

SOUTHERN AFRICAN:

**A FRAME WORK AND
STRATEGY FOR BUILDING
THE COMMUNITY**



**The Proceedings of the 1993 Annual Consultative Conference
Held in Harare, Republic of Zimbabwe
27 - 29 January 1993**

CORPORATE PROFILE

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is an organisation of the ten majority-ruled States of Southern Africa. Through regional cooperation SADC seeks to promote collective self-reliance and the forging of closer links among its member States to create genuine and equitable regional integration.

The member States of SADC are:

*Angola
Botswana
Lesotho
Malawi
Mozambique
Namibia
Swaziland
Tanzania
Zambia
Zimbabwe*

The Southern African liberation movements recognised by the OAU are full participants at SADC meetings. These are the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC).

Annual Conference

Having established its priorities and agreed objectives, SADC seeks cooperation from the international community in the implementation of its regional programme. To this end, SADC holds an Annual Consultative Conference with cooperating Governments and International Agencies.

The Conference provides a mechanism for surveying results, evaluating performance, identifying strengths and weaknesses and agreeing on future plans.

Annual Consultative Conference, Harare 1993

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SADC 1993: HARARE

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SADC

Annual Consultative Conference, Harare 1993

SADC

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Preface

Over the past decade, the governments and peoples of Southern Africa have clearly defined the role of SADC in fostering closer cooperation and integration in the region. Several documents produced by the Organisation in recent years have articulated clearly the priority issues, challenges and prospects for regional stability, growth and development, that need to be addressed.

The 1992 theme document, "**Towards Economic Integration**", argued the case for regional integration as an integral element of the strategy towards peace and stability, sustainable development and social welfare, for both individual nations and the region as a whole.

The signing of the **Windhoek Declaration and Treaty**, establishing the **Southern African Development Community (SADC)**, was a landmark development, signalling the end of a period of cautious, tentative, confidence-building coordination of regional activities. At the same time, the signing of the Treaty launched the region on the path to deeper and wider forms of equitable, balanced and mutually beneficial relations.

The 1993 theme document, "**Framework and Strategy for Building the Community**", points to the ways we plan to transform the **Development Coordination Conference** into a **Development Community**. Beyond the institutional issues, the Community is about enablement and empowerment of our peoples, within and among countries, to do together those things which make for a better life.

Building the community will pose major challenges to SADC. It will be a long and complex process that will, inevitably, be conducted through equally complex interactions and arrangements, at both the inter-governmental and popular levels. Success in this endeavour requires the instilling of confidence and predictability in the process.

Apart from the governments, various interest groups must be engaged in the process, to ensure that the people of the region themselves, determine the form, content, course and pace of integration. Therefore, the mobilisation

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of an activist core from the academic, business, communications and culture, and political sectors, must be the cornerstone of the community building strategy.

The initial mobilisations, and sustaining the engagement of such activists, and ensuring the dynamism of the integration process, call for continual consultative mechanisms, technical assessments and active research, analysis and formulations of appropriate and timeous policies. Effective communication must take place both inside and outside the formal institutions of SADC. Within and between countries, regionalism needs to be integrated into the planning, execution and management of national affairs. In addition, regional factors need to be accommodated in the arrangements for bilateral cooperation between SADC member States and the international community.

Cooperating Partners enthusiastically welcomed the transformation of the Conference (SADCC) to the Community (SADC), and re-affirmed their commitment to assist the region in this new endeavour. SADC acknowledges the supportive role Cooperating Partners played in the development of the Conference, and its evolution to the Community. The governments and peoples of Southern Africa owe as much to themselves, as to our international friends, to make a success of this venture to regional intergration.

Simba H. S. Makoni
Executive Secretary.

Introduction

In looking back at our recent past and its experiences, I believe we would all readily agree that what was SADCC, that is the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, has played a significant role since its founding 13 years ago in the development of its member States. Notable successes have been recorded, for example, in the transport and communications sectors and agricultural research. However, the rapid changes in both the regional and international environment have necessitated a need for the transformation of SADCC into a new community (SADC), and the re-alignment of objectives to meet the challenges of an emerging new world economic order.

The signing of the SADC Treaty in Windhoek on the 17th August 1992, marked an affirmation of the member States to forge ahead with new strategies responsive to the changing economic, political and social realities of Southern Africa, as well as continental Africa and the world at large. The Treaty was inspired by a vision of regional development founded on the principles of equity, balance and mutual benefit.

The articulation of these aspirations invariably poses questions on how this new community can be built. For instance, it may be asked what the requirements for the building of an effective community are or what tangible benefits there are to be gained from the community or, further, still, how the community will relate and adapt to the changing international economic relationships, changes within Africa as a whole and changes in South Africa. These questions encapsulate the challenges facing SADC.

It is clear, in my view, that political pluralism is gaining a foothold in the region. Peace initiatives are slowly coming to fruition. Many member States of SADC are undergoing internal economic re-organisations meant for the betterment of their peoples' welfare. These steps are essential if increased economic activity and integration are to be achieved at the regional level.

The experience which we have gained from the past provides a valuable lesson to SADC and it emphasises the need for political commitment, the

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need for the mobilisation of all facets and players in the economic life of the region and of the individual member states. There is need also for free movement of trade and labour; for the popularisation of the integration process through the empowerment of the people; and for engaging local business community and other groups to ensure that they can participate in regional development and the consolidation of regional integration.

Meeting the challenges of the future requires strong leadership at all levels and political commitment to SADC, the strengthening of institutions at all levels, the effective and efficient implementation of realistic development and integration strategies.

The support pledged by SADC cooperating partners will be a critical ingredient to the region's efforts at economic development. International support for peace initiatives and democratic institutions will help to create the stable foundation necessary for economic growth in Southern Africa. Support for the private sector in SADC will widen and strengthen the participation of the business community in stimulating economic growth at both the national and regional levels.

May I conclude by emphasizing that the task of SADC is undoubtedly daunting. However, the determination of our peoples and their leadership to rely on our own resources as well as our firm commitment to a shared future will propel SADC towards its destination of a community of Southern African nations living together in peace and prosperity.

It was indeed an honour and privilege for the government and people of Zimbabwe to have been accorded the opportunity to host such a landmark, the historic first Annual Consultative Conference following the launching of the new SADC.

R. G. Mugabe
President of the Republic of Zimbabwe

General Background

The signing of the Treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community marks the culmination of a process that has been underway for some time - fostering the experience of working together and creating a sense of a regional identity; two factors which must underpin any effort at regional integration. The focus of this document is on the steps that will be necessary to translate the principles and objectives of the Treaty into a practical programme of regional integration.

The document is divided into four parts: Part I - Introduction and Context, Part II - Issues of Integration, Part III - The Process and Part IV - the Organizational Framework and the Timetable.

Part I summarises the circumstances and factors underlying SADC's decision to move toward a programme of closer regional cooperation, coordination and integration, and the general approach and principles that the Organization has identified to govern such a programme. In this context, the experience of cooperation within SADCC over the last twelve years, the peculiar circumstances of Southern Africa and the economic and political changes currently underway in the region and the rest of the world are paramount. It underlines that if the integration process is to succeed in Southern Africa, it has to be based on the principles of balance, equity and mutual benefit. These principles become even more relevant in the context of an enlarged SADC which includes a democratic non-racial South Africa.

Part II examines the issues which arise for the integration process in the various sectors, viz: the people, culture and information; human resources and science and technology; industry, investment, trade and monetary relations; employment and labour, food security, land and agriculture; energy; natural resources and the environment; transport and communications; tourism; mining; social welfare and health; politics, diplomacy, peace and security, and the mobilization of resources.

Part III - the Process, underlines the critical need for the integration process

to be based on the twin pillars of real commitment by member governments and on popular participation. It emphasizes the need to involve all interested parties beyond officials and ministers, particularly the business community, professional bodies, educational and training institutions, sporting and cultural bodies, churches and other non-governmental bodies. In this context, the need to create regional awareness among the peoples of the region through the facilitation of greater contact and exchange has been underlined. Similarly, the need to establish a common set of values, such as democracy and respect for human rights, across the region, is emphasized; to underpin the regional programme. The process also recognizes that there will be a need for new institutions and mechanisms, particularly to ensure the on-going involvement of the people and their institutions in the integration process.

Part IV discusses the Organizational Framework and the Timetable. The Organizational Framework provides for the integration process to take place inside and outside the formal SADC institutions. Ad hoc meetings and consultations will become an important part of the process, in order to build sufficient consensus for more formal arrangements. The section also recognizes that the new agenda that the Organization has embarked upon is far more complex, and will require a review of the existing institutions' management structures and procedures with the aim of ensuring efficiency in the management of the affairs of the Community. Such a review should ensure that the Community's structures and procedures will generate confidence and predictability among the people of the region; a quality which is necessary for the smooth economic and other exchanges.

The timetable is currently only limited to the process leading to the negotiations for the various agreements. The time phasing of the various stages that the process for establishing the Community will pass through will be derived from the negotiations.

PART I

OVERVIEW

The adoption of the “**Treaty of the Southern African Development Community**” (SADC) at the Summit which took place on August 1992 in Windhoek, Namibia, potentially marked a major step forward for Southern Africa. The Treaty represents the culmination of processes that have been underway in the region for some time. One of the central founding objectives of **Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)** was “the forging of links to create a genuine and equitable regional integration” (SADCC, 1980). Initially, and in the context of major deficiencies in the region’s transport and communications infrastructure, exacerbated by South African aggression and destabilisation, the region agreed that the first priority should be accorded to cooperating in infrastructural projects. The emphasis later shifted from specific projects towards the coordination of sectoral plans and programmes, and also from the development of infrastructure to measures intended for the promotion of investment and production. All of this was seen not only as a step towards reducing dependence, but also as laying the foundation for genuine and equitable integration. Functional cooperation, i.e. the discrete project by project or sector approach, would bring benefits in its own right, foster an experience of working together and create a sense of regional identity; all of which would underpin a programme of progressive integration.

The 1992 Theme Document, “**SADCC: Towards Economic Integration**”, argued that the region had reached a point where steps towards regional integration were warranted. A higher level of cooperation would enable the countries of the region to address problems of national development, and cope with the challenges posed by a changing, and increasingly complex, regional and global environment more effectively. Increased regional trade and cross border investment in themselves could yield significant benefits. More importantly, the restructuring of productive sectors, as a basis for self-sustaining development and growth, and to respond effectively to changes in the world economy, would be more feasible on a regional than a national

basis. Moreover, the countries of the region need to collectively overcome the sharp disparities in the performance of the various economies, as the only viable basis for fulfilling, in the long-term, the principles of balance, equity and mutual benefit, which form the foundation for regional integration in Southern Africa.

The Treaty aims to give practical effect to these goals. Article 22(1) provides for member States to conclude a series of protocols "spell out the objectives and scope of, and institutional mechanisms for cooperation and integration." These protocols are to be negotiated by the member States and, after approval by the Summit, become an integral part of the Treaty. Article 21(3) identifies the following areas in which cooperation towards integration would be pursued:

- a) **Food security, land and agriculture;**
- b) **Infrastructure and services;**
- c) **Industry, trade, investment and finance;**
- d) **Human resources development, science and technology;**
- e) **Natural resources and environment;**
- f) **Social welfare, information and culture; and**
- g) **Politics, diplomacy, international relations, peace and security.**

Additional areas of cooperation are also permitted under Article 21(4).

Obviously, the coincidence of policies and plans of member States in all these areas is critical for the integration process. Regional programmes and projects require a regional approach to sector planning, if they are to yield maximum results. This approach, in turn, requires a strong sector policy coordination. Therefore, the integration process will also create arrangements to promote the harmonization of sector policies and plans.

Moreover, the successful integration of sector policies and plans, in turn requires a high level of harmonization of macro-economic policies. At an early stage, the integration process should provide arrangements for member States to harmonize their general macro-economic, fiscal and monetary policies, particularly to establish a strong relationship among the region's currencies. In this context, measures to control inflation and to ensure overall financial and monetary stability, will be critical.

The new SADC has twelve years of experience in regional cooperation on which to draw, in its efforts build the community. During these twelve years, there have been successes and failures, and important lessons have been learnt. The successes are mostly for the others to judge, but the regional solidarity and identity that have been engendered, and the successful implementation of major projects in energy, food and agriculture, transport and communications, can be pointed out as significant achievements.

The major shortcoming of the Organization has been the inability to mobilize significant levels of the region's own resources for the implementation of its programmes. In this regard, the non-involvement of people outside governments in the activities of the Organization, has been a major impediment to greater progress.

Useful lessons learnt include the limitations that national public policy or the absence of it, place on regional cooperation efforts; the apparent inability of policy-makers to seek optimal regional solutions to national development problems. The absence of harmonized sector and macro-economic policies has also led to sub-optimal national investments and constrained regional trade and economic development and growth generally.

The unique organizational feature of the old SADCC represented by its decentralised structures, providing for member States to coordinate specific sectors obviated the need to create large regional institutions. The rationale for this approach was to ensure that the development of concrete activities on the ground preceded institutionalisation. It was also intended to promote the direct involvement of member States in initiating and implementing the activities of the Organization. Hence, each member State created a unit within its public service to manage the regional programme. This innovation had difficulties in three major respects.

- a) The various actors in the decentralised structures had no clear line of authority and accountability, in the implementation of regional programmes;
- b) Different traditions, management and administration procedures, and different standards, qualifications and performance criteria for staff involved in the management of the regional programmes;

- c) Different and often inadequate provision of staff and other resources for the coordination and management of the regional programmes, leading to inequitable distribution of responsibilities and obligations to the Organization.

If the integration process is to succeed, appropriate measures and institutional mechanisms and procedures will be required to promote synergy between national and regional policies and programmes in the areas which are subject to the integration process and to provide institutional capacity for the efficient implementation and management of the Organisation's programmes. The focus of this Document is on the framework and practical steps that will be necessary to translate the principles contained in the Treaty into a concrete programme of action.

PART II

CONTEXT

The context of the integration process was, in fact, established by the theme document for the 1992 Consultative Conference, which made the case for integration based on the following grounds:

- * The poor performance of the economies of most member States, the continued dependence on the export of a few raw materials and the on-going global changes in the structure of the world economy, make it imperative that SADC member States urgently transform and restructure their economies. The aim would be to make them more productive, diversified and regionally and globally competitive in the face of fast and far reaching economic and political changes in the world, especially the technological developments.
- * The small size of their economies and low incomes, which make it difficult for them individually to attract and sustain the necessary investment for development and growth and economic restructuring at higher levels of efficiency and productivity.
- * The inadequate socio-economic infrastructure and the high per capita cost of providing this infrastructure on account of the small size of these economies.
- * The economic disparities and inequities among the countries of the region, particularly with respect to South Africa, which cannot be the basis for long-term growth and development in the region.
- * The political geography of Southern Africa which has made the majority of the countries of the region landlocked, which necessitates their close collaboration with coastal states.
- * The need to establish and maintain peace in the region, both to mini-

mize the threat of conflict and to reduce defence expenditures. Southern Africa has a history of violence arising from colonialism and apartheid, and all countries have to work to inculcate a culture of social harmony and tolerance among all the region's peoples.

