identify strengths and weaknesses and agree on future plans.

This is neither a fund raising device (an annual fund raising conference was specifically rejected) nor a public relations gambit. SADCC is committed to open dialogue and to learning from the experience of others. However, as the opening quotations from Chairman Masire and Manusi underline, this is in the context of SADCC self definition - attempts to sell 'miracle cures' or to 'direct' that SADCC adopt or reject certain policies or projects are unwelcome and have been firmly, even if courteously, declined.

Because of SADCC's quite specific goals and focus it views membership in additional regional organisations or bilateral cooperation schemes as likely to be complementary not competitive. eg The Kagera Basin grouping (Tanzania - Burundi - Rwanda - Uganda) with a series of water, power, trade, industry and transport coordinated and joint development goods is seen as perfectly compatible with Tanzania's commitment to SADCC, but membership of the other three Kagera Basin states in SADCC would be seen as implausible because dependence reduction vis a vis South Africa is irrelevant to them. Since the Lagos Plan of Action ¹⁹ calls for primarily regional (sub-regional) action to 1990 and coordination among the regional (sub-regional) bodies over 1991-2000, SADCC perceives itself as clearly within the Lagos context. In respect to PTA it hopes to achieve complementarity - selective trade barrier reduction and clearing facilitation and certain sectoral coordination over a broader grouping than SADCC are seen as broadly desirable if potential duplication of effort and conflict with key SADCC programmes can be avoided. In a negative sense this characteristic of SADCC turns on the fact that it is not, and has no ambition to be, a free trade area, the type of integration which least compatible with overlapping membership, and has no supra-national bureaucracy, the interest group most likely to see such overlaps in terms of rivalry and threats.

Selected
SADCC views itself as being in the political economic management business not that of political mobilisation or diplomatic campaigning and of being in that business within the area laid out in the Lusaka Declaration, not in any and all aspects. This characteristic does much to explain its non-rhetorical style. For political economic management in a specified area there must be identified, agreed political economic objectives, but the bulk of ongoing work is identifying and acting on ways and means to implement, articulate and programme toward them. Dialogue not confrontation, technical and financial practicability exploration not declamation are appropriate to that work. Certainly differences of opinion do arise - presumptively on exact goal articulation, on priorities within programmes and on specific projects among SADCC members as well as between SADCC and some external cooperators ¹⁹ - but in the context of political economic

management, the approach rationally summarized by President Nyerere as "Argue Don't Shout" has been seen as the most appropriate one.

While SADCC does not have a comprehensive, explicit political economic model, a number of political economic approaches or guidelines are either explicit or demonstrated by its pattern of decisions:-

1. making perceived common interest the basis for programme and project selection not using any general, global theory of integration either to pick sectors or ways and means;
2. operating through co-ordinated national action rather than attempting to create multi or supra national operating agencies;
3. avoiding areas not vital to SADCC's for basic goals in which clear political economic strategy divergences exist (as illustrated in the opening quotation from Chairman Mmusi);
4. centering emphasis on medium term, programme/project oriented management style planning in distinction both to theoretically based comprehensive planning or random micro-projection collection;
5. Focusing on achieving increased production (including services) as the primary target with increased trade or consequential, facilitating result (not vice versa as in the standard regional economic integration model);²⁰
6. taking government economic intervention and market management - not 'free market' approaches - as a given, while recognising that means used and degree of intervention vary widely among members.²¹

These are a good deal less than an overall regional political economic strategy - which is clearly unattainable. They are a good deal more than has characterised many other regional cooperation groupings, e.g. those seeking common markets based on free trade among states all nationally committed to detailed economic intervention and attempting to resolve this basic contradiction (without ever openly accepting its existence) by a patchwork of special regulations and exceptions

which may do more to damage the efficiency both of the market and of the intervention than to reduce discord.²²

SADCC In Prospect; 1982-1987

SADCC is both new and dynamic. It exists in the context of a regional geo-political and political economic confrontation with an aggressive South Africa and in that of a global economic crisis which has wreaked havoc on a majority of its member state's economies. Therefore, detailed prognostications would at this time be fatuous. Even general ones must be problematic because both the nature and level of South African aggression nor the nature and timing of global economic rehabilitation and restructuring are neither subject to control by SADCC and its members severally or jointly nor areas in which it is possible to make confident projections.

The broad perspective which follows assumes that:²³

1. South Africa remains hostile but acts to cut its losses by leaving Namibia, running down its aggression against Angola and at least not sharply increasing destabilisation programmes against other SADCC members;
2. there is a slow recovery in the international economy over 1983-87 but not a full return to 1960-1972 rates of industrial economy output and trade expansion;
3. external resource availability to SADCC members remains inadequate but that some improvement results from limited long term assistance and investment growth, interim adjustment support to the most severely affected states, export rehabilitation and expansion, a half (or at least radical slowing) of the 1977-82 terms of trade decline experienced by most SADCC members.

SADCC basic objectives and membership are unlikely to change radically. The balance between dependence reduction specifically on South Africa and dependence reduction more generally

(e.g. between transport and communication and industry) may well shift somewhat. However, because high levels of national and regional import dependence in key areas create economic weakness which South Africa can and does exploit, the two are closely interrelated.

Articulation of objectives will continue but the impact is likely to be at programme and project selection level. Determining timing and weighting, not altering basic goods, is what SADCC - probably correctly - sees as appropriate over the medium term.

Given SADCC's goals - especially that of economic liberation from South Africa - there seems likely to be only one additional member by 1987 - Namibia. A northward expansion of SADCC would dilute rather than strengthen and would probably also rapidly lead to unmanageable problems in sustaining effective coordination, priority setting and sustained inter-relations among individual projects and policies.²⁴

SADCC programme evolution is likely to turn on deepening and strengthening rather than adding new areas (as suggested in Chairman Mosire's speech cited above). In the case of transport and communications while marginal project additions and deletions are predictable, the only major additions are likely to be those resulting from Namibian independence and accession - e.g. Trans Kalahari railroad, Namibian port improvement. The areas whose build up is most critical is that of operating policies (especially routing, capacity utilisation, maintenance, transit traffic regulations) as the momentum and pattern on the rehabilitation and new project front seems to have reached a level needing to be sustained and built up gradually rather than radically increased.

The second main cluster of programmes can be broadly termed Agriculture (Food Security, Crop REsearch In The Semi-Arid

Tropics, Animal Disease Control, Soil Conservation and Land Utilisation, Fisheries, Forestry and Wildlife). In these the immediate challenge is to achieve an on-going pattern of information exchange, project identification and coordinated implementation. This challenge is recognised by SADCC and at least in Animal Disease Control and Food Security should be at least partially met during 1983.²⁵

Personpower (manpower) development coordination is moving toward exchange of information on specialised facilities leading to exchange of students. It has also identified a number of areas in which new or sharply expanded programmes/facilities serving more than national needs (with no automatic assumption that multinational institutions are the only way to achieve this) would be valuable. By 1987 these approaches seem likely to result in actual increases in level and utilisation of such facilities.

Industrial coordination has identified an approach to coordinated evaluation of demand, supply, capacity utilisation, identification of projects with regional significance. This turns on selection of sub-sectors and products of major significance in development strategy terms in which scale, specialisation or raw material considerations suggest co-ordinated action can usefully complement and increase the effectiveness of national. The first action proposals will be made public at the Maseru SADCC. Attempts to identify means to enhance trade out of existing capacity, increasing production and reducing extra-regional imports have reached the point of identifying certain obstacles, opportunities and requirements and probably will be pushed toward initial operational experiments (most unlikely to centre on tariff charges) and 1983/84. The care in identifying problems and persistence in seeking ways to resolve them suggests that over time significant co-ordination in some branches of the industrial

sector based on enhanced production and consequentially, regional trade will be achieved. How much, how fast, in precisely which products and using what instrumentalities (e.g. annual trade target plans, preferential impact licensing, medium term product contracts) is not yet projectable in any detail.

Energy and mining are almost certain to have operating programmes by 1987. In energy these appear likely to include exchange of information, co-ordinated development (almost has potentially valuable in electricity generation as in transport in respect to Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Mozambique and - to a lesser degree - Zambia), and intra-regional trade (in petroleum and petroleum products and potentially coal). In mining exchange of information, personpower development, pre-export processing coordination, manufacture (and trade) of metal products, backward integration into input (e.g. chemicals, machinery) production on a co-ordinated basis involving trade and co-ordination of national negotiating tactics and frames for accepting foreign involvement seem the probable main areas. Again it is too early in the articulation and programme development process to make specific, sub-sectoral, quantity or timing projections. The hardest sector in which to project is that of intraregional trade. Because SADCC starts with production and treats trade as consequential and because in the lead sector - transport and communications - trade, which very real, is both more automatic and rather differently handled than in physical goods, there has not yet been systematic attention to trade issues.

SADCC has indicated that it sees trade as important - e.g. in the Lusaka Declaration and in the programme work on industry, energy and mining. It has - in the Declaration and the industrial sector discussion - endorsed multiple

approaches including annual trade target arrangements broadly identifying commodities, prices and quantities.²⁶ What is still lacking is a detailed consideration and agreement on what approaches to trade are needed in each sector, are compatible with national external transaction control/management, can be seen to be (and be) mutually beneficial. There is no reason to suppose this to be impossible but some of the choices may be hard ones and building up operational approaches maybe a relatively lengthy process. There is the further complication that this approach is arguably inconsistent with the PTA treaty row and almost certainly would be at the end of its initial transitional period.²⁷

SADCC institutional development is likely to be evolutionary. The Summit-Council of Ministers - Standing Committee of Officials decision taking, programme supervision care seems unlikely to change. Each sector is likely to have a formal sub-committee of officials (most do now) and the larger ones regular ministerial meetings (already the practice in transport/communication and energy, tentatively emerging in agriculture and industry). The central Secretariat is likely to grow with some specialist staff but to remain a service and external relations unit, not a leading force or programme initiator.²⁸ Most programme areas are likely to be serviced by small technical units provided by the coordinating state, but two or three probably will have developed large enough programmes to have graduated to Commission status like that of SATCC.

By creating a habit and framework of co-ordination and co-operation SADCC is likely to have encouraged bilateral cooperation (among its members and between them and neighbours) which are not in any structural sense part of the SADCC programme but in a broader sense form part of an evolving pattern of regional linkages.²⁹ This also applies to overlapping regional cooperation groupings like

the Kagera Basin Authority and - if complementary areas can be identified, overlap reduced³⁰ and conflict minimised or avoided³¹ - with the PTA.

SADCC's Contribution to Regional Economics Rehabilitation and Development

Two quite opposite errors can be made in assessing SADCC's potential contribution to regional economic recovery and renewed progress in the 1980's. The first is to perceive it as basically irrelevant and the second to load it with the impossible burden of serving as the key to unlock all barriers.

The argument that SADCC is irrelevant has several aspects (rarely all present in any one criticism):

- a. it is not political enough and has no commitment to transition to socialism (or to an enhanced role for market forces);
- b. SADCC is too political and its concern with dependence reduction on South Africa or anyone else is a mis-allocation of resources;
- c. the basic problems are national not regional;
- d. SADCC has nothing to offer in raising exports;
- e. it is not and shows no signs of being supranational.

The first argument is based on a misperception of what is possible (whether desirable or not). If SADCC tried to follow any such course of action it would disintegrate and be able to do less not more.

