

Special:

SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COORDINATION:
FROM DEPENDENCE AND POVERTY
TOWARD ECONOMIC LIBERATION

SADEX




AFRICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIC CENTER

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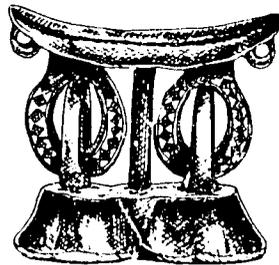
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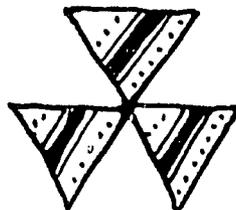
INTRODUCTION

SADEX is designed as an information and documentation guide to serve as a primary component in the establishment of a Southern Africa Development Information/Documentation Exchange (SADEX) network in cooperation with Southern African and African institutions and others involved in the development process in Southern Africa. Its purpose is to provide the Southern Africa development community with pertinent and timely information on publications, projects and international cooperation efforts related to development within Southern African countries and in the region as a whole.

The SADEX project is intended to complement and interact with efforts already underway in Southern Africa to establish an economic information and documentation network. SADEX, at the request of the jointly planned UNECA/OAU Pan African Documentation and Information System (PADIS) for economic development, is currently serving as the regional development information network mechanism in Southern Africa, while the states concerned develop their own national information and documentation centers and their own Southern Africa-based regional coordination system linked to PADIS.

The information and bibliographic sections of SADEX focus on the nine majority-ruled states of Southern Africa which participate in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) -- Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe -- and the pre-independent state of Namibia. Although South Africa is not included within the scope of the SADEX project, materials on South Africa, when relevant to the unfolding dynamics of the region, are included under the "Regional" heading in the bibliographic section.

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SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COORDINATION: 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 Agostinho Neto

The following text reflects the SADCC's own view of its evolution and accomplishments as a vehicle for regional cooperation in Southern Africa at the approach of the SADCC Summit in Blantyre, Malawi, 19-20 November, 1981. The statement outlines the SADCC's institutional development while taking a critical look at the "severe problems and continual challenges" that are seen to "fall into five clusters---historic inheritance, South African destabilization, international economic situation, national resource mobilisation and management constraints, and specific problems to be overcome in building up the habit of effective regional coordination."

I. COMMON INTERESTS AND COMMITMENTS

The Member States of SADCC have two overriding interests: to achieve development of their resources in the interests of their citizens and to attain the reduction of economic dependence necessary to achieve that development. These aims can only partially be pursued nationally. As President Sir Seretse Khama put the case for 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 indelicately 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 SADCC Member has suffered from externally imposed economic integration into an unequal system dominated by an external party. To be viable, SADCC must be, and be seen to be, based on an equitable building up and sharing of gains.

Today SADCC'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, SADCC 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 SADCC economies.

SADCC and its Members need that cooperation. They lack adequate foreign exchange, technology and investable capital to move rapidly toward their basic goals. SADCC 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

SADCC's basic commitment and raison d'être 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 SADCC 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 the 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 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, and 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 cooperation, 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, M. 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 choose economic liberation. The identity of each one must be respected, and each country must have the right 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 of 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 on a Memorandum of Understanding formally establishing the institutions of SADCC and agreed on 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 to 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 follows 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 produc-

tion 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 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, cooper 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."

IX 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 SACDD 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 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."

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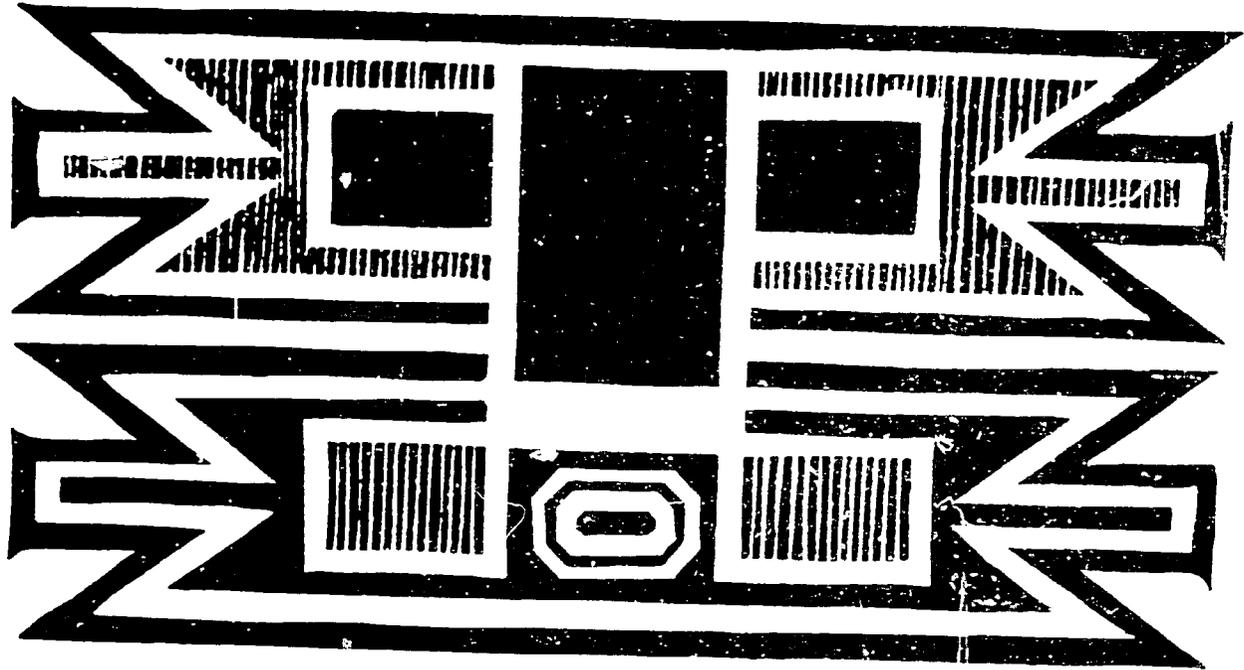
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