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# Southern African Development Coordination: From dependence and poverty toward economic liberation

**SADCC  
Blantyre 1981**

SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT CO-ORDINATION CONFERENCE:

Blantyre, Malawi; 19 - 20 November, 1981

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FROM DEPENDENCE AND POVERTY TOWARD ECONOMIC LIBERATION

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

- President Agostino Neto

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FROM DEPENDENCE AND POVERTY TOWARD ECONOMIC LIBERATION

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## I. COMMON INTERESTS AND COMMITMENTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## II. TOWARD FULLER DEVELOPMENT

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

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

Neither development nor unity is an abstract principle - they exist only in concrete actions and achievements and can be pursued only by specific means selected for their suitability to particular contexts and problems. In the SADC context this has meant concentration on those sectors in which development can be furthered better - or in some cases only - by coordinated action. These include transport and communication, food security, agricultural and

livestock research, manpower development, industrial production and trade, energy and mining policy. Because the most urgent problems confronting most SADCC states include inadequate transport systems and lack of food security these sectors have received initial priority in SADCC action. Inadequate transport systems hamper national development, limit the feasibility or raise the cost of imports and exports, thwart other aspects of potential intra-regional cooperation and render a majority of SADCC's Members dependent on South African routes and equipment. Inadequate food security has led to recurrent foreign exchange and food distribution crises in half of SADCC's Members and to dependence on purchases from South Africa for several of them.

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

### III. AWAY FROM DEPENDENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### IV. TOWARD BROADER COOPERATION

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

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

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

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

This approach leads to a commitment by SADCC and its members to broader cooperation. Prime Minister Mugabe has succinctly stated both the desire for cooperation and conditions under which it can prove fruitful:

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

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

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

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

It is in that spirit and on the positive experience of the Arusha and Maputo Conferences that SADCC has convened this - its third annual meeting with external cooperators.

#### V. SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGIONAL COOPERATION: STEPS TO BLANTYRE

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

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

In the early years the struggle for political liberation and the immediate requirements of consolidating independence both prevented any regional economic grouping (Zimbabwe only became independent in 1980 and Angola and Mozambique in 1975, while in 1964 only Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia had achieved independence) and tended to make forward planning for economic coordination seem a future prospect rather than a present priority. Further, until the Amin coup began its disintegration in 1971, the East African Community gave promise of forming a nucleus around which a broader grouping could emerge.

From 1974, however, thinking toward a Southern African economic grouping began to become more definite. President Kaunda then envisaged the day when the independent states "could meet to discuss liberation - not liberation from political oppression but liberation from poverty' and called for creation of a "Transcontinental Belt of independent and economically powerful nations, from Dar es Salaam and Maputo on the Indian Ocean to Luanda on the Atlantic". In 1979 the foreign ministers of the Front Line States meeting in Gaborone decided that the time had come to launch a formal initiative toward a Southern African economic cooperation grouping. To that

end President Khama convened the Arusha Conference comprising the economic ministers of the Front Line who met with invited guests from potential external cooperating governments and institutions.

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

At Lusaka the founding declaration - Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation - was adopted and a Programme of Action agreed. Between Lusaka and the Maputo Conference of November 1980, the SADCC Ministerial Council held its first meeting, the Transport and Communications Commission organised both its work programme and institutional arrangements while work in several other fields - notably food security and veterinary - progressed. At Maputo substantial commitments of support to SADCC programmes and Member States were made.

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

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

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

## VI. INSTITUTIONAL EVOLUTION

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

This approach stems partly from experience in other cooperation efforts where weighty institutional bureaucracies have consumed personnel and finance to churn out proposals which were by no means always responsive to participating state interests and needs. More positively SADCC states were and are convinced that to maintain a forward dynamic requires the involvement of all Member States in overall decisions and in coordinating work in delegated sectors of particular concern to them.

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

SADCC's institutions include:

- (a) a Summit Meeting of the Heads of State and/or Government of the Member States meeting annually and chaired by one of them - Botswana for 1981-84;
- (b) a Council of Ministers to supervise the programme of SADCC, also meeting at least annually and presided over by a Chairman and Vice-Chairman elected from among their number - Botswana and Zimbabwe for 1981;
- (c) a Standing Committee of Officials to service the Council of Ministers, with subcommittees (e.g. in respect of the veterinary, manpower and industrial coordination sectors) meeting regularly with the States holding delegated responsibility for the sector and reporting to the Standing Committee of Officials;
- (d) Sectoral Commissions established by the Summit through interstate Convention to cover programmes in high priority functional programme areas of which the first is the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) based in Maputo;
- (e) a Secretariat headed by an Executive Secretary to service the SADCC institutions and coordinate SADCC programme implementation, to come into operation in July 1982 based in Gaborone, with a Zimbabwean as the first Executive Secretary.