The second is also more than somewhat unrealistic. SADCC states, individually and regionally, need to reduce the ratio of necessary imports to output. Most have already cut away all the fat there was and are slashing muscle, chipping bones and severing blood vessels in import reduction nationally. Altered production structures to reduce import requirements

seem likely to have lower real resource costs is co-ordinated than if autarchic. It is hard to argue that concentrated unilateral dependence is conducive to development nor that one can construct economic policy vis a vis South Africa without looking at the overall nature of that state. Historic experience in the region hardly can be said to support either contention.

SADCC as a co-ordinating framework for national action is premised on the primacy of national needs and interests. It seeks to provide ways of meeting these more fully and at lower real resource cost than would be possible individually.

Export promotion may not be an overt SADCC aim. However, improved (in physical availability, speed and cost) transport and communication, a strengthened mining sector (including more pre-export processing and manufacturing) and a more broadly based, wider market oriented manufacturing sector would appear to be among the basic structural changes required for enhanced and sustained extraregional export growth.

Supranationality has a very poor track record. At present it is neither psychologically, politically, physically, or technically feasible in Southern Africa nor is there any evident short term prospect of that reality altering. By creating a habit of cooperation and coordination SADCC may lay the basis for the emergence of more integrative and multinational - and over a longer time period supra-national - approaches, but to attempt them now would be to ensure failure to achieve co-ordination.

To perceive SADCC as the key is just as unrealistic, especially in the short and medium term. There is no single key to economic development and several of the major challenges to Southern Africa's economies cannot be resolved outside global economic recovery or restructuring.

This is particularly true of the external balance crises. SADCC's contribution in reduced transport costs, regional import substitution and strengthening export bases will take time to build up and, in any event, can merely reduce damage so long as the 1977-82 trend of 10% a year or more terms of trade deterioration for the typical SADCC economy continues. So long as declining real prices discourage export volume growth or even maintenance³², as do protectionism and quotas related to work markets, cost reduction and physical barrier to export movement via SATCC can limit losses of volume not restore steady growth.

Food balance restoration (or achievement for certain countries and crops) is a sub-area in which SADCC can facilitate progress but not cause it. This is not purely a matter of national policy, procurement, transport and storage constraints but of limited real resources, weather dependence and inadequate knowledge of what to do and how on the production side. The only short term breakthrough would be one related to three or four years of good weather in most member states (as in Tanzania over 1975-78).

Economic unification allowing development as if SADCC were a single 55 million person, \$17.5 billion economy is not something SADCC can achieve. As noted, there is no present basis for supranationality. Such transformation - even abstracting from the socio political impossibilities - would require massive investment over two decades. And - if the larger poor Third World countries are any guide - it would probably increase intra-regional polarisation without radically reducing external balance constraints.

A more realistic assessment of SADCC's potential lies between these two extremes. In some sectors SADCC's success is probably necessary for speedy rehabilitation and renewed forward progress, in others it is important and in a third group useful

but secondary. In none is it sufficient.

With six landlocked and three (four on Namibia's independence) transit states, co-ordination is necessary to achieve acceptable cost, dependable intra and extra regional transport facilities and operations. Because weather conditions are rarely uniform within the region, co-ordination is critical to national food security (based on intraregional flows to supplement national reserves). Certain sub-sectors of industry (e.g. elements in the iron ore/coal to basic steel to finished metal products and natural gas to chemicals to fertilizer/fuel/plastics chains) can only be developed at plausible unit costs either on a regionally co-ordinated (or an extra regional export oriented) basis.³³ For the central SADCC states (Botswana-Zimbabwe-Zambia-Swaziland-Mozambique) a co-ordinated approach to electricity generation (with major consequential power imports and exports) would be substantially more cost efficient than isolated national self sufficiency programmes, particularly given present surplus capacity in Zambia and Zimbabwe and the impossibility of purely national, low cost generation in Botswana and Swaziland.³⁴

In a number of other aspects of industry, agriculture, energy, mining and person power development co-ordination can raise the speed, lower the cost and reduce the overall extra regional important content of development. To assert its necessity or even that it was as critical as in the areas cited above would be to claim too much, but the potential gains are significant especially in the context of serious personnel, foreign exchange and - in some cases - extra regional market availability constraints.

SADCC is already important. Its practical programmes and projects are beginning to pay off and to generate other cooperation which would probably not exist without it.³⁵ More intangible, but not necessarily less important, SADCC represent a concept successfully transformed into a process which is showing forward progress. Amid a series of crises and failures such a symbol of hope and of the realism of

Precisely because SADCC has advanced rapidly and is potentially of major and growing significance, there is a very real danger of expecting more, sooner than is attainable. SADCC itself is aware of this danger - the need for prompt concrete action is cited together with the need to persevere over an extended time period. To expect any policy or polity or organisation to reach the New Jerusalem tomorrow is to ensure that tomorrow it will be condemned for not achieving what it was never realistic to expect.

To date the accomplishments, operational style and forward dynamic of SADCC are living up to the challenge set by Commonwealth Secretary General Shridath Ramphal at the Arusha SADCC: ³⁶

Let out presence here help to proclaim that the future of Southern Africa lies not in a constellation of satellite States held in orbit about an unreconstructed South Africa...but in a region of free States united in their commitment to human dignity and made strong by their success in forging instruments of economic co-ordination...fashioned to the genius of the people of Southern Africa. ³⁷

Notes

1. Professor Green has been a student of South-South regional development coordination since 1963 and has published extensively on it. Over 1965-1974 he served as an advisor to Uganda (1965) and Tanzania in respect to the East African Community and since 1978 he has served SADCC as a consultant and Liaison Committee member. However, this introduction is his personal responsibility and the views expressed are not necessarily those of SADCC.
2. Gaborone, 22-VIII-82.
3. Closing Speech, Blantyre, 20-XI-81, in SADCC-Blantyre, SADCC, London, 1982.
4. Blantyre, 20-XI-81, in ibid.
5. SADCC in Salisbury, 24-VIII-81.
6. Southern Africa is used here in its SADCC definition: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and - on independence - Namibia.
7. See pp. 29FF below.
8. There were indeed earlier cases of specific economic cooperation among the FLS (especially on easing Zambian transport constraints after UDI), of bilateral cooperation agreements of substance (eg Mozambique-Tanzania) and of hopes for broader, multi-country cooperation but no systematic pre-planning or negotiation.
9. For a fuller discussion of PTA's evolution see articles by R.H. Green cited below in additional materials.
10. EAC's transport sector was in the 1960s probably more important than its Common Market but was rarely perceived as such and became an area of discord which played a significant role in its demise. This experience - like that of Zambia in the CAF - partly explains why SATCC has chosen to coordinate and assist projects serving more than one state (and implemented severally, but in coordination, by each state rather than jointly) not to undertake multinational projects or float interstate cooperation.
11. Nigeria is by no means unique in this respect. If the economically largest, strongest, externally least vulnerable and most committed state feels the balance of national and regional concerns requires this type of action, it is hardly surprising if others act similarly.
12. E.g. SADCC - to the annoyance of some academic supporters - has not attempted to promulgate a Southern African Transition to Socialism. Even its four (or five) members with such a commitment nationally diverge significantly in paths chosen and four have no such commitment. This is not to say that SADCC has accepted a "least common denominator" approach - eg the 1980 clearly stated commitment to economic liberation from South Africa and the specific 1981 condemnation of South African sabotage of regional transport.

13. SADCC has drawn on the services of expatriates. But it has done so in two contexts: first, to provide technical expertise to broadly identified programmes (eg the technical team at SATCC largely provided by the Scandinavian countries); second, individuals chosen by SADCC or coordinating states to articulate member state ideas and prepare background material on ways to achieve objectives chosen by SADCC. The idea - sometimes held by SADCC supporters as well as critics - that there is an eminence blanc somewhere in the background is a basic misunderstanding. The range of alternative candidates floated for this non-existent role from the then Soviet Ambassador to Zambia through Commissioner Cheysson of EEC and the Deputy Secretary General of the Commonwealth to a then Regional Representative of the African Development Bank and the present author is mildly amusing but the whole exercise detracts from understanding that a basic characteristic of SADCC is that no such person could exist.
14. Arusha, 3-VII-79 reprinted in Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation (A.J. Nsekela, editor), Rex Collings, London, 1981.
15. See Lusaka Declaration.
16. Gaborone, 22-VII-82.
17. There is no blanket ruling out of interstate ways and means. For example a regional financial institution has been studied and discussed - but deferred on the basis that at present it would neither augment nor simplify resource mobilisation and disbursement. In the industrial field, both multistate ownership and long-term contractual arrangements (on minimum orders and deliveries and price formulas) have been considered as among the ways appropriate to facilitating certain projects. However, there is no commitment to multinationality (as opposed to intrastate coordination) for its own sake and, to date, few cases requiring it have arisen.
18. Blantyre, 20-XI-82 in SADCC-Blantyre, Blantyre 1982.
19. An example of the latter would appear to be SADCC's statement on South African economic sabotage and terrorism with special reference to regional transport facilities. SADCC - and most cooperating states and institutions - saw this as clearly related to transport developments. Some, apparently, did not judging from the exact wording of the Blantyre SADCC Communique (SADCC-Blantyre 1981, Blantyre, 1982, p.69).
20. There is a somewhat inchoate body of analysis and theory which argues from the experience of - e.g. LAFTA, Andean Pact, EAC, CARIFTA - that this is the appropriate approach not the trade as motivating production one. Trade, after all, is a means to validating and realising production not an end in itself. However, SADCC's position is not an explicit one resulting from intensive theoretical debate but a revealed preference one arising out of what sectors had demonstrable common interests to be pursued.

21. This is in fact simple acceptance of reality. The five largest SADC members operate comprehensive intervention and market management systems. While the systems in Botswana, Swaziland and Malawi are more fragmented and - especially in the case of Malawi - rather differently directed all have large public and joint venture sectors and an actual economic policy approach having little in common with a normal free, competitive market model.
22. EAC is an example of articles by present author in East African Community in 1975-76, 1976-77, 1977-78 editions of Africa Contemporary Record.
23. Significantly more optimistic projections would appear to be unrealistic on present evidence. Radicallt more pessimistic ones could be drawn up and a case for their being as probable as the ones set out here argued. But if one posits either a series of countries devastated and resource drained by South African invasions or a series of economies crushed by foreign imbalance detonated production collapses it is somewhat pointless to project SADC - it could hardly remain an island of progress isolated from the member states which comprise it.
24. In principle SADC is open to the idea of additional members beyond a liberated Namibia and South Africa. In practice it does not see any such accessions as timely now or - subject to altered contexts - in the next few years.
25. This is not to imply there has been no action to date but in food security the existing projects are basically programmatic or sub sectoral feasibility studies. Animal disease control has a small number of operational projects but not enough nor a wide enough spread to be viewed as having an established dynamic or a self sustaining momentum.
26. These would not be barter agreements, necessarily call for exact balance, nor be absolutely binding irrespective of price and availability change if the largest existing example - the Mozambique/Tanzania annual trade plan - is a guide.
27. The first problem is more critical than the latter - the PTA's second stage of full economic integration following removal of all fiscal and quantitative barriers to intra-regional trade seems likely to be reached at approximately the same time as the neo-classical economic state of satiety or Communism in the technical sense defined by Karl Marx. (Both require real resource and production levels in excess of any potential demand and no purchasing power constraint on demand.)

