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Country Development Strategy Statement

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SOUTHERN AFRICA



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I. INTRODUCTION/SUMMARY

This Regional Development Strategy Statement (RDSS) presents a development strategy based on conditions in, and U.S. political and economic objectives for Southern Africa. It is premised on the conclusion that a selective AID regional development program in Southern Africa is justified on both political and economic terms. Politically, the program provides visible evidence of U.S. support for an even-handed policy of constructive engagement. Economically, there are some serious development constraints that are best addressed through a regional program. In addition, support to the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) is: a) viewed by Southern Africans as evidence of U.S. commitment to broaden their economic base and b) can help ensure a stronger, more effective body for regional development cooperation and coordination.

The RDSS concludes that the most effective way for AID to meet its objectives here is a regional program focused on agricultural research and training, manpower and education, transportation and support for SADCC. A regional program in these areas complements and directly supports USAID bilateral strategies in seven Southern Africa states. This strategy has been reviewed in draft with the Directors of Southern Africa bilateral AID programs and the proposals herein have their general concurrence.

II. BACKGROUND

Past analyses of Southern Africa* have as their lead, some expression of the region's overly complex economic and political

*Unless stated otherwise, the term "Southern Africa" in this report refers to the majority ruled countries of the region that are members of the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. South Africa, Namibia and Zaire's Shaba Province are also included in this report because they each play an important political and economic role in the region. When they are included it will be noted.

situation. Such statements are truisms. Any examination of the interaction of nine states, with 67 million people populating a land area the size of the continental United States, will be complex. But understanding the dynamics of the Southern Africa region, first and foremost requires recognizing three very basic and fundamental facts: 1) the region's poverty, 2) its external dependency, and 3) its unique importance to the United States.

A) Poverty

The people and the nations of southern Africa are poverty stricken. By any measure, the vast majority face a degree of poverty comparable to standards in less developed states. For instance:

- Gross national products are low and, so correspondingly, are individuals incomes. The per capita income figure for Southern Africa is around \$380 a year.

- Balance of trade has turned negative for all but one of the countries (Botswana) in past years. Financing the gap between imports and exports has produced massive debts. For the Southern African nations, total outstanding public debt increased from about \$4.5 billion to about \$6.5 billion in the three years up to 1982.

- The majority of people in Southern Africa farm small, comparatively unproductive plots of land using traditional (primitive) methods.

- Foreign exchange is earned by the export of a limited number of items. These are mostly unprocessed minerals and agriculturals.

- Rudimentary farm technology and a limited number of export items make economic well-being difficult to control from within. On the agricultural side, drought has caused massive crop destruction and human suffering. As for exports, a recession in recent years in the West has greatly reduced demand and price for the region's primary products.

- Population for all countries is growing at a pace far in excess of income productivity. Also, population is increasing so quickly that it is, quite literally, outstripping the arable land. Governments cannot keep up with these increasing demands on education and health services. The number of new jobs being created falls significantly short of those seeking work. With 50% of the population estimated at 15 years old or younger, the situation in the job market will further worsen.

B. External Dependency

The Southern Africa states face two forms of external dependence: first, the vagaries of world commodity prices and second, the Republic of South Africa (RSA). The first is common to all countries, particularly LDCs. The second is what sets this region apart, given the overriding reality that the RSA is the dominant economic force in the region and there is nothing to suggest that this role will change soon, or ever. For instance:

- The Gross National Product of the Republic is three times greater than all nine Southern African states combined.

- Exports of the Republic are about four times as much as the nine nations combined, or close to twenty times the next largest exporter, Zimbabwe.

- For every \$2 invested annually in Southern Africa, \$20 is invested in the Republic.

The neighboring states import from the RSA: 73% of their machinery and equipment, 55% of their chemicals, 89% of their plastics and rubber products, and 73% of their transport machinery.

- Between 250,000 and 300,000 migrant workers from SADCC countries work in South Africa, mainly in the mines. Half of Lesotho's employable male population are migrant workers in the RSA.

- Commerce in Southern Africa is dependent on transport and communications linkages controlled by the RSA. About 75% of the entire railroad network in the region is within the Republic.

The economic power would not be so threatening to the SADCC states if it was not used so often to enforce South African political objectives, such as a complete cutoff of oil to Zimbabwe in 1982. Here, South Africa made its point - that it can and will employ its strength.

Events in the first half of 1984 to bring greater stability to the region have begun to reduce such use of power politics. Nevertheless, it is easy to understand why the Southern Africa states perceive the need to reduce their nearly exclusive dependency upon South Africa and to inure their economies to the vagaries of economic forces beyond their borders. This need is most clearly manifested in SADCC, and in SADCC's priority to reduce external dependencies.

C. Importance to the United States

Today, the Middle East, the Caribbean Basin and most of Asia draw more of our attention and resources. By comparison, Southern Africa appears not to be of equal political, economic or strategic importance to the United States. The region plays a minor role in the East-West struggle. It contains few sites of vital strategic importance to our national defense. American business has made

relatively modest investments. And, at a time of embargo, we could probably manage without its minerals, although the cost would be great.

Why then do we care so much about this part of the world? Why have we engaged in a prolonged struggle to influence economics and political events here?

The answer is threefold. First, Southern Africa today contains all the ingredients necessary for becoming a larger arena of East-West conflict. Economic aspirations, for the majority of people in the region, have long been frustrated. In fact, the standard of living today for the average Southern African is no better, and possibly worse, than at the time of their nations' independence. Further alienating the periphery population, is a neighboring system of racial segregation.

Recent history teaches that poverty and political alienation are fertile breeding grounds for those seeking to displace Western influence through violence and revolution. As Under Secretary Eagleburger said, "As a region, Southern Africa contains parallels to the tragedies of the Middle East. A cycle of violence has begun; unless it is reversed the interests of the region and the West will be severely damaged." Thus it is that we are engaged in Southern Africa to nurture political transition and to deny opportunities for Soviet adventurism.

Second, are the principles of basic human rights: one person, one vote and equality and economic opportunity for all; principles that are firmly embedded in our own values. They are so tightly woven into our national fabric that they can no longer be divorced from our nation's foreign policy. In Southern Africa, and of course South Africa, these principles play a major role in our foreign policy; perhaps more so than in other troubled regions. The recent

transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe captured our attention far in excess of that nation's strategic importance to us, because it represented a victory for these principles and values, expressed as foreign policy goals. Yet, so long as basic rights and freedoms are denied in the South Africa and Namibia, our foreign policy goals in the region will remain unfulfilled.

Third, are the substantial U.S. economic interests. These center on our need for the region's strategic minerals, the large direct U.S. investments and the region's strategic location. After the Middle East/Persian Gulf oil, South Africa and SADCC states are probably the next most important source of U.S. mineral imports. The region has the world's largest known deposits of chromium, manganese, platinum, and vanadium, all of critical strategic, economic or industrial importance to the West. A cutoff of these minerals would produce serious economic consequences in the United States, and have even greater negative effect in some other Western countries. The heightened European and Japanese vulnerability is attributed to their lack of stockpiling significant quantities of these minerals. Stoppage from a single major producer of a critical mineral can produce dramatic results. For example, only seven months after Zaire stopped marketing cobalt, the world price for this mineral tripled and there was a near depletion of Western inventories.

Also of importance are: 1) the substantial U.S. commercial relations with Southern Africa: direct U.S. investment is valued at over \$2 billion and trade with the United States totals about \$3.5 billion a year, and 2) the unimpeded use of the Cape sea route, along which much of the West's oil passes.

III. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONSTRAINTS

The factors that bind the Southern African states together are: 1) the economic dependence on, and related economic dominance of the Republic of South Africa, and 2) the slow, but encouraging achievements of SADCC.

In addition, there are a number of common economic problems that lend themselves to joint resolution: 1) the need for extensive agriculture research and training; 2) unreliable and costly transportation; and 3) limited manpower/human resources. These areas are focused upon in this document because they most complement bilateral strategies, are identified by SADCC as priorities and are susceptible to regional solutions.

A. Weak Agricultural Research Capability Within the Region and Limited Capacities for Training Agricultural Manpower

The primacy of food and agriculture in the economies of the nine SADCC states is illustrated by three basic statistics:

- 60-85 percent of the population live in rural areas.
- Cereal imports averaged 1.1 million tons a year in the late 1970s before the drought. In 1984, cereal imports are likely to run around 2.5 million tons.
- The region's population - 67 million in 1984 - will likely increase by 40 million by the year 2000.

The implication is that there will be growing population pressure on land and on available food supplies and natural resources, such as firewood and grazing land for wildlife.

Although there is scope for increasing agricultural output through policy reform, sustained technological change through agricultural research is essential in order to cope with the growing population pressure on land and to fill the food gap. There is an emerging consensus that agriculture research in the SADCC states must be focused on intensifying production from the limited good land in the region, reducing the dependency on rainfall through irrigation, while simultaneously increasing rural incomes and employment. However, national agricultural research services are still weak, underfinanced and staff turnover is high throughout the region.