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

Programme development beyond SATCC remains the responsibility of Partner States each of which has been delegated one or more sectors of the Lusaka Programme of Action for coordination of programme identification and initial implementation. As Chairman Masire indicated at the Salisbury Summit:

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

## VII. PROGRAMME OF ACTION SECTORS

Detailed papers have been prepared on 1980-81 action and envisaged 1981-82 development of programmes in selected sectors. In addition a Progress Report on the Lusaka Programme of Action is appended to this paper. What follow here is a brief resume of the main sectoral areas.

### (1) Transport and Communication

(delegated to Mozambique for coordination)

The SATCC has been created and is in operation with a secretariat and technical advisory personnel. Of the 97 projects identified in the initial programme presented at the Maputo SADCC, about a quarter are now under implementation and the majority of the others have been prepared and submitted to external financing agencies which have pledged support to SADCC.

### (2) Food Security

(delegated to Zimbabwe for coordination)

A detailed programme comprising nine projects covering early warning systems, crop storage, processing and exchange of information, has been prepared and initial contacts made with potential funding bodies. A small administrative unit to service the programme is being created within the Zimbabwe Ministry of Agriculture.

(3) Soil Conservation and Land Utilisation

(delegated to Zimbabwe and Lesotho for coordination)

Consultations between Lesotho and Zimbabwe for coordinated work on soil erosion are in progress.

(4) Crop Research

(delegated to Botswana for coordination)

The ICRISAT (International Crops Research Institution for the Semi-Arid Tropics) mission has visited the SADCC countries and presented a substantial report comprising both technical information and specific proposals which are now under consideration by Member States.

(5) Animal Diseases

(delegated to Botswana for coordination)

Several programmes and projects have been articulated in respect of control, research and vaccine production in respect of major animal diseases. Eradication and control measures in respect of tsetse fly, vaccine production facilities in Botswana and Mozambique and research capacity in Malawi have received particular attention.

(6) Manpower Development

(delegated to Swaziland for coordination)

A detailed set of programme proposals has been elaborated, and a small technical unit, to assist in articulating further action, is being established with technical assistance cooperation by the Government of Swaziland. Veterinary training development coordination is to be considered jointly by Manpower Development and veterinary officials of the Member States.

(7) Industrial Development

(delegated to Tanzania for coordination)

Initial steps toward information exchange and facilitating short term intra-regional production and trade enhancement have been articulated. Further information from Partner States has identified broad parameters toward medium term development coordination and some of the areas for exploration toward long term joint development. Tanzania is securing technical assistance support to increase articulation and programme development capacity.

(8) Energy Development and Conservation

(delegated to Angola for coordination)

SADCC Members presented a joint position paper to the UN Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy. Preparation by a technical team in Angola and by Partner States of material for the identification of priority areas and the articulation of an action programme is continuing.

(9) Southern Africa Development Fund

(delegated to Zambia for coordination)

A detailed study on the rationale for, and possible institutional structure of, a Southern Africa Development Fund has been prepared and is under consideration by Member States.

(10) Security Printing

(delegated to Zimbabwe for coordination)

Zimbabwe has prepared a report on the possibility of regional use of its security printing facility, and will convene a meeting of Partner States to consider it on completion of the facility.

(11) New Areas of Coordination

Malawi has been designated as coordinating country to develop a regional approach in respect of Fisheries and Wildlife. Swaziland is to prepare proposals for the possible designation of Health as a SADCC programme area and Zimbabwe to conduct a similar exercise in respect of Mining.

## VIII. PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

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

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

A major problem is the Republic of South Africa's systematic strategy of destabilising the economies of the independent states of Southern Africa. In its most overt aspect this takes the form of naked military aggression from which three SADCC States have suffered this year - most notably, the People's Republic of Angola. Linked to this

are support for banditry, insurgency and less violent destabilising forces in several SADCC Members. Beyond that, however, there are a growing number of cases of economic destabilisation. The unilateral termination of the trade agreement and railway locomotive loan agreement with Zimbabwe, and the recurrent delays in moving goods - especially petroleum products - to Zimbabwe, and the suspension of power purchases from Mozambique's Cabora Bassa hydro complex in the wake of the sabotaging of its power lines, are the largest and best known, but by no means the only examples.

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

The present international economic situation does not, of course, affect only SADCC Members. However, among the groups of countries recognised as most badly battered by it are the least developed countries, land-locked states, copper exporters and sub-Saharan economies.