28. At the Gaborone Summit, Chairman Masire saw the secretariat as strengthening overall (intersectoral) coordination, allowing more effective long term planning, serving as a focus for informing others about SADCC activities, "where necessary" providing administrative support to regional initiatives and providing ongoing follow-up to check on progress between major meetings (loc cit). These are significant roles, but not those of a self-contained international organisation, let alone a semi-supranational body like the EEC Commission.
29. This was certainly true of the EAC and its predecessors.
30. e.g. in Transport and Communication where PTA's stated initial areas would appear to duplicate SATCC's.
31. Especially in respect to trade arrangements and industrial coordination.
32. For a product with declining external terms of trade - especially if it requires import intensive inputs or services such as fuel and transport - real purchasing power declines in domestic terms are virtually inevitable and are logical on market economic and planned economy grounds. (To push domestic relative price up against a global trend is a clear repudiation of market logic and to concentrate on promoting demonstrable losers is plausible interventionist planning only under rather special conditions which may or may not pertain to particular export products in particular SADCC member states at the present time.)
33. This need not mean that the whole chain is in the raw material producing state. Indeed cost minimisation as well as regional balance (and thus sustaining a perceived common interest) often suggest the reverse.
34. Either could build an economic scale coal fired station but only if its surplus were saleable to a larger neighbour as one of its secondary sources of supply.
35. e.g. the priority attention to reopening the Beira-Feruka pipeline which is the key to ending Zimbabwean and Botswanan dependence on South Africa for petroleum products.
36. Arusha, July 3, 1979, in Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation (A.J. Nsekela, editor), Rex Collings, London, 1981.
37. It is worth noting that at that time many observers picked P.W. Botha's constellation as the winner, doubted SADCC would ever leave the drafting board and even the five participating Front Line States would not have predicted a solid nine country grouping by April 1980 nor nearly \$1 billion in domestic and external commitments to co-ordinated programme projects by June 1982.

LUSAKA PROGRAMME OF ACTION:
1981-1982 PROGRESS REPORT
(SADCC Summit, July 1982, Gaborone)

Progress Report on the Lusaka Programme of Action 1981-1982

1. The Programme of Action set out in the Lusaka Declaration Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation, together with additional programme areas identified at the 1981 Harare Summit, have provided a clear focus for the work of SADCC during the past year. The second annual report on the Programme of Action again indicates substantial progress. There has been a sustained effort to formulate and implement projects in the programme areas - most notably Transport and Communications - which were the initial focus of action in 1980/81. In addition, work has advanced in two further areas - Industry and Agriculture - which will be highlighted at the Maseru Annual Conference as well as in several new programme areas as set out in more detail below.
2. Arrangements for the creation of a small permanent Secretariat located in Gaborone, Botswana have been completed during the past year. Mr Frederick Arthur Blumeris, of Zimbabwe, who has been appointed as the first Executive Secretary, will take up his post shortly.
3. The 1981 Blantyre Annual Conference with invited Governments and Development Agencies was attended by 20 Governments and 12 Development Agencies. Unlike the 1980 Maputo Conference, the Blantyre Conference was primarily a review of progress rather than a pledging conference. As such it was held at senior official level. The discussions provided a useful opportunity to strengthen and speed up work with external cooperating agencies. Furthermore, additional pledges were made for several new projects and studies.
4. The 1982 Annual Conference will be held in Maseru, Lesotho. The focus will be Industry and Agriculture. Continuing attention will be paid to ongoing areas of external cooperation - in particular Transport and Communications and also Manpower Development. Presentations are also envisaged with respect to newly articulated sectors including Energy, Mining, Fisheries and Wildlife. Emphasis at the Maseru Conference will be on concrete projects for advancing national and coordinated SADCC development and reduction of dependence. The Conference will

provide for a review of cooperation experience but will lay emphasis on securing specific commitments by invited Governments and Development agencies to the projects contained in SADCC sectoral representations. Therefore it is intended that the Maseru Annual Conference will - like the 1980 Maputo Conference - be at Ministerial level. In order to afford adequate time for documentation to reach invited guests well in advance of the conference, it has been decided to change the date of the Maseru Conference from November 1982 to 27/28 January 1983.

5. Sectoral activity summaries include:

a) Transport and Communications

(delegated to Mozambique for coordination)

i) The Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) has been in full operation throughout 1981/82. Its Committee of Ministers and Coordinating Committee of Officials have continued to meet regularly and additional technical meetings have been held on special topics. The Technical Unit of SATCC is staffed with nine experts (provided with assistance from the Nordic countries and Italy) and one more is expected soon.

ii) The 97 projects initially presented at Maputo have grown to be 106. A new programme aimed at overcoming existing operational problems has been adopted and a programme of data collection through Technical Unit visits to Member States begun. Project submissions for the Maseru Annual Conference will be finalised at a Coordinating Committee meeting in October.

iii) The status of project implementation a year ago and today is as follows:

	<u>June 1981</u>	<u>June 1982</u>
Total Projects	94	106
Completed	0	3
Under Implementation	22	48
Submitted to External Financial Bodies	29	20
Ready for Submission	0	10
Additional Documentation Being Prepared	43	25

iv) At the time of the Blantyre Annual Conference in November 1981 total finance committed to projects totalled

US\$338 million (US\$273 million external, US\$65 million domestic). As a result of project development and negotiation this was, by mid-June 1982, raised to US\$870 million (US\$698 million external, US\$172 million domestic). This total represents 37% of total estimated project costs - up from 17% committed in November 1981. The breakdown by project group as of mid-June 1981 is as follows:

(US\$ million)

	<u>Required</u>	<u>Committed</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Maputo Port Transport System	554	162	29
Beira Port Transport System	463	52	11
Nacala Port Transport System	296	229	77
Lobito Port Transport System	174	69	40
Dar es Salaam Port Transport System	162	28	17
Civil Aviation	238	184	77
Telecommunications	181	99	55
Intra-regional projects	295	47	16
TOTAL	<u>2,363</u>	<u>870</u>	<u>37</u>

v) The SATCC is now fully recognised, within the international community, as a permanent and effective institution which can represent the Member States in respect of the coordination and development of the region's transport and communications programme.

vi) Certain technical amendments to the SATCC Convention to improve its clarity, but not alter its substance, have been proposed by the STACC Ministerial Committee and approved by the Council of Ministers. The revised Convention is now presented to the Summit for endorsement.

vii) The need to improve the flow of information from the Member States to the SATCC on projects, capacity and on operational difficulties has been noted. The Commission has also appealed to Member States to participate more actively in the work of the SATCC Technical Unit.

b) Food Security

(delegated to Zimbabwe for coordination)

i) Zimbabwe will convene the first of the Consultative Technical Committees (CTCs) in September 1982. It is envisaged that the three committees, dealing with Agricultural Research, Agricultural Extension and Agricultural Economics and Marketing, will each meet three times by January 1984. Zimbabwe is establishing an administrative unit in the Ministry of Agriculture to service these meetings and the food security programme as a whole.

ii) Eight project areas are being investigated through feasibility studies. This programme includes studies on national and regional statistical data banks, and an early warning system; national food plans and reserves, post-harvest food loss; food processing and joint action in respect of imports and food procurement including food aid. Two of these studies are now completed, four are in progress and the remaining two will begin shortly.

iii) Zimbabwe will convene a meeting of Ministers of Agriculture in order to select and approve projects in respect of Agriculture (including Control of Animal Disease, Crop Research in the Semi-Arid Tropics, Fisheries, Soil Conservation and Land Utilisation and Food Security) for presentation to the Maseru Annual Conference. It is proposed to convene a meeting of SADCC Agriculture officials in Harare on 27 and 28 September to be followed on 30 September by a meeting of Agriculture Ministers.

c) Soil Conservation and Land Utilisation

(delegated to Lesotho for coordination)

i) Coordination was assigned to Lesotho at the Mbabane Council of Ministers Meeting and transfer of responsibility from Zimbabwe completed early in 1982.

ii) A programme unit has been created within the Lesotho Ministry of Agriculture and a preliminary list of areas for investigation drawn up leading to a scheduled series of visits by Lesotho officials to Member States to collect basic data and to identify areas for coordinated action.

d) Crop Research in the Semi-Arid Tropics

(delegated to Botswana for coordination)

i) Progress has been limited by inadequate Member State attendance at technical meetings.

ii) A report, prepared by the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) was, however, considered by Botswana together with some other Member States. On the basis of this technical study it has been agreed to instruct ICRISAT to prepare a new report on the modalities of creating a centre in Botswana for the co-ordination of crop research applicable to the semi-arid areas in the SADCC region and also making proposals relating to certain commodity specific research (eg groundnuts, millet, sorghum).

e) Animal Disease Control

(delegated to Botswana for coordination)

i) Coordination of national and cross-border programmes among Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia - especially in relation to Foot and Mouth disease eradication and/or control - has continued with three joint projects in operation.

ii) Work on possible coordinated development of vaccine production by Member States to serve regional needs has been carried out.

iii) Negotiations with the EEC concerning the consultancy on regional control of animal diseases and in particular Foot and Mouth disease have finally been completed. The consultancy will involve a two-phase study. The first phase will take stock of the present national programme and capacities for disease control and the second phase will look into and recommend a regional control strategy including organisational structure, manpower and infrastructure requirements, taking into account the findings of the first phase.

f) Manpower Development

(delegated to Swaziland for coordination)

i) An initial presentation to the Annual Conference was made at Blantyre resulting in securing external commitments

to studies towards the preparation of training programmes in such fields as health, mining and teacher training.

ii) Funding is also being sought for the ongoing regional agricultural Management Training Centre at Mananga.

iii) Additional study is to be devoted to capacities, requirements and areas for coordinated action by Member States with respect to management training.

iv) The inventory of specialised training facilities in the region (data collection for which has been begun) is to be completed in 1982/83 to provide a framework for their coordinated use and for the exchange of students.

g) Industrial Development

(delegated to Tanzania for coordination)

i) An initial presentation was given at the Blantyre Annual Conference. At Maseru a more comprehensive presentation including concrete projects for implementation, feasibility studies and in-depth product sector studies will be made. In preparation further meetings of the Sub-Committee of Industry Officials and the first meeting of SADCC Ministers of Industry are to be held in Tanzania in August/September 1982.

ii) Information on existing production capacity and product use as a basis for programme and project formulation has been collected by Tanzania through a series of questionnaires and visits to Member States. However, submissions especially in respect of national projects which fit within the proposed framework for coordinated action remain somewhat incomplete and prompt, accurate data flows are still to be achieved.

iii) Criteria for regional studies and projects relevant to basic needs and to SADCC market base, inputs, intra-regional trade potential, plant site and logistical feasibility have been agreed and are being used by the coordinating country and the Sub-Committee in their work.

iv) An initial list of projects for coordinated action and presentation to the Maseru Annual Conference has been determined including fertiliser, cement, pulp and paper, textiles and chemicals for the textile industry, electricity transmission and distribution apparatus, tractors and farm

h) Energy Conservation and Security

(delegated to Angola for coordination)

i) The Council of Ministers adopted the paper Towards an Energy Policy for Southern Africa as a policy document on the basis of which a regional energy programme should be developed. The paper, which was initially used as the basis for a coordinated stand at the UN Conference on Energy Resources in Nairobi in 1981, was prepared by a meeting of Energy Ministers.

ii) Initial meetings of Energy Ministers and of sectoral officials have been held to begin defining areas of action and an administrative and technical unit has been created in the Angola Ministry of Energy to service and work on further articulation of the programme.