Even prior to the efforts of SADCC, many countries of region already had, between and among them, several close arrangements in the social, political and economic fields. The experience and the result of the cooperation in the context of SADCC, particularly the fostering of a regional identity, have provided a firm basis for economic integration. The on-going political changes in the region, including efforts to end apartheid in South Africa, the economic changes toward more market-orientated policies have provided a propitious time to begin the integration process in Southern Africa.

The signing, by the Heads of State and Governments of the Organization of African Unity, of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, assumed the establishment of strong regional integration groups. These would form the building blocks for the continental body. SADC is such a block for Southern Africa.

Since Southern Africa is a developing region, SADC has adopted a development integration approach which provides for continuing with the functional cooperation of the last twelve years, to address many of the production, infrastructure and efficiency barriers, deriving from underdevelopment. In addition, there will be an active trade and market integration component, aimed at creating a unified regional market, by reducing the barriers to cross-border investment, trade in goods and services, and the eventual free movement of labour.

SADC has, therefore, adopted to the following approaches to integration.

- * Regional integration requires that the interests of each participating country on the one hand, and the collective interests of the group, on the other, are clearly identified and articulated. It also requires that participating countries identify not just their own national interest but that of their partners as well, in order to ensure successful negotiations based on the exchange of benefits. These should then be taken into full account in the execution of regional cooperation and integration. In

reconciling the interests of participating countries, compromises and trade-offs are inevitable and acceptable, as long as they leave the participants better off than if they acted alone.

- * For any integration project to be successful, it must be based on principles of balance, equity and mutual benefit. These principles have been the foundation of the SADCC, because Southern Africa, is characterized by large physical, economic and social disparities and inequities. The countries of Southern Africa vary in physical size, population, natural resource endowment and economic performance among others. This requires that the stronger and/or more endowed should seek to assist the weaker members and the weak should actively seek and take full advantage of the opportunities offered by regional integration. It also requires that those participating member States who benefit most from aspect of the integration process should accept to compensate those who benefit least or not at all. These issues will be examined in their full practical effect as part and parcel of the process of building the Community, including measures to counter possible polarization and to empower the least developed member States.
- * The freer movement of factors of production, i.e. capital and labour; and goods and services, is central to economic integration and efficiency. However, any free movement of the factors of production has to be part of an overall scheme of things providing for the exchange of economic and other benefits among the participating member States. It will be clear that the heart of any regional integration, must be the facilitation and and promotion of investment and trade in both goods and services.
- * Regional integration requires the establishment of clear rules and procedures, in order to create a climate of confidence and predictability, to enable citizens of the participating countries to plan, invest and trade with each other. In this regard, regional integration requires participating countries to accept to take some decisions collectively, which would be binding on all of them. This would require regional institutions to facilitate joint decisions and to ensure compliance with such decisions. It also requires mechanisms to arbitrate in cases of disputes.
- * Regional cooperation, therefore, must impact on the exercise of natio-

nal sovereignty. Some decisions which were previously taken by individual states, are taken regionally, and those decisions taken nationally give due consideration to regional positions and circumstances.

- * The integration process for SADC should allow for a degree of flexibility, for small groups of countries to move in some or all aspects of the process, at different paces. It should also build on existing arrangements such as bilateral agreements, the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and the Southern African Common Monetary Area (SACMA), and also harmonize with the efforts of other regional organizations such as the Preferential Trade Area for East and Southern Africa (PTA) and the continental African Economic Community.

The precise content of a programme aimed at promoting greater regional cooperation, coordination and integration needs to be shaped by the concrete realities prevailing in the region. The countries of Southern Africa are low to lower middle income economies, producing primary products for export to the industrialized countries of the North. This has proved to be a weak basis for real development involving the structural transformation of the economies of the region, leading to increased investment and the competitive production of a variety of goods and services.

Another factor that needs to be taken into account is the variable geometry of the region. Southern Africa is characterized by differing patterns of relations between countries, some embracing fairly high levels of integration. For example, South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland are joined together in the Southern African Common Monetary Area (SACMA). All SADC member countries, except Botswana and Namibia, are members of the Preferential Trade Area of Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA). Several long-standing bilateral trade agreements exist between most SADC member countries, e.g. Botswana/Zimbabwe, Mozambique/Tanzania, etc. and between South Africa and SADC countries (Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe).

SADC recognizes and accepts that all of this implies a need to create space for particular arrangements between specific sub-sets of countries, while aiming at greater harmonization at a progressively higher higher level of

integration within the Community as a whole.

SADC looks forward to when a democratic South Africa will take its place as a member of the Community, and makes its contribution to programmes of mutually beneficial regional development. Evidently, the entry of any new member will need to be carefully prepared for, and will necessarily involve a process of negotiations.

While a democratic South Africa has a potential contribution to make a regional development, South Africa's membership is not regarded by SADC as a *sine qua non* for regional integration, or the well being of the region. Greater cooperation, co-ordination and integration among the existing ten SADC member States will continue to yield significant benefits. It would, moreover, have the advantage of putting in place an already functioning programme which new members could choose to join. This envisages taking action now which would advance both these objectives.

Multilateral negotiations within the framework of a strong regional organization would create the best prospects for the emergence of equitable and mutually beneficial regional development cooperation post-apartheid. Negotiations among sub-sets of countries and bilateral negotiations between individual countries would be an integral part of the process of shaping a new order in Southern Africa. However, these bilateral or sub-set arrangements would need to be placed in the multilateral framework of the community.

The existence of several organizations (SADC, the PTA and the SACU, SACMA), increasingly covering similar ground also needs to be addressed. SADC sees SACU and SACMA continuing to function as particular arrangements among specific sub-sets of countries within a perspective which recognizes that variable geometry of the region implies that different arrangements will for some time apply to particular sub-sets of countries. At the same time, there are questions of equity, imbalance, lack of consultation and sustainability in the present SACU and SACMA arrangements that will need to be addressed. SADC member States, who are also members of SACU and SACMA are more likely to have their concerns addressed in an equitable manner if these issues were brought into the wider regional negotiating forum. Such an approach would also be most compatible

with the position that specific arrangements among sub-sets of countries should be developed in the context of building an inclusive Southern Africa Development Community; implying the progressive harmonization of arrangements at an increasing level of integration across the Community as a whole.

The August 1992 Windhoek Summit concluded that SADC and the PTA each had distinct mandates, and should continue to function as separate, but complementary organizations. The Summit also directed that a study be undertaken to examine ways of bringing about a greater harmonization of the efforts of PTA and SADC. The future of integration in Southern Africa depends on finding ways to act creatively in a situation in which two distinct Organizations will continue to exist for some time. This will require working to ensure that both Organizations, as far as possible, act in mutually reinforcing ways. Beyond this, it will be important to consider ways in which decisions or institutions of one Organization can be reinforced or built on decisions and institutions of the other. For example, a trade protocol negotiated within the framework of the SADC Treaty could build on decisions taken by the PTA to reduce tariffs, and seek to use PTA payments mechanisms. However, if the PTA mechanisms are not adequate for SADC's requirements separate instruments will be necessary.

PART III

THE ISSUE OF INTEGRATION

The People, Culture and Information

The Declaration "Towards the Southern African Development Community" states in part:

We, the Heads of State and Government of the Southern African States hereby commit ourselves and our governments to the establishment of a Southern African Development Community (SADC) ... to serve as a vehicle for the development and integration of the region. We also offer and commend this Declaration to the peoples of Southern Africa, and call upon them to make the same commitment and to participate fully in the process towards regional integration.

Building a regional identity, understanding and a sense of common destiny among the peoples of the region, is a necessary condition for integration and the realisation of the Community. It has been agreed in SADC that one of the main causes of the region's poor economic performance has been the low participation of the people in the development and political processes, which has, in turn, led to poor accountability, low work ethic and productivity and a culture of dependence. This malaise will afflict any regional integration process, unless arrangements are put in place to create a popular constituency in support of its objectives and programmes, and to involve the people in determining its content and direction.

Therefore, early in the process of building the Community, measures will be taken to canvass this popular support, and appropriate mechanisms esta-

blished to involve the people in the process of integration. In this regard, priority attention will be given to facilitating travel and the right of residence within the region, the promotion of cultural, educational and sporting professional and other exchanges.

Human Resources Development and Science and Technology

Human Resources Development and the mastery of science and technology is the key to the economic transformation of the region, development and growth. The theme document for the 1991 SADCC Annual Consultative Conference outlined the concerns of the region in this very important area and ways in which they might be addressed. The concerns include the need to increase the stock of educated and trained manpower, providing world quality education and the economics of doing so, financing education and training, the improvement of productivity levels and the promotion of the mastery of science and technology.

The 1991 document makes proposals on how the region, acting collectively, can be best address these concerns. The integration process in this area should promote the joint use of educational and training facilities, in order to reduce the unit cost of training; the standardisation of curricula, entrance requirements and certification, and the establishment of centres of specialisation. The other major area will be to offer opportunities for continuing education and training to the peoples of the region.

SADC also recognises that if the development of skills is to be successful, and productivity levels raised, the management of national affairs, and the general political and social environment have to be improved to allow for freedom of enquiry, expression and association, and the reward of achievement and merit.

Industry, Investment, Trade and Monetary Relations

Industry, investment, trade and monetary relations are crucial for successful regional economic integration, and are key to the structural transformation of the region's economies from reliance on the export of low value raw materials to the production of high value manufactures. And yet in much of the region, industrialisation remains low (with average value added less

than 18% of GDP), investment flows are near nil and intra-SADC trade remains insignificant at 5% of total trade. While tariff and non-tariff barriers, historical trade links are partly responsible for this situation, the major factor is the low level of production of goods tradeable within the region.

The enterprise Community controls much of the resources required for investment and trade. The new SADC should, therefore, address the issues critical to greater enterprise activity, including improving the overall business environment, access to the regional market, mechanisms for cross-border investment and labour mobility. In addition, necessary measures should be taken to bolster confidence in the regional arrangements, and to ensure transparency and predictability.

In the absence of a formal SADC trade environment integration framework, its member States have, over time, developed trade relationships which will require careful accommodation:

- * Each of the 10 SADC member States belongs to at least one of the other three regional multilateral arrangements (PTA, SACU, SACMA), which cover important aspects of regional trade, investment and monetary cooperation;
- * Some 13 bilateral trade agreements have been concluded involving SADC member States, including 5 between non-SACU members and SACU members of SADC;
- * Three non-SACU members of SADC have trade agreements with South Africa, whilst two others are under negotiation;
- * Several important sectoral agreements covering critical areas of transport, energy, water and telecommunications have been, or are being negotiated with South Africa by the members, outside the SADC framework.

These existing arrangements should not be seen as impediments to regional integration, but should be used as a basis for developing an all embracing regional order for the participation of all SADC member States.

The main objective of integration in this area should, therefore, be to:

- a) Mobilise and promote greater mobility of investment capital within the region;**
- b) Create a single regional market, in which there is increasing and freer movement of goods and services;**
- c) Progressively remove barriers to the free movement of people; and,**
- d) In each country accord, on a reciprocal basis, to SADC citizens and companies, treatment equivalent to that accorded to nationals.**

The best place to start, on the road to investment and market integration, is to address the following basic constraints:

- a) Removal of barriers to intra-regional investment (e.g. capital, account regulations, investment licensing and the absence of double taxation agreements);**
- b) Various bureaucratic, regulatory and administrative non-tariff barriers to the movement of goods and services;**
- c) Varying standards and specification for goods produced and traded in the region;**
- d) The absence of preferential and similar treatment for regional firms, particularly with regard to matters of investment and intra-regional trade in goods and services;**
- e) The inadequate trade infrastructure such as export credit and insurances;**
- f) Rules of origin, tariff levels and infant industry protection;**

In order to facilitate intra-SADC trade and investment and to pave the way for the eventual economic union, an efficient and effective payments mechanism is essential. Monetary cooperation among SADC countries is presently quite limited. There is, in the region as a whole, diverse and non-

convertible currency systems, which have rendered both intra-regional trade and cross border investments difficult to implement. Early in the integration process, efforts should be made to overcome this problem, through effective payment and clearing arrangements and intra-regional currency convertibility.

Employment and Labour

This is bound to be one of the important subjects of the negotiations, given the long history of both skilled and unskilled labour migration, and the diversity of real or potential economic capacities in the region. In the past, more prominence was given to the thousands of workers recruited in the region to work in the South African mines. However, in addition to these, there have been equally significant numbers of migrants working legally or illegally in the farms and factories of South Africa. More recently, skilled workers have been moving from North to South in increasing numbers. Unless conditions in the rest of the region improve, the flow of migrants is likely to gather pace.

It is important, therefore, that this issue be not looked at in isolation, but as part and parcel of regional relations in areas such as investment and trade; to ensure a linkage between capital and labour flows, on the one hand; and trade in goods and services, on the other.

Food Security, Land and Agriculture

The region has the necessary natural resources, but lacks the technology, management and organisation to achieve sustainable food production.

The overall objective is to increase agricultural productivity and ensure food security at the regional, national, and household levels, while ensuring the sustainable use, effective management and conservation of natural resources of the soil, water, fish, forest and wildlife resources. In fact, in the year that the decision was taken to transform the Development Conference into a higher form of cooperation, SADC member States have all been hit by the severest drought in history, requiring massive emergency imports of grain and other foods to avert starvation. In this context, the strategic objective is not one of food self-sufficiency *per se* for individual member

States or for the region as a whole, but rather of the most economic least cost options to assure food security. This means that member States would produce agricultural products in accordance with their climatic and soil conditions, and other factors of comparative advantage; and import what they cannot produce competitively from other member States or the rest of the world.

The problems affecting agriculture and food security in the region range from production to marketing and trade. Consequently, the integration process should seek to overcome these problems. It should facilitate investment in food and agriculture, through changes in and harmonisation of land tenure systems, training, research, extension. It should also seek to overcome the infrastructure constraints to production such as inadequate storage and transportation.

Since the attainment of national and regional food security are priority areas of integration, the trade problems in food and agricultural products must be addressed at an early stage. A related issue is the linkage between food and agriculture and other sectors of the region's economies. Since poverty is the key to food insecurity, income and employment generation are essential elements of food security programmes. All this will need to be underpinned by common policies in the production and marketing of seeds, crops, livestock, forest products and fish.

The demand for maize, the regional food staple, is expected to double within the next forty years. Under current yields, this implies a doubling of the area planted to maize. Much of the estimated additional demand might be met by bringing additional land from the better rainfall areas of the Northern SADC members of Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, under cultivation, where economically and environmentally appropriate. Higher yields from existing arable land is also necessary.

No one factor alone can result in significantly improved regional food and agricultural production. So, programmes will be needed in the following areas: new technologies; increasing the availability and use of human capital; investing in biological capital, institutional improvements; providing a favourable economic environment, and bringing more land under cultivation.