There is an acute shortage of qualified scientists, managers and teachers in almost every SADCC state. Moreover, there is growing awareness that sending students to the U.S. and other developed countries is not a permanent solution to the shortages of agricultural scientists in Southern Africa. It is also increasingly becoming a not very cost effective solution. Overseas training simply postpones the need to create an indigenous capacity to train students when foreign aid phases out. Because of rising costs of external training, there is a need to develop a strategic plan to expand the capacity to offer a range of post-graduate agricultural training in the region.

B. Inefficient Transportation Systems and Limited Intra-Regional Trade

1. Transportation

Southern Africa has, with respect to the rest of Africa, a well developed road, rail, port and communications infrastructure. This is a legacy of the region's history as a mineral and export crop producer. While there has been some expansion of transport systems since independence, there has been inadequate investment in both maintenance and management. Transportation is the most obvious area

for intra-state cooperation and projects. This is particularly true for the six landlocked countries of the region, each of which is dependent upon systems beyond its own borders.

Reliable and efficient transportation is "a must" for development in Southern Africa. Inadequately maintained or managed transportation links slow the pace and increase the cost of economic growth. As a result, several countries have suffered when external systems they rely upon suddenly became inaccessible or inadequate to the demands.

Zambia and Malawi are classic examples. The closure of Zambia's border with then Rhodesia forced it to shift its reliance to the transportation corridor through the port of Dar es Salaam. The rapidly constructed Tazara railway and the port were unable to cope with the increased demand. Zambia's economy was severely affected by this disruption and the attendant costs. Malawi's shortest and least costly routes for shipping goods are through Mozambique's ports of Beira and Nacala. Both routes however, are frequently closed to traffic by insurrection in Mozambique. Even without that impediment, the corridors would be less than adequate because of deteriorated rails, roadbeds and equipment, managerial weaknesses, poor port facilities, and ineffective communications between the port and the terminus points in Malawi. As a consequence, Malawi is forced to use the longer, more expensive routes through Zambia and Zimbabwe to ports in South Africa which frequently double product costs.

In addition, SADCC states have had inconsistent transport policies, tariffs and standards which impede inter- and intra-regional trade, e.g. costs imposed by excessive road taxes and slow border clearance procedures.

SADCC's Southern Africa Transportation and Communications Commission (SATCC) has made considerable progress in identifying programs to alleviate bottlenecks in the transportation systems. Turning these plans into concrete projects will take time and financing. Considerable donor resources have already been mobilized. As of the recent SADCC meeting in Lusaka, donor commitments totaled over US\$700 million for transportation and communications projects. These projects are focused almost entirely on upgrading or reconstructing existing infrastructure.

2. Trade

As already stated the RSA is the major trading partner for all SADCC states but Tanzania and Angola. During the 1970s, only 1-2% of total regional trade took place between SADCC countries.

Opportunities do exist for expanding this trade. Agricultural industries in Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe partially complement each other. Botswana's beef, Mozambique's fish, Zimbabwe's furniture and textiles, Zambia's metal fabrication and chemicals industry, can find expanded markets within the region. An indication of trade potential can be illustrated by looking at practices within the region before Rhodesia's UDI. In the mid-1960s:

- 25% of Rhodesia's exports went to Zambia and 5% to Malawi.
- Rhodesia imported 4% of its trade from Zambia and 1% from Malawi.
- Fourteen percent of Malawi's exports went to Rhodesia and 1 percent each to Zambia and Mozambique. Three percent of its imports came from Rhodesia.

Since independence, Zimbabwe's trade with its SADCC neighbours has increased somewhat. In 1983, 3% of Zimbabwe's exports went to Southern African states and 6% of its imports came from these countries.

Constraining more intra-SADCC commerce are the traditional trade patterns developed during the colonization periods, including the orientation to primary product exports. Also limiting Southern Africa commerce are existing trade relationships with the RSA and the readily available trade financing offered by the Republic. Virtually no such patterns or facilities exist for trade between the developing countries of SADCC. Larger market size, low wages and government price supports and export subsidies give RSA producers a unique competitive advantage in the region. In addition, transportation and communication routes have been designed to encourage traditional patterns of primary product exports, particularly to the former colonial nations and to the RSA.

Another central factor contributing to the miniscule intra-regional trade is the lack of financing and export credit. The international commercial banking system tends to provide credit for commodities well established in world markets, where there is less financial risk. Also policies in the SADCC countries tend to limit the financing of intra-regional trade. High tariffs between the countries constitute one such disincentive. Foreign exchange constraints facing most Southern African nations further limit trade. The East and Southern Africa Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA), to which most SADCC states are signatories, will have little impact unless business can obtain export financing to move their goods and to buy from other countries.

C. Inadequate Manpower and Post-Secondary Training Capacities

The lack of sufficiently educated, trained and experienced manpower has been identified as the major long term development constraint in sector analyses undertaken by AID in the region. Every CDSS prepared by AID bilateral programs cites the lack of sufficient manpower as a major growth limitation. Although goals and objectives vary among bilateral programs, the most important common denominator is the need for more and better education.

For Southern Africa as a whole, 50% of the adults are classified as being able to read. At the low end of the scale is Malawi, where only 25% of the population have basic reading and writing skills. Massive programs since independence to expand education opportunities have led to huge increases in primary school enrollments, in excess of 80% for most SADCC countries. However, education at the high school level has not kept pace. It is estimated that less than 15% of the appropriate age group continue their education beyond the primary level.

As a result, SADCC states suffer severe shortages of appropriately trained and experienced personnel for the major productive and service sectors. A recent SADCC manpower study identifies the most critical human resource constraint as the need for teachers of science, mathematics and technical subjects, e.g. veterinary and agricultural specialists, mining technicians, engineers, and public and private sector managers.

The problem of manpower shortages in critical areas is not a lack of post-secondary programs, but rather insufficient numbers of qualified candidates from the secondary school system to proceed with further education. Most graduate and professional education is undertaken outside the region, usually in the West. The result is that many Southern African graduates are more familiar with problems and professional colleagues in Europe and North America than in the region.

IV. SOUTHERN AFRICA REGIONAL COOPERATION

A. The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)

1. History

SADCC grew out of the concerted efforts of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia - the Front Line States - to promote the independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia. These five nations, as early as 1978, began consultations with the United States and Britain to establish a formula for peaceful transition to majority rule. The success of these efforts in Zimbabwe, plus the recognition that stability and economic growth were shared concerns, prompted the same five nations to seek some means of expanding their limited political cooperation into something more ambitiously developmental. The result was the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) which was established in April 1980 at Lusaka. There, the Front Line States were joined by Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, and with independence, Zimbabwe, to formalize their intention to pursue more self-reliant development through regional cooperation as signatories to the Lusaka Declaration.

The regional economic sub-system that had emerged, historically dominated by the South African economy, gave the economic and political impetus for SADCC and the beginnings of a plan of action for altering this pattern. From a western perspective, SADCC also provided opportunities for politically moderating the direction of Angola and Mozambique. SADCC commitment to political cohesion through functional regional cooperation has now been intensified and altered by a new round of external pressures, and the grave economic and drought related difficulties faced by countries in the region.

SADCC's goals include more regionally reliant economic growth, a healthier economic interdependence and the mobilization of financial resources to implement programs and projects to achieve these aims. SADCC is an important beginning, a process whereby, over time, nations can reinforce regional and national policies and contribute to their mutual development goals through harmonized action. Its goals are modest, as they have never talked of economic integration. Rather, SADCC has organized its work to focus on development sectors with limited bureaucratic encumbrances.

2. Organization and Decision Making

At the 1980 meeting, Botswana was asked to prepare proposals on the establishment of an institutional framework for SADCC. The following framework was ratified in July 1981 by SADCC Ministers at the Summit Meeting at Harare:

Summit Meeting of the Heads of State and Government

As the supreme authority of SADCC, it meets annually in different member countries. The current Chairman is the President of Botswana.

Council of Ministers

As the major policy review and decision making body, it is comprised of Ministers of Economic Planning and Development, plus the Ministers responsible for his/her country's sectoral function. It meets biannually, immediately preceding the Summit Meeting and the annual conference with cooperating governments, donors and agencies. The current Chairman is the Vice President of Botswana. All SADCC programs and projects must be approved by the Council of Ministers, which also approves the budget of the SADCC Secretariat.

Standing Committee of Officials

As the primary organ for review and coordination of all SADCC programs, this committee is the resource body for the Council of Ministers and the Summit Meetings. It meets biannually immediately preceding the Council of Ministers.