iii) A study on the means of attaining regional self-sufficiency in the supply of petroleum products has been defined, terms of reference approved and negotiations toward securing international cooperation for its execution during 1982/83 begun.

iv) A further meeting of SADCC Energy Ministers will be held in Luanda on 27/28 September 1982. At this meeting Ministers will consider and approve projects for presentation at the Maseru Conference.

i) Southern African Development Fund

(delegated to Zambia for coordination)

i) Zambia has held a meeting of technical officials on the study of the rationale and possible institutional structures for the Southern African Development Fund cited in the Lusaka Declaration. Agreement in principle on a number of technical issues has been reached.

ii) However, in view of the present international situation and of the stage of progress in coordinated action achieved within SADCC, Zambia has been requested to look more closely into the viability of the proposed fund.

j) Security Printing

(delegated to Zimbabwe for coordination)

i) A meeting of Treasury and Central Bank officials of Member States was held on the occasion of the inauguration of Fidelity Printers new security printing facilities in Harare.

ii) Further negotiations will take place between Fidelity Printers and interested Central Banks and Treasuries.

k) Fisheries

(delegated to Malawi for coordination)

i) A meeting of experts has agreed on initial programme development priorities.

ii) A regional staff training project and a regional fisheries data bank have been identified as initial areas for concrete action. Zimbabwe is studying whether it can provide facilities for the proposed data bank.

l) Wildlife

(delegated to Malawi for coordination)

i) The initial meeting of experts on Wildlife was held together with that on Fisheries.

ii) A project on Wildlife Conservation, Management and Utilisation has been identified and draft cost estimates prepared as a step toward seeking external funding.

iii) A further meeting of Fisheries and Wildlife officials will be held in Swaziland in September 1982 to consider and approve project proposals for presentation to the Maseru Conference.

m) Forestry

(delegated to Malawi for coordination)

i) Tentative areas for possible coordinated action have been identified as: research, exchange of personnel, training at artisan, sub-professional and professional levels, mapping and inventory compilation, development of forest-based industries, setting of standards, watershed management of multinational river systems and specimen collection.

ii) A questionnaire to Member States has been distributed and will be supplemented by visits by Malawi experts to help in the regional data collection exercise to be followed by a meeting of technical experts.

n) Mining

(delegated to Zambia for coordination)

i) Zambia has created a working group within the Ministry of Mines to identify and develop a regional approach to this sector. Initial areas for study include: manpower and training, exploration, metal fabrication and mining product links to manufacturing, manufacture of machinery, spares and chemicals for use in mining, mineral marketing, financial mobilisation for projects, legislation relating to mineral rights, taxation and labour utilisation.

ii) The first meeting of mining experts from Member States is to be convened by Zambia from 27/31 July 1982 and followed by visits by Zambian experts to all Member States and a major regional seminar on the overall problems, prospects and possibilities of mining in the SADCC region.

iii) Close coordination is envisaged between work in the Mining, Industry and Manpower Development sectors.

o) New Areas of Cooperation

i) Swaziland presented a paper to the Luanda Council of Ministers meeting on the case for coordinated action in the field of Human Health. While recognising the importance of the sector, the Council believed much of the coordination was already being handled through other existing regional institutions and requested Swaziland to investigate this question further.

ii) Fisheries, Wildlife, Forestry and Mining became fully fledged sectors of cooperation during 1981/82 and action in them is noted above.

Conclusion

6. In 1981 the progress report concluded: "A solid base has been created for continued international cooperation so that concrete programmes will be under implementation and operation by the time of the 1982 Summit". That prediction has, on the whole, stood the test of time. In Transport and Communications the advance in funds committed and number of projects under implementation is encouraging.
7. The adoption of Industry and Agriculture as the focus for the Maseru Annual Conference demonstrates the progress made in programme articulation and in moving towards concrete project identification in these areas. The coordination of projects in these areas, together with projects in Transport and Communications and other areas, on a concerted basis, is now essential for the achievement of the objectives and goals established in the Lusaka Declaration.
8. On the basis of initial progress in identification of strategic issues and programme priorities it is reasonable to envisage that with respect to Energy and Mining, concrete programmes and specific projects will have been identified and agreed by the time of the 1983 Summit.
9. Further progress will be achieved by a more active participation of Member States both in the sectoral meetings and in the supply of necessary information for the elaboration of the programmes in the various areas of cooperation. The continuity of the efforts already made by the coordinating Member States in order to establish adequate technical units will also allow an increase in the efficiency of our cooperation.

SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT CO-ORDINATION
FROM DEPENDENCE AND POVERTY
TOWARD ECONOMIC LIBERATION

So comes the moment
To advance resolutely
To build the world, which belongs
To all human beings

President Agostino Neto

I. COMMON INTERESTS AND COMMITMENTS

The Member States of SADCC have two overriding interests: to achieve development of their resources in the interests of their citizens and to attain the reduction of economic dependence necessary to achieve that development. These aims can only partially be pursued nationally. As President Sir Seretse Khama put the case for co-ordinated action:

"Geography enforces it in the economic sphere, for six of the nine independent states of Southern Africa are landlocked. Economic factors point in the same direction, for all of us are relatively small. So too do power realities. President Nyerere's warning applies as much to economics as to politics - 'Small nations are like indecently clad women, they tempt the evil-minded'. Only in co-ordinated action can the small independent states of Southern Africa achieve the economic strength and power necessary to resist those who are tempted to continue to exploit us and to perpetuate our economic fragmentation and dependence."

Based on the common interest in development and the necessary commitment to pursue it together, the SADCC members at the 1980 Lusaka Summit set out four goals for Southern African Development Co-ordination in SADCC's founding declaration Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation.

- (1) reduction of external dependence and, in particular, dependence on the Republic of South Africa;
- (2) creation of operational and equitable regional integration;
- (3) mobilisation of domestic and regional resources to carry out national, interstate and regional policies to reduce dependence and build genuine regional co-ordination;
- (4) joint action to secure international understanding of, and practical support for, the SADCC strategy.

Reduction of dependence on the Republic of South Africa is a necessary means to achieving development centred on the advance of the human dignity and fulfilment of the basic human needs of the people of Southern Africa. South Africa's apartheid system denies that dignity and both its military and economic power are increasingly being used systematically to destabilise its neighbours. So long as SADCC Members lack an integrated transport and communication system distinct from that of South Africa, and also lack food security, it will be difficult to prevent such destabilisation from crippling national development efforts.

Regional co-operation is needed because of geography as to transport and because of economic reality as to production, trade and information. However, each SADCC Member has suffered from externally imposed economic integration into an unequal system dominated by an external party. To be viable, SADCC must be, and be seen to be, based on an equitable building up and sharing of gains.

Today SADCC Members are poor states in the sense that their resources are largely underdeveloped and their people deprived of basic material needs and access to services by the low level of national production. However, the commitment to overcome this situation is backed by very substantial potential for agriculture, minerals, energy and industry. Therefore, SADCC states see the need for, and believe they have a right to expect, external co-operation based not merely on common concern for economic liberation and human development, but also on common interest in strengthening SADCC economies.

SADCC and its Members need that co-operation. They lack adequate foreign exchange, technology and investible capital to move rapidly toward their basic goals. SADCC Members believe that presenting their case can result in meaningful co-operation among equals with external governments and institutions. For that reason annual conferences with representatives of such bodies have been held: at Arusha in 1979, Maputo in 1980 and now in Blantyre.

II TOWARD FULLER DEVELOPMENT

SADCC's basic commitment and *raison d'etre* is to development. President Kaunda put this clearly and forcefully to the Summit Conference in Lusaka:

"Let us now face the economic challenge. Let us form a powerful front against poverty and all of its offshoots of hunger, ignorance, disease, crime and exploitation of man by man. Let us form an African Movement to wage a militant struggle against poverty. Let this Summit be our workshop for sharpening new tools, forging new weapons, working out strategy and tactics for fighting poverty and improving the quality of life of our peoples".

Neither development nor unity is an abstract principle - they exist only in concrete actions and achievements and can be pursued only by specific means selected for their suitability to particular contexts and problems. In the SADCC context this means concentration on those sectors in which development can be furthered better - or in some cases only - by co-ordinated action. These include transport and communication, food, security, agricultural and livestock research, manpower, development, industrial production and trade, energy and mining policy. Because the most urgent problems confronting most SADCC states include inadequate transport systems and lack of food security these sectors have received initial priority in SADCC action. Inadequate transport systems hamper national development, limit the feasibility or raise the cost of imports and exports, thwart other aspects of potential intra-regional cooperation and render a majority of SADCC's Members dependent on South African routes and equipment. Inadequate food security has led to recurrent foreign exchange and food distribution crises in half of SADCC's Members and to dependence on purchases from South Africa for several of them.

In the field of transport major progress has been achieved in project development and implementation and in the creation of an institutional framework for regional cooperation. Initial steps have also been taken toward securing external cooperation in food security. Other areas are now attracting additional efforts toward achieving similar programme development. In addition, the initial Lusaka Programme of Action areas have been broadened to include mining and soil conservation as well as fisheries, wild-life and forestry.

III AWAY FROM DEPENDENCE

For the independent states of Southern Africa, development and reduction of dependence on South Africa are not separate, much less conflicting, objectives. As President Samora Machel put it: "The economies of the Southern African countries were conceived and organised as functions of South Africa". Transport, communication, employment, sources of food, manufactures and petroleum - all are centred on South Africa, Foreign companies - and often foreign governments - have seen Southern Africa as a subsidiary part of the 'constellation' centred on the Rand and have behaved accordingly. This subordination to South Africa has been a major obstacle to development.

Unfortunately these historic realities are not merely of past but of very pressing present and future concern. As Prime Minister Robert Mugabe stressed in opening the Salisbury Summit.

"We rightly put the accent on improvement of the standard of living and quality of life of our people. But we also - and equally rightly - stressed the need for us to reduce 'economic dependence, particularly, but not only, on the Republic of South Africa'. This remains a paramount objective, for our current excessive dependence on South Africa and on others outside Africa perpetuates exploitative relations at our expense and fosters the conditions under which our countries can be subjected to the most pernicious forms of economic and political manipulation. In other words, political freedom without economic liberation is a contradiction in terms and is therefore meaningless."

SADCC's programme - especially in transport and communication - has begun to erode that dependence. With the independence of Zimbabwe and the restoration of the Railway system of Mozambique and Angola as well as of the Beira-Umtali pipeline, South Africa's economic power over a majority of SADCC Members will be substantially lessened. That is precisely why South Africa has sought to slow the achievement of these projects by withdrawal of rolling stock and interference with transit of goods to Zimbabwe and by supporting bandits who have attacked transport facilities in Mozambique and Angola. Likewise Zimbabwe's flat rejection of 'constellation' proposals for restyling South African regional hegemony and its adherence to SADCC have brought reprisals from South Africa in respect to trade relations. These actions by South Africa are not surprising, nor do they constitute a case for slowing down SADCC's efforts to achieve co-ordinated reduction of dependence. Precisely because of South African hostility and because dependence reduction will take several years to accomplish, there is today a need to augment the resources, redouble the efforts and build on the start which has been made.

However, it is important to underline, SADCC is not basically formed on unity against South Africa but for development. In the words of President Julius Nyerere:

"But our purposes are not simply greater independence, from South Africa. If South Africa's apartheid rule ended tomorrow, there would still be need for the states of Southern Africa to co-operate, to co-ordinate their transport systems, to fight foot and mouth disease together, to rationalise their industrial development... One day - we hope before too long - Namibia will be free, and we shall welcome that country into membership of SADCC".