The regional efforts are designed to complement, support and enhance national activities, rather than to replace or compete with them. The overall strategy in this area will, therefore, be structures to achieve improved food security and natural resource conservation by:

- * Providing a framework to integrate regional and national policies and projects;
- * Increasing rural incomes and facilitating employment generation and managing food aid to help transate food needs into effective demand;
- * Assisting member States design policies, programmes and projects to improve and sustain natural resources and ensure household food security; and
- * Strengthening a regional forum and mechanisms for disseminating the research results emanating from research agencies within the region, especially with respect to drought resistant crop varieties;
- * Establishing a strong extension service to link research institutions with the former and industry;
- * Promoting a coherent and transparent programme for rebuilding and maintaining regional food reserves in member States;
- * Drawing up and implementing a regional strategy for the development of regional fertiliser raw materials and promoting the distribution and use of fertilisers in the region;
- * Establishing a regional policy analysis network to examine the mechanisms of agricultural markets, trade structures, monetary and trade policies, and their implications for food security and the possibility of establishing a common agricultural policy; and
- * Forging closer links with supporting sectors, such as transport, telecommunications, and industry to diversify the income base of rural communities.

Energy

Adequate, secure and low cost supplies of various forms of energy are essential for economic and social development. Security and adequacy of commercial supplies are also essential for attracting investment to member States individually and to the region as a whole. The recent costly disruption to agricultural and industrial production demonstrated the need for urgent action to ensure adequate security of energy supply in the region.

Throughout the region, woodfuel is a cause for concern. Over seventy-five per cent of energy supply in the region is still biomass, a resource which is under-increasing pressure because of population growth and the expansion of land under agriculture and human settlements.

Potential exists for integration arrangements in the development of many energy forms: electricity, petroleum, gas, coal, solar and biomass (woodfuel). The benefits of integration would be:

- * Minimisation of the cost of supply arising from the economies of scale of large regional energy supply systems;
- * Investment in energy tends to be large, lumpy and has long gestation periods. Joint development will offer member States the opportunity to share the investment burden and to avoid a situation where investment in energy development crowds out other important national priorities;
- * The enhancement of reliability and security of supply offered by a large inter-connected system;
- * Minimisation of costly under or over planning because energy can be imported in the event of a national shortage;
- * Increased trade which would have a positive impact on the overall economic performance of the region;
- * Joint purchase and refining of petroleum products;
- * Minimisation of the adverse environmental impact of energy deve-

lopment and supply arising from the ability to use a variety of energy sources.

The energy source which offers the most obvious case of regional integration, with almost immediate benefits, is in electricity generation and distribution. The region's hydropower potential, which offers cheap and relatively environmentally friendly energy, remains under-utilised. Simultaneously, there are power shortages in parts of the region, and reliance on the on coal generation, which has serious adverse environmental impact. It is against this background that the desirability and feasibility of a regional electricity grid have long been accepted.

In addition to the obvious case for a regional electricity grid, and joint planning for power generation and distribution, scope exists for the joint exploitation of the region's natural gas, coordination of petroleum procurement, refining and marketing. All these would require agreement on pricing, tariff and management policies.

Any regional integration arrangements will have to overcome the current urge among the member States for national energy self-sufficiency, in favour of regional supply and sufficiency. The arrangements will need to be such that they will not be easily disrupted by political and other problems within, and between the member States.

The imperatives and urgency of establishing a regional platform for jointly administering installed generating capacity, and jointly planning system development to meet future needs, are evident. Already, the various national electricity agencies are interacting with each other in very important practical respects. It is envisaged that a regional body will be empowered to develop regional electricity generation facilities and distribution grid. Such a regional body's immediate remit would comprise the following four point action agenda:

- * Installation of inter-connectors between the national systems to create a regional grid network that facilitates power sharing;
- * To oversee the negotiation of a regional tariff structure and payment system for regionally traded electricity;

- * To establish and implement a programme for rehabilitating installed generating capacity within the region to enhance output;
- * To take charge of the planning of the region's future electricity supplies, oversee negotiations in respect of type, size, location and funding of major investments and regulate and monitor their environmental impact.

In time, regional bodies can evolve to develop other energy forms on a regional basis.

Natural Resources and the Environment

As the pace of economic development and growth in Southern Africa quickens, and the population pressure increases, there are bound to be competing claims for the region's natural resources, such as water, among the member States; and mounting pressure on the region's environment and ecosystem. Arrangements will need to be put in place for the joint management and sustainable utilisation of the shared resources of the region, and for the protection of its environment. In this connection, the on-going Zambezi River Action Plan is an example of what should be done in other river and natural resource systems.

The issues of sustainable use of the region's natural resources and the reduction of activities which harm the environment are important. The challenges would be to integrate the concerns for the environment with development activity. If this is to take place, the region should be bound by the same standards and legislation on the environment.

Integration arrangements will be aimed at ensuring adequate and sustainable water supplies in the region for agricultural, domestic and industrial uses. The coordinated and sustainable use of the region's shared river and lake systems offer ample scope for integrative activities. In this regard, such issues as production, harnessing and harvesting, pricing and trade in water, conservation and the environment arise. It is envisaged that the regional authorities will be created to manage the common resource systems, to monitor performance and to ensure compliance.

Transport and Communications

When SADCC was launched in 1980, programmes of cooperation emphasising reduction of dependence on South Africa received much prominence. This was understandable, given the geo-politics of the region at the time, when South Africa constituted a real military, political and economic threat to the member States. Indeed, the thrust of the early actions of SADCC was influenced by the recognition that the dominance of South Africa has been reinforced and strengthened by its transport systems and the weakness of the SADCC transport systems which offered the most natural and potentially economic routes to the sea. However, these actions were also undertaken to address the other important concern that progress in other areas of cooperation would be limited without an adequate, economic and efficient regional transport and communications system.

Consequently, the development of cost-efficient SADC transport and communications infrastructure, which would also minimise reliance on South Africa's network and facilities, became a major SADCC programme. On the ground, the programme took concerted efforts to rehabilitate and improve the physical capacities of port, rail and road facilities, particularly in Mozambique and Tanzania, so that landlocked member States would have cost efficient and secure access to sea outlets for their exports and imports. The development of telecommunications facilities was also given prominence, with a view to facilitating direct and more efficient communication among SADC member States, as well as with the outside world.

Given the large investments that have already gone into or are already planned for transport and communications infrastructure and equipment in the region, it has now become essential to institute systems and procedures that ensure optimal utilisation of installed capacities. The objective should be to ensure that member States derive maximum benefits from the investments through smooth and least cost movements of people, goods, information and services within the region, as well as minimising transport and communications costs; to enable regional exports to become more competitive in the international markets, and consumer goods and services to become available to the regional population at competitive prices.

The key issues are:

a) Adequacy of capacity:

- * although there are still a few gaps and missing links, physical or installed capacities of the transport and communication infrastructure and facilities have been considerably strengthened over the years. For example, cargo handling capacity at the ports of Maputo, Beira, Nacala and Dar es Salaam has been considerably upgraded resulting in steady improvements in the volumes of trade which can be channelled through them. Similarly, in respect of railways, the permanent ways, rolling stock and traction power have been improved, and are estimated to be adequate to cater for demand projected for the near future. Substantial investments have also gone into building up the regional roads and road fleet, which now competes well with rail for international traffic. A sizeable passenger air fleet has been built up, with evidence of under-utilisation and lack of viability in many cases. Terrestrial and satellite telecommunications network and exchange capacities have also been strengthened.
- * however, these installed capacities of the transport and communications facilities are not being exploited to their maximum potential. Thus, the operational or practical capacities realised are considerably limited by the poor maintenance and under-utilisation of infrastructure and equipment caused, in turn, by general inefficient organisation, management and operations.

- b) The cost of transport and communications in SADC is comparatively high, due to poor economies of scale because of low volumes, and also as an indication of limited degrees of competition as well as inadequate maintenance and inefficient operations. As a measure of the seriousness of the cost, average transport costs in the region are estimated at over 30% of landed product values. In these circumstances systems and management improvements that lead to cost savings must be explored and implemented. As the economies open up to external competition, efficiency becomes a matter of survival.

- c) Quality of services of the transportation and communications system is, in addition to costs, an important aspect of competitiveness of international trade, attraction of investment and promotion of intra-regional trade and integration. This concerns security and elimination of pilferage, timeliness of service, ability to promptly provide information on the location of consignments along the transport chain and flexibility to cater for specific needs of customers. A great deal remains to be done in this area by all member States.
- d) Policy, regulatory and organisational aspects are also critical in the creation of the enabling environment for efficient management and operations of the transport and communications services. Management, particularly in the principal state-owned enterprises, such as railways and airlines, needs urgent attention, if an acceptable level of efficiency and cost effectiveness is to be attained. Policy, regulatory and organisational aspects to be addressed include:
- * liberalisation and commercialisation of management of transport and communications enterprises, through necessary legislative, organisational and human resources improvement;
 - * investment and pricing policies and strategies enabling the transport and communications operating institutions to become self-financing;
 - * promotion of modal competitiveness through the exploitation of comparative modal advantages and complementarity; and
 - * other regulatory instruments, including licensing and taxation of operators and equipment.
- e) The integration of the regional transport and communication system is necessary to facilitate smooth and efficient flow of traffic across borders. Each mode will have to operate as a well coordinated system providing the same level of quality and standard of service across borders. To promote such integration, the modal operators in each country and at regional level will need to enter into arrangements providing for the harmonisation and standardisation of their systems and operations. The governments of member States will need to

catalyse and promote such cooperation by taking necessary actions, especially with regard to the creation of the enabling environment, through harmonisation of national policies and regulations. Furthermore, consideration will be given to the establishment of regional transport and communications authorities to regionalise planning and operations on a region-wide basis.

Tourism

Despite the fact that travel and tourism is the "world's largest industry", the SADC region has not benefitted in a manner commensurate with its potential. Southern Africa is endowed with unique attractions such as the Victoria Falls, Ngorongoro Crater, the Okavango Delta, beaches, wildlife, etc., which are unsurpassed anywhere in the world.

Unfortunately, the potential of the sector to contribute to employment creation and economic growth generally is not always recognised by the policy-makers and planners. A comprehensive approach is required which involves centrally the local communities, and encompasses such issues as land use and the environmental, training, transport and standards and quality control in the travel and tourism industry.

Arrangements for intergration in this area would be aimed at:

- * manpower development and training aimed at improving the quality of service in the industry;
- * the facilitation of travel throughout the region by the abolition of strict visa requirements and other bureaucratic impediments;
- * the development of common grading standards and the mechanisms to ensure compliance;
- * the facilitation of multi-destination packages in the region;
- * collaboration with the transport authorities and operators to provide travel facilities aimed at the needs of the tourism industry.

Mining

The SADC region is richly endowed with mineral resources and possesses almost all the minerals necessary for industrial development. The most important minerals exploited in the region, excluding oil and gas, are diamonds, chromium, coal, coloured gemstones, copper, iron, nickel, platinum, soda ash, uranium. This substantial resource base could provide the raw materials for self-sustaining regional development, in addition to export earnings. Mining is also one of the large formal sector employers.

The mineral sector of the region is almost entirely integrated into the world economy, and as such, it is particularly susceptible to global crises. Less than 10 per cent by value, of the region's mineral production is consumed within the region. The region does, however, consume significant quantities of cement, coal, limestone, magnesite and clays. Due to this lack of integration into the local economies, the mining sector has suffered most from the falls in international commodity prices. In general, the real prices of minerals have been falling steadily since the early 1970s. Regional cooperation and economic integration offer a strategy for increased beneficiation of mineral production and thereby integrating the mining sector into the rest of the economies of the region.

Since 1970 there have been major increases in the production of diamonds and nickel, uranium and zinc and gemstones. However, the region's mineral output has generally declined, due to depletion of reserves, fluctuating prices, lack of skilled labour and managerial personnel and poor availability of equipment and spares.

In view of the decline of investment in exploration and mine development in the region, member States are taking measures to promote investment in the sector. This is focused on changing the business environment towards a free market and improved incentives for private enterprises.

Due to the size of the SADC region and the fact that mineral deposits tend to be in isolated areas, the provision of adequate infrastructure (rail, road, energy, water, etc.) is of vital importance to the development of mining. Every year the interior regions of SADC need to move roughly 1.5 million tonnes of various minerals to the coast, to earn the foreign exchange vital

to their economies, and substantial internal medium distance movements of coal, cement, (and other building materials), agro-minerals, etc.

Given the sub-continent's substantial mineral resource endowment, opportunity exists to elaborate and implement a regional resource-based industrialisation programme that maximises the contribution of the minerals sector to the regional economy. A regional resource development plan will be formulated that takes into account resource potential, technology, training or human resource development, financial investment and the technical assistance required to attain the goals. These will affect or influence inter-sectoral linkages at regional level in areas such as transport, energy and industry; further enhancing integration. This could be given effect through mineral resources development arrangements with the following key elements:

- a) The promotion of investment in mining and exploration through:
 - harmonisation of an enabling business environment in terms of legislation, fiscal measures and convening of investment fora;
 - strengthening of national institutions involved in mineral exploration;
 - encouragement of greater cooperation amongst the region's geological surveys in areas of cross-border geological studies and geological and mining data compilation and exchange;
- b) The promotion of small-scale mining by providing information on the use of mineral products, etc., and beneficiation technologies equipment and avenues for sharing resources;
- c) The harmonisation of development and implementation of mining sector manpower development programmes;
- d) Fostering cooperation in environmental protection as it relates to mining;
- e) The promotion and encouragement of downstream processing indus

tries;

- f) Fostering cooperation in the reduction of illicit trade in gemstones and gold.

Social Welfare and Health

National and regional concerns in this area include population growth and its impact on economic and social progress and the quality of life of the peoples of the region; the control of communicable diseases, training and the provision of specialised services.

A second set of concerns covers issues of basic rights such as human rights, justice and respect for the rule of law, freedom of association, access to information, collective bargaining, employment conditions, equal treatment for men and women, the protection of children and the disabled.

The integration process will require the acceptance by all the member governments of many common standards and values of good practice in all these areas. In this regard, use will be made of existing international conventions and charters.

In addition, in the health area, scope exists for cooperation in curative, preventive and primary health care. Highly specialised and expensive treatment could also be offered at regional facilities.

Politics, Diplomacy, Peace and Security

In the past, regional political solidarity and security cooperation, mainly in the context of the Frontline States, were based on the liberation struggles and common apartheid threat. As the chapter of political liberation comes to a close, and the apartheid threat is removed, it is necessary to find a more abiding basis for continuing political solidarity and cooperation, in order to guarantee peace in the region. A framework must be found for enhancing political solidarity and harmony among member States, to minimise conditions which can lead to national and regional instability and insecurity. Regional cooperation and understanding in this area, in particular, has to be underpinned by the establishment of common political, social and other

values, such as democracy, respect for human rights, respect for the rule of law, etc. The accommodation of the region's many cultures and its ethnic diversity is also important for the stability and security of countries and the whole region.