Technical Committees

For each SADCC country's functional activities, regional consultations are called for. Comprised of technical officials from appropriate ministries in SADCC countries, these committees meet on an ad hoc basis, and are responsible for reviewing programs and projects proposed by member states. Members serve as liaison representatives and project facilitators within their own countries. Responsibility for the coordination of functional activities and the work of the committees was allocated to the follow SADCC member states:

Angola	-	Energy, Security and Conservation
Botswana	-	Animal Disease Control and Agricultural Research
Lesotho	-	Soil Conservation and Land Utilization
Malawi	-	Fisheries, Wildlife and Forestry
Mozambique	-	Transportation and Communications
Swaziland	-	Manpower Development
Tanzania	-	Industrial Development
Zambia	-	Mining and the Southern Africa Development Fund (not being implemented pending further review by SADCC)
Zimbabwe	-	Food Security

SADCC has avoided bureaucratic and technocratic centralization though this system of participatory and interactive dialogue. For instance, Mozambique established a Southern Africa Transportation and Communications Commission (SATCC), headquartered in Maputo, which is carrying out analyses and planning for regional

initiatives, which are then vetted with other member states. Swaziland has instituted a Regional Training Council (RTC) and a small support staff to carry out similar work with regard to manpower development. There is also a Standing Committee of Ministers of Industry which meets only on occasion to review plans.

Other countries have established technical and administrative units within relevant ministries (for the sector for which the country is responsible). These units are staffed by a small number of local officials and, in some instances, a few technical advisors have been provided by donors. This is in keeping with SADCC's decision not to create any permanent institutions until a requirement exists through the existence of an approved regional program requiring on-going management. The technical committees, using ad hoc assistance from donors to carry out analyses and studies, are charged with identifying programs and projects to respond to regional problems. The results of their work are then presented to SADCC's Standing Committee of Officials, composed of senior officials from each member state, which in turn forwards its recommendations to the Council of Ministers (all Ministers of Finance and Economic Planning or the equivalent) and to the Heads of State Summit.

SADCC Secretariat

Located in Gaborone, Botswana, the Secretariat is a small staff headed by the Executive Secretary with responsibility for overall coordination of the organization. Its powers are circumscribed and it is generally only able to assist in expediting matters. It is also responsible for the conduct of the meetings of the Standing Committee of Officials, Council of Ministers and the Heads of State Summit. The Executive Secretary acts as liaison with member states and with donor governments.

By maintaining a modest Secretariat with limited powers, SADCC seeks to eschew institutionalism through decentralized planning and design processes. This provides the level of autonomy and flexibility that is considered vital to program and project development in diverse technical fields, with politically and economically disparate states.

SADCC defines "regional projects" as those which affect a number of member states and directly relate to SADCC development objectives. There are however, projects which although primarily national, are nevertheless identified by SADCC as having regional impact (e.g. the strengthening of institutional capabilities for training or research in priority fields and the establishment of food security facilities in member states). Hence, SADCC criteria for determining regional projects remain flexible and projects must merely fit the broad fundamental SADCC objective "to promote the implementation of national, inter-state and regional policies".

SADCC's intent is to support regional cooperation and coordination and not to provide regional direction. For now, SADCC does not itself "sign for", "receive", nor "implement" project funds. These roles are reserved for its individual members. It should be noted, however, that in certain circumstances where a donor's legal requirements demand a signature from a regional organization to use "regional" assistance funds, the SADCC Executive Secretary has signed such agreements, together with the representative of the country responsible for implementation of the activity. At the same time, any assistance provided directly to the Secretariat to assist in its operation have required that the Government of Botswana, the host country, sign the agreement.

3. Current Status, Prospects and Problems

After four years, the implementation of SADCC's Lusaka Program of Action reflects the experience garnered from other regional organizations and a pragmatic appreciation of its limitations. The

accomplishments of some of SADCC's technical committees or organizations (SATCC, for example) may be seen as a measure of the priority attached to their regional responsibilities. In the key area of transport and communications, Mozambique has demonstrated effective leadership. It is noteworthy that Mozambique potentially has the most to gain from a regional program in this area, and this factor must be seen as an important impetus to its progress in carrying out its regional responsibilities. To date, its program for regional transportation and communications has secured over US\$700 million of donor commitments, and a total of 26 regional projects are in various stages of implementation.

Significant progress has been made in other sectors. Zimbabwe's coordination of regional food security has resulted in projects aimed at improved crop forecasting, storage, distribution, and agribusiness development. Its initial program however, which is composed of eight such projects, is coming under some criticism because it does not focus enough on food production problems. The effects of the three year drought have emphasized this shortcoming and some rethinking appears to be underway. Botswana has made considerable progress toward establishing a regional program for agricultural research. A long-term program for research on sorghum and millet, two crops particularly suited for the region's low rainfall areas, is under implementation. Projects for research on legume crops and for farm systems, which take account of limited water resources, are in the final stages of design. Botswana will soon begin implementing a project that will establish a central coordinating body responsible for networking the national agriculture research systems and for carrying out central planning for future activities.

Since SADCC relies on a network of relations between countries, based on functional coordination responsibilities, the comparatively modest achievements in some sectors by some member states bears note. On balance, the cautious and pragmatic process of planning

and cooperating gives cause for some optimism. As one examines the achievements to date, the founding principles of according priority to national policies and using the SADCC process as a complementary ingredient in achieving development objectives remains pertinent. Consensus about the common aims to reduce external economic and political dependence continues to be the vocal centerpiece of SADCC, the necessary and apparent glue that holds such diverse states together.

4. SADCC Limitations

The heterogeneity of member states underscores the limitations of the SADCC approach. SADCC countries differ in key aspects:

- level of involvement with and dependency on South Africa;
- extent to which SADCC goals coincide with those of individual member states;
- diverse government policies, economies and development priorities;
- tendency to respond to national opportunities at the expense of regional objectives;
- disparate resources bases and distribution policies;
- participation in other regional groupings.

The varying accomplishments of SADCC's technical committees are a barometer of the priority which responsible member states may attach to their regional assignments. It may also testify to the limitation of an individual country's capacity to assert leadership in certain fields, more often delegated on the need to assign each country a sector than on the basis of capability or expectations of efficacy.

In addition, one should note SADCC efforts to avoid the pitfalls of costly institutionalization and red tape to which other regional efforts have succumbed. This has, however, created a protracted and cumbersome decision making process. The SADCC process has no single African spokesperson. And decisions are reached by consensus within the Council of Ministers. Its Secretariat, which could have smoothed some of the ripples over the first few years of SADCC's existence, has been slow in staffing up. SADCC has also suffered the consequences of the understandable reluctance of member states to release their prime technocrats to either the Secretariat or the various technical planning bodies. Moreover, the competitive nature of African economies hinders regional cooperation, and SADCC is not immune to the realities of "national" taking precedence over "regional" priorities.

Finally, the limited administrative capacities of SADCC countries inevitably will be depleted further with the implementation of regional programs and projects. The expansion of SADCC activities and the additional burden to member states of having to include recurrent costs in their national budgets are sobering considerations for both SADCC and donors.

B. Lessons Learned From Other Regional Groupings and Regional Assistance Programs

To the best of our knowledge, AID has not undertaken a systematic analysis of its experience with regional programs. Evaluations have been done on individual regional projects, but these have not been pulled together for the purpose of examining approaches and experience to addressing development problems.

It was recognized that such an analysis would be valuable in the preparation of this RDSS. The AID Evaluation Office was contacted and asked to examine this subject. Unfortunately, there was insufficient time for them to prepare a report for incorporation into this RDSS. However, the results of this analysis, when completed, will be incorporated into regional program planning and, where relevant, shared with SADCC.

In addition, AID is contributing financial support to an international research project on the performance of regional cooperation schemes. This project is sponsored by the European Association of Development Institutes and is being managed by the Research Center for Cooperation and Developing Countries under contract to the OECD Development Center. This project will explore reasons for the success and failure of regional groups in several developing regions. The research project starts in April 1984 and will take one year to complete. The results will be used by SADCC to examine its organizational precepts and cooperation processes. Donors will also benefit from the project's examination of ways in which donor resources can more effectively be provided to such regional groups.

Based on a limited review of regional approaches the following general "lessons learned" appear most relevant in guiding us in Southern Africa:

- Premature efforts at promoting regional economic integration should be avoided. Over the past twenty years, a number of economic communities (LAFTA, CACM, Andean Pact, ASEAN, ECOWAS and EAC) have been established in the hope of attaining more rapid growth and more effective use of investment resources in the hope of drawing on the advantage of a larger market. After some initial success, virtually all of these communities have now entered a stage of stagnation.

- The success of a regional association is greater if there is a political consensus among the leaders of participating states. Lack of such consensus was evident in the East African Community, where conflicting political, as well as economic approaches, doomed cooperative endeavors. These factors also exist in Southern Africa. However, in the case of SADCC, perceived pressure from the Republic of South Africa has provide strong political motivation to promote regional cooperation.

- Regional investments or programs that favor one country over other participating nations tend to fail. No nation wants to forego an investment in national development or prestige. Few nations can afford international airlines, but most have them. The lesson here for a regional program is not to start with the idea of building "regional centers" in one country, even with the intent that such centers would serve all countries. Rather, an effective regional approach would focus on the improvement of existing, well-functioning national institutions, that by the quality of their work attract participation from neighboring states.