IV TOWARD BROADER CO-OPERATION

SADCC's commitment to self reliance is not a commitment to autarchy nor is its commitment to the reduction of dependence a commitment against interdependence on terms of equality and mutual respect. This is true within Africa, at the level of South-South co-operation and globally.

This point has been stressed by Prime Minister Mugabe in pointing out that:

"Our efforts in regional co-operation should naturally be seen in their proper context. SADCC is a building block in the movement toward the continental economic co-operation envisaged in the OAU's Lagos Plan of Action and the proposals for an Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area. Our progress in SADCC will, to an extent at least, determine the speed with which these continental goals are achieved. Moreover, the success we achieve in this regard will, to that extent, bring nearer the realisation of the objectives of the New International Economic Order..."

However, SADCC is also not exclusive, nor does it believe that all economic co-operation can, or can best, be handled through a single channel. Several SADCC states participate in other bodies from the Kagera Basin Authority through the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute and all are involved in the negotiations towards a preferential trade area. In each of these concrete common interests exist which, while complementary are not identical to those which the SADCC Member Countries share. Common concern with the reduction of dependence on South Africa and the creation of an independent regional transport and communication network are not SADCC's only development goals (or means) but they are, for the foreseeable future, central to Members' common interests and joint programmes.

This approach leads to a commitment by SADCC Member States to broader co-operation. Prime Minister Mugabe has succinctly stated both the desire for co-operation and conditions under which it can prove fruitful:

"What SADCC 's trying to do is to weave a fabric of regional co-operation which is truly Southern Africa, authored and implemented by the peoples of the region. In order to achieve this we extend the hand of friendship and co-operation to East and West, to the industrialised, the newly industrialising and to the OPEC countries. We do this on the clear understanding that it is we, the Governments of Southern Africa, who have the right and the duty to determine regional priorities".

Experience at the Arusha and Maputo meetings has convinced SADCC Members that co-operation on this basis is possible. Concern with and commitment to assisting development to meet the basic needs of SADCC's peoples in their efforts to overcome poverty and support for the struggle to achieve economic liberation and reduce dependence on a hostile and over-mighty neighbour - South Africa - are widely shared in the international community. Furthermore, co-operation is a two way street. SADCC's Members today need technology, foreign exchange and investment finance. But they also provide markets, and can in the future provide larger markets, and sources of minerals, agricultural products and energy if development and economic liberation are pursued successfully. Mutuality of interest in international co-operation, argued with evidence and insight in the Brandt Report, is an integral part of the SADCC philosophy.

The positive tenor of the responses received from a range of governments and institutions is perhaps best expressed in the words of the then EEC Commissioner, Mr. Claude Cheysson, at the Maputo Conference:

"Today we...solemnly affirm to you our solidarity in your fight for independence and in your fight for development. For development is the logical corollary to independence, and that development should be according to your desires - a development in which every people has the right to economic liberation. The identity of each one must be respected, and each country must have the right to choose its political system, its economic system and its alliances.

It is in that spirit and on the positive experience of the Arusha and Maputo Conferences that SADCC has convened the 1981 Blantyre Conference - its third annual meeting with external co-operators.

V. SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGIONAL CO-OPERATION: STEPS TO BLANTYRE

SADCC itself was formally created in Lusaka in April 1980. However, it has evolved from a longer history of co-operation and the search for effective ways of embodying such co-operation. In the words of the Prime Minister Mugabe:

"We..view the evolution of SADCC as part and parcel of our own history. Though formally launched only last year, SADCC, to us, is but a part of the unfolding manifestation of the historic spirit of Pan-Africanism. More immediately, SADCC represents the expression in more sharply focussed and telescoped form, of the ideas of the Pan-Africa Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMESCA, 1958-1963), the Conference of East and Central African States (1966-1974) and the Front Line States..."

In the early years the struggle for political liberation and the immediate requirements of consolidating independence prevented any regional economic grouping (Zimbabwe only became independent in 1980 and Angola and Mozambique in 1975, while in 1964 only Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia had achieved independence) and tended to make forward planning for economic co-ordination see a future prospect rather than a present priority. Further until the

Amin coup began its disintegration in 1971, the East African Community gave promise of forming a nucleus around which a broader grouping could emerge.

From 1974, however, thinking toward a Southern African economic grouping began to become more definite. President Kaunda then envisaged the day when the independent states "could meet to discuss liberation - not liberation from political oppression but liberation from poverty" and called for creation of a Trans-continental Belt of independent and economically powerful nations, from Dar es Salaam and Maputo on the Indian Ocean to Launda on the Atlantic". In 1979, the foreign ministers of the Front Line States meeting in Gaborone decided that the time had come to launch a formal initiative toward a Southern African economic co-operation grouping. To that end President Khama convened the Arusha Conference comprising the economic ministers of the Front Line States who met with invited guests from potential external co-operating governments and institutions.

Between Arusha in July 1979 and the Lusaka Summit of April 1980, two significant advances were made. First, Zimbabwe's long liberation struggle was crowned with success, and second, the states participating at Arusha (as, indeed, was envisaged by that meeting) joined together with Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland to make SADCC from its formal inception an inclusive group of all the majority rule African states of the region.

At Lusaka, the founding declaration - Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation - was adopted and a Programme of Action agreed. Between Lusaka and the Maputo Conference of November 1980, the SADCC Ministerial Council held its first meeting and the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) agreed a programme of work and approved an institutional framework. At the same time work progressed in several other fields - most notably in food security and animal disease control. At Maputo substantial commitments of support to SADCC programmes were made.

During 1981, a Ministerial meeting at Mbabane reviewed progress on the Institutional Arrangements for SATCC (whose Convention has been ratified by all SADCC Members) and by the States with delegated responsibility in other programme areas. The Salisbury Summit of July 1981 considered the progress report on the Lusaka Programme on Action, agreed a Memorandum of Understanding formally establishing the institutions of SADCC, agreed an expansion of programme areas and approved the convening of the Blantyre Conference.

Opening the Salisbury Summit, President Masire, in his capacity as SADCC Chairman, was able to point to the accomplishments as well as to the need for sustained effort:

"The achievements of the past fourteen months have demonstrated that we can make a reality of the Lusaka Programme of Action. But sustained co-operation... to prevail...will require determination and a willingness to translate aspirations into achievements...Because we are all hardpressed in coping with the day-to-day problems of implementing national plans, it is hard for us to think regionally...We must see to it that there is a speedy exchange of information...so far SADCC has survived and prospered."

VI. INSTITUTIONAL EVOLUTION

SADCC has viewed institutions as facilitating and consequential rather than as causative forces or ends in themselves. Therefore it has consistently sought to develop concrete areas of activity and to identify their actual servicing requirements first, and only then to create institutional structures.

This approach stems partly from experience in other co-operation efforts whereby institutional bureaucracies have consumed personnel and finance to churn out proposals which were by no means always responsive to participating state interests and needs. More positively, SADCC states were and are convinced

that to maintain a forward and dynamic programme requires the involvement of all Member States in overall decisions and in co-ordinating work in delegated sectors of particular concern to them.

Therefore, SADCC started with a minimum of bureaucratic machinery - both allowing for and requiring close intergovernmental consultation. The overriding objective has been, and is, to ensure coherent implementation of decisions. Over the thirteen months since the Lusaka Summit, a series of minimal institutional arrangements has evolved. These are formally embodied in the Memorandum of Understanding of the Salisbury Summit.

SADCC's institutions include:

- (a) a Summit Meeting of the Heads of State and/or Government of the Member States meeting annually and chaired by one of them - Botswana for 1981-84;
- (b) a Council of Ministers to supervise the programme of SADCC, also meeting at least annually and presided over by a Chairman and Vice-Chairman elected from among their number - Botswana and Zimbabwe for 1981;
- (c) a Standing Committee of Officials to service the Council of Ministers, with subcommittees (e.g. in respect of the veterinary, manpower and industrial co-ordination sectors) meeting regularly with the States holding delegated responsibility for the sector and reporting to the Standing Committee of Officials;
- (d) Sectoral Commissions established by the Summit through interstate Convention to cover programmes in high priority functional programme areas of which the first is the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) based in Maputo;

- (e) Secretariat headed by an Executive Secretary to service the SADCC institutions and co-ordinate SADCC programme implementation, to come into operation in July 1982 based in Gaborone, with a Zimbabwean as the first Executive Secretary.

In addition, an annual meeting of SADCC states and invited participants from outside the region for 'surveying results, evaluating performance, identifying strengths and weaknesses and agreeing on future plans', is provided for in the Lusaka Declaration.

Programme development beyond SATCC remains the responsibility of Partner State each of which has been delegated responsibility for one or more sectors of the Lusaka Programme of Action As Chairman Masire indicated at the Salisbury Summit.

"I am convinced that the way forward in sectoral development is to devolve as much activity as possible on Member Governments, pending the establishment of specialised co-ordinating bodies. Such bodies should be created only when there is a proven need for them. This deliberately business-like approach, in which institutions will follow achievement surely promised greater dynamism than a system in which Member Governments merely react to proposals put forward by technocrats lodged in a centralised bureaucracy".

VII. PROGRESS REPORT ON THE LUSAKA PROGRAMME OF ACTION

1. Transport and Communications

(delegated to Mozambique for co-ordination)

- (a) The Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) has been created as directed in the Lusaka Declaration. Its Convention has been ratified by Member States. The Committee of Ministers and the Co-ordinating Committee of SATCC meet regularly. The SATCC and its supporting technical units have begun operations.

(b) The commitment and the mutual understanding and consensus reached among Member States made possible the presentation at the Maputo Conference of an initial programme consisting of 97 projects. Some of them relate to feasibility and technical studies; the majority involve the rehabilitation/upgrading of the existing facilities. The preparation of the projects in accordance with clear and commonly accepted priorities has constituted a valuable contribution to the elaboration of the Regional Programme of Transport and Communications projects already approved by SATCC. This programme takes political, technical and economic factors into account.

(c) Of the initial 97 projects:

- (i) 3 projects have been completed
- (ii) 6 project surveys are under way
- (iii) 23 projects are at design stage
- (iv) 10 projects are under construction or delivery
- (v) 14 projects are under negotiation for financing
- (vi) 8 projects are partly implemented (finance required for the next stage)
- (vii) 3 projects are prepared for financing
- (viii) 30 projects on which documentation is still not complete

The projects under implementation and submitted for finance include projects in each SADCC Member State and several involving two or more Member States.

(d) In accordance with the directive given in the Lusaka Declaration, emphasis has at this stage, to be given to operational measures which may lead to the optimum utilisation of the existing transport and communications facilities.

(e) By November 1981 a total of US \$273,000,000 of external finance had been committed to SADCC projects.

2. Food Security

(delegated to Zimbabwe for co-ordination)

- (a) Two meetings have been held at official level on the basis of which a programme was agreed and presented at SADCC2.
- (b) The programme includes nine projects in such areas as early warning systems crop results, storage, processing and exchange of technical information.
- (c) Initial contacts are being made with Governments and organisations which pledged support at SADCC2. A small technical and administrative unit will be created in early 1982 within the Zimbabwe Ministry of Agriculture to speed articulation, approval, funding and implementation of the projects contained in the programme.

3. Soil Conservation and Land Utilisation

(delegated to Lesotho for co-ordination)

This area of regional co-operation was allocated to Lesotho in November 1981 for co-ordination.