Cooperation would aim to strengthen the region's international diplomatic and political position, and the creation of non-militaristic security order in the region through a reduction of tensions, assuring mutual security and the establishment of arrangements for conflict avoidance, management and resolution.

In the diplomatic and political field, the member States would consult closely with a view to developing common standards and positions. Appropriate fora would be required for the purpose.

A new peace and security order is needed in Southern Africa, recognising that defence and security have economic, environmental, political and social dimensions, which often pose non-military threats, but could threaten security and cause conflict. For instance, the abuse of human rights, economic underdevelopment, the lack of food and energy, constitute a threat to the security of the people. They also threaten the security of member States, since they invariably lead to conflict between countries, and between governments and the citizenry within countries.

Military steps taken by one State to enhance its security may make other States feel insecure, leading to an escalating arms race and heightened risk of war. A new defence and security order for Southern Africa should, therefore, encompass the following concerns:

- * The cultivation of a new discourse which promotes peace, reconciliation and national and regional unity;
- * The conclusion of a non-aggression treaty which incorporates a commitment by member States to defend each other in the event of external attack;
- * The need for greater transparency and public debate in the formulation of national and regional security policy;

- * Development of mechanisms to ensure greater accountability of armed forces to governments and parliaments;
- * The creation of a forum for mediation and arbitration;
- * The ratification by member States of key principles of international law governing interstate relations;
- * Agreement on the parameters of foreign military involvement in the region;
- * The adoption by member States of the doctrine of "non-offensive defence" which aims to ensure adequate defence against external aggression, while minimising offensive capabilities;
- * Reductions in force levels and military expenditure;
- * Confidence and security-building measures such as regular exchange of military information, on site observation of military manoeuvres and bases, a communications system, procedures for verifying agreements, joint military training and exercises, and joint studies and seminars on regional security issues;
- * A prohibition on the procurement, manufacture and use of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons;
- * Programmes to support disabled veterans and help former combatants adjust to civilian life and find employment.

There is a sense in which military force is an acceptable form of foreign policy. The region would have to agree on conditions under which this will be acceptable. The region would also need to consider conditions under which military intervention in a fellow member State might be acceptable. Humanitarian considerations, peace keeping and the restoration of constitutional order would be acceptable grounds for such intervention.

Mobilisation of Resources

For the integration process to be self-sustaining, much of the resources to underpin its programmes activities and institutions must come from within the region. In the past, the mobilisation of the region's own resources has not been realised to the full potential.

The resources of the region are held by individuals, companies, associations and governments. If these resources are to move in sympathy with, and support for the integration process, the necessary policy, and institutional framework and instruments should be put in place to promote increased savings and the free movement of capital. It will also take fiscal discipline to curtail budgetary deficits and inflation. The arrangements should be such as to instil confidence and predictability in the market place, and the whole regional economy.

Financial intermediaries are also required, such as a regional development bank, regional commercial banking, regional stock exchanges, etc.

All these should be underpinned by the relevant agreements, legislation and institutional arrangements to bolster confidence in the regional arrangements.

Southern Africa will remain a developing region for some time to come, with economic and social needs which cannot be met from local resources alone. While priority will be given to the mobilisation of the region's own resources, deeper cooperation and integration will require the continued political, intellectual, financial and technical support of SADC's cooperating partners.

Initially, the main areas of need will be the technical studies to underpin the negotiations. Later the greatest need would be in the areas of cross-boarder investment and trade financing, payments and currency convertibility and the establishment of regional financial institutions and mechanisms. The support of the cooperating partners for programmes that would ensure balance, equity and mutual benefit, will also be critical for the integration process. SADC will elaborate its needs in these areas, in collaboration with the cooperating partners.

PART IV

THE PROCESS

The integration process in Southern Africa will be based on the twin pillars of real commitment by governments, and the effective participation by a popular constituency in formulating as well as executing a regional programme. Many integration schemes in the past have failed because they were based on weak commitment by governments and were drawn up by officials and ministers with little or no involvement by interested parties in civil society including, professionals, educational institutions, non-governmental organisations and sporting and cultural bodies. In this regard, the involvement of the business community is fundamental since they will be taking many of the critical decisions which will determine the effectiveness of the integration process in the economic fields. Other stakeholders such as the trade unions, professional bodies, academics, the media, parliamentarians, etc. must also be involved. Steps will therefore be taken to ensure that:

- * The Treaty establishing the Community is publicised and discussed widely;
- * A broad range of interested parties are involved in the development of protocols and other agreements and arrangements;
- * Information about what is agreed is effectively communicated to the peoples of the region.

The awareness of the people of Southern Africa that they belong to a region has been significantly aroused. Indeed, the creation of a strong sense of regional identity among the peoples of the SADC region has been acknowledged as one of the key successes of the Organisation. However, these same peoples have yet to find appropriate and adequate channels of participating in regional social, cultural, political and economic development activities.

A number of concrete steps will also be taken to promote greater contact among the peoples and organisations of the region. These include:

- * Removing visa and other restrictions for travel between SADC member States; and
- * Encouraging more cross-border educational, business, cultural and sporting exchanges.

Furthermore, the regional programme needs to be underpinned by democracy and a common set of values. These need to find expression in regional institutions, codes and charters of various kinds. Ultimately some kind of directly elected regional parliament can be identified as desirable, but in the short term creating regional forum or fora of key "interest groups" should be considered as an interim arrangement.

A programme of building the Community must be approached systematically and phased over many years, perhaps decades. Success will require new institutions, mechanisms and procedures and a strong capacity to manage the process. In particular, the people of the region need to be involved and kept informed on SADC activities in order to maintain the momentum towards regional integration. This process requires that the Community sets up of regional information network in the member States.

Attracting the interest and participation of an appropriate cross-section of constituencies in the development and implementation of SADC's protocols, programmes of action and the operation of the institutions of SADC will require:

- * The provision of genuine opportunities to influence the outcome of matters that are important to particular groups;
- * A credible and efficient process of involvement that ensures excessive amounts of time are not required and that results can be assured within a reasonable time period; and
- * Accurate and relevant information about SADC's goals, specific programmes of action, progress which has been made and what can be

expected at specific points in time in the future is widely available and accessible.

If the integration process is to succeed, a high level of harmonisation of macro-economic and sectoral policies and plans will be required. In this context, the impact of the on-going structural adjustment programmes is of immediate relevance. Currently these national programmes give no regard to their impact on regional cooperation efforts. As both regional integration and the structural adjustment programmes are aimed at promoting efficiency in economic management and development, strong linkages between the two should be established.

Organizational Framework

The integration process will be taking place at various levels, and much of it outside the formal institutions of the Organisation. Consequently, although many areas of integration will be a subject of formal structures such as protocols, there will be others where it will suffice to simply provide ad hoc arrangements for discussion and consultations, particularly in the early stages of the Community. It will, therefore, not always be necessary to create institutions before a work programme has been fully developed.

The new mission envisaged for SADC in the Treaty is more complex than SADC's coordination agenda. This raises major questions about whether the organisation and management systems inherited from SADCC are capable of delivering the new and more complex agenda.

If SADC is to deliver on its mission, fundamental changes will be essential throughout the Organisation. The challenge is whether the institutions created to facilitate coordination can be transformed into instruments of effective equitable economic integration. The transformation will require a substantial reorientation of the Organisation's culture, formal structures, management systems and procedures to firmly focus all these on delivering results.

The Treaty has established the central institutions of the Community i.e. Summit, Council, Secretariat Standing Committee and Tribunal. The need for and structure of the subsidiary institutions will depend on the content of

specific agreements and protocols and other integration arrangements.

However, the development of Community institutions will be based on the following basic approaches:

- a) Institutional structures of the Community must provide for the active involvement of the member States in the formulation of policies, strategies and programmes, and the implementation of the activities of the Community;
- b) Community institutions and procedures should be independent of and outside the control of any individual member States;
- c) The Community institutions should be structured in such a way as to facilitate effective management and the creation of the necessary capacity to carry the new and complex agenda.

Timetable

The timetable presented here relates to the launching of the process of building the Community. As stated earlier, it is difficult at this stage to present a timetable for the actual evolution of the Community. That will be determined when the process of the negotiations of the various protocols and other arrangements is fully underway. The following timetable is therefore foreseen at this stage:

April - August 1993

Ratification of the Treaty establishing the Community.

The Launching of a programme to popularise and explain the Treaty and the integration process.

Drafting and approval of terms of reference for the initial sector studies.

October 1993 - April 1994

Launching of technical studies and consultations to underpin the protocols and other arrangements for intergra-

tion and the drafting of protocols and other agreements in the initial areas.

June 1994

Launching of negotiations.

August 1994

Progress Report to the Summit and possible signing of some protocols.

OPENING CEREMONY

Opening Address

H.E. Robert Gabriel Mugabe
President of the Republic of Zimbabwe

On behalf of the Government and people of Zimbabwe and on my own behalf, I would like to welcome you all to Harare for the 1993 SADC Annual Consultative Conference. I hope you will find your stay enjoyable and the facilities at your disposal adequate.

Mr Chairman, the last time that Zimbabwe played host to SADC Annual Conference was in January, 1986. That Conference, which witnessed the signing of landmark agreements such as the SADC/Nordic Initiative and the SADC/EEC Memorandum of Understanding, resulted in the formulation of an action-oriented strategy that has guided our cooperation over the last six years. We hope that this Conference will be as productive as that last one. Ongoing reviews of the arrangements arrived at then, and the programmes they gave rise to, should lead to even higher levels of co-operation and increased benefits for us all.

Mr Chairman, the 1993 SADC Conference is particularly important because of the changes that have occurred since 1986. The international environment in which we operate has been transformed practically out of all recognition.

We also, both as a group and as individual countries, have undergone significant changes. On the world stage, we have witnessed the collapse of Eastern Europe and a realignment between East and West that threatens to divert resource flows from North-South to West-East. We have witnessed the formation of trading and related blocs or the intention to do so in Europe, North America and Asia. And the new world order, whose glimmering we perceive on the horizon, does not give us cause to believe in the imminent advent of an international environment hospitable to the weak and the impotent.

Regarding our grouping, SADC scored notable successes over the past twelve years. During that time, SADC, mobilized US \$3,7 billion for its

Programme of Action currently valued at US \$8,5 billion when fully funded, and made significant strides, especially in the areas of transport and communications, energy, and agricultural research. We intend to continue with such infrastructural development, but at Windhoek, on 17th August, 1992 an important crossroads was passed. On that day, the Treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community was signed, and we committed ourselves to the goal of building such a community. Meanwhile, internally most of us have embarked on economic structural adjustment programmes and trade liberalisation that are aimed at creating the necessary enabling environment to generate increased economic activity.

Mr Chairman, the case for Southern African economic integration is well articulated in the Theme Document for the 1993 Annual Conference: **Southern Africa: A Strategy for Building the Community**. In a sense, this Conference is a continuation of the debate which began at the Maputo Annual Consultative Conference in January, 1992. At that Conference discussions were held on the theme: **SADC: Towards Economic Integration**. In this regard, the greatest challenge that your Conference faces is the need to come up with appropriate, viable and mutually rewarding frameworks for cooperation consistent with the goals of the Community. I believe there is a lot we can learn from our experiences of over the past twelve years that we could use as a basis for launching new strategies to face the challenges imposed by the profound changes not only within our sub-region but also in the world around us.

Mr Chairman, the Theme Document for this year's Conference highlights the context, issues, process, organizational framework and suggests a timetable for Southern African integration. I hope that you will be able to discuss these issues frankly so as to ensure that we are all clear on the implications for the integration process. I would, however, wish to quickly point out that the timetable suggested is only indicative. I hope, that through your deliberations, we will be able to either endorse it or come up with a new one. What is most important, however, is to analyse the activities envisaged under the various stages of this process.

The need for the elaboration of our integration process and its popularization among our peoples cannot be over-emphasized.

We must involve various institutions in determining the nature, scope and format of regional integration.

There is no doubt that one of our major weaknesses over the past twelve years has been our inability to mobilise the regional business community and professional associations in the implementation of our programmes. Our new strategy is to empower these interest groups and others so that they assume leading roles in the integration process. However, such a programme requires more resources than our governments can afford. In this regard, I note that the thrust of the development cooperation partners now puts emphasis on assistance to the private sector. The private sector should now rise to the challenge and help mobilize and create a vibrant economy for the region. We can only attract foreign investors if we develop and encourage dynamism in our local investors.

Needless to say, our aspirations to build a Southern African Community require peace in the region. This decade had opened new vistas for peace with the Bicesse Accords for Angola, the Rome Accords for Mozambique, and the prospects for democracy in South Africa. While we cannot say the prospects for peace are gone, we must certainly register our disappointment with the turn of events, particularly in Angola. We deplore the renewal of the civil war in Angola and call on the international community to demand that all parties respect the results of the elections of last September.

In South Africa, we urge the government to take measures to end the violence in the country and move unequivocally towards a transfer of power to the disenfranchised majority. The situation in Mozambique gives more ground for hope and we trust that the parties concerned will continue to put the interests of the majority of Mozambicans before any other. The resolution of these three situations of conflict and tension will help us create an environment that is conducive to our goal of establishing a development community.

Mr Chairman, before I conclude, let me advert to a matter which I am sure will be discussed at this Consultative Conference. This has to do with the relationship between SADC and the PTA. Distinguished delegates, you will recall that the SADC Heads of State agreed at Windhoek last year to commission a study to look into the matter of the harmonisation and rationalisation of the SADC and the PTA. Very recently, in fact only last

week, the Heads of State of the PTA at their Summit meeting in Lusaka also agreed to appoint a high-powered commission comprising 3 ministers each from the PTA and SADC member States to look into the urgent matter of the harmonization and rationalization of the two organizations but, now, with the added task of looking into the possibility of merging the two. I will accept the observation that the international aid community is somewhat worried, perhaps bewildered, by the existence of the two organisations which, on the whole, appear to be carrying out tasks in a duplicative manner. However, it is my considered position that if we of the SADC and the PTA proceeded as outlined above, we shall allay their fears and settle the matter in a manner satisfactory to them and, more importantly, to us.

Mr Chairman, no one is under illusion that building the Southern African Development Community can be achieved overnight. It will take hard work and a pragmatic approach. We believe we shall succeed not because the task is easy, but because of the urgent need to do so and the strength of the bonds that already bind us. Given the state of the international environment, we are convinced there is no viable alternative to establishing the Community. At the same time, our common historical experiences, strong cultural links, and the practical experiences gained during the 12 years of co-operation within SADC and between SADC and its co-operating partners, which have strengthened our Community of interests and the prospects for peace in the region, combine in giving great cause for hope.

I have no doubt that you will constantly bear in mind the ties that bind us together to a common destiny as you conduct your important discussions. Your deliberations here can profoundly affect the future of all who reside in this region. I have no doubt in my mind that you are aware of the enormity of your responsibility as you discuss the vital issues before you.