- An acid test of the viability of a regional intervention is the degree to which participating governments are willing to contribute their own financial resources to the activity. Development history is richly endowed with tales of regional (and national) projects or programs being abandoned once the donor ends its assistance. Maximum efforts should be made early on to insure that participating governments provide financial support to regional projects.

- Efforts to promote regional cooperation do not necessarily require regional projects to be sucessful. The Club du Sahel is a good example. Among the Club's most noteworthy achievements has been its ability to galvanize donor support for the Sahel, and specifically to increase donor contributions to individual bilateral programs. Another example from the same

grouping has been the unique ability of the Club to bring together, within joint working groups, donors and recipients to discuss what are often politically difficult development/economic issues.

SADCC seems to be well aware of the pitfalls of regionalism. Its members are proceeding cautiously and with a healthy degree of skepticism. Until a need and a function are identified, it shies away from creating permanent regional institutions. SADCC's slow, measured approach has drawn its share of criticism from donors whose frustration is aroused by this "go slow" approach. Donors, and SADCC members, are aware that this cautious process has the built-in danger of losing momentum. However, intellectually, all agree that if SADCC is to succeed in using regional approaches to move development forward more quickly and with more efficient use of available resources - financial and human, it must avoid moving too quickly.

C. Other Donors

There are about 40 donors, in addition to the U.S., active in Southern Africa. These include both the major bilateral and multilateral organizations. Most consider Southern Africa a priority in their development assistance programs. A good indicator of the interest was the level of donor representation at the recent Lusaka SADCC Conference. Bilateral donors represented at the ministerial level were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Among the multilateral organizations, the African Development Bank was represented by its President; the Commonwealth Secretariat by its Secretary-General; the Economic Commission for Africa by its Commissioner for Development; FAO by its Director General; and the World Bank by its Vice President for East Africa.

Net flows of official development assistance (ODA) to the nine SADCC countries fell an average of almost one percent between 1980 and 1981. However, this was not as severe as the average of seven percent fall in flows to developing countries as a group. There was a slight improvement in 1982 when ODA flows to SADCC increased on average of 3.7 percent.

The assistance programs of major donors to the region are summarized below:

Canada is committed to provide \$25 million annually during the next five years to SADCC regional projects. This assistance will be focused on food security and agriculture, energy, transportation and human resources development.

Denmark has pledged \$30 million over the past three years for SADCC activities. Danish assistance is focused on transportation and communications.

EEC provides about \$200 million annually in assistance to Southern Africa for bilateral and regional programs. This assistance is for projects in agriculture, transportation and communications.

Sweden has committed itself to provide \$41 million for the next three years. These funds will be used to fund SADCC projects in transportation and communications.

United Kingdom assistance to the Southern Africa region for both regional and bilateral activities amounts to \$110 million a year, about half of which is concentrated on manpower development.

The World Bank, since 1980, has committed close to one billion dollars to the SADCC region. Given Bank lending policy, this assistance was disbursed only on a bilateral basis. Approximately half went to the transport and energy sectors, and about 25 percent to agriculture. The Bank has expressed itself to be interested in the potential of SADCC to effect cost savings through more coordinated development and, while not supporting the organization directly, it has followed its progress closely.

There is no consistent pattern of how other donors plan and manage their regional assistance programs. Only Canada (CIDA) has an office in the field with functions similar to AID. Located in Harare, it manages CIDA's programs for Zimbabwe, Botswana and SADCC. Britain has a regional office in Malawi, but it more approximates REDSO. The EEC has a large delegation in Harare which encompasses some regional projects, although its main focus is Zimbabwe. Portugal has delegated liaison responsibility for SADCC regional activities to its Ambassador in Harare, but handles design, negotiation and management through teams operating out of Lisbon. Many donors handle their regional planning and design activities from headquarters; they then delegate responsibility to their bilateral missions or embassies to follow-up on implementation monitoring.

This diversity of approaches has complicated the task of donor coordination. The Regional Development Officer (RDO) has pursued donor coordination through periodic contact with various donors. Fortunately, most donors (even those without field offices) tend to visit Harare in the course of their duties, making it possible to arrange meetings. The travel of the RDO, both in the region and in transit to the U.S., has enabled interaction with other donor representatives.

V. JUSTIFICATION

A regional development assistance program for Southern Africa is, for political reasons, a must, and for economic reasons, a necessity.

To be credible, the United States' policy of "constructive engagement" requires both bilateral and regional concessional assistance programs and, specifically targeted assistance in support of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Constructive engagement is not limited to South Africa alone, but rather encompasses the region as a whole. The policy

must demonstrate a positive, beneficial U.S. posture to the economic, as well as the political problems, of the region. Support for SADCC and the regional assistance program is the most tangible evidence of an evenhanded constructive engagement.

While many of the region's major development constraints can most effectively be addressed bilaterally, there are some impediments to growth that are more efficiently addressed through a regional program.

VI. GOALS/STRATEGY

A. Overall Goals and Strategy

The Southern Africa regional program has four overall goals:

1. Support U.S. political and strategic objectives in Southern Africa. This support is most clearly evident through the AID concessional assistance programs.
2. Assist SADCC to become an effective body for the coordination of regional assistance and a venue for the discussion and resolution of common Southern African development issues and problems. Cooperative problem-solving is an effective and efficient means of addressing certain regional problems.
3. Reinforce AID's bilateral efforts and national development priorities by supporting regional programs in problem areas that are suited to regional resolution. Here, we have identified agricultural research and training, transportation and manpower development as the highest priority areas most suitable for regional program activity.
4. Support efforts to minimize Southern African economic vulnerability. Promoting greater economic pluralism will reduce SADCC's vulnerability to shifts in markets for a few primary products or to the vagaries of one large neighboring economy. These goals are mutually reinforcing. For example, as stated above, the

U.S. policy of constructive engagement is tangibly demonstrated in Southern Africa through the regional development program support to SADCC. The regional program in turn "builds-upon" and is designed to complement AID's bilateral programs. The principal aim of both the regional and bilateral programs is to strengthen the economies of SADCC states.

B. Sector Specific Goals/Strategy

1. Agricultural Research and Training

The food and agricultural strategy for the 1985-2000 period has two interrelated components: agricultural research and training with emphasis on a selective and gradual build-up of post-graduate training capacity within the region. The goal of regional agricultural research networks and training projects is to develop new technology and trained manpower for individual SADCC states and to promote cooperation among scientists and teachers in the SADCC region. The starting point is to agree on the minimum time frame necessary to bring about a significant improvement in the performance of the food and agricultural sectors in the region.

a. Time Frame: 1985-2000

The complex problems of erosion, declining soil fertility, lack of technical packages for smallholders, and lack of a research base for irrigation in Southern Africa, cannot be solved through a series of three- to five year, ad hoc projects. An effective U.S. response to stagnant food production and poverty in Southern Africa requires an intermediate (15 year) time frame for both regional and bilateral projects. Although fifteen years seems like a long period of time, the U.S. experience reveals that:

It took 50 to 70 years of persistent effort (1870-1920) to organize a productive agricultural research and advisory (extension) system in the United States. This seems like an exceptionally long period when gauged by the impatient efforts of modern institution builders in the national and international aid agencies"^{1/}

The development of hybrid corn in the United States provides a concrete example of the role of basic research in creating new technology, the role of applied research in adapting the new technology for mega-environments throughout the country, and the time period involved. When hybrid corn was released in the U.S. corn belt states in the mid 1930's, it produced spectacular increases in yields and it demonstrated that investment in agricultural research was a profitable activity. However, it is often overlooked that 23 years of basic research on plant genetics preceded the release of the hybrid varieties. The importance of adaptive research being carried out by the interlocking system of 60 state experiment stations, sub-stations and private seed companies must also be considered as having contributed significantly to the rapid expansion of hybrid corn to every state in the country.

Zimbabwe, the first country after the United States to develop hybrid corn, provides a regional example of the period of time and the continuity of investigation required to produce a "Green Revolution" type of technology for African agriculture. With almost no contact with maize breeders in the United States in the 1930's and 1940's, a small team of scientists in Southern Rhodesia carried out research on hybrid maize for 17 years - 1932 to 1949 - before the first hybrid (SR1) was released to farmers in 1949.