The import constraints imposed by adverse changes in terms of trade and stagnant demand for many primary exports have imposed great strains on member economies. While this crisis makes transport restructuring, food security and industrial development coordination more critical, it also reduces the resources (including time to prepare for and take long term decisions) needed to achieve them.

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

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

Five specific challenges or problems arise in the context of building up the habit of effective coordination:

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

- (3) overcoming the tendency to see national plans and projects in isolation and achieving the habit of looking for and acting on regional dimensions;
- (4) improving the communication of information necessary for programme development.
- (5) creating enhanced personnel capacity to articulate programmes and to prepare detailed projects for implementation and/or submission to funding bodies.

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

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

#### LX. EXTERNAL COOPERATION: SOME PRACTICAL PRIORITIES

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

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

The areas in which the Blantyre Conference can be of value to external cooperators and SADCC Members differ in certain respects from those of Arusha and Maputo. A Programme of Action now exists; Blantyre is not seen as primarily a pledging meeting. However, this is not to imply that its potential is less nor that concrete areas of practical concern and real potential for deepening and broadening cooperation cannot be identified. These include:

- (1) discussion of the proposed food security projects, and the financial and technical assistance needed for their implementation
- (2) examination and evaluation of progress and priorities in the field of transport and communications, combined with identification of ways to enhance finance available, to speed the implementation of key projects and to ensure continued technical assistance personnel and project preparation support to SATCC;
- (3) discussion of the projects within the veterinary area, especially in respect of tsetse control, vaccine production and expansion of research capacity against tick-borne diseases, with a view to identifying more clearly requirements and sources of technical and financial assistance;
- (4) examination of initial programme strategies in the fields of industrialisation and energy, linked to pledging of technical personnel and support to sectoral coordination units in Angola (energy), Swaziland (manpower) and Tanzania (industrialisation);
- (5) general examination and review of the progress and programmes of SADCC with a view to identifying possibilities for project articulation and implementation, as well as of presentation for external finance and means to reduce time-lags between submission, agreement in principle and inauguration of implementation;
- (6) examination of the cost and problems imposed on SADCC members by South African economic destabilisation, with a view to identifying ways in which cooperating states and institutions can assist SADCC members in bearing the costs imposed by them including those of more rapid progress toward reduced railway route and rolling stock dependence.

The clear statement of its need for cooperation in the expectation of serious discussion as to what can be done is seen by SADCC as a positive approach, not an escape from its own basic obligation for achieving results. As SADCC Council of Ministers Chairman Peter Mmusi noted at the Mbabane meeting:

"Our Heads of Government have chosen a modality of international partnership which requires us to consult annually with cooperating Governments and Agencies. In this we are breaking new paths in the field of international cooperation. This we do with confidence and some justifiable pride. But there are

obligations we must recognise. We have asked the international community to associate with us in a new venture in coordinated regional development. Many have joined us. But the responsibility for implementation is ours".

#### X. A LUTA CONTINUA

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX A

COMMUNIQUE

A SADCC Summit Meeting was held in Salisbury, Zimbabwe, today attended by:

H.E. Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola

H.E. Quett Masire, President of the Republic of Botswana

H.E. H. Kamuzu Banda, President of the Republic of Malawi

H.E. Somora Moises Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique

H.E. Mabandla F.N. Dlamini, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland

H.E. Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania

H.E. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia

Hon. Robert G. Mugabe, Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe

Hon. M.V. Molapo, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Kingdom of Lesotho.

The Heads of State and Government expressed their satisfaction with the progress which has been made in regional co-operation since the Lusaka Summit of April 1980, reaffirmed their total commitment to the principles embodied in the declaration Southern Africa : Toward Economic Liberation, and called upon all those who share these ideals to join with them in the struggle for economic liberation, justice and peace in Southern Africa.

The Heads of State and Government signed a Memorandum of Understanding codifying all SADCC decisions relating to institutional arrangements. The institutions endorsed include:

- (a) Summit Meetings
- (b) Council of Ministers
- (c) Commissions
- (d) Standing Committee of Officials
- (e) Secretariat

The above institutions will provide SADCC with an effective and flexible mechanism for regional consultation and decision making. SADCC had eschewed the creation of a large and unwieldy bureaucracy in favour of a system which places responsibility for the implementation of its programme on the Governments of Member States. The Summit also approved the establishment of a Secretariat which will service meetings and ensure continuity in SADCC deliberations. The Secretariat, which will be based in Botswana and will be operational from 1st July 1982, will be headed by an Executive Secretary.

Heads of State and Government also noted the ratification of a Convention for the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC). This gives the Commission, based in Maputo, a legal personality, with its own Committee of Ministers and executive authority. The Commission is charged with responsibility for ensuring close co-ordination among Member States in the running of the region's transport systems. The Commission also has the task of following up with international co-operation partners the pledges made at the 1980 Maputo Conference.