With these remarks, I declare the 1993 SADC Annual Consultative Conference officially open.

RESPONSES

RESPONSE: On behalf of Cooperating Governments

Mr Wighard HaedtI

**Permanent Secretary in the Ministry for Economic Cooperation,
GERMANY**

I would like to begin by thanking our host country, Zimbabwe, for making this annual consultative conference of the Southern African Development Community possible. We have all been received here with an extraordinary warmth of hospitality both by you, Mr President, and the people of Zimbabwe.

Mr President, it is a great honour and pleasure for me to have the privilege to respond on behalf of the co-operating partners. This is particularly so as this is the first conference of the Southern African Development Community after the Treaty has been signed in August 1992.

It is a particularly great pleasure for me to be participating in this first conference. I would like to congratulate you all on this important step. In taking it, you have declared the intention to shape your future together.

You were courageous enough to take this step in a year which has been anything but easy for Southern Africa:

- Dominating all else was the devastating drought which affected your country, Mr President, and beyond your borders gripped almost the entire region, acting as a serious obstacle to economic development. The drought could hardly have come at a worse time for the countries in Southern Africa, which are already struggling with enormous economic difficulties and are implementing ambitious structural adjustment programmes.
- The hopes for peace and democracy in Angola have not been realised.

I view this with the deepest regret. In the interests of the Angolan people I appeal to those responsible to cease fighting immediately, to stop laying the blame at each other's door and to make a serious effort to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. We should always keep in mind that peace and stability is a precondition for development and, hence, for economic cooperation.

- Progress in the Republic of South Africa has not come as swiftly as had been hoped. Increased outbreaks of violence - I need only mention the names Boipatong and Bisho - have been a cause of great concern to all of us. It is high time that all parties made a contribution towards effectively containing violence. The international community, with my country as part of the EC, is supporting efforts to this end by sending observers. All parties concerned must assume their responsibilities to draft a constitution which ensures that the entire population, that includes minorities, has an equal share in the decision-making process. A democratic South Africa along these lines would be an asset to regional integration.

The current situation in South Africa illustrates clearly the importance of achieving a security partnership, collective security systems and crises management mechanisms. I therefore welcome the fact that this Treaty sets the objective not only of economic integration, but also of co-operation in the political and security spheres.

We can derive a great deal from reflection on the current political situation in Southern Africa which will be important for the future process of peaceful development. The wind of change which is blowing across the whole of Africa is being felt as a sign both of new departures, of upheaval, but also of deep crisis. The expectation is that, out of the phase of upheaval, democracy, human rights, the rule of law will swiftly be realised. Everyone interested in seeing real progress endorses these goals. Nevertheless crisis is inevitable, since these goals will not be reached as if by magic when the reforms take effect. The wind of change has brought in a learning process which will demand a large degree of self-reliance in the political, economic and social spheres; this in turn requires a participatory approach - from everyone, at every level.

This is the reason why Germany, the EC and other international donors too, are insisting on the respect for human rights, on democratic structures, on a *civil society*. We refer back time and again to the spirit of Cartagena" where all those taking part in UNCTAD were united in their agreement on good governance.

Defeating poverty is still the major challenge facing Southern Africa today. The first move must be to combat the structural causes of poverty; but for that too we need a climate of good governance. The German Government together with its partners in the South is endeavouring to orient policy and co-operation in accordance with this objective, in order to ensure optimum efficiency in the use of funds through sustainable development. There is still a long way to go before African societies are self-reliant and governments are ready to accept more independent forms of organisation. As a donor, Germany will not hesitate to lend its generous support to any efforts towards democratic, grass-roots-oriented political reform.

We are therefore particularly glad, despite the disappointments of 1992, to consider the year's more positive aspects:

- Mozambique is a case which shows that peaceful solutions are indeed possible. I do hope that, unlike the situation in Angola, the ceasefire and the forthcoming election results will be respected by all sides and that the country can finally tackle the task of its reconstruction. Germany's participation in the commission monitoring adherence to the peace agreement underlines our willingness to make a special contribution to peace in Mozambique.
- Another positive experience last year was the way in which SADC, with donor assistance, met the challenge of the severe drought which hit the region. Although the situation remained difficult for those affected, no one starved to death. I think this is an encouraging success for SADC. It shows that, with commitment and efficiency on the part of each and every member State working together with their community institution, major goals can be achieved in vital matters. SADC and its members should see this as confirmation that they have chosen the right path and be encouraged to continue along it together.

- This last point is related to a third piece of good news to come out of 1992: the new democracies in the region, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia, have succeeded in establishing themselves despite the economic difficulties they have faced. In my view, this reaffirms the fact that democracy and a market economy constitute a solid foundation for the political and economic development of each member country and for the continued development of the new SADC.

I am convinced that this whole process will open up a host of new opportunities for Southern Africa, a region so rich in resources and also common, sometimes painful, experiences. Conditions for closer regional cooperation are particularly favourable in this part of Africa. The signing of the Treaty establishing the new Southern African Development Community is therefore an important step forward, but inevitable other crucial and equally difficult steps lie ahead.

The scope and strategy of future co-operation were defined in last year's very forward-looking theme document and in the Treaty. Your task now is to translate these ideas and objectives into actual policy and swiftly as possible. The negotiations on the protocols and agreements shall truly test the member States' resolve to work together. I cannot help pondering certain questions: will the member States be in a position to put the interests of the whole before their own individual interests? Will they be prepared always to consider their partners when making decisions? And finally will they manage to devolve national decision-making powers to regional bodies?

I can only encourage you to do just that.

The road is not an easy one and setbacks loom at every turn - this is something that we as the European Community have encountered time and again. Overcoming difficulties is the political challenge which faces any community. The European Community will gladly stand by you to advise and assist wherever required. I would just like to mention two points here which I think are important for the future of SADC.

Right from the outset, SADC should be aware of its regional context, that is:-

- It should be tackling the issue of its relationship to PTA and the division of responsibilities immediately. The region cannot afford to have one organisation duplicating the work of another.
- SADC should be including co-operation with post-apartheid South Africa in its deliberations now. We feel that including South Africa in regional integration will be to everyone's benefit.

We would be interested to hear what headway has been made in the thinking on these two areas.

Of course, the support of the international donor community is important. I would, however, like to offer some words of encouragement as you now venture into new areas of co-operation: don't forget the experience you yourselves have gained over the last 12 years. The pragmatic approach which was always the trademark of the former SADCC is worth maintaining. I therefore welcome the fact that the new theme document envisages a flexible approach which allows for the differing speeds at which each group of countries is moving and also accommodates various sectors of co-operation.

Your pragmatic approach has been constantly supported by the international donor community. I need not remind you of the support that has been pledged to SADCC during the years of its existence. I am confident that the cooperating partners will support the new SADC in the same spirit of trust and partnership.

Now, I will not preempt the statements of the other donor delegations who will speak today and tomorrow. Let me just focus on the German contribution. Germany has traditionally regarded Africa as its priority region in its development assistance policy. That will continue to be the case in the future. We will be concentrating our assistance on the sectors which we identify as holding the challenges of tomorrow. The conference in Rio has given us a clear picture of the way to go. The goal of **sustainable development** commits the community of nations to step up their activities in the area of environmental and resource protection. A key aspect here is more intensive promotion of sustainable forest management. We intend to channel a large portion of the DM 11 million which we can make available

to SADC in 1993 for technical cooperation into this sector. It goes without saying that the environmental activities can only yield results if they go hand in hand with efforts to alleviate poverty and promote education. That was another of the important messages which came out of Rio. Therefore, in our co-operation with SADC, we will continue to concentrate on agricultural research and training.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We must act locally to solve individual problems, but think globally, so that we don't forget the worldwide context into which our particular situation fits. Coming together to form a regional association in Southern Africa, you have taken a step which will open up the way to global commitment. The course you have embarked on will demand perseverance from each member State. I am, however, convinced that you will be rewarded for your pains. You can be sure of one thing: The Federal Republic of Germany together with the international community will support you on your way.

Thank you.

RESPONSE: On behalf of International Organisations

**Sir Anthony Siaguru
Commonwealth Deputy Secretary General**

SADC meetings are unusual in that there is a real opportunity given for co-operating partners to relate to the special theme of the conference and the associated programme proposals as well as the general political and economic developments in the region.

The Commonwealth Secretariat's involvement in integration efforts in other regions of the world helps us to understand and appreciate the careful plans you are preparing to achieve your objectives. It is quite clear from the theme document that much thought has been given to the issues, the organisational framework, the problems, the strategies and the steps that will be necessary to translate the principles and ambitions of the Treaty of the Southern African Development Community into a practical programme. We in the Commonwealth Secretariat stand ready to assist the SADC Secretariat, the SADC Sectoral Co-ordinating Units and its member States in your efforts to strengthen the capacities of the institutions which are being established to help bring about regional integration.

The Commonwealth Secretariat has continued to respond positively to priority requests from SADC, its Sectoral Co-ordinating Units and its member States. Without going into details, I shall mention some of the areas where the Commonwealth Secretariat has been active. Our support, channelled through the Commonwealth Fund for Technical co-operation (the CFTC) and the Special Commonwealth Fund for Mozambique has placed emphasis on utilising the skills, the institutions and the expertise available within the region. The Commonwealth has also responded to some emergency needs of the region. Following the international Pledging Conference on Drought Emergency in Southern Africa in Geneva last year, the CFTC has provided technical assistance support to the SADC Food Security Unit in Zimbabwe to enable it to strengthen it: logistical distribu-

tion and information networking capacity. As a matter of fact, the last of three short-term consultants provided will be starting this assignment this weekend. The SADC Wildlife Sector Co-ordinating Unit in Malawi has also been provided with the services of CFTC - funded consultant who is developing a regional programme for drought relief.

The Commonwealth assistance has concentrated on the development and strengthening of regional capacities. Training awards have been offered to some officials of SADC Co-ordinating Units for specialised regional courses. An intra-regional tourism marketing study is to be undertaken by a CFTC-funded tourism specialist; a SADC tourism master brochure is to be designed and the services of a tourism research specialist are to be made available for the tourism sector. Commonwealth Secretariat staff have also provided technical inputs to regional workshops on information for food security policies and programmes. We are assisting in the preparation of manuals for extension officers on food management systems. Other areas which our assistance has covered since last year in member countries include economic and financial management, industrial rehabilitation, mineral and petroleum development, investment promotion, human resource development and the promotion of women in development.

It is perhaps worth mentioning here that consultations are going on with SADC's Human Resources Development Co-ordination Unit on the possibility of SADC members utilising the facilities of the South African Extension Unit in Dar es Salaam which had previously catered for the training needs of South African exiles and which was supported by the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, the Government of Tanzania and other donors. The services of a short-term consultant were provided by the CFTC last year to review and recommend alternative uses of the services of the Unit, whilst continuing to cater for the needs of the South African returnees.

We believe that in the quest for enhancing human resource development in the Southern African region, all training facilities that can be used to meet new technical and vocational training needs in the region ought to be fully utilised. The CFTC will continue to play a catalytic and gap-filling role for the benefit of its members in the SADC region as well as, when funds permit, Mozambique.

Although the Special Commonwealth Fund for Mozambique will be wound up in June 1993, President Chissano has requested that Commonwealth multilateral assistance to Mozambique should be continued. The Commonwealth Secretariat is consulting with the Government of Mozambique, with Commonwealth Governments and with non-Commonwealth agencies on ways and means in which the Secretariat's development co-operation delivery system can be used for technical assistance and training in support of Mozambique's reconstruction and democratisation programmes.

In Southern Africa as a whole, the Commonwealth Secretariat will, subject to resources, continue to respond to requests in areas such as trade and industry, institutional development, and policy studies relevant to the integration process. It is our hope that the implications of the important subject which is the theme of this annual conference will be examined thoroughly. In this regard, you can count on our full co-operation and willingness to contribute to making this meeting and its deliberations a success.

Thank you.

STATEMENTS

STATEMENT: By The Conference Chairman

Hon. F. G. Mogae
Vice-President and Minister for Finance and Development Planning
Republic of Botswana

On behalf of all participants to the 1993 SADC Annual Consultative Conference, I want to thank you Mr President, for finding time to be with us on this occasion. I also take this opportunity to thank the people of Zimbabwe and your government, for their hospitality.

Mr President, I would like to recognize your personal contributions to the cause of African development and welfare. Your contribution to the attainment and the sustenance of democracy, peace, justice and development in Southern Africa, has been the subject of international recognition through the Hunger Project Prize, and the Holy Cross Peace Award you received recently for your role in bringing peace to Mozambique. Without peace and stability in the region, the opportunities for growth and development offered by regional integration will be lost.

At this juncture, let me also thank my predecessor as Chairman of this Conference and the SADC Council of Ministers, Mr Peter Mmusi, who, in this dual role, presided over the growth of SADC into the Organization it has become today. Without his dedication and pioneering spirit, the growth of SADC could well have been stunted.

Special thanks also go to our cooperating partners, who year after year, have joined us on this occasion of the Annual Consultative Conference. I say to them, we value your commitment and support, counsel and advice on the issues facing Southern Africa and the world. If we fail to live up to your expectations, it is not for lack of will, but due to the capacity constraints we face.

Our region still faces daunting challenges, arising from natural calamities;

political conflicts, economic and social decline, and the threat of marginalisation, resulting from the international re-organization of production and trade. At the same time, the prospects for progress look good, on account of fundamental and profound changes taking place in all our countries. We, therefore, need the strong leadership in the region to help us navigate the uncharted seas that lie ahead.

The road to integration will take not only strong leadership, but also all the commitment, innovation and integrity we can command. If the regional leadership does not take the necessary bold steps in this regard, we can be sure that Southern Africa will continue to be the foster child of the world.

Southern Africa is undergoing irreversible change. In South Africa, apartheid is in slow retreat, under the weight of democratic forces. We are, however, disappointed that faster progress has not been made, towards the adoption of a democratic constitution, acceptable to the majority of South Africans. The region, and the international community must remain steadfast in their demands for a constitution based on internationally accepted democratic principles. The international community should also not drop its guard. There are sinister forces in South Africa, which are capable of undermining the democratic process and the will of the majority. The international community should, therefore, take all necessary measures to ensure that the democratic rights of the people of South Africa are not denied them much longer. In this regard, we wish to place on a record, our appreciation of the measures taken by the United Nations, Commonwealth, European Community and the Organization of African Unity, to ameliorate the violence crippling the negotiations process.

In Angola, the will of the people, duly expressed in a democratic process that the international community declared free and fair, is being defied by UNITA. In the face of UNITA's total disregard of the international consensus, the world community stands apparently helplessly by, as renewed carnage grips that unhappy country. We call upon the international community to impress upon Dr Savimbi and his supporters, the need to respect the sanctity of the will of the Angolan people, and the consensus of the international community. Nobody in this day and age, should get away with imposing their will on a people by the barrel of the gun.