^{1/} V. Ruttan, Agricultural Research Policy, Univ. of Minnesota Press. 1982, p.77

Subsequent research in the 1950's produced improved hybrids, and in 1960, the SR52 hybrid was released to farmers. The SR52 is a long season (150 day) white dent variety; it is still the dominant variety used by commercial farmers in Zimbabwe twenty-four years after it was released. Moreover, SR52 seed is sold to neighboring countries by the Zimbabwe Seed Cooperative. The U.S. and Zimbabwe case studies reinforce the need to conceptualize support to agricultural research in terms of decades rather than years. For this reason, we have adopted an intermediate time frame (1985-2000) for our agriculture research and training strategy.

b. Regional Research and Training Needs

The overriding research gap in Southern Africa is the lack of proven technology for rainfed farming. Moreover, with the exception of Zimbabwe, national research services in the region are understaffed, and poorly financed. Staff continuity is also a major problem because 15 to 25 percent of scientists in national programs are usually on overseas study leave at any given time. Although Zimbabwe is allocating one of the highest expenditures to agricultural research (2.42 percent of the agricultural GDP) of any country in the world, its research program is unbalanced. For example, Zimbabwe has little or no research under way on cassava, sorghum, millet, cowpeas, bambara nuts and irrigation.

No SADCC state however, has the manpower and financial resources to finance a vigorous research program on all crops and all problem areas. There is agreement by the directors of national research services that the most cost effective way to fill some of the research gaps in national programs is through a few carefully selected regional research projects and networks. SADCC's regional agricultural portfolio presently includes five major regional projects that have been identified as priority areas by the CTC for Agricultural Research.

Turning to training needs, SADCC states face an acute shortage of qualified and experienced agricultural scientists, managers and academic staff in schools and faculties of agriculture. The following examples illustrate the manpower shortage:

- In 1979, in ten research stations in Tanzania, only one of the 116 Tanzanian senior staff possessed a PhD.

- In 1983, after 20 years of independence, 10 of the 22 staff members in the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Zambia were Zambian.

- In 1982, enrollment in the Faculty of Agriculture (4% of the total) was the lowest of any Faculty in the University of Zimbabwe.

- A high percentage of the research officers in national research services in the region have only BSc degrees.^{1/}

At this time, there are insufficient data to quantify the number of agricultural scientists and managers who should be trained over the 1985-2000 period. SADCC, in an initial attempt to assess the problems of manpower shortages in the region, has launched a 12 month study of the "Recruitment and Retention of Agricultural Manpower in Southern Africa". This study will be financed by CIDA and carried out by a Canadian study director in cooperation with national study teams over the 1984-85 period. The FAO is nearing completion of a two year study on agricultural training in sub-Saharan Africa. The results of this study will be made available at FAO's Regional Conference in Harare in July, 1984. The CDA zonal plan for Southern Africa will also include an inventory of

^{1/} Following the recent reorganization of agricultural research and extension in Malawi, 200 agricultural research and extension workers are scheduled for post-graduate training (mainly MSc level) over the 1985-2000 period.

scientists and academic staff by institution by country, number in training, and some rough estimates of the number who should be trained over the next 10-15 years. Finally, the Southern Africa Regional Program has included an examination of agriculture manpower in a study on agriculture research and training due to be completed in the early summer of 1984.

c. Justification for Regional Support of Agricultural Research and Training

Over the past two years, the RDO has attended numerous SADCC meetings, visited USAID missions in the region and convened three meetings in Harare to determine whether some of the agricultural problems facing the region should be addressed through regional, rather than bilateral, projects. The outcome of these discussions has produced a consensus that direct action projects, such as integrated pest management, credit, integrated rural development, women in development and food production, and institution building projects, such as extension and certificate - and diploma-level training, should be supported by bilateral rather than regional assistance programs. These discussions have led to agreement that two critical problem areas - agricultural research and training - should be supported by the Southern Africa Regional Program over the 1985-2000 period.

There are four main reasons why selected investments in agricultural research and training with an evolving focus on graduate level training should be conceptualized, designed, and implemented as regional projects:

1) Critical Mass Issue. National research services in SADCC states presently do not have the "critical mass" of scientific talent, infrastructure and the continuity of staff and funding to carry out basic research on soil fertility, millet and sorghum breeding, etc., over the minimum required period of one to two decades. Likewise, faculties of agriculture in the region

presently lack the infrastructure, critical mass of teaching staff, and library and computer support to mount and sustain post-graduate training programs.

2) Limits of Importing Technology. Two decades of experience has revealed that there are limitations on the transfer of new varieties, e.g. sorghum, millet, and beans, from other continents and other sub-regions to Southern Africa because of insect, disease and environmental problems that are unique to the region. As a result, more basic and adaptive research must be done within the region.

3) Regional Spillover Issue. Individual SADCC states are likely to underinvest in basic and some types of applied research because some of the gains from national research - new plant varieties - would "spill over" to other states with no benefit accruing to the state responsible for carrying out the research. There is no system in place that protects and enforces plant variety patents although this will surely be on the agenda of the Southern Africa Center for Cooperation in Agricultural Research (SACCAR) once it is operational. Even after such a system exists, the economic optimum level of investment in agricultural research in the SADCC region will most likely be achieved through a combination of investments in regional and national research. This approximates the situation in the U.S. where the costs of agriculture research are shared by the Federal and State governments.

4) Regional/National Research Interactions. Since most national services in the region do not have strong commodity research programs, they look to regional and international research institutes and networks for new technology. The existence of such regional research projects and networks, in turn, can strengthen national programs by:

a) encouraging scientists to cross national boundaries and undertake comparative research on common problems,

- b) producing new technology through basic and applied research that can be extended to national programs, and
- c) serving as a valuable intermediary between scientists in national research services and scientists in international institutes and in overseas universities.

d. Agricultural Research Strategy

The goal of the agricultural research strategy is twofold. The first is to strengthen regional and national agricultural research systems through strategic investments in basic and applied research in order to generate new technology. The second is to strengthen the capacity of national research services to screen, borrow and adapt technology from the global agricultural research system.

The RDSS proposes that the U.S. take the lead among donors in supporting the development of agricultural research networks in the region. The RDSS proposes to invest \$100 to 150 million dollars over the 1985-2000 period in regional research projects, programs and networks. This strategy is consistent with the Africa Bureau's research strategy and with S&T's concept of "ribbon projects". It is also in keeping with our lead responsibilities within CDA for Southern Africa. The research networks will link national scientists with each other and with scientists in the regional and international centers. In short, the RDSS strategy is to assist in building regional research networks, not large regional research stations.

The choice of regional agricultural projects for the regional program has been guided by the research priorities that have been developed by the SADCC Council of Ministers over the 1980-84 period, and more recently by the deliberations of the SADCC Consultative Technical Committee (CTC) for Agricultural Research. To date, SADCC has developed five regional agricultural projects:

1. Southern Africa Center for Cooperation in Agricultural Research (SACCAR)
2. Regional Food Security Program
3. Sorghum and Millet Research and Training
4. Grain Legume Improvement Program
5. Land and Water Management

Each of these five projects will be implemented by a lead country on behalf of SADCC. For example, Botswana is implementing the SACCAR project. The headquarters for this project will be located at the Department of Agricultural Research outside Gaborone. The \$6 million budget for the first five years of SACCAR's operation will be financed by a consortium of donors, including the Southern African Regional Program and by contributions from SADCC states. When SACCAR becomes operational in early 1985, it is assumed that it will backstop the Consultative Technical Committee (CTC) for Agricultural Research. SACCAR will also provide research and travel grants to scientists in the region, convene seminars and workshops, conduct special studies, publish a scientific journal and maintain liaison with donors and international organization in order to improve donor cooperation and support for agricultural research in the region.

SADCC's second regional agricultural project is a Regional Food Security Program that is being implemented by Zimbabwe's Ministry of Agriculture on behalf of SADCC. The Food Security Project consists of ten sub-projects, including a Technical Cooperation Program (Sub-Project No.1) that is being financed by a \$675,000 grant from the Southern Africa Regional Program.

To address the needs of rainfed farmers, SADCC has approved three regional research projects: sorghum and millet, grain legume improvement program and a land and water management project. The sorghum and millet project is a direct response to the drought and the desire of SADCC's Council of Ministers to give priority to food crop research for low rainfall areas.

Work is well advanced on designing the grain legume project (with CDA and Southern Africa Regional Program assistance) that will focus on beans, groundnuts, cowpeas, and possibly one additional crop. The grain legume improvement program will be headquartered in Malawi on the main agricultural research station outside Lilongwe. Sub-centers may be developed in Mozambique and Tanzania. The grain legume feasibility study by the CTC for Agricultural Research in September, 1984. The land and water improvement project is being designed by Botswana with assistance from the ODA. Three donors (the UK, Switzerland and CIDA) - have indicated interest in financing the first phase of this project.

Preliminary work is being carried out by the RDO and his staff on a maize research network and an irrigation network for Southern Africa. Maize accounts for about half of the land under cereals in Eastern and Southern Africa. An FAO/ECA feasibility study dated February, 1984 has recommended the establishment of a Maize Research Network for the eighteen countries in Eastern and Southern Africa. The study recommends posting four scientists in the country coordinating the network, and making up to 20 scientists available to national maize programs on a request basis. A U.S. consultant has been hired by the Southern Africa Regional Program to review the maize network proposal.