4. Crop Research

(delegated to Botswana for co-ordination)

- (a) As directed, Botswana has invited a mission from ICRISAT (International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics) which has visited the Member Countries of SADCC.
- (b) ICRISAT has now submitted its report which has been circulated by the Government of Botswana to SADCC Member States. The ~~report~~ contains a substantial volume of technical information and a number of specific proposals. Following time for Member States to consider the report, Botswana will seek a suitable opportunity for it to be considered by technical experts from all Member States.

- (c) It is envisaged that further work on the co-ordination of crop research might suitably be incorporated into the work that Zimbabwe is doing in the field of regional food security.

5. Animal Diseases

(delegated to Botswana for co-ordination)

- (a) Three meetings have been held at official level. Unfortunately communication problems have resulted in somewhat low participation.
- (b) Programme and project articulation has been advanced in respect of foot and mouth disease, animal trypanosomiasis, rabies, tick-borne diseases and general vaccine production.
- (c) By the end of 1981, the Botswana Laboratory will be able to produce 21 million doses of foot and mouth vaccine annually and will, therefore, be in a position to meet the requirements of all SADCC Members. A feasibility study towards developing a physical control programme is under negotiation with the EEC, and consultants have been selected to undertake the study. The Kuwait Fund is supporting a control project on the Zimbabwe/Botswana border which will be completed by the end of 1981. Technical appraisal for a further joint project has been completed. Zambia is developing a project for disease control along its borders with Zimbabwe, Namibia and Botswana.
- (d) Projects on the eradication and control of tsetse fly in Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe have been prepared as a first step towards co-ordinated control of animal trypanosomiasis. A dual purpose research and training complex on tsetse fly will be undertaken in Zimbabwe in 1981/82.
- (e) Mozambique has the capacity to supply rabies vaccine to Member States. Mozambique is now engaged in expanding the capacity of its laboratory to be able to meet the requirements of all the States.

- (f) A project is under preparation for the establishment of a regional centre for tick-borne disease research. Potential location for the production of vaccine for this disease is Malawi.
- (g) A technical study on requirements and capacity for general animal vaccine production in the region is under preparation. Mozambique already has capacity for production of several of these vaccines and has undertaken a feasibility study towards the expansion of this capacity to serve regional needs.
- (h) A Regional Meat Inspector Training School in Botswana has been approved and the initial running costs have been pledged by DANIDA but finance for capital expenditure is still required.

6. Manpower Development

(delegated to Swaziland for co-ordination)

- (a) Two meetings have been held at official level to explore possible areas of co-ordination and to elaborate a programme.
- (b) A detailed programme has been developed during these meetings with the assistance of a consultancy secured by the Government of Swaziland and following consultations with education and manpower institutions in SADC States. The programme includes specific proposals for co-ordination, joint use of institutions, consultancies and possible new projects.
- (c) The Swaziland Government proposes to create a small technical unit for further articulation and implementation of the programme.
- (d) The Blantyre meeting of the Council of Ministers approved Terms of Reference for six consultancy studies in Regional Manpower Development: Training for the Sugar Industry;

Technical Training for the Mining sector; Regional cooperation in Health Training; Training Teacher Educators in SADCC Countries; Comparability of Educational Levels in SADCC Countries; Regional Manpower Information. The Council also approved two projects for presentation to the Blantyre Conference: The Mananga Agricultural Management Training Centre (MAMC) and the Zambia Air Services Training Institute (ZASTI).

- (e) The field of veterinary training development and co-ordination in the region has been referred to a meeting of the Subcommittee of Officials on Manpower Development and the Directors of Veterinary Services of SADCC Member States. Facilities exist in Mozambique and Tanzania, a faculty is being established in Zimbabwe and, on the basis of a FAO study covering Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Angola, Swaziland and Zambia - Zambia is planning a regionally oriented faculty with FAO support. Opportunities to co-ordinate the development of these institutions to minimise overlap and to maximise overall regional capacity are to be identified.

7. Industrial Development.

(delegated to Tanzania for co-ordination)

- (a) A meeting of officials has been held and a second is scheduled.
- (b) On the basis of a sectoral paper prepared by Tanzania and noted at the Salisbury Council of Ministers, first steps toward programme elaboration have been taken.
- (c) Certain concrete proposals for short term action have been agreed including the establishment of contact points in each Member State and the exchange of information on Member States' industrial capacity, export potential and import requirements. These can form the basis for a substantial expansion of trade among Member Countries based on existing underutilised capacity and items at present imported from non-Member States.

- (d) Medium term action on exchange of information on national industrial development potential of interest to the development of regional self-reliance trade and manufacturers has been proposed. A long term programme for identification and action on co-ordinated or joint industrial development was discussed in August on the basis of information on industrial strategy and plans provided by Member States.
- (e) Tanzania has secured initial technical assistance support toward further programme articulation and plans to establish a small unit in the Ministry of Industries to service the industrial co-ordination work and speed up the process of data collection.
- (f) The Blantyre meeting of the council of Ministers agreed that Industrial Development should be a major focus for SADCC in 1982 with the expectation that a number of projects would be ready for presentation at the 1982 Conference in Maseru.

3. Energy Development and Conservation

(delegated to Angola for co-ordination)

- (a) An initial study on regional energy capacity, potential and policy has been prepared and distributed to Member States. A detailed request for national information to serve as the basis for a meeting of officials has been sent to Member States.
- (b) A preliminary meeting of technical officials was held at the end of July to prepare for the United Nations' Conference on Energy held in Nairobi in August 1981. At the Nairobi Conference on Energy, Ministers agreed a common position paper which was made available and was subsequently circulated to the Blantyre Conference.
- (c) A further meeting of officials to elaborate a regional programme is planned for January 1982 to be followed by a meeting of SADCC Energy Ministers.

9. Southern Africa Development Fund

(delegated to Zambia for co-ordination)

- (a) Zambia has prepared a detailed study on the rationale and possible institutional structures for the Southern African Development Fund cited in the Lusaka Declaration.
- (b) The study has been distributed to Member States and a meeting of technical officials was convened to discuss the study in August 1981.
- (c) The Blantyre meeting of the council of Ministers received and considered a detailed report from the Zambian Government in November, 1981, and requested Zambia to give further consideration to the matter.

10. Security Printing

(delegated to Zimbabwe for co-ordination)

- (a) Zimbabwe have prepared a report on the possibility of regional use of its security printing facility for bank notes, travellers' cheques and postal orders.
- (b) Zimbabwe will convene a consultation with Central Banks and Finance Officials of Member States in February 1982, to coincide with the opening of its new Security Printing facilities.

11. New Areas of Co-operation

- (a) At the Mbabane meeting of Ministers in June, 1981, the Government of Malawi was allocated the responsibility for Fisheries and Wildlife and is consulting with other Member States concerning the development of a regional approach in these areas. The Government of Malawi presented an initial report at Blantyre meeting of the council of Ministers in November 1981. At that Meeting Malawi was also given responsibility for co-ordination in the field of Forestry.

- (b) At the Salisbury meeting of Ministers it was agreed that Swaziland and Zimbabwe should conduct studies on Health and Mining respectively with a view to identifying possible scope for and the priorities of SDACC programmes in these sectors. The Blantyre Meeting of the Council of Ministers approved a report submitted by Zimbabwe on the need for regional co-ordination in the mining industry. It was agreed that the subject should be incorporated into the Programme of Action and allocated to Zambia for Co-ordination.

The progress report on the Lusaka Programme of Action as presented at the Blantyre meeting is one of substantial progress especially in the initial priority sector of Transport and Communications. However, three problems which have delayed or limited progress in certain other sectors can be noted:

- (a) there has been difficulty in identifying contact points in Member States at sectoral level to allow effective consultation at technical level;
- (b) provision of information to co-ordinating countries and subcommittees of officials has sometimes been slow and incomplete, to the detriment of overall programme identification and implementation of agreed proposals;
- (c) co-ordinating states have found the combined pressures of national and regional work difficult to meet. In several cases they now plan to secure external assistance to establish small technical units to service their sectoral co-ordination work.

VIII. PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

SADCC faces severe problems and continual challenges. To pretend otherwise would be both false and counterproductive since it would both understate the need for redoubled effort and the significance of what it has been possible to attain.

These problems fall into five clusters - historic inheritance, South African destabilisation, the international economic environment, national resource mobilisation and management, and the specific problems to be overcome in building up the habit of effective regional co-operation. The inheritance of the SADC countries at independence has been unsatisfactory. Some resources had been developed and some infrastructure created but only to support partial development. In each case such development has been seen as peripheral to, and dependent on, an external metropolitan economy and/or on South Africa. In no case had Southern Africans been sufficiently involved in, or trained for, critical, skilled, professional, managerial and public service roles. While progress has been made nationally and through SADC to transcend the inheritance it remains a heavy present burden for most Member States.

A major problem is the Republic of South Africa's systematic strategy of destabilising the economies of the independent states of Southern Africa. In its most overt aspect, this takes the form of naked military aggression from which three SADC States have suffered this year - most notably, the People's Republic of Angola. Linked to this are support for banditry, insurgency, and less violent destabilising forces in several SADC Members. Beyond that, however, there are a growing number of cases of economic destabilisation. The unilateral termination of the trade agreement and railway locomotive loan agreement with Zimbabwe, and the recurrent delays in moving goods - especially petroleum products - to Zimbabwe, and the suspension of power purchases from Mozambique's Cabora Bassa Hydro complex in the wake of the sabotaging of its power lines, are the largest and best known, but by no means the only examples.

In this situation there are some in the international community who are unwilling to choose between apartheid and liberation, aggressor and victim, South Africa and the majority rule states of Southern Africa. The explicit adoption of such a stance is not helpful. A choice has to be made.

The present international economic situation does not, of course, affect only SADCC Members. However, among the groups of countries recognised as most badly battered by it are the least developed countries, land-locked states, copper exporters and sub-Saharan economies. The import constraints imposed by adverse changes in terms of trade and stagnant demand for many primary exports have imposed great strains on member economies. While this crisis makes transport restructuring, food security and industrial development co-ordination more critical, it also reduces the resources (including the time to prepare for and take long term decisions) necessary to achieve them.

While SADCC countries have made and continue to make substantial efforts to mobilise domestic resources, there are very real limits to what is possible. This is especially true because taking the region as a whole, real per capital purchasing power in 1981 will be at least 10 per cent below 1978.

Management of resources poses further constraints - especially under conditions of external crisis which impose additional short-term decision requirements. Despite very substantial development since independence, there are still not enough trained and experienced people to meet minimum requirements.

Five specific challenges or problems arise in the context of building up the habit of effective co-ordination:

- (1) recognise the need to give adequate priority to regional goals and mutual gains and overcoming the tendency for them to be pushed aside by short term national interests;
- (2) rejecting the criticism and advice of enemies, sceptics and 'well wishers' who consistently point to the issues which divide, actually or potentially, and cast doubts on the general viability of regional economic co-operation among developing countries and among the Southern African states in particular;
- (3) overcoming the tendency to see national plans and projects in isolation and achieving the habit of looking for and acting on regional dimensions;

- (4) approving the communication of information necessary for programme development.
- (5) ensuring that the personnel necessary to articulate programmes and to prepare detailed projects for implementation and/or submission to funding bodies are available.