We welcome the ceasefire and peace agreement in Mozambique, and the arrangements now underway to prepare for elections under United Nations supervision. We applaud the parties to the conflict for observing the terms of the agreement and the ceasefire. In this regard, all of us in the region wish to commend your contribution, Mr President, and that of the Governments of Botswana and Italy and the church leaders of St Edigio, in bringing peace to Mozambique.

We urge the international community to learn the lesson of Angola, and to take all necessary measures, through the United Nations, to consolidate the peace process, and to guarantee that free and fair elections will take place. We also urge all parties in Mozambique, to accept that normally there can only be one winner in elections, and to respect and accept the will of the people of Mozambique.

Because of the conflict in Mozambique, millions of people have been displaced, both inside the country and as refugees in neighbouring countries. The task of repatriating and resettling these people into their communities, and to assist them to resume normal productive lives, is beyond the capacity of Mozambique alone. Of equal urgency, is the task of resettling former combatants, and assisting them to find alternative employment. We, therefore, appeal to the international community to assist the process of peace and national reconciliation in Mozambique, by supporting the resettlement of both refugees and internally displaced persons, and the demobilized combatants on both sides of the conflict.

When peace comes, Angola will also face similar problems. We, therefore, urge the international community, and especially SADC's cooperating partners, to stand ready to support reconstruction and reconciliation.

In the rest of the region, peaceful political change has gathered momentum, and plural politics has been accepted; free democratic elections are planned in most member States. We urge cooperating partners to support these efforts, particularly to ensure that the democratic process, and the fledgling democratic institutions, will endure. There is now in the region, strong consensus that both political and economic freedoms are important factors for development and growth.

The worldwide economic recession, and the 1992 regional drought, reversed the positive trend in the economic performance of SADC member States of the last three years. The competition for assistance by other parts of the world have dimmed the prospect for increased aid and investment flows to developing countries, including Southern Africa. In fact, in many cases, aid budgets have been or will be substantially cut. This unfortunate development comes at a time when many SADC member States are implementing economic adjustment programmes which require international support. This situation represents a serious threat to the economic and political reforms currently underway.

We hope that the leading industrialized countries will muster the necessary political will to refloat the world economy. In this context, I wish to congratulate the new President of world's largest economy, President Clinton of the United States of America, and to welcome him to the world stage. We wish to express the hope that his "season of hope and renewal" will apply equally to America's economic relations with the rest of the world.

May I also take this opportunity to thank SADC's cooperating partners for their support during the region's most severe drought in living memory. We thank the United Nations for jointly organizing with us, a major international Conference on Drought, in Geneva, last June. Delegates had a chance to review the drought relief effort yesterday afternoon.

My information is that, while the most pressing survival needs the region have largely been met, the long-term effects of the drought have yet to be addressed. Even as the rains have come to most countries this season, the effects of the drought will be with us for some time. While survival measures are necessary to avoid deaths from starvation, equally important is the assistance to make the affected communities self-supporting again.

Since drought is endemic to Southern Africa, the greatest challenge falls on SADC to ensure that future droughts do not again become life threatening and an international emergency. We should, therefore, begin now to prepare adequately for the next drought.

On this occasion, at this time last year, my predecessor, Mr Peter Mmusi,

introduced a theme document which set the Organization and the region on a new path to regional integration. The document argued the case for regional integration in Southern Africa, based on the economic, political and social realities of the region. The document concluded that ... "because Southern Africa is a developing region, a development integration approach was the most suitable for SADC; providing for a combination of the development of the region's infrastructure, investment, production, market and trade integration". The document concluded that, given the disparities of Southern Africa, in terms of economic development and natural resource endowment, integration the region, has to be based on the principles of equity, balance and mutual benefit.

Since Maputo, there has been another major development, which set the region firmly on the long road to integration. The SADC Summit of Heads of State and Government, meeting in Windhoek, Namibia, last August, adopted the Declaration: Towards the Southern African Development Community, and signed the Treaty establishing the Community. Both the Declaration and the Treaty represent the vision, ambition and commitment of the governments of Southern Africa to act in concert, to offer the people of the region a new hope and a better future. Both documents recognize and affirm the paramountcy of the people in determining the content and direction of the integration process.

In order to give expression and substance to the Declaration, and the Treaty, the Organization has prepared the theme document before this Conference, entitled "Southern Africa: The Framework and Strategy for Developing the Community". The document sets out the issues, strategy and the process that our governments envisage for the integration process in our region. It also recognizes the weaknesses of the old SADCC.

Further the document appreciates the successes and experiences of the past twelve years, and asserts that the region's cultural and social affinities and historical relations; and the strong sense of regional identity, fostered under SADC, provide a firm foundation for the integration process. Hence, integration in Southern Africa will be based on the twin pillars of real commitment by member governments and the full participation of the peoples of the region.

In this context, I would like to welcome the region's non-governmental organizations, that are participating in this gathering for the first time. I would like to assure them that this is only the beginning of our association, in the long road to building the Community. We depend on their skills, experiences and grass-roots support base, to guarantee the success of the Community building process.

To this end, we shall begin soon after this Conference, to organize workshops and seminars, at both the regional and national levels, to introduce the Treaty and explain its implications, and particularly solicit inputs on how the people of this region will participate in the integration process. Consultations will also be undertaken in the context of carrying out the technical studies and the drafting of various agreements and protocols; in order to develop consensus and popular support for these measures.

Nobody, least of all SADC, under-estimates the difficulty of the task we have decided to embark upon. Although declarations and treaties are important, real integration will come when concrete actions are taken, when the people can seek investment and trade opportunities, and establish relations of people in all walks of life in the region, with little or no impediments. The issues of integration are wide and complex. They range from policy coordination and harmonization, through all the economic sectors, to the environment, culture and social welfare, politics, diplomacy, peace and security.

Obviously it would be difficult to proceed on all fronts, to the same breadth and depth at the same time. We have to prioritise our activities, and target them at areas which are amenable to speedy progress. We would like to make the process spontaneous and self-sustaining; and to involve the greatest number of people possible. In this regard, the minimum requirements which need to be met, if the Community is to take root are:

- * Arrangements to facilitate and support relations among the peoples, including free movement within the region;
- * The facilitation of cross-border investment;
- * The removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade, and overcoming

the current payments problems; and,

- * The creation of a network of financial institutions providing commercial banking, development financing and capital markets services;

In addition, there are important functional areas which offer the best opportunities for all member States to participate meaningfully in investment, trade and other exchanges. These are:

- * Food production and agriculture;
- * Power generation and supply;
- * Transport and communications;
- * Mining and mineral beneficiation;
- * Water, river and lake basin management;
- * Environmental management; and,
- * Regional tourism development.

Our regional policy on how the integration process should proceed, is based on the identification and interplay of the interests of member States, and aims to build on existing bilateral and multilateral arrangements in the region.

A number of cooperation and integration arrangements exist in Southern Africa. These include bilateral agreements between various pairs of SADC member States, and between some SADC member States and South Africa; the Southern African Customs Union, the Southern African Common Monetary Area, and the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA). All these should be seen not as obstacles, but as building blocks for the Southern Africa Development Community.

The integration strategy for Southern Africa provides for a flexible approach, allowing for sub-sets of member States to implement various aspects of integration, whenever they are ready to do so. Elsewhere, this has been called the variable geometry or multiple track approach to integration.

I must also underline that the strategy we are offering at this stage, is limited to launching the integration process, and points to the initial areas of integration. You might call it the first draft from the governments. At the

end of the mobilization period, and having secured the contributions of the various constituencies and interest groups, we hope to refine and elaborate the strategy. At that point, we should be able to indicate targets and timetables for the specific areas and/or activities of integration.

In my contacts with representatives of many of SADC's cooperating partners, I have constantly and persistently been asked how South Africa will fit into these regional arrangements. In answer to this question, I cannot do better than repeat and reiterate what my predecessor has often stated. A democratic South Africa, free of any ambitions to dominate the region, will be most welcome in SADC. South Africa, like all of us, will be expected to participate on the same basis and principles of equity, balance and mutual benefit.

We understand and appreciate that there are perceptions and concerns about South Africa's relative level of development, power or might. Whether these become factors of domination and exploitation, on the one hand; or factors of mutually beneficial and equitable self-reliance, is the function of policy, structure and management. We do not envisage a SADC of ten, cooperating with South Africa; rather, we plan to build a community of eleven. Fortunately, our colleagues in the ANC and PAC share this view. Henceforth, all the work on integration will include the issues of relations and cooperation in the region, post-apartheid.

There has been much debate lately about relations between SADC and the PTA, and concerns raised about the possibility of wasteful duplication between these two regional organizations. SADC supports the aims and objectives of the PTA, and stands ready to work with that sister organization, to ensure that they are realized in Southern Africa; in the context of movement toward the continental community. In this regard, there is more than enough work to share between the two Organizations. What is required is a *modus vivendi* and *modus operandi*, to ensure harmony in our programmes and activities, and that the two work in mutually re-enforcing ways. To this end, SADC will soon be undertaking a study aimed at harmonizing the activities of the two Organizations, rather than merge them.

Concern has also been expressed about the capacity and effectiveness of

SADC institutions, and its procedures; including this annual conference. In the context of building the new Community, SADC is reviewing its mechanisms and institutions. The aim of such a review is to give all participants in the integration process the opportunities for real debate and exchange of views, and effective practical involvement. As with the areas and content of integration, we also offer in this document, the initial thinking of governments on the process, mechanisms and institutions. We affirm our desire that, as much, preferably more, of the integration activities take place outside rather than within the formal inter-governmental structures and institutions of SADC.

May I end by thanking you, Mr President, for your time and for your address, which will help along the course of development of the new SADC.

Thank you.

STATEMENT: On Behalf Of The Nordic Countries

**By Mr Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson
Minister for Foreign Affairs and External Trade,
Iceland**

It is a great honour for me, on behalf of the five Nordic countries, to express our sincere appreciation to the Government of Zimbabwe and to the SADC Secretariat for the hospitality extended to us and for the excellent arrangements for the SADC Annual Consultative Conference here in Harare.

This Annual Conference is taking place at a time when global economic growth over the past few years generally has been slower than at any time in the last decade. To make things worse, the drought that last year hit the Southern African region halted the process of economic recovery and growth. As was stated during the Drought Meeting the other day, rains have again fallen, but in some countries they have been delayed, fallen too heavy or not come at all. Agricultural inputs such as seeds, fertilizers and tools have often not arrived in sufficient quantities or on time. The negative effects of the drought will partly be carried over to the coming years, particularly as governments were forced to make space within their budgets for the drought related expenditures and exhausting the reserves meant for the financing of other important sectors. There will thus remain areas within the region where continued support is needed.

Nevertheless, we have been impressed by the efficiency of the SADC member States, in spite of many obvious difficulties, in addressing the problems related to the drought. The investments, which have been made to develop the transport corridors have proven to be justified. It remains now for the member States and for SADC to carefully consider what can be learnt from the experience of this drought crisis, among other things, the necessity for future joint action in water schemes, environment etc.

While recognizing the many difficulties that Southern Africa has been combating in the past years, the Nordic countries note with satisfaction the positive developments which have taken place. I am in particular referring to the progressive movement towards peace and stability in the region, the emergence of democratic political structures and multi-party politics, the introduction of market oriented economic systems aimed at restructuring government controlled economies as well as the improvement of human rights conditions in most SADC countries.

We regret, therefore, that developments in Angola have not moved in the direction generally hoped for. Indeed, the lack of respect for democratic rules have caused a situation of great concern. The Nordic governments strongly appeal to the parties involved in the conflict to avail themselves of negotiations to restore peace, democracy and stability in the country.

In Mozambique the peace process is now well under way. However, the difficulties are many and extensive efforts by the Government, in close cooperation with the United Nations' organs involved, will be necessary in order to avoid a repetition of the tragic events in Angola. The international community is prepared to give its contribution.

Last year in Maputo, we were able to discern clear positive signals of change in the Republic of South Africa. Since then, however, little progress towards majority rule has been made. Only recently the government and the African National Congress have re-initiated bilateral talks to get the multilateral negotiations started again.

The interim process is now likely to resume, in the previous form of CODESA, or in another. We hope that all the actors on the South African scene will return to the negotiation table and that the first stage of the transition process could be implemented shortly. Our hope is to see a democratic South Africa soon to take its place within the Southern African family of nations.

This SADC Annual Conference in Harare is taking place amidst a quite remarkable debate on regional integration. Over the past 12 months, the outlook for cooperation within the region and within this continent has changed. Not only is the old SADC being replaced by the Development

Community, which, as we have been told today, is a long and ambitious process. In addition, forms of cooperation between existing institutions in the region are now actively discussed.

We have of course noted the discussion of the past weeks and days on a possible merger of SADC and PTA in favour of greater common market. We observe that SADC and PTA now have, in fact, agreed to establish a joint committee of Ministers which will examine the question of harmonization and coordination between the two organizations, as well as the issue of a merger. A new era of realism, and of openness, has begun, which was clearly reflected in the opening statements by President Mugabe and the Conference Chairman.

Today in Harare, this Conference is considering a Theme Document on the framework and strategy for building up SADC. When reading the document, one is easily tempted to comment on the theory and practice of integration. It is, however, a temptation I shall try to resist. Even though the Nordic countries have gathered substantial amounts of experience of practical and quite successful regional cooperation, it is obvious from experiences in Europe over the past decades - not to say past months - that the creation of free trade areas, economic spaces, common markets and unions, involves very complex and delicate matters. We are certainly not in a position to pretend we have the answers to all your questions.

Let me just dwell on a few points in the Theme Document. The Nordic countries believe it is important to make it explicit that SADC will adopt a twofold approach: on the one hand, a development integration approach which provides for continuation of the work of the last 12 years to address problems related to underdevelopment; and on the other hand, an active trade and market integration component. We believe that the preparation for higher forms of economic integration should not reduce the attention given to practical work in the development field.

We have also noted the various proposals to strengthen the institutional capacity of the new SADC. We believe this to be of utmost importance in order to enable the organisation to move forward with both the integration process and its traditional tasks.

The document also makes the point that in building the economic integration, use should be made of existing arrangements in the region such as bilateral ones. We believe this is a practical approach for the time being. This approach also allows for the flexibility in the integration process which the document stresses. It may prove sensible for smaller groups of countries to move in some or all aspects of the process at different speeds.

The need to harmonize the activities of more or less similar regional organizations has been highlighted on many previous occasions. The words of the Theme Document of the Maputo Conference are still valid, and I quote: "This rationalization and harmonization are practicable only in the early stages of the integration process. At the highest point of integration, characterised by a single market, common monetary and financial systems, and even joint regional political arrangements, it will not be practicable for countries to belong to more than one regional community.". To this, one may add that the operation of parallel institutions obviously entails additional costs and workloads.

Let me reiterate that we do not intend to indicate a preference for a choice in one way or the other, more than what I have just said about the extra costs, workloads and possible conflicts of interest and loyalty which stem from duplication. The matter remains a prerogative of the countries concerned.