SADCC has expressed a keen interest in irrigation and is planning to carry out a feasibility study later in 1984. The RDO will likely be calling for TDY assistance from several S&T/AGR funded projects later in 1984 to help SADCC develop its priorities in irrigation and water management research and training. The recently established International Irrigation Management Institute (IIMI) in Sri Lanka has expressed an interest in developing a cooperative program with SADCC.

It is anticipated that the Southern Africa Regional Program will support the grain legume project in FY85, the on-going food security program and the agricultural training project in FY86 and possibly maize and irrigation networks beginning sometime during the FY86 - 88 period. One or two additional agricultural research and training projects may be supported by the regional program in the late 1980s as more information becomes available and new problems emerge.

e) Agricultural Training Strategy

The second component of the food and agricultural strategy is agricultural training with emphasis on post-graduate training in the region. The goal is to strengthen faculties of agriculture in order to improve the quality of undergraduate training, and to build the capacity to train 500 to 750 M.Sc. graduates in selected fields of agriculture in the region over the 1985-2000 period. Since post graduate training at the M.Sc. and Ph.d. levels should be research based, there is a need to conceptualize donor support for agricultural research and training as a system of interactive investments over the 1985-2000 period.

A survey of faculties of agriculture in all SADCC states (except Mozambique and Angola) is currently being carried out by a consultant to the regional program. Preliminary findings indicate that there is little exchange of information between faculties of agriculture within the region and with institutions in other parts of Africa, such as the Egerton School of Agriculture in Kenya^{1/}, the Hassan II Institute of Agronomy in Morocco and the new Agricultural University in the Cameroon. Preliminary analysis also indicates that faculties of agriculture in the region face common problems of

^{1/} USAID's investment of \$30 million in the Egerton School in Kenya over the past two decades illustrates the level of funding and the time period (two decades) required to strengthen schools and faculties of agriculture in Africa.

shortage of equipment, staff recruitment and retention, high teaching loads, inadequate transport, and limited research budgets. These problems contribute to low morale among academic staff and isolation of faculties from the mainstream of national agricultural research programs. Although some faculties have established formal and informal links with national rural development agencies, these links are highly tenuous. In most cases, governments in the region view faculties of agriculture as undergraduate training institutions. Funding for agricultural faculties comes through Ministries of Education rather than Agriculture. As a result, the Ministries of Agriculture have little influence over the curriculum in the faculties of agriculture.

Over the past 18 months the RDO has held numerous meetings with educators, SADCC officials, USAID Mission Directors and ADO's on the chronic shortage of agricultural manpower in the region. These discussions have generally arrived at a similar conclusion - the need to develop a significant multi-donor funded long term (20 to 25 years) agricultural training project for Southern Africa. The project will have to be designed in close cooperation with bilateral missions in order to meet the diverse manpower needs of the nine SADCC countries and to ensure that a regional effort will reinforce on-going and proposed bilateral support to faculties of agriculture.

The agricultural training project will have four interlocking components:

- Southern Africa agricultural education network to foster an exchange of information about innovations in agricultural education in other regions of Africa, Asia (e.g. India), etc.

- Third Country fellowships for SADCC countries without B.Sc. programs in agriculture - Botswana and Lesotho. Fellowship recipients would study at SADCC states with B.Sc. programs in agriculture. ^{1/}

- Ph.D. fellowships for overseas training in priority fields for most of the 1985-2000 period in order to increase the number of academic staff with Ph.D. degrees in the following faculties: agriculture, science, and social science. A vigorous and long-term staff development program is a prerequisite for developing local capacity to offer post-graduate training.

- M.Sc. training in the region in priority fields, (e.g. agricultural economics, crops science, fisheries, and forestry), in selected faculties of agriculture. ^{2/}

The strategy is to encourage specific departments - not Faculties - to develop proposals to offer M.Sc. degrees for local students and a regional service capacity to train students from other SADCC states. Proposals from departments could include equipment, micro computers, library expansion and field research for academic staff and M.Sc. students.

1/ A regional training project could provide a consistent source of Fellowship support to enable students in Botswana and Lesotho to pursue B.Sc. training in other institution in the region until both countries have developed their own B.Sc. degree programs. This approach would take the pressure off both countries to launch their own B.Sc. programs prematurely.

2/ For the 1985-90 period, the first year of the M.Sc. degree program would probably need to be done at an overseas university. However, the research for the M.Sc. degree would be done in the student's home country and his local university would confer the degree.

The results of the consultancy on faculties of agriculture will be available in May and the FAO study on agricultural training in Africa will be available in July. These studies will provide valuable guidance in the development of a PID for the regional agricultural training project. A couple of other donors have already expressed themselves interested in participating with AID in this effort.

One of the early by-products of the staff work on the agricultural training project is an awareness that the Deans of Agriculture in the region should start meeting with each other on a regular basis to improve cooperation. There is an equal awareness that there are weak linkages between the schools of agriculture (producing certificate and diploma level students) and the faculties of agriculture. As a result, in April 1984 the Deans of Agriculture requested SADCC to establish a Consultative Technical Committee (CTC) for Agricultural Education. If the CTC is approved, the membership would include Deans of Faculties of Agriculture and Heads of Agricultural Training Offices in Ministries of Agriculture.

f. Financing Regional Agricultural Research & Training Projects

The recurrent cost financing of regional agricultural - indeed any regional - projects (such as SACCAR and sorghum and millet) is a major problem that SADCC is only starting to appreciate. The problem is made more difficult for them to address because of the severe economic problems affecting almost every economy in the region and the devastating effect on their economic development caused by 1981-84 drought that has affected at least one-half of the SADCC states. There is no easy solution to the problem. At this point only ad hoc efforts are underway to address the issue. In the design of the sorghum and millet, grain legume, and SACCAR projects, the issue has been frontally addressed. The sorghum and millet program, which is the first to be implemented, has within its design the requirement that the implementator and

SADCC develop a plan for SADCC member states to begin contributing on a gradually increasing scale to the operational costs of the program. In the near term (the next three to four years), member states will only be contributing in kind through the provision of in-country facilities and personnel to help carry out various germ plasm collection and field trial tasks. A similar approach will be built into the grain legume program.

The case of SACCAR is being handled on a slightly different basis, because unlike the other two projects it will be providing benefits immediately to the member states. The host country, Botswana, has indicated it will assume responsibility during the first year for contributing to operating costs and that during that time a plan will be worked out through the CTC for Agriculture Research by which member states would begin contributing. Because foreign exchange is very scarce in most member states at this time, initial contributions might be in local currency. Since SACCAR will have operations in all member states, these funds would be used for that purpose.

These solutions to addressing the issue are, however, interim, and at least in the case of agriculture research, the CTC and SACCAR will have to identify and obtain member state agreement to a more permanent solution. Even when SADCC has found a permanent solution, foreign assistance will be continue to be required to pay a large share of the budget of SADCC's regional agricultural projects over the next one to two decades. The experience of developing agricultural research and post-graduate training in India has shown that donor assistance over several decades can bring about a dramatic improvement in these institutions. There are no shortcuts.

2. Transportation Strategy

Transportation has been an area of emphasis in the Southern African regional program since 1978. However, there has not been any clear U.S. strategy directing what types and which projects should be supported. If anything, the U.S. strategy has been to

support ad hoc transport projects as a means of making a political gesture or capitalizing on targets of opportunity. The Lesotho Southern Perimeter, BotZam and ZimZam roads all fit this pattern. This method avoided inflating bilateral program levels precipitously and avoided raising expectations that future year bilateral levels would be maintained. The emergence of an AID transportation strategy has also been hampered by restrictions precluding direct work with the Government of Mozambique, and by extension, with SATCC. This prevented U.S. access to the regional planning process being coordinated by SATCC. This prohibition has now been waived by the Secretary of State.

The door now appears to be open to begin a working relationship with SATCC. This will enable AID to become intimately involved with the regional transportation planning process. In this regard, we will seek opportunities to join with the Nordic countries to provide technical assistance for activities related to SATCC's planning role. AID intends to channel its relationship with SATCC toward such transportation problem areas as management/administration and maintenance. The regional management training mentioned can be used to design and conduct training courses in such areas.

It is recognized that AID's selection of transport infrastructure projects will continue to have to take into consideration legal restrictions where extant. For example, in the near term, it is unlikely that any specific transportation projects could be undertaken physically in Tanzania because of the Brooke Amendment restrictions.

The AID strategy will be limited to infrastructure rehabilitation or construction projects within a selected few "corridors". Our preference will be to regional roads, since other donors (principally Canada, France and West Germany) are involved and committed to assisting rail systems and have considerable resources at hand for this purpose. They may also have a

comparative advantage over the U.S. in railway development. Port development probably requires considerably more resources than AID will have at hand over the next few years. However, participation with other donors in either Beira, Nacala or Maputo port rehabilitation, should not be ruled out.