The Summit noted with satisfaction that the Commission was already facilitating the implementation of a large number of regional projects, and urged those countries and institutions which had pledged resources at Maputo to co-operate fully with the Commission for the speedy rehabilitation of the transport and communication systems of the SADCC member states.

The Summit received a report from the Council of Ministers on the progress made in preparing the groundwork for programmes of cooperative actions in the fields of transport and communication, food security, soil conservation and land utilization, crop research, control of animal diseases, manpower development, industrial development, energy development, financial mechanisms and security printing. They congratulated the Ministers and their officials on the speed and thoroughness with which they are implementing the Lusaka Programme of Action. They expressed the view that progress already made has established a firm base for the enlargement of areas of co-operating and noted with satisfaction that Malawi has been allocated the responsibility for co-ordinating a regional approach to development of fisheries and wildlife. Other priority areas for co-operating within the ambit of SADCC will be examined during 1981.

The Summit expressed pleasure at the outcome of the Maputo Conference held in November 1980 and thanked all those who had worked to make it a success. The Heads of Government also expressed their appreciation for the positive and practical response at the Maputo Conference from friends in the International Community and recalled that speakers had firmly endorsed the strategy, aims and objectives of the declaration: Southern Africa : Toward Economic Liberation.

The Summit received a report on the preparations for the Blantyre Conference, which is scheduled to take place on 19-20 November, 1981 and endorsed the arrangements proposed. The Conference will be largely of a consultative nature rather than a pledging conference. Although a major item for consideration will be a progress report from SATCC, papers will also be presented covering other areas of regional co-operating. The Conference will provide an opportunity for SADCC, in consultation with its international partners, to survey achievements, evaluate performance, identify strengths and weaknesses in regional coloperation and agree on future plans.

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The President of Tanzania, H.E. Julius K. Nyerere expressed the gratitude of all SADCC Member States to the Government of the Republic of Botswana for the crucial role it has so effectively played, from the very beginning, in providing SADCC with leadership, direction and continuity of service. Botswana has not spared itself in committing its scarce resources - both human and material - to SADCC. These sacrifices have borne fruit and have provided a solid foundation on which the success and future development of SADCC can be confidently built.

On behalf of the Summit the Chairman, Dr. Quett Masire, President of Botswana, thanked the Government and the people of Zimbabwe for the warm welcome and generous hospitality accorded to the SADCC Heads of State and Government. President Masire paid a personal tribute to the Hon. Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, for his unswerving commitment to the principles on which SADCC is based and for the major contribution which Zimbabwe has already made to ensure the success of SADCC.

20 July, 1981

Salisbury, Zimbabwe.

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MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING ON THE INSTITUTIONS  
OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT CO-ORDINATION CONFERENCE

The Heads of State or Government of the Member States of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (hereinafter called SADCC), namely,

The People's Republic of Angola;  
The Republic of Botswana;  
The Kingdom of Lesotho;  
The Republic of Malawi;  
The People's Republic of Mozambique;  
The Kingdom of Swaziland;  
The United Republic of Tanzania;  
The Republic of Zambia; and  
The Republic of Zimbabwe;

In pursuance of their Declaration - SOUTHERN AFRICA: TOWARD ECONOMIC LIBERATION - signed in Lusaka on 1st April 1980 and, in particular, the following development objectives enunciated in the said Declaration:

- (a) Reduction of economic dependence, particularly, but not only, on the Republic of South Africa;
- (b) The forging of links to create a genuine and equitable regional integration;
- (c) The mobilisation of resources to promote the implementation of national, interstate and regional policies;
- (d) Concerted action to secure international co-operation within the framework of a strategy for economic liberation:

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

ARTICLE I  
INSTITUTIONS

The Institutions of SADCC shall be :

- (a) The Summit of Heads of State or Government (hereinafter called "the Summit")

- (b) The Council of Ministers (hereinafter called "the Council")
- (c) Sectoral Commissions
- (d) The Standing Committee of Officials (hereinafter called "the Standing Committee")
- (e) The Secretariat.

ARTICLE II

THE SUMMIT

1. The Summit shall consist of the Heads of State or Government of all Member States, and shall be of the supreme institution of SADCC and be responsible for the general direction and control of the functions of SADCC and the achievement of its objectives.
2. The Summit shall meet at least once a year.
3. The Summit shall decide upon a Chairman, from among its members for an agreed period.
4. The decisions of the Summit shall be taken by consensus.

ARTICLE III

THE COUNCIL

1. Each Member State shall appoint one of its Ministers to the Council which shall be responsible for the overall policy of SADCC, its general co-ordination, the supervision of its institutions and the supervision of the execution of its programmes.
2. The Council shall elect a Chairman and Vice Chairman from among members, and their term of office shall be for a period of one year.
3. The Council shall meet at least once a year.