There are two dangers in respect to problems. The first is, as Prime Minister Makandla of Swaziland warned: 'to get bogged down in endless talking' so that 'this organisation of great hopes and high expectations would be taking the risk of becoming a mere talking shop'. The second is to avoid examining delays, failures, difficulties in the vain hope that lack of attention would cause them to go away or even not to exist. Minister Rui Baltazar Alves of Mozambique pointed out the great danger of any such escape from critical examination at Arusha: 'We must look at our mistakes squarely in the face lest we fall into the habit of repeating them'.

The primary responsibility for facing these challenges and overcoming these problems is, of course, that of SADCC Member States. As Chairman Masire stated at the Salisbury Summit: 'But all our appeals and invitations will go unheeded if we in Southern Africa do not demonstrate our capacity to help ourselves. Helping ourselves is the essence of the objectives of SADCC.'

IX. EXTERNAL CO-OPERATION: SOME PRACTICAL PRIORITIES

At Arusha, discussions with potential co-operating governments and institutions were valuable in assisting the future SADCC Member States in articulating their initial programme - especially in the field of food security - and in understanding what forms of co-operation were likely to prove practicable. For external states and institutions the Arusha meeting demonstrated the serious thinking and commitment of the independent states of Southern Africa towards regional efforts to achieve economic liberation and helped demonstrate that it was neither necessary nor prudent to view Southern Africa as a peripheral part of a region centred on Pretoria nor was it moral.

Maputo, as a pledging conference, was SADCC's first occasion to present detailed programmes and project proposals - primarily in respect to transport and communications but also in respect to food security - to the international community. It was marked by a clear affirmation of support in the form of pledges, a significant number of which have been transformed into ongoing project and technical assistance support. Additional support for projects first presented at Maputo has been secured in later national forums, for example, the Zimcord Conference of 1981.

The areas in which the Blantyre Conference is of value differ in certain respects from those of Arusha and Maputo. A Programme of Action now exists; Blantyre is not primarily seen as a pledging meeting. However, this is not to imply that it was less important. Concrete areas of practical co-operation were identified. These included:

- (1) discussion of the proposed food security projects, and the financial and technical assistance needed for their implementation;
- (2) examination and evaluation of progress and priorities in the field of transport and communications, combined with identification of ways to enhance finance available, to speed the implementation of key projects and to ensure continued technical assistance personnel and project preparation support to SADCC;
- (3) discussion of the projects within the veterinary area, especially in respect of tsetse control, vaccine production and expansion of research capacity against tick-borne diseases, with a view to identifying more clearly requirements and sources of technical and financial assistance;
- (4) examination of initial programme strategies in the field of industrialisation linked to pledging of technical personnel and support to sectoral co-ordination units in Swaziland (manpower) and Tanzania (industrialisation);

- (5) general examination and review of the progress and programmes of SADCC with a view to identifying possibilities for project articulation and implementation, as well as of presentation for external finance and means to reduce time-lags between submission, agreement in principle and inauguration of implementation;

The SADCC Council of Ministers Chairman, Hon. Peter Mmusi, noted at the Mbabane Meeting the basic rationale for the Blantyre Conference:

'Our Heads of Government have chosen a modality of international partnership which requires us to consult annually with co-operating Governments and Agencies. In this we are breaking new paths in the field of international co-operation. This we do with confidence and some justifiable pride. But there are obligations we must recognise. We have asked the international community to associate with us in a new venture in co-ordinated regional development. Many have joined us. But the responsibility for implementation is ours.'

X. A LUTA CONTINUA

The struggle to overcome poverty and to achieve development, to defeat dependence and to attain economic liberation has been begun by the independent states of Southern Africa nationally and collectively through SADCC. A start has been made, real projects exist on the ground, programmes for more are advancing steadily, the basis for additional areas of co-ordinated action are under active examination and preparation.

It is only a start. Much remains to be accomplished and many years will be required for the initiatives begun to reach full fruition. Not only continued national commitment and dedication of scarce resources but also external co-operation, understanding and support will be required on the long journey to economic liberation. The obstacles - including the hostility of South Africa - are many and major. There will be setbacks as well as successes. But the journey has now begun - the crucial first step has been taken.

The late President Khama's words of little over a year ago have been confirmed by the subsequent development of SADCC:

'The Lusaka Declaration and Programme of Action do not represent a final achievement. Rather, they constitute a beginning. The independent states of Southern Africa have chosen to go forward in solidarity and to co-ordinate their efforts toward economic liberation. This is a momentous decision with consequences which stretch far into our future. A movement has begun which, if sustained, could in time fundamentally change the economic direction of our continent.'

SOUTHERN AFRICA:

TOWARD ECONOMIC LIBERATION

A Declaration by the Governments of Independent States of
Southern Africa made at Lusaka on the 1st of April 1980

We, the undersigned, as the Heads of Government of majority-ruled States in Southern Africa, offer this declaration to our own peoples, to the peoples and Governments of the many countries who are interested in promoting popular welfare, justice and peace in Southern Africa and to the international agencies who share this interest. In it we state our commitment to pursue policies aimed at the economic liberation and integrated development of our national economies and we call on all concerned to assist us in this high endeavour.

Dependence in Context

Southern Africa is dependent on the Republic of South Africa as a focus to transport and communications, an exporter of goods and services and as an importer of goods and cheap labour. This dependence is not a natural phenomenon nor is it simply the result of a free market economy. The nine States and one occupied territory of Southern Africa (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) were, in varying degrees, deliberately incorporated - by metropolitan powers, colonial rulers and large corporations - into the colonial and sub-colonial structures centring in general on the Republic of South Africa. The development of national economies as balanced units, let alone the welfare of the people of Southern Africa, played no part in the economic integration strategy. Not surprisingly, therefore, Southern Africa is fragmented, grossly exploited and subject to economic manipulation

both as separate nation States and as a group of neighbouring majority-ruled African countries, to assist in achieving a successful culmination of our struggle.

Our urgent task now is to include economic liberation in our programmes and priorities

In the interest of the people of our countries, it is necessary to liberate our economies from their dependence on the Republic of South Africa to overcome the imposed economic fragmentation and to coordinate our efforts toward regional and national economic development. This will be as great for Namibia as it is for all the independent States of the region.

Southern Africa is a focal point of conflict. How can it be otherwise when a racist regime holds Namibia under military occupation, grossly exploits the people and the economies of the independent states and is a major barrier of our national development? It is not the quest for liberation, but the entrenched racism, exploitation and oppression which is the cause of conflict in Southern Africa. The power behind this is in large measure economic. Economic liberation is, therefore, as vital as political freedom.

We, the majority-ruled States of Southern Africa, do not envisage this regional economic coordination as exclusive. The initiative toward economic liberation has flowed from our experience of joint action for political liberation. We envisage regional coordination as open to all genuinely independent Southern African States.

In this spirit we call on Governments, international institutions and voluntary agencies to give priority to increasing financial resources to support Southern African efforts toward economic liberation and independent economic development.

This we believe is the route to genuine interdependence and represents the best hope for a just and cooperative future for the region as a whole.

Development Objectives

The development objectives which we will pursue through coordinated action are:

1. the reduction of economic dependence, particularly, but not only, on the Republic of South Africa;
2. the forging of links to create a genuine and equitable regional integration;
3. the mobilisation of resources to promote the implementation of national, interstate and regional policies;
4. concerted action to secure international cooperation within the framework of our strategy for economic liberation.

Strategies and Priorities

We will identify areas in which, working in harmony, we can gear national development to provide goods and services presently coming from the Republic of South Africa and weave a fabric of regional cooperation and development.

Key to this strategy is transport and communications.

The dominance of the Republic of South Africa has been reinforced and strengthened by its transport system. Without the establishment of an adequate regional transport and communications system, other areas of cooperation become impractical. The economic liberation of Namibia, following its attainment of genuine political independence, will require the creation and operation of adequate transport and communication links with its natural partners to replace the artificial ones which currently bind it to the Republic of South Africa.

We will therefore create a Southern African Transport and Communications Commission to coordinate the use of existing systems and the planning and financing of additional regional facilities.

The ports of Mozambique serve four States in the region and with the genuine independence of Zimbabwe can be developed to serve two more. Zambia uses transport facilities in five regional States. The development of Mozambican, Tanzanian and Angolan

ports and the coordination of facilities more effectively to meet requirements of the land-locked States are necessarily of regional concern. Transport and Communications will be a major focus of regional action. The coordination of transport facilities to meet the needs of land-locked States is crucial. With the attainment of genuine independence in Zimbabwe it is urgent to restore transport routes linking it to the Indian Ocean through Mozambique. Additional areas in which coordinated action will be needed include major new projects such as a possible railway from Botswana through Namibia to the Atlantic Ocean, thereby creating an alternative route to the sea for Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe; the coordination of airline schedules so that movement within the region is practicable; the study of existing and proposed micro-wave and ground satellite facilities to identify how they can be interlinked, possibly through the Rift Valley Station. The Commission will be located in Maputo and serviced by a small technical unit. It will coordinate transport and communication links among participating States. The Commission will seek participation of all genuinely independent States in the Southern African region. In addition, in many fields notably in transport, observer status will be open to Liberation Movements wishing to participate in anticipation of genuine independence. Similarly, in manpower development and research, the involvement of Liberation Movements is essential to amass the knowledge and train the personnel necessary once liberation is achieved.

Regional coordination must be operational - it must result in concrete programmes and projects. This will require both domestic and external finance. Present estimates, for example, show that in excess of US \$1.5 billion will be needed to finance urgent transport and communications projects over the next decade.

We emphasize the importance of additional resources being made available to assist efforts to coordinate regional economic development projects. In the first instance, we intend to use the Regional Transport & Communications Commission to mobilise finance for urgent projects in priority sectors by holding ad hoc pledging sessions with existing bilateral and multilateral

funding agencies. As economic cooperation develops, a Southern African Development Fund will be created and research to this end is being initiated. Its scope would be subsequently broadened and it might prove desirable to create a separate regional development bank. We therefore urge the friends of Southern Africa to pledge financial support to this Fund.

Concerted Actions

Regional cooperation in the field of transport and communications is seen as crucial to economic liberation and has therefore been given the greatest attention. In other sectors, similar programmes of concerted action are envisaged.

For trade development we recognise that many of us have existing bilateral and multilateral trade and customs arrangements. But even within these constraints we believe that there is room for substantial increases in trade among ourselves. To this end existing payment systems and customs instruments will be studied in order to build up a regional trade system based on bilaterally negotiated annual trade targets and product lists.

A majority of the people of Southern Africa are dependent on farming and animal husbandry. Their future livelihood is threatened by environmental degradation and in particular by desert encroachment as well as recurrent drought cycles. Even today few of the States of the region are self-sufficient in staple foods. Both environmental protection and food security are major challenges both nationally and regionally. We, therefore, urge that the International Centre for Research on Agriculture in the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRASAT) set up a Southern Africa Regional Centre in Botswana.

We further urge the development of the existing facilities in Botswana for production of foot and mouth disease vaccine to provide for the needs of all of the majority-ruled countries in Southern Africa. The spread of this disease currently threatens Angola, Botswana, Bamibia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Mozambique. A coordinated approach to its control and elimination is urgently needed.

Likewise, we will undertake concerted projects in order to exploit natural resources, in particular those of common hydrological basins.

It is a matter of urgency to identify ways in which the coordination of research and training as well as the exchange of information can strengthen programmes to protect our environment and increase food production. In the field of food security the possibility of the coordination of national reserve policies and the facilitation of interstate exchanges will receive priority attention.

We have decided to give special attention to the sharing of training and research facilities.