On the other hand, the study on integration in South Africa commissioned by the African Development Bank and financed by the Nordic countries, which is presently being finalised, does touch upon a number of relevant issues. It outlines models for cooperation both with regard to practical areas and institution and community building. It envisages roles for several organizations in different tasks at least at the present lower stages of integration. We trust and hope that SADC will make good use of this study.

In many countries in this region, a process of structural adjustment is taking place after years of political and economic upheaval, war and civil conflicts. The ultimate goal is to create sustainable economic growth and thus improved living conditions. Economic growth will be achieved through a change in the economy towards a more market oriented one. Successful structural adjustment requires strong commitment and the political will to introduce the necessary measures for change. We are bound to witness the

restructuring of company structures, deregulation, more competition through privatization and commercialization and regional institution building. Since the positive results of structural adjustment tend to become apparent only after a certain period of time, it is essential that sufficient attention is paid on the social dimension of this adjustment.

Several countries in the region have during the last years shown improved growth figures, a declining rate of inflation and in general increased economic activity. We have good reasons to believe in a better future for Southern Africa. It is natural that the strength of the national economies of the SADC member States will influence and give shape to the future cooperation within SADC. Big differences between individual countries may hamper the full utilization of the advantages a regional cooperation and an integration will offer.

The Nordic countries have in their efforts to assist the developing countries considered Southern Africa to be one of the most important regions for their assistance and therefore channeled a considerable amount of both financial and technical support to SADC and its member States.

A phase of heavy investments has been completed and focus must now be placed on utilizing available infrastructure effectively. It is important to point out that we see the role of development assistance only to be supportive and the responsibility for the development process itself will have to remain with the recipient countries themselves. The path of development should be determined by the people through the rules of democracy.

Within the Nordic/SADC Initiative, both parties have continued to work for an expansion of the relations between the two regions, beyond ordinary development cooperation into the fields of trade, investment and culture. I am pleased to note that our dialogue has improved and that the Initiative has defined new priorities and choices for practical action. In this context, let me also put on record that an amendment of the NORSAD Fund Agreement was signed here in Harare the other day. The Nordic countries believe that the Fund can become an effective vehicle for the stimulation of Nordic/SADC joint ventures as well as for other private sector business in Southern Africa.

To conclude, Mr Chairman, I would like to confirm the continued support of the Nordic Countries to the States of Southern Africa and to their endeavours to achieve economic integration on this continent. I am sure that our deliberations at this Annual Conference of Cooperating Partners will engender successful results which, in turn, will enhance North-South economic interchange and trade, and strengthen the cooperation among the countries of the region.

Thank you.

STATEMENT : On Behalf Of The Council Of The European Communities

**Mrs Helle Degn
Minister for Development Cooperation of the Kingdom of Denmark,
and
President of the Council (Development) of the European Community**

It is a great pleasure and honour to address the 1993 SADC Annual Consultative Conference in Harare on behalf of the presidency of the European Community.

I express my appreciation and thanks for the warm welcome and the kind hospitality extended to us by SADC and by the government and people of Zimbabwe.

Southern Africa is at a turning point in its history. Fundamental economic and political changes have recently taken place in the region - it is therefore natural to reflect, in the light of the experience SADCC has gained over the past decade, on ways of intensifying regional cooperation between all the states in this part of the world and to take a fresh look at the future of the region.

The theme chosen for this conference: "Southern Africa: a Framework and Strategy for Building the Community" seems particularly timely and most appropriate.

We hope that the present conference will contribute to the enhancement of further regional economic integration in Southern Africa well into the next century.

I take this opportunity to reiterate the strong commitment of the Community

and its member States to this region, its individual countries and its organisations.

The European Community, right from the first Lome Convention, has supported regional cooperation efforts and will continue to do so.

In recent years, various political changes have taken place in Southern Africa.

Let me first of all refer to the ideas of democracy, pluralism, promotion and respect of human rights, which are gaining ground throughout Africa. The promotion of such values is a cornerstone of the policies pursued by the Community and its member States. The Council Resolution of 28 November 1991 on Human Rights, Democracy and Development is a clear expression of this policy.

The Community and its member States welcome recent indications that the positions of the various parties in South Africa have come closer to such a degree that a renewal of multilateral negotiations can be expected fairly soon. The Community and its member States urge the parties to carry this process further and reach agreement on a transitional arrangement and fully democratic elections.

The level of violence in South Africa remains a serious obstacle to a peaceful transition. The Community and its member States call on all parties to fully respect their commitments under the National Peace Accord and urge the South African government to continue to investigate the incidents of violence rapidly and thoroughly and to punish those responsible.

To contribute to a peaceful transition, the Community and its member States have sent an observer team of 15 people to South Africa. They seek to prevent violence, diffuse tension and promote peace in close cooperation with the National Peace Secretariat as well as with observer teams from the UN and other international organizations. In addition 6 police experts have been seconded to the Goldstone Commission.

The situation in Angola is a source of extreme concern. The Community and its member States note with deep regret that the free and fair elections in

Angola, in September 1992 have been followed by violent incidents and most recently an outbreak of widespread and fierce fighting resulting in heavy losses of human lives. They call for an immediate end to the violence and for all parties, and in particular UNITA, to abide by the results of the elections, observe the peace accord and resume the demobilization process.

A solution to Angola's problems cannot be found on the battleground. A general ceasefire is the first and immediate objective. The Community and its member States urge the President of Angola and the UNITA leader to respond positively to the United Nations Secretary-General's call for an early meeting between them.

The Community and its member States consider that the United Nations should continue to play a key role in restoring and maintaining peace in Angola.

Further, they confirm their readiness to provide humanitarian assistance to Angola and, once the peace has been restored, to contribute to programmes of reconstruction.

Not least in the light of the tragic turn of events in Angola, the continued peace process in Mozambique is most encouraging. The Community and its member States reaffirm their commitment to assist the people of Mozambique in the peace process including assistance for the preparation and conduct of free elections as well as support for the national reconstruction.

The Community and its member States remain concerned over Malawi's record on human rights and political freedom. A concern which has been voiced at several occasions. We have taken note of President Banda's decision to hold a nationwide referendum on the one-party system. Serious doubts have been cast over the preparation for the referendum. We therefore look forward to a clarification of the matter.

The Community is fully aware of the exceptionally acute problems confronting the countries of Southern Africa: the worst drought experienced in decades has put into jeopardy food security in the region; following civil wars in Angola and Mozambique, considerable reconstruction and rehabilitation needs have to be met; environmental problems have to be addressed;

the implementation of structural adjustment programmes in most of your countries imposes sacrifices on your populations.

The primary responsibility for the solution of these problems lies in the hands of your respective governments. We feel heartened by the pragmatic and realistic manner with which most of your governments are dealing with the current difficult situation. There is, however, room for further progress, notably in the fields of economic liberalization, promotion of investment and private enterprise, good governance and of course regional cooperation.

Peace and stability in the relations between neighbouring countries are a prerequisite for progress towards regional cooperation and development.

We welcome that security aspects are prominently reflected in the recently signed treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community. There is a pressing need for reducing excessive defense expenditure and for reorienting scarce resources towards development objectives and thereby minimizing the threat of conflicts. The eruption of civil wars or the resurgence of ethnic or social conflicts, not only in Africa, but also in other parts of the world, such as Eastern and Central Europe, clearly demonstrates that peace and stability cannot be taken for granted.

The economic problems of the region are well known: the small size of the economy of most SADC member States; inherited weaknesses, such as an excessive dependence on the export of a few products, lack of up-to-date administrative and economic structures, inadequate socio-economic infrastructure.

Furthermore, there are great economic disparities among the countries of the region, particularly with respect to South Africa. South Africa is by far the dominant power in this region economically and otherwise. The problem of disparity will have to be addressed. There is, however, no doubt that regional integration will make sense in Southern Africa, as it does indeed in other parts of the world. The setting up of regional groupings is a prominent feature of modern economy.

Although the situations in Southern Africa and in Europe differ widely, I am sure that you can draw on the European Community's experience in

formulating the basic strategies on which a long-term sustainable regional cooperation in Southern Africa should be based.

Such a strategy will have to take into account the following fundamental factors:

Firstly, the socio-economic factors underlying regional integration are of decisive importance. The EC was initially founded on a very concrete basis, that of production of and trade in steel and coal. Since then it has developed into almost all economic spheres in keeping with the growing interdependence of the economies of its member States.

It is vital to be pragmatic and realistic. Regional cooperation has to be based on economic realities and interests. A functionalist and pragmatic approach, probably starting with the removal of non-tariff trade barriers seems to be advisable. Political superstructures and institutions should only be created gradually as need arises and always on a healthy sustainable socio-economic basis.

It is however important to ensure from the very beginning that the institutional arrangements are endowed with sufficient resources and competence.

Secondly, a sustainable process of regional cooperation requires popular support. Active participation of the people and their economic interest groupings, such as business communities and trade unions, is imperative. They have to be closely associated with the process and kept fully informed of the costs and benefits. Recent events in the community clearly demonstrate the need to ensure popular support for the integration process through genuine transparency and involvement of the people.

The leading part of the process towards economic cooperation should be played by the social and economic actors. To make this possible the political authorities must undertake a clear and persistent commitment to regional cooperation.

Motivation for cooperation and willingness to sacrifice narrow national interests to the benefit of common goals will be essential. Political determination is all the more necessary since regional integration is a complex and

long process which will inevitably be faced with ups and downs and require extremely difficult decisions.

It should not be taken for granted that the ten present members of SADC constitute the natural and definitive composition from the point of view of promoting regional trade and economic integration, nor should participants in different sectoral cooperation fora always be the same. The SADC states might usefully explore the "variable geometry" option for the future of Southern Africa.

SADCC has played a positive role over the last years as a coordinator of major projects of significance for the region's development.

SADCC has in every pragmatic way promoted sectoral cooperation which has contributed in particular to the development of the region's infrastructure, notably in the fields of transport and communication, thereby diminishing dependence on South Africa. SADC has fostered a basis for regional identity and paved the way for more extensive cooperation based on a global contractual commitment.

We should, however, not ignore that SADC still has a long way to go in order to achieve enhanced regional integration. SADC has not yet been able to play a decisive role in formulating the national development strategies of member countries and its impact on the daily lives of the ordinary citizens is still too modest.

SADCC has always endeavoured to avoid the creation of a heavy and costly bureaucracy, which seems to be a very sound and realistic approach. In keeping with developments there could however be scope for improvement and a need for strengthening and streamlining the SADC institutions in order to make them more responsive to the needs of the region.

As regards relations with other organisations in the region, due attention should be paid to the effective use of the scarce resources available. There may be a case for suggesting to our friends in Southern Africa, in a not too distant future, that they might take a fresh look at the overall pattern of integration efforts in the region in the perspective also of the participation of a democratic and non-racial South Africa. Therefore it was heartening to

hear President Mugabe today announcing the establishment of a joint Ministerial Committee to study the future relations between SADC and PTA, including the possibility of a merger.

The SADC countries are opening a new area of cooperation with the signing in August last year a new treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community (SADC). We welcome the signature of this Treaty which will provide the basic principles, objectives and framework for the economic integration process in the region. As indicated in the theme document prepared for this conference, this treaty constitutes a framework which will be filled in through protocols and agreements entered into by SADC member States. The negotiations on sectoral protocols will surely be a test case for the commitment of the governments of the region to pursue integration within SADC. Its willingness to set aside own funds for an information campaign on the new organisation could be the first evidence of this commitment.

The document I have just referred to seems to be particularly appropriate. It contains a number of views and appreciations, sometimes of a critical nature, based on the experience of SADCC. It outlines new avenues for the activities of SADC and defines an ambitious programme for the new organisation.

As I stated earlier the Southern African states are presently at a turning point in their history. We have recently witnessed dramatic changes in the geo-political scene: with the disappearance of the cold war, this region is no longer an arena for superpower rivalry. It has been recognized that as a centralized approach to economic management has hampered economic progress, more liberal policies are now being pursued, often in the context of courageous structural adjustment programmes; the ideas of democracy, pluralism, promotion and respect of human rights are gaining ground throughout Africa. Last but not least, apartheid is now being effectively dismantled.

This conference, therefore, is a timely and welcome occasion for exchanging views on the future of the region and thereby contributing to your reflections on how best to develop your cooperation, which only can be formulated by the region itself. We in the European Community, given our experience in

regional integration, feel we are particularly well placed to lend our support to your efforts and remain fully committed to doing so.

Thank you.

STATEMENT: On Behalf SADC NGOs

**Mr Calet Sello
Coordinator
Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organisations**

We the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) representatives of the SADC region gathered in Harare at the first SADC-NGO Conference held January 25 - 30, 1993, welcome the long overdue SADC strategic plan of Community Building. SADC's Article 23 of the 1992 Treaty states clearly that the people of the region and their organizations together with their Governments will work in partnership to carry out the objectives contained therein.

We have noted with great concern however, that the governments of SADC have not been able to fully put into practice their Lusaka Declaration of 1980. In that declaration they called on people to make a commitment to pursue policies aimed at economic liberation, integration and development of the economies of the region. Many factors account for lack of progress. With concerted effort some factors, we believe, can be controlled.

Over the past 12 years since the establishment of SADCC, the peoples of Southern Africa, through their popular organizations, commonly referred to as NGOs, have been knocking at the doors of SADC to be part of not only the implementing but also the planning machinery of SADC structures. From SADC's perception, as recently observed by the Executive Secretary of SADC, regional participation by NGOs was not feasible without the sanction of national governments.

As an inter-governmental organ, SADC at its original inception did not actively involve the people in formulating its Memorandum of Understanding. Twelve years later, in August 1992, the Heads of State or Government approved the Treaty establishing SADC, again offering and

commending it to the people of the region just as they did in their declaration in 1980. Regretably, the people had yet again been left out of drafting the Treaty. Without necessarily advocating for copying foreign ideas, the ongoing process of the Maastricht Treaty which has sought to involve people in the planning and decision-making stages should have been a lesson for the region.

While the above observation might be regarded as a regrettable oversight on the part of member States, we wish to register our profound gratitude, appreciation and commend the good spirit of SADC towards NGOs as reflected in Article 23 of the 1992 Treaty. Our interpretation of this article is that we, NGOs, are being invited by our governments to participate in the spirit of equality and partnership.

More importantly, however, we thank SADC for having honoured our humble requests to open doors for our participation in their different structures. It is a pleasure to be able to participate in this August Conference. This indeed, is an historically important occasion and landmark for us in the process of building bridges of cooperation with SADC.

We have noted with concern that our otherwise welcome accreditation has so far put us "on test" at the level of an "O" which designates "Observer". In keeping with the spirit of partnership, we hope that in future we shall be accorded the status of delegate in all the SADC meetings.