4. The Council shall adopt a work programme for SADCC and designate a Member State to co-ordinate activities in specified areas.
5. The Council shall convene annually consultative meetings with cooperating Governments and Agencies.
6. The Council shall report and be responsible to the Summit.
7. The Council may, at its discretion, appoint Ministerial Committees for programmes in functional areas. The Ministerial Committees shall report to the Council.
8. The decisions of the Council shall be taken by consensus.

ARTICLE IV  
SECTORAL COMMISSIONS

1. In addition to the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) the Summit may establish other Commissions for programmes in functional areas.
2. Each such Commission shall be governed by a Convention to be adopted by the Council and ratified or acceded to by SADCC Member States.
3. Commissions shall report to the Council.

ARTICLE V  
STANDING COMMITTEE OF OFFICIALS

1. There shall be a Standing Committee of officials which shall be responsible to the Council.

2. The Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee shall be appointed by the Member State holding the Chairmanship and the Vice Chairmanship respectively, of the Council.
3. The Standing Committee shall meet at least once a year.
4. The Standing Committee shall report to the Council.
5. The Council may appoint Sub-committees of officials for programmes in functional areas and may designate SADCC Member Governments to convene meetings and coordinate the work of such sub-committees. Every such sub-committee shall report to the Standing Committee.
6. The decisions of the Standing Committee shall be by consensus.

#### ARTICLE VI

#### THE SECRETARIAT

1. There shall be established a Secretariat.
2. The administrative head of the Secretariat shall be the Executive Secretary.
3. The Executive Secretary and his Deputy shall be appointed by the Summit on the recommendation of the Council.
4. The Executive Secretary shall be responsible to the Council for the following functions:
  - (a) General servicing of and liaison with SADCC institutions.
  - (b) Co-ordination of the execution of the tasks of SADCC.
  - (c) Custodianship of SADCC property.
  - (d) Such other functions as may from time to time be approved by the Council.

5. The Executive Secretary shall be responsible to, and report to, the Council and shall provide to the Council an Annual Report on the activities of SADCC.
6. The Secretariat shall have such other staff as may from time to time be appointed by the Council. The Council may authorise the Executive Secretary to appoint staff to specific posts.
7. Staff regulations shall be approved by the Council.

ARTICLE VII

THE BUDGET

1. The operational costs of the Secretariat shall be borne by Member States in proportions to be agreed upon by the Council.
2. The Executive Secretary shall prepare and submit a budget to the Council not less than three months before the beginning of the financial year. The Council shall consider and approve estimates of revenue and expenditure before the beginning of the financial year.
3. Financial regulations shall be approved by the Council.
4. The financial year of the Secretariat shall be from July 1 to June 30.

ARTICLE VIII

EXTERNAL AUDIT

The Council shall appoint external auditors and shall fix their fees and remuneration at the beginning of each financial year.

ARTICLE IXLEGAL CAPACITY

SADCC shall have in the territory of each Member State, to the extent consistent with its laws, such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions under this Memorandum of Understanding.

ARTICLE XIMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES

The Executive Secretary and his Deputy, and such other staff of the Secretariat as may be determined by the Council, shall enjoy in the territories of Member States, such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of their functions.

ARTICLE XIINTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE SECRETARIAT

1. In the performance of their duties, the Executive Secretary and staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any Member State or from any authority external to SADCC. They shall refrain from any action incompatible with their position as international officials responsible only to SADCC.
2. Each Member State shall respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Executive Secretary and staff and shall not seek to influence them in the discharge of their functions.

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ARTICLE XIIQUORUM

The quorum for all meetings of SADCC Institutions, other than the Secretariat, shall be two-thirds of the Member States.

ARTICLE XIIISIGNATURE AND ENTRY INTO FORCE

1. This Memorandum shall enter into force upon signature by all Heads of State or Government.
2. States not listed in the Preamble to this Memorandum may become members of SADCC by acceding to this Memorandum. Instruments of accession shall, subject to paragraph 4 of this Article, be deposited with the Secretariat.
3. Membership of SADCC shall not be subject to any reservations.
4. Any State intending to become a member of SADCC but not listed in the Preamble to this Memorandum may, at any time after entry into force of this Memorandum, notify the Chairman of the Summit of its desire to become a member. Admission of a new state to SADCC shall be by consensus of the Member States and the accession of the new member shall take effect from the date on which its instrument of accession is received by the Secretariat.