Regional roads are within the range of possible funding availabilities and AID has considerable past experience to draw upon. It is premature to identify which Southern Africa corridors and which road projects will be assisted. A transportation study will be undertaken in the next year for the purpose of selecting the corridors and providing a list of potential projects for consideration. Priority will be given in the selection process to corridors and roads offering more efficient transport egress for land locked countries. Political, as well as traffic considerations are also likely to lead the study to choose corridors running north/south and from the center of the region/eastward. Further consideration will be given to the inclusion of Shaba Province (Zaire), since transport lines with Southern Africa are vital to its economy. In 1983, 41% of Shaba's mineral exports produced by the large parastatal, Gecamines, exited via South African ports. Virtually all of Shaba's imported agricultural inputs enter from the south.

The strategy also calls for incorporating technical assistance and commodity support to improve maintenance capabilities and establish compatible standards in such areas as border clearance procedures, truck licensing, and road taxing systems, etc., as a means of ensuring that infrastructure and equipment investments are not negated by inefficient use.

3. Manpower/Human Resources Strategy

Manpower constraints - the lack of sufficient numbers of qualified professional and technical personnel - is a universally

recognized brake on Southern Africa's development. The significant investments over the last decade by countries in the region to expand and improve their education systems has been impressive, but the national systems are very limited in higher or specialized education.

SADCC has had difficulty in formulating a regional manpower strategy. The Regional Training Council (RTC), under Swaziland's direction, has approached manpower in an ad hoc and piecemeal manner. In part, the problem facing SADCC has been a strong reluctance by members to approach manpower from a regional perspective. The breakup several years ago of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland is a big factor in this attitude. To illustrate, at the recent SADCC/Donors meeting in Lusaka (February 1984), the only regional manpower project put forth for support was a meat inspectors training course.

In the absence of leadership within the RTC, the AID regional program proposes a two-pronged approach:

- First, assistance will be provided to the RTC in an effort to strengthen its central coordination of manpower planning. Initially, this will help the RTC to carry out its responsibilities for collection, analysis and dissemination of data on manpower and training. In turn, this will facilitate the bringing together of manpower planners and educators and should assist the development of appropriate regional responses to identified manpower needs. A three year U.S. commitment will be made to the RTC which entails project resources, technical assistance and commodity and financial support to enable it to carry out its liaison and planning functions.

- The second element of AID's approach is to strengthen specifically agricultural and management training capabilities in the region. The agricultural training strategy has been discussed above. The training of administrators and managers need not await the results of the RTC's work, nor must it be addressed exclusively through SADCC.

The need for management training is evident, with both the public and private sectors hindered by insufficient numbers and inadequately trained or inexperienced personnel. Technical personnel have been promoted into managerial positions without receiving the necessary management training. An institutional base already exists in Southern Africa to address this problem. With the existence in each of the Anglophone countries of one or more management or public administration training schools, the question is whether these schools are being utilized to the fullest extent, and whether they are being responsive to the region's own unique set of requirements. These institutions, created as replicas of Western management and business administration schools, tend to be too inflexible in their approaches.

The regional strategy will examine these institutions through a comprehensive study to be conducted by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. This will include quantitative and qualitative assessments of management and administrative skills constraints, in both the business and government sectors, plus a critique of existing institutional capabilities. The strategy calls for the use of existing institutions to provide appropriate regional training courses for large numbers of professional level personnel. Assistance will be geared to both public and private sector representatives engaged in areas of priority to AID. For bilateral programs, this training project could be utilized to respond to specific requests relative to those programs' own priorities.

4. SADCC

A policy of intensive political/economic cooperation, as manifest by SADCC states, merits U.S. support and reflects the current Administration's policy of "constructive engagement" in the region.

The poor track record of other regional efforts in Africa and the nascent SADCC body, barely four years old, provide limited perspective upon which the U.S. can analyze the sagacity of continued support to SADCC. There is no basis for measuring the medium and long range efficacy of the Lusaka Program of Action. It bears noting, however, that the SADCC program adheres to the principle of selectivity and continues to uphold bilateral development objectives as its priority. With no viable alternative, Southern African countries rely upon their collective efforts as a means by which to increase regional productivity.

SADCC must be viewed as a means to an end, not as an end in itself. It provides an instrumentality with which to advance American interests in a manner which promises to yield more than was earlier envisaged. It has been suggested that "style and substance" are more important than a substantially increased foreign assistance package for regional activities. The "youth" of SADCC does not provide reason for complacency or optimism. However, there exists a greater probability of tangible commitments and a genuine sharing of resources within this institutional framework, than that afforded by earlier regional efforts.

In selecting projects for U.S. support, it should be made clear to SADCC member states that regional projects need not be co-terminus with SADCC to warrant U.S. assistance. Projects that have tangibility and that promise long term and significant economic benefits, with or without the existence of SADCC, merit priority consideration by AID. In addition, projects which have a strong

justification on a national basis, either immediately or in the medium term (e.g. new or strengthened educational institutions), also deserve attention, as do projects which aim at establishing trade partnerships that are mutually beneficial within SADCC countries. Projects to which SADCC member states are willing to make a tangible commitment from the onset provide an indicator of national priority and support.

AID's strategy is to support the SADCC initiative through the provision of financial and technical assistance to several technical planning committees and the Secretariat. The main purpose of this support will be to bolster SADCC's planning, managerial and coordination capabilities. Such support to SADCC will reinforce and promote policy dialogue in such areas as agricultural pricing, farm price incentives, trade development, harmonizations of transportation fees, taxes, and regulations, and manpower development. It will also serve to link member states through a series of development programs and projects designed to benefit not only the region, but ultimately, the individual SADCC countries.

In summary, SADCC provides the region and cooperating agencies with a viable option for the implementation of development activities which are intended to benefit the peoples of Southern Africa and that offer hope for stability in the region.

C. SPECIAL CONCERNS

1. SADCC/Non-SADCC

One of the stated goals of the regional program is to support bilateral efforts by working in areas where selected regional problem-solving can contribute to national development priorities. Much of this can and should be accomplished through SADCC, since it is a chosen vehicle for some programs by the

countries themselves. Therefore, it is a tenet of the RDSS strategy that, wherever possible, the regional program will be coordinated through SADCC.

However, there are and will continue to programs which are supportive of bilateral efforts, but not of immediate priority to SADCC. In such instances, AID may wish to move more quickly than SADCC. Manpower/Human Resources is one area in which SADCC has been slow. It is also an area where we believe that carefully conceived regional projects could support bilateral programs. For these reasons, the education sector is one in which we should move in the near-term without necessarily going through SADCC.

2. Future Considerations

The regional approach to development problem-solving is new to Southern Africa. Until recently, there existed few multi-country institutions in the region concerned with development. In large part, this can be attributed to the new independent status of many SADCC states and to the divisive force of the Rhodesian sanctions period. As a result, we should expect and plan for a fluid and dynamic development situation: one in which we are prepared to move rapidly and flexibly as opportunities become evident.

Two areas of obvious regional priority which have received insufficient attention, are irrigation and trade. In these two fields, the regional program will seek to develop opportunities.

a. Irrigation has been included for future consideration because there exists vast potential in the region's river basins (Okavango Delta and the Zambezi, Cunene, Chobe, Limpopo, Ruvoma, Orange and Luangwa rivers). These offer considerable long term opportunities for agriculture, fisheries and hydro-power. As dramatically demonstrated in the past three years, water is a scarce resource in Southern Africa and these river basins, if properly

planned and conserved, offer rich resource potential for the region. However, there are no riparian agreements governing the major water systems. Such agreements and the establishment of basin planning would be necessary first steps, if river basin development is to occur. We propose to support initial planning, if such riparian agreements take shape. Of particular interest are the Zambezi and Cunene systems.

b. Trade may in time offer opportunities for regional program involvement. The challenge to the region is to find ways in which to expand these opportunities. Botswana's beef, Mozambique's fish, Zimbabwe's furniture and textiles, Zambia's metal fabrication and chemical industry and Malawi's food processing, seem likely candidates for greater intra-regional trade. However, as we have learned from the past, a cautious approach is likely to produce more lasting commerce within a region. Therefore, other than studies, no specific regional interventions are proposed. AID will continue to monitor the proposed PTA financial clearinghouse to see if it is an appropriate instrument for stimulating regional trade. Transportation is the most important investment AID can now make to promote regional commerce at this stage.

c. U.S. Based Program Support. Adding staff to the regional program is necessary to refine strategy and to facilitate project identification, design and implementation. Perhaps even more important however is developing a longer term, U.S.- based institutional framework for supporting the Southern Africa program. Specifically, this means identifying U.S. institutions, and individuals at these institutions, with Southern African expertise in agriculture, education, and transportation. Through selected grants, institutions and individuals would be asked to make long-term commitments to AID and Southern Africa. Through this investment, we would seek to build the intellectual capital needed to work in this region over the next 7 to 10 years. This is essential if the United States is to play a strong role in defining

development approaches and building an institutional knowledge base in Southern Africa. We also propose to develop systematic links with institutions and individuals in Southern Africa and Europe who are working on, and are knowledgeable about, Southern Africa. Examples of such institutions include the German Development Institute, the Dag Hammarskold Institute and the OECD Development Center.