We have further decided to stimulate the exchange of information aimed at achieving a concerted policy in the fields of mining, industry, energy and agriculture. In particular, consultations among those States requiring petroleum products and electricity on the one hand and those with petroleum refining capacity and electricity surpluses on the other must be undertaken to achieve regional solutions.

The effort for economic development is an essential condition to free the Southern African States from the exploitative migrant labour system.

External Cooperation

We are committed to a strategy of economic liberation. It is a strategy which we believe both needs and deserves international support. Southern African regional development must be designed and implemented by Southern Africans. It will, however, be achieved more rapidly and will be more effective if development takes place within the context of global cooperation.

International bodies and States outside Southern Africa are therefore invited to cooperate in implementing programmes towards economic liberation and development in the region.

This preliminary identification of aims, strategies and sectors

illustrates both the magnitude of the task facing us and some of the broad areas within which outside assistance will be welcomed.

It is envisaged that Southern African Development Coordination meetings of member Southern African States and other invited participants should be held annually. This will provide a mechanism for surveying results, evaluating performance, identifying strengths and weaknesses and agreeing on future plans. Economic liberation and development in Southern Africa cannot be attained either easily or speedily. What is therefore needed is sustained cooperation.

We view this declaration as a statement of commitment and strategy. Under-development, exploitation, crisis and conflict in Southern Africa will be overcome through economic liberation. The welfare of the peoples of Southern Africa and the development of its economies requires coordinated regional action. It is our belief that in the interest of popular welfare, justice and peace, we in Southern Africa have the right to ask and to receive practical international cooperation in our struggle for reconstruction, development and genuine interdependence. However, as with the struggle for political liberation, the fight for economic liberation is neither a mere slogan to prompt external assistance nor a course of action from which we can be deflected by external indifference. The dignity and welfare of the peoples of Southern Africa demand economic liberation and we will struggle toward that goal.

Jose Eduardo Dos Santos
President of the People's
Republic of Angola

Seretse Khama
President of the
Republic of Botswana

Samora Moises Machel
President of the People's
Republic of Mozambique

Julius K. Nyerere
President of the United
Republic of Tanzania

Kenneth D Kaunda
President of the
Republic of Zambia

Mabaudia F.N. Dlamini
Prime Minister of the
Kingdom of Swaziland

Robert Gabriel Mugabe
Prime Minister
Zimbabwe

Mooki V. Molapo
Minister of Commerce, Industry,
Tourism and Labour,
The Kingdom of Lesotho

Dick Tennyson Matenje
Minister of Education
Republic of Malawi

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Concluding Reflections Panel - Academician

Fairly clearly in respect to SADCC I am not that curious cross between the disinterested observer from Mars and the omniscient expert on local conditions - the disinterested academician. However, as a student of Third World integration and coordination efforts for 25 years and a participant in two (East African Community and SADCC) I may be able to identify some aspects of SADCC which are different from the standard patterns of such groups and - more tenuously - why.

First, SADCC has concentrated on articulating from goals to policies to projects seen in the context of the goals. This has not been a strong point of economic cooperation groups - certainly not of the East African Community even in its 'bright happy morning' of 1978-80. Most have goals and projects but the connection is very often not only implicit but obscure.

SADCC has in fact repeated its statement of goals - and its explanations of their relevance - quite tenaciously even if it has done so in the tones of President Nyerere's admonition "argue, don't shout". This has changed thinking. In 1979 some prospective donors saw reducing dependence on South Africa as a diversion from development. In 1981 there was heated and prolonged debate over whether an economic body could properly take note of South African economic destabilisation, armed aggression including blowing up priority transport links and occupation of SADCC's logical tenth member (Namibia). By 1984 while the speed, degree and form of reducing dependence on South Africa may be an area of discussion the fact that present links are inimical to development is accepted as is the fact that bombs that blow up economic infrastructure, like droughts that shrivel and cyclones that wash out

crops, are within the necessary concerns of a regional economic cooperation body.

SADCC has put great emphasis on publicising projects, at times perhaps almost neglecting to state their sectoral and macro logic to outsiders. This probably had two causes: a) a need to reassure themselves that SADCC (unlike a number of other bodies) did in the concrete as well as talked in the abstract and b) a need to convince potential external cooperators (most of whom - at least over 1979-81 - specialised in supporting projects) that SADCC was pragmatic, operational and deserved support of a kind their procedures were geared to provide.

Second, SADCC has been a pioneer in stressing the importance of rehabilitation and maintenance. This came through quite clearly in Minister Alcantaro Santos' presentation of the transport programme. Over half the projects represent - fully or in large measure - deferred maintenance and rehabilitation. Another large segment consist of capacity enhancement of existing facilities and gap filling.

This is not a new emphasis albeit it is more plainly stated today. In 1979-81 assistance for projects - especially 'new' projects - was generally seen as good and rehabilitation/maintenance/upgrading as largely or totally not "aid-worthy". Thus SADCC's careful packaging of each intended operational act as a project was a response to revealed market preferences.

Third, SADCC has been increasingly concerned with coordination of operations. Chairman Mmusi did not say there was little to show in this field but that it was harder to explain quickly and clearly than were projects. Two examples

from transport and communications may illustrate that there is progress.

In 1978 it was almost impossible to travel among regional capitals by air without frequent routings via Johannesburg. Today, while not always fully convenient, it is possible to travel from each SADCC capital to any other SADCC capital via national airlines.

In 1978 a majority of future SADCC capitals did not have ground satellite stations or did not have ones so directed that they could communicate directly with their neighbours. Today a majority do have such links and groundsat stations to fill the remaining gaps are almost all under construction or negotiation.

In 1979-80 the idea that lack of field tested, economic viability tested, peasant useability tested applied research was a large part of African agricultural productivity problems was not very fashionable. (Its rise to prominence among agricultural experts seems to date to 1983.) But in the Lusaka Declaration SADCC stressed this point and included a concrete proposal for research linked to ICRISAT (International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics). One must suppose this was the first time any heads of state and government summit had given such a priority to a specific approach to research.

The going was not easy - initial SADCC requests were brushed aside. SADCC kept pushing. Today Crop Research is a significant sector and the \$20 million plus five year coordinated research programme on millet and sorghum (intended to be the first of a series with groundnuts and grain legumes the next) is SADCC's largest jointly operated project. Nor is that project an isolated

technical one unrelated to policies. It concentrates on productivity raising by small, poor peasants (the dominant millet and sorghum growers and users) and on drought resistant crops relevant to increased food security. It builds in field testing at multiple points in nine countries and attention to economic viability and peasant useability.

Fourth, SADCC has been slow to articulate the commitment to build up an intraregional trade development sectoral programme, embodied in the Lusaka Declaration and mentioned in Prime Minister Mugabe's keynote address.

One reason is that SADCC identified transport and communications as its initial priority. A second is that SADCC strategy has been to concentrate on raising production (of transport and communications services, of goods, of knowledge) as the real goals of economic coordination with trade as a consequential means to validate the production. However, there have been two additional factors - one historic and one relating to the Preferential Trade Area (PTA).

Every SADCC member has in the past (in certain cases is still) a part of a common market which had very serious problems and was perceived by several of its component territories as deeply inequitable (Central African Federation, East African Common Market, Portugal's 'common market' with 'overseas provinces', South African Customs Union). Each desires not to repeat that history and to look carefully before leaping into new regional or preferential trade arrangements.

Subsequent to SADCC, the PTA has come into existence and (in July 1984) operation. Contrary to expectations in 1980 that if PTA was launched all

SADCC members probably would join, to date only five have done so.

PTA concentrates on increasing trade through removal or lowering of barriers (especially but not only tariffs) and through a standard multilateral clearing mechanism automatically requiring settlement of balances in hard currency.

SADCC concentrates on enhanced production with trade increases a means to validating and exchanging the enhanced output. As set out in the Lusaka Declaration it sees bilateral (or multilateral) trade agreements involving target levels and broad balance (countertrade) and with specialised bilateral balance settlement arrangements as the main means to promote such trade.

There is no reason why these two approaches cannot be complementary. They are basically different so that there is no automatic duplication, but it is possible to proceed on both routes at once without any basic conflict. However, there are certain technical and practical problems to identifying how to proceed to avoid apparent or real conflicts and duplications. SADCC has since the late 1983 Arusha trade sector meeting been exploring how to achieve this. SADCC's record to date suggests it will continue working on the problems until an agreed operational sectoral programme emerges in trade as in the other sectors mandated in the Lusaka Declaration.

"Even the longest road begins with the first step". SADCC clearly has acted on that Chinese proverb and on two corollaries: first, one must take that first step and follow it up with more and second, one must make sure that the steps are in the right direction.

In doing so it has - as is usual with institutions which have rapid, partial

initial successes - needed to resist well intentioned urgings by others and temptations of its own to try to do too much, too fast, on too many fronts. That way lies overloading, spreading of resources too thin and the need to retrench (with loss of morale and momentum) or face a real danger of paralysis and collapse.

SADCC has accomplished something on at least three fronts:

- a. it has achieved real tangible benefits through project and policy coordination;
- b. at the same time it has broadened and altered its own - and its external cooperating partners' - ways of looking at development nationally and regionally; and
- c. it has built up a real habit of cooperation.

In the sectoral reports on transport and fisheries projects and strategies were cited to build up Malawi's access to Beira/Ncala (e.g. the Ncala-Intralagos railway reconstruction project) and to the Dar es Salaam port access system (including the road project mentioned by Sir William Ryrle as the UK's latest commitment to SADCC) as well as studies on how Mozambique, Malawi and Tanzania could coordinate their exploitation of the marine resources of Lake Malawi/Nyasa. No great stress was put on this. It was to the presenters (and their audience) common sense that there were mutual interests and that these overrode any competition for getting all the traffic or arguments over exact lake boundaries and these projects and studies were thus no different from any others.

But over 1974-77 most observers would have predicted a very different evolution of Mozambique - Malawi - Tanzania economic relations and described any prediction of matter of course coordinated action in transport and fishing as totally unrealistic. The change to concentrating on identifying and acting on common interests and seeking to resolve and to avoid stressing other areas of disagreement has evolved over 1980-84 in the context of, and in large measure as a result of, practical cooperation within SADCC.

This, like the examples cited above, suggests that SADCC has achieved something over five years - indeed that some of its achievements are now seen as facts of life and their recent birth and causes forgotten. SADCC was planned in 1979 and born in 1980 - before the drought cycle, the upsurge of an aggressive "strike kommando" policy by South Africa and the world recession dealt crippling blows to the economies of almost all its members. Under these circumstances its survival as an operational entity, let alone its continued progress, are what require explanation. It would appear to be the case that SADCC has begun a process of survival and success because:

- a. its objectives and actions were relevant to certain basic goals of its member states; and
- b. were seen to be relevant to them by the officials, ministers and heads of state and of government;
- c. while SADCC's outreach to cooperators won a significant measure of external support.

No final, definitive judgement on SADCC is possible, because it is a living organisation and process. Only concluded (deceased?) organisations and processes are subject to final, definitive analyses. However, to date SADCC is a success in terms of its own stated objectives, in the eyes of its members and as perceived by most external cooperators - a success with limits, constraints and flaws but a success. However, the record of African economic cooperation groupings indicates that the price of continued success is forward motion - the choice is between going forward and entering into a cycle of stagnation, paralysis and disintegration. Further, as David Hanlon reminded us South Africa is SADCC's large, powerful and hostile neighbour seeking opportunities to damage and to divide - under these conditions vigilance is the price not merely of safety but of survival.

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