ARTICLE XIVAMENDMENTS

1. The Summit may amend this Memorandum by consensus.
- 25'

2. Proposals for the amendment of this Memorandum may be made by any Member State to the Executive Secretary for preliminary consideration by the Council. Provided however, that the proposed amendment shall not be submitted to the Council for preliminary consideration until all Member States have been duly notified of it and a period of three months has elapsed.

#### ARTICLE XV

##### SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

Any dispute arising from the interpretation or application of this Memorandum which cannot be settled by negotiation, conciliation or other means, may be referred to the Summit by any party to the dispute for decision. The decision of the Summit shall be final and binding.

#### ARTICLE XVI

##### OBILIGATIONS

The obligations assumed by Member Sates under this Memorandum shall, to the extent necessary to fulfil such obligations, survive the termination of membership by any state.

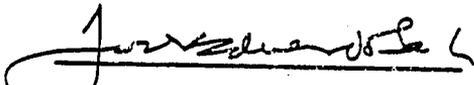
#### ARTICLE XVII

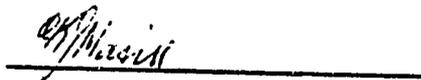
##### PROCEDURE

The Institutions of SADCC shall determine their respective rules of procedure.

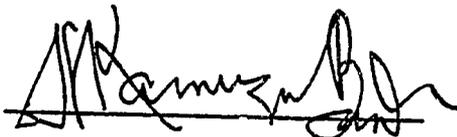
IN WITNESS whereof the Heads of State or Government aforementioned have duly executed these presents on this 20th day of July, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty One.

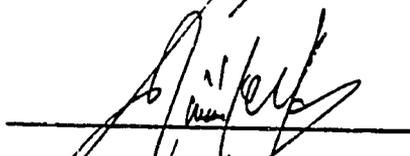
DONE AT SALISBURY, REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE, in eight original copies in the English language and in three original copies in the Portuguese language, all of which are equally authentic.

  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

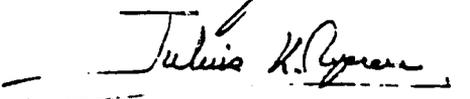
  
REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

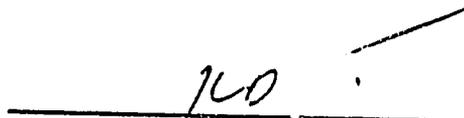
  
KINGDOM OF LESOTHO

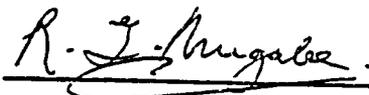
  
REPUBLIC OF MALAWI

  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

  
KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND

  
UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

  
REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

  
REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

PROGRESS REPORT ON LUSAKA PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The Lusaka Declaration, Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation, called for a Programme of Action for regional cooperation with the twin objectives of reducing dependence on South Africa and accelerating economic development. In carrying out this Programme of Action, and consistent with the strategy agreed at Lusaka, priority has been given to the Transport and Communications sector where substantial progress has already been achieved. Work on other sectors is gathering momentum satisfactorily and it can be confidently stated that the SADCC Programme of Action is now a reality, recognised not only by the SADCC Governments but also by the international community. This has been achieved and can be sustained by an effective network of consultation and joint decision-making on matters of common interest and backed by the political will of the Summit.

The Maputo Conference (SADCC2) held in November, 1980 was a major success in mobilising resources for SADCC projects. More than 30 cooperating Governments and Agencies pledged their support for the objectives of the Lusaka Declaration and agreed to give substantial financial assistance for the implementation of projects in the Programme of Action. From that Conference stemmed the sectoral activities which are summarised in this report.

1. Transport and Communications  
(delegated to Mozambique for coordination)
  - (a) The Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) has been created as directed in the Lusaka Declaration. Its Convention has been ratified by Member States. The Committee of Ministers and the Coordinating Committee of SATCC meet regularly. The SATCC and its supporting technical units have begun operations.
  - (b) The commitment and the mutual understanding and consensus reached among Member States made possible the presentation at the Maputo Conference of an initial programme consisting of 97 projects. Some of them relate to feasibility and technical studies; the majority involve the rehabilitation/upgrading of the existing facilities. The preparation of the projects in accordance with clear and commonly accepted priorities has constituted a valuable contribution to the elaboration of the Regional Programme of Transport and Communications projects already approved by SATCC. This programme takes political, technical and economical factors into account.
  - (c) Of the initial 97 projects:
    - (i) 22 are now being implemented;
    - (ii) 29 have been prepared and submitted to external financing agencies which have pledged support to SADCC;

- (iii) 15 are under preparation for submission by September 15, 1981;
- (iv) 28 are under preparation, with preparation expected to be completed after September 15, 1981;
- (v) 3 projects have been withdrawn as not justifiable at this time.