VII. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REGIONAL AND BILATERAL PROGRAMS

This section is intended to ensure that the regional program strategy complements rather than conflicts with the bilateral programs. The following areas of major focus have been drawn from each Mission's most recent CDSS:

Botswana

- improve primary and secondary education
- advance training for administrators and technical personnel
- strengthen institutions responsible for increasing agriculture and off-farm productivity and incomes in rural areas

Lesotho

- identify crops where Lesotho has a comparative advantage
- strengthen agricultural planning capacity
- improve effectiveness of agricultural research
- retrain agricultural extension workers
- strengthen educational policy and institutional framework
- enhance capacity and output of basic educational system, particularly to provide skills needed to improve rural income and employment

Swaziland

- reduce population growth rate
- increase agricultural productivity of Swaziland
- increase employment and productivity of the non-agricultural labor force
- reduce mortality of those under two years old

Zambia

- improve Government's analytical capability
- increase food production and small farmer income
- improve agricultural training, planning, research and institutional development

Malawi

- maintain food self-sufficiency and increase incomes of smallholders
- increase private sector participation in Malawi's development
- education and skills training to improve productivity of persons in public and private sectors
- help GOM formulate a population control policy and
- design a nationwide health/population program
- help assess and plan for the transport sector

Tanzania

- facilitate policy dialogue focused on reducing controls and introducing incentives in the agricultural sector
- improve institutional capacity of agricultural research, extension and credit institutions
- improve human resource base through agriculture, health and population studies

Zimbabwe

- expand productive capacity of the modern sector
- improve agricultural productivity particularly in smallholder areas
- improve and expand education and make it more cost-effective
- expand employment in both the modern and rural sectors
- moderate population growth
- open home ownership for low income families
- policy dialogue to maintain an environment for private investment and export led growth

In general the bilateral strategies in Southern Africa have a common focus on agriculture and manpower training/education. Within agriculture, priority is directed to improving productivity. Manpower training/education strategies are generally aimed at (1) increasing incomes through farm and off-farm employment and, (2) upgrading and expanding educational opportunities while improving key institutions.

The regional program strategy will reinforce bilateral programs, particularly in agricultural/research and training and manpower development. In transportation, regional program inputs should help stimulate trade and general economic growth, private sector development and agricultural production.

VIII. PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

Program management for the Southern Africa Regional Program is divided between AFR/SA in AID/W and USAID/Zimbabwe. AFR/SA has responsibility for South African training projects. It also handles the Program Management and Research, Self-help, PVO, and Human Rights projects. USAID/Zimbabwe handles only regional program activities involving the SADCC-defined region.

The USAID/Zimbabwe Director is now responsible for both the bilateral program in Zimbabwe and for the field managed portion of the Southern Africa Regional Program. To facilitate the latter, the Director is assisted by the Regional Development Officer (RDO) and is currently adding a Project Officer and a PSC Program Assistant to the staff. Overall management of the regional program has been assigned to the RDO. To supplement the minimal staff resources, which until April 1984 consisted only of the RDO, the program has relied upon contractors, REDSO/ESA and regional services personnel assigned within Southern Africa bilateral USAIDs. This minimal staff approach has proven inadequate to the demands of the program.

In a meeting in Harare of the region's USAID Directors to review the RDSS, it was agreed that a new organizational arrangement was required in order to provide better and more centralized program management. Increasing requirements for AID services, by both the regional and bilateral programs in Southern Africa, along with expansion of AID activities in Eastern Africa, has placed greater demands on the REDSO/ESA staff. The current practice of placing additional services personnel in a couple of Southern African bilateral AID Missions (Swaziland and Zambia) to assist a few bilateral Missions and the regional program, is not the most effective means of using these resources.

The Directors concluded that the time has come for AID to begin to consolidate the regional resources personnel in one location within the region, and to broaden the responsibilities of these officers to encompass the entire Southern African region. At the same time, the staff resources of the Southern Africa Regional Program would be integrated with the other regional positions to form an independent regional mission with responsibility for managing the regional program, and providing services to all bilateral programs in Southern Africa. This office is not intended to be another REDSO nor is it meant to replace REDSO/ESA responsibilities for assistance to Missions in the Southern Africa region. However, it should result in a lessening of the demands now being placed on the REDSO staff in Nairobi.

This recommendation to centralize regional staff resources in an independent office under one management unit is perhaps overdue, as the regional program is growing rapidly with eleven active projects anticipated for FY 85. A bilateral program is emerging in Mozambique that will require close proximity support, and Namibia remains a potential new program. More responsibility for the South African projects will be moved to the field and this will require timely TDY support.

There are currently seven positions available to staff a consolidated office, representing those now assigned to the Southern Africa Regional Program, and those with regional services responsibilities. These would need to be supplemented immediately with a limited number of administrative/management support personnel in the country designated as the site for the regional mission. A larger increase would result if the staffing pattern at the end of this section, which was developed by the region's bilateral Directors based on their perceived requirements for type of Mission envisioned, were to be adopted.

It is proposed that a decision be made by AID and the Department of State to establish forthwith, a regional office in Southern Africa combining the responsibilities for the management of the Southern Africa Regional Program, and for providing services support to all programs in the region. Described below is a recommended approach to accomplish this:

1. Proceed immediately to establish the existing Southern Africa Regional Program staff in Harare as a separate AID office, reliant upon USAID/Zimbabwe for administrative support similar to the current arrangement in Nairobi between USAID/Kenya and REDSO/ESA. The position of the Regional Development Officer should be immediately upgraded to that of an executive (EPAP) assignment. The regional program is already of larger magnitude, holds more responsibility and involves sensitive policy discussions than many small AID Missions in Africa.

2. As soon as possible, a management team should be fielded to explore the location options for the future consolidated regional office and examine more thoroughly staffing requirements, organizational structure and accountability. Based on a cursory examination of the options, taking into account such factors as office space, housing, schools, likely operating expenses, and transportation and communications, the region's AID Directors identified three possibilities. These were Harare, Lilongwe and Mbabane. In each instance, there are positive and negative factors to be weighed, particularly the willingness of the host government to accept the establishment of a regional mission in addition to a bilateral USAID Mission.

3. After a decision is taken on the location, the existing regional office would be moved immediately (if the location were other than Harare). As tours end for individual services personnel, they or their replacements would be assigned to the new regional mission. New positions approved in the course of the management analysis could be added at the earliest possible time following designation of the location of the regional office. This gradual staffing process could take up to two years depending on how rapidly the management study could be carried out and when tours of duty end for existing services personnel.

4. To achieve the immediate benefits of more effective program planning and management, coordinated scheduling by the regional office for services personnel (in cooperation with their bilateral Mission Directors and REDSO/ESA), could be implemented as soon as the regional program is designated a separate mission. To ensure that the interests of Southern African bilateral Missions are fully represented in the consolidation of this scheduling process, it is proposed that there be created a "Board of Directors", composed of the heads of bilateral programs and the regional program. Such a group would meet twice a year, once together in the region, and once in a rump session, following the annual scheduling workshop in

REDSO/ESA. The heads of Missions already have a pattern of annual meetings. For the past three years, they have met to review the regional program and to discuss various common points of interest. The proposed change would add the review of scheduling requirements to the annual agenda. The head of the new regional office would be charged with responsibility for coordinating the schedule of regional services resources for all programs in the region, and thus, would provide a central focal point to which bilateral programs would direct their requests for assistance.

This approach for establishing a consolidated regional mission is intended to be the least disruptive and most cost effective approach to reorganizing existing management resources. It has the advantage of providing immediately improved management for the Southern Africa Regional Program and more efficient utilization of existing services resources. It also places AID in a better position to be responsive to increased requirements as they emerge in Mozambique, South Africa, Namibia and possibly Angola, bilateral or regional.

Listed below is a projected staffing pattern which represents the type of skills mix the region's bilateral Mission Directors felt were needed to provide the management for the Southern Africa Regional Program and regional support services in conjunction with REDSO/ESA.

SOUTHERN AFRICA REGIONAL OFFICE

Director
Secretary
Program Officer*
Economist*
Contracts Officer
Legal Advisor*
Engineer*

Project Officer*
Project Officer
Food for Peace Officer*
Agriculture Development Officer
Population/Health Officer*
Supply Management Officer

IX PROPOSED FUTURE YEARS FUNDING LEVELS (1985-89)

(U.S. \$millions)

	<u>85</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>89</u>
Agriculture	12	15	15	20	20
Transportation	8	10	15	15	25
Manpower	10	15	15	15	20
Other**	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>
Total	40	50	55	65	80

* Of the thirteen positions listed above, those with asterisks currently exist in the Southern Africa Regional Program or are in bilateral Missions with limited regional responsibilities.

** South Africa training projects, SADCC planning/institutional development projects, and PM&R, Self-help, and Human Rights projects.

ANNEX

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