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

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

## 2. Food Security

(delegated to Zimbabwe for coordination)

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

## 3. Soil Conservation and Land Utilisation

(delegated to Zimbabwe for coordination)

It is envisaged that the projects within the Food Security Programme will provide an alternative forum for the coordination and development of soil conservation and land utilisation.

Consultations are being held between Zimbabwe and Lesotho with a view to making suitable recommendations to the Council of Ministers for coordination in this field in the future.

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#### 4. Crop Research

(delegated to Botswana for coordination)

- (a) As directed, Botswana has invited a mission from ICRISAT (International Crops Research Institute for Semi-Arid Tropics) which has visited the Member Countries of SADCC.
- (b) ICRISAT has now submitted its report which has been circulated by the Government of Botswana to SADCC Member States. The report contains a substantial volume of technical information and a number of specific proposals. Following time for Member States to consider the report, Botswana will convene a meeting of technical officials, to articulate a programme of action with specific proposals.

#### 5. Animal Diseases

(delegated to Botswana for coordination)

- (a) Three meetings have been held at official level. Unfortunately communication problems have resulted in somewhat low participation.
  - (b) Programme and project articulation has been advanced in respect of foot and mouth disease, animal trypanosomiasis, rabies, tick-borne diseases and general vaccine production.
  - (c) By the end of 1981 the Botswana Laboratory will be able to produce 21 million doses of foot and mouth vaccine annually and therefore be in a position to meet the requirements of all SADCC Members. A feasibility study toward developing a physical control programme is under negotiation with the EEC and has reached the stage of discussions on the consultants to undertake the study.
  - (d) Projects on the eradication of tsetse fly in Botswana and on eradication and control in Zambia and Botswana have been prepared as a first step toward coordinated control of animal trypanosomiasis.
  - (e) Mozambique has capacity to supply a portion of the requirements of SADCC Members for rabies vaccine. Mozambique is now engaged in expanding the capacity of its laboratory to be able to meet the requirements of Member States in full.
  - (f) A project is under preparation for the establishment of a regional centre for tick-borne disease research, and in certain cases potential for vaccine production, in Malawi.
  - (g) A technical study on requirements and capacity for general animal vaccine production in the region is under preparation. Mozambique already has capacity for production of several of these vaccines and has undertaken a feasibility study toward expansion of this capacity to serve regional needs.
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6. Manpower Development

(delegated to Swaziland for coordination)

- (a) Two meetings have been held at official level to explore possible areas of coordination and to elaborate a programme.
- (b) A detailed programme has been developed in these meetings with the assistance of a consultancy secured by the Government of Swaziland and following consultations with education and manpower institutions in SADCC States. The programme includes specific proposals for coordination, joint use of institutions, consultancies and possible new projects.
- (c) The Swaziland Government proposes to create a small technical unit for further articulation and implementation of the programme.
- (d) The field of veterinary training development and coordination in the region has been referred to a meeting of the Subcommittee of Officials on Manpower Development and the Directors of Veterinary Services of of SADCC Member States. Facilities exist in Mozambique and Tanzania, a national faculty is being established in Zimbabwe - on the basis of a FAO study covering Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Angola, Swaziland and Zambia - Zambia is planning a regionally oriented faculty with FAO support. Opportunities to coordinate the development of these institutions to minimise overlap and to maximise overall regional capacity are to be identified.

7. Industrial Development

(delegated to Tanzania for coordination)

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

- (d) Medium term action on exchange of information on national industrial development potential of interest to the development of regional self-reliance, trade and manufactures has been proposed. A long term programme for identification and action on coordinated or joint industrial development was discussed in August on the basis of information on industrial strategy and plans provided by Member States.
- (e) Tanzania has secured initial technical assistance support toward further programme articulation and plans to establish a small unit in the Ministry of Industries to service the industrial coordination work and speed up the process of data collection.

#### 8. Energy Development and Conservation

(delegated to Angola for coordination)

- (a) An initial study on regional energy capacity, potential and policy has been prepared and distributed to Member States. A detailed request for national information to serve as the basis for a meeting of officials has been sent to Member States.
- (b) A preliminary meeting of technical officials was held at the end of July to prepare for the United Nations Conference on Energy held in Nairobi in August 1981. A further meeting to elaborate a regional programme is planned for November following receipt of the data from Member States.

#### 9. Southern African Development Fund

(delegated to Zambia for coordination)

- (a) Zambia has prepared a detailed study on the rationale and possible institutional structures for the Southern African Development Fund cited in the Lusaka Declaration.
- (b) The study has been distributed to Member States and a meeting of technical officials has been convened to discuss the study. A report will be made to the Council of Ministers in November 1981.

#### 10. Security Printing

(delegated to Zimbabwe for coordination)

- (a) Zimbabwe has prepared a report on the possibility of regional use of its security printing facility for bank notes, travellers cheques and postal orders.
- (b) Zimbabwe will convene a consultation with Central Banks and Finance Officials of Member States on the completion of the facility.

#### 11. New Areas of Cooperation

At the Mbabane Meeting of Ministers in June 1981 the Government of Malawi was allocated the responsibility for Fisheries and Wildlife and is consulting with other interested Member States concerning the development of a regional approach to these areas. The Government of Malawi will present an initial report to the Council of Ministers in November 1981.

At the Salisbury Meeting of Ministers it was agreed that Swaziland should conduct a study on Health and Zimbabwe a study on Mining with a view to identifying possible scope for and the priorities of SADCC programmes in these sectors. These reports will be considered by the Council of Ministers in November 1981.

SADCC should remain realistically modest in its immediate goals while ambitious in its long term objectives; but the progress so far achieved provides a firm basis for broadening the scope of the economic cooperation encompassed by SADCC. During 1981 the Secretariat will undertake a comprehensive review of the priority areas for SADCC cooperation. Special attention will be given to the critical areas of mining, trade and health.

#### Conclusion

The record is one of substantial progress especially in the initial priority sector of Transport and Communications. However, three problems which have delayed or limited progress in certain other sectors can be noted:

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

These limitations will continue to engage the attention of the Council of Ministers and the Standing Committee of Officials.

The Lusaka Declaration envisaged an annual consultation between SADCC Governments and cooperating Governments and international Agencies. Accordingly, the next Southern African Development Coordination Conference will be held in Blantyre, Malawi on 19th/20th November, 1981. This Conference will be at official level and will provide an opportunity for further joint consultations with the international community on assistance needed for the implementation of the programme. The record to date shows that significant activity has begun in almost all sectors. A solid base has been created for continued international cooperation so that concrete programmes will be under implementation and operation by the time of the 1982 Summit.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA: TOWARD ECONOMIC LIBERATION

### A DECLARATION BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF INDEPENDENT STATES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA made at LUSAKA on the 1st of April, 1980

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

#### Dependence in Context

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

#### Liberation: Political and Economic

While the struggle for genuine political independence has advanced and continues to advance, it is not yet complete. We, the majority-ruled States of Southern Africa, recognise our responsibilities, both as separate nation States and as a group of neighbouring majority-ruled African countries, to assist in achieving a successful culmination of our struggle.

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

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

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

In this spirit we call on Governments, international institutions and voluntary agencies to give priority to increasing financial resources to support Southern African efforts toward economic liberation and independent economic development. This we believe is the route to genuine interdependence and represents the best hope for a just and cooperative future for the region as a whole.

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## Development Objectives

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

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

## Strategies and Priorities

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

### Key to this strategy is transport and communications.

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

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

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

We emphasize the importance of additional resources being made available to assist efforts to coordinate regional economic development projects. In the first instance, we intend to use the

Regional Transport & Communications Commission to mobilise finance for urgent projects in priority sectors by holding ad hoc pledging sessions with existing bilateral and multilateral funding agencies. As economic cooperation develops, a Southern African Development Fund will be created and research to this end is being initiated. Its scope would be subsequently broadened and it might prove desirable to create a separate regional development bank. We therefore urge the friends of Southern Africa to pledge financial support to this Fund.

#### Concerted Actions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### External Cooperation

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

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

This preliminary identification of aims, strategies and sectors illustrates both the magnitude of the task facing us and some of the broad areas within which outside assistance will be welcomed.

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

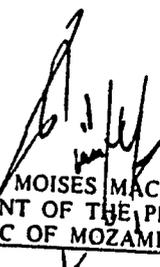
We view this declaration as a statement of commitment and strategy. Under-development, exploitation, crisis and conflict in Southern Africa will be overcome through economic liberation. The welfare of the peoples of Southern Africa and the development of its economies requires coordinated regional action.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



JOSE EDUARDO DOS SANTOS  
PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA



SERETSE KHAMA  
PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA



SAMORA MOISES MACHEL  
PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE



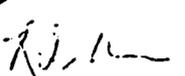
JULIUS K. NYERERE  
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REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA



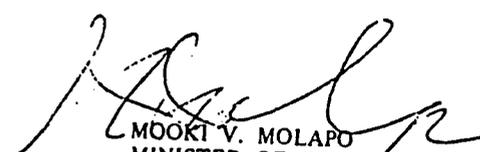
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This Declaration is produced in ten original copies, eight in the English language and two in the Portuguese language. All are equally valid.