We assume that recognition of NGOs presupposes regular consultation, communication and joint planning in all the SADC structures and gatherings. We also anticipate that henceforth there will be a constant flow of information between SADC and NGOs at all levels. Internationally, regionally and nationally, NGOs are making interventions complementing governments in many critical areas. This was indeed acknowledged by the Group of 77 and African Heads of State or Government. They noted progress and gains they were able to make in Rio at the Earth Summit in June 1992, which could not have been achieved without the hard work put into the process by NGOs.

At the regional level, the effects of the current drought might have otherwise been totally devastating had it not been for a commendable effort by NGOs in swiftly increasing their response to the governments' acknowledgement

of the disaster. It has been a particularly rewarding experience for SADC since the Geneva Appeal Conference it and has been hailed as a success story. Individual country experiences have been adequately documented and need not be the content of this paper. But what is important is to maintain these as strong bases on which future relations and possible areas of collaboration and strategies between SADC and NGOs can be developed.

It must be noted that when we talk about possible areas of cooperation and collaboration, we are not talking about co-option or integration into SADC structures. We welcome the Governments' interest in increasing the autonomy of NGOs to develop and pursue their own programmes for development. While we note with appreciation the governments' effort in the decentralization of administration and responsibilities, we would urge them to also decentralise resources and their allocations.

NGOs have pledged to improve their resource base nationally and regionally in order to improve performance. They also undertake to not only be implementors or conduits of government programmes but to be the initiators of policies and strategies for implementation.

It is noteworthy that while all the above initiatives are taking place, South Africa is still undergoing a painful transitional period. However, there are current fluid relations between some SADC member States and South Africa.

We as NGOs wish to encourage SADC member States to be supportive of the speedy process of a new political settlement in South Africa without any prior bilateral formal binding agreements with the regime.

At the level of the NGO Forum held in Harare in 1991, the entire NGO community, particularly the Commonwealth Liaison Units (CLU) in the region, have been mandated to make efforts to assist credible South African NGOs to come aboard the regional vehicle of the people's movements. That spirit has consistently been reflected in subsequent fora, including this one.

We conclude our statement by reviewing and assuring our constituencies (local communities) of our commitment to primarily serve their interests and needs. This has been and will remain our primary objective and vision.

This we use as our yardstick in meeting our set objectives and commitments to our constituences.

We look forward to the success of all of us (SADC structures, national governments, NGOs and peoples' movements) in our commitment to and zeal in community building at all levels for improving the quality of life of all the people. Given this enthusiasm we compliment those donors interested in making SADC countries partners in all respects including mutual trade. In particular we wish to take this opportunity to thank those partners/donors that made it possible for the SADC NGOs to meet in Harare to participate in this SADC Consultative Meeting.

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

STATEMENT: ANC

Trevor Manuel

**Head of Department of Economic Planning and
Member of National Executive Committee**

1992 was a difficult and testing year for all of us in Southern Africa. In South Africa we lived through our third successive year of economic shrinkage - the first such cycle since the momentum towards negotiating and transition to a democratic, non-racial society in our country faltered; resulting in escalating violence and insecurity. We were, of course, not alone in this. We saw the ceasefire so painstakingly put in place in Angola coming unstuck as the election losers sought to gain what they had lost through the ballot by resorting to the bullet of particular concern to us are the repeated allegations that certain elements in South Africa are implicated in plunging Angola back into war. Our appeal to the international community, especially to the Co-operating Partners of SADC is, 'DO NOT LET THIS HAPPEN'. In the interests of the region it is of utmost importance that these charges are fully investigated and that the habits and practices of the era of destabilisation are eliminated from our regional relations for all time.

While many of the developments in 1992 were far from encouraging, some indications of a more positive trend emerged towards the end of the year. In our country, many have realized that unless we resolve the political crisis within a relatively short and finite space of time, we face the prospects of devastating economic disintegration and social decline. We in the ANC are optimistic that multi-party negotiations will resume shortly. We see no reason why an elected constituent assembly should not be in a place by the first quarter of 1994 at the latest.

We recognize that the current holders of power and their surrogates will seek to delay the inevitable. We recognize too that, as in Angola, the losers in an election may seek the battlefield to recover their losses at the ballot. In the interest of regional stability, we appeal to the international community to understand the propensity for South Africa and the region to be dragged

deeper into the cesspool of devastation and despair, and to do all in their power to circumvent this danger.

In the interest of peace, we in the ANC have challenged our people to think about what hitherto may have been unthinkable. We are considering the trade-offs necessary to ensure that a young democracy can mature in conditions of relative peace and stability in order that we might maximize the quality of transformation. Many are finding such a shift in mind set extremely difficult. We are saying to our people, consider the longer term objectives.

We want to make a similar appeal to the region. Our longer-term objective is regional integration in an environment of non-exploitative, mutually beneficial relations. However, the short-term advantage sought in present relations with South Africa could relegate the principle of non-exploitable and mutually beneficial relations to a mere pipe-dream. I am reminded of a slogan on a t-shirt being sold outside this door which reads, "United we bargain, divided we beg". I would like to appeal that, even in the short-term, relations with SA be guided by those six simple words.

The economic performance of Sub-Saharan Africa is slipping despite significant economic restructuring by a growing list of African countries, raising real questions both about orthodox structural adjustment programmes and about the capacity of any individual African country successfully to make the kind of transformations required by changing global circumstances. At the same time we are living in a world in which major changes are being made in the "Rules of the Game" of international economic relations with little or no reference to the involvement of our continent. The success or failure of the Uruguay Round of GATT will have profound impact on all the countries and peoples of the planet, yet negotiations are being conducted as though the only "Interested Parties" were US manufacturers and farmers, European oil seed producers and Japanese rice farmers.

It is in this context that the adoption by the August Windhoek Summit of the Treaty establishing the Southern African Development community marked an extremely important development. Coming as it did as a culmination of a process of profound reflection and consultation, the Treaty represents a major effort to give substance to the growing consensus that a programme

of close regional co-operation, co-ordination and integration is not only desirable, but a necessity if Southern Africa is successfully to confront the challenges facing it.

The theme document tabled at this Consultative Conference provides many pointers to the road ahead. The ANC is, in particular, strongly in Agreement with one point underlined in the theme document. While the promotion of more effective regional co-operation and integration will of necessity require addressing complex technical issues, our peoples will have to be actively involved in developing a programme. A regional programme will not gain the legitimacy and support it needs to take off unless key stake holders effectively participate in the process of formulating and executing the programme. The business community is clearly one such stake-holder, but there are also others including the trade unions, women's organizations, peasants' associations and many other representative bodies.

We are pleased that the Windhoek Treaty envisages the involvement of SADC in promoting security co-operation. Southern Africa is emerging from a period of conflict and insecurity, generated principally by the destabilisation policies pursued by the apartheid regime. We all, I am sure, recognize that we will not be able to promote growth and development in the region unless there is peace and security. But we should not imagine that with the installation of a representative government in South Africa, all conflicts and all potential threats to security will automatically disappear. It will take time, efforts and resources to build social peace in a war-ravaged region.

Promoting peace and security in our region is going to require thinking about these issues in new ways. We will need to build confidence among ourselves and act collectively to pre-emptively address the socio-economic conditions that may give rise to future conflict. Only in this way will we be able fully to realize the potential post-apartheid peace dividend, and promote disarmament throughout the region.

We look forward to the day when we can become full members of the regional organizations like SADC and work together with the existing members of SADC to develop and implement a mutually beneficial and equitable programme. We recognize that this will entail entering into a

process of discussion and negotiation with our partners. We have always recognized the inequities and imbalances that characterize existing relations between South Africa and the rest of the region and we agree with SADC that these constitute barriers to development in the region. We must negotiate transforming these relations.

The notion that an island of prosperity can be established in a sea of despair in a non-starter. So too is the idea of South Africa as a locomotive or power-point of growth in Southern Africa. We can and must seek economic growth throughout the region. In this context, let us assure the member States that we will counteract any hegemonic desires in a democratic South Africa should these arise.

Our country is marred by vast inequalities in the distribution of wealth and incomes. Our principal task will be to ensure that democracy puts tangible change in the lives of the majority without such fruits democracy in South Africa will be on an exceedingly shaky footing.

To say this is not to deny our regional responsibility. Part such responsibility is to strive for the well-being of all peoples of Southern Africa.

Time is not on our side. We need to move with some speed to remove the remaining barrier, at national and regional level] to an effective regional programme.

Let me extend the gratitude of the ANC delegation to you, President Mugabe, and to the people of Zimbabwe for the warmth hospitality accorded us during our stay.

I thank you.

STATEMENT: PAC

Mr Sipho Shabalala
Chief Economist

Please allow me to express sincere gratitude for the invitation extended to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) to participate in this important and timely annual consultative conference of the Southern African Development Community Countries.

Our contribution is going to cover issues pertaining to the transformation from SADCC to SADC; PTA and SADC relations; and, the political and economic conditions in Azania.

Southern African Development Community Treaty

The signing of the Treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community in Windhoek last year represented a historic milestone in our quest to promote regional economic co-operation, co-ordination and integration. The PAC is in total support of this important step. As Pan Africanists we would like to emphasize that the responsibility for the social, economic, political, technological and institutional development of our region, and the Continent of Africa as a whole, is and should be as primarily that of the African people and their leaders. The judicious creation, mobilization and exploitation of our natural and human-made resources should underpin our efforts. It is our considered position that regional economic co-operation, co-ordination and integration will provide us with an opportunity for striking synergies and strategic alliances in resource terms. Such synergies and strategic alliances should be at different units of analysis and different stakeholder clusters such as political leadership, business entrepreneurship, trade unions, professionals, education training and research institutions, people cultural level etc.

From SADCC to SADC

The transformation of SADCC to SADC is both evolutionary and revolutionary. Certainly each foray into new activities raise critical questions: What to preserve, what to change in terms of people, strategies, operating practices, organizational structures, overall culture and operating paradigms. What should be different when change would have taken place; what actions might specifically hold us to get there and which is the best way to get there. We should not only be concerned with the issue of **Changing to what** but also **changing from what**. Should we adopt "bold-steps" strategic culture or the "long-march". Our view is that there are strategic interventions that might need "Bold-steps" and there are also those that call for the "Long-Match". In all these endeavours the role of political leaders is to create, respond to and harness change in the interest of the African people. Political and other stakeholder leaders must manage the context as well as content of transformation from SADCC and SADC. We should prioritise supportive policies that empower and develop the capacity of our people to be direct movers and participants in their socio-economic development programmes.

Harmonization of PTA and SADC Relations

We support and welcome efforts to look at the legitimacy for the existence of PTA and SADC with a view to either harmonize the relations between these two organizations or to merge them.

It is important to realize that the critical starting point is to put on relief what we want to achieve in the region and then to determine the best institutional vehicle(s) and programmatic sequences and processes that optimize efficacy with regard to the achievement of our goals. The existence of SADC and PTA should then be evaluated in the light of their functionality in the attainment of our goals. We should, indeed, pay attention to the "pre-history" of change: not in the archaeological sense, but some environmental context factors that were in existence prior the existence of PTA and SADCC and SADC. We should build our programmes and structures on the foundation of this "pre-history" as represented by geographic contiguity, transportation and communication networks, cultural intercourse etc. Even here, the choice and/or the combination of both the "Bold Steps" and the

"Long-Match" should be visited. Change cannot be ordered. It has to nurtured within the existing exigencies and the fan of future contingencies.

Our regional economic co-operation, collaboration and integration require coherency and consistency in the voices and actions of PTA and SADC. This is required to promote a focussed attention to critical requirement for our development; to promote understanding; to promote a focussed mobilization of resources, values etc.

Political and Economic Conditions in Azania

The political and economic conditions in our country can be typically presented as that of sharp contrasts: These are conditions and times of Hope and Despair; of Progress and Retrogression; of Optimism and Pessimism; of Revolution and Reactionalism; we have Everything before us and we have nothing before us; and, of Life and Death.

Violence in our country has continued unabated. The multivariate equation has, as it were, a number of factors, each with distinct coefficient, additive to and interactive with others. These include the legacy of apartheid including the presence of mercenaries formally and informally integrated to the racist regimes' security apparatus; the omissions and commissions of the police and the defence forces; political intolerance among liberation movements; socio-economically motivated criminal activities electioneering fever and others. It is no secret that with such level and spread of violence in the country the necessary steps to a constituent assembly are indeed very undermined. Conditions for free and fair political activities in a number of our areas do not exist. A catch 22 situation is: failure to move speedily to political resolution produces conditions for violence any speedily move to elections under conditions where free and fair political activities do not exist will not produce generally accepted election results. It is also important to be mindful of the fact that the playing field has to be levelled not only between the regime and the liberation movements, but between and among the liberation movements themselves.

The PAC would like to express its gratitude and satisfaction for the support that the liberation movement as a whole and the Azanian masses in particular, have received from the SADC members. We need your guidance,

influence and support in our efforts to stop violence between and among ourselves. Each member State might have preference as to which political movement to support! This is your right and privilege. In exercising this right and privilege we, in the PAC, would urge you not to adopt action and attitudes that might promote political intolerance and that which create an uneven playing field between and among liberation movements. We would like to note that our problem is an African problem. We do not share the illusion and mischief of South African exceptionalism. We are engaged in a decolonization process.

The PAC considers the transformation of an oppressive settler colonial system to a democratic new Africa state as being in complex process. One should note that we do not speak of a New South Africa but a New African State. South Africa is a settler colonial concept, entity and construct. Such a concept, entity and construct cannot be made new. But must be completely eradicated; either via the "Bold-Steps" or through the "Long-March".

The principal requirement for the decolonization process is that it must be both democratic and democratizing. It is not the mere writing of the constitution that matters but the level of participation by citizens; the amount of information possessed by participants; the transparency within which the process is executed; and the representativity and accountability of those to be engaged in the actual constitution making. The Constitution, as an outcome of this process must be decisively decolonizing.

It has been the PAC's position that there is a need to negotiate with the regime the modalities for preparing and ensuring that free and fair elections to a constituent assembly are conducted. Critical issues to be covered by these modalities include the control of the armed and security forces, the media, the budget, the setting up of an election system etc. A transitional authority covering these areas has to be put in place for the sole purpose of preparing the country for elections. The emphasis is the transitionality of this arrangement leading to (transition to) a democratically elected constituent assembly which will be sovereign, will govern the country and at the same time be a democratic constitution-making body. The constituent assembly will design democratic structures outside the assembly, or parliament to enable the citizens of the country to contribute (through different democratic structures) to the shaping and writing of the future constitution.

We should avoid interim arrangements that are brought about undemocratically; we should avoid transitional constitution that circumscribe the nature of the ultimate government under a final constitution.

We as the people of the country in trouble should be reminded that there is in the world we live in something called co-optation; we should be vigilant not to become nothing more than co-managers of reformed apartheid structures; no interim arrangements should become catchment areas to reduce the flow of political-constitutional revolutionary tide to a democratic New African State.

Basically, de Klerk's regime is in the business of losing power without losing it; managing the process of change is essentially based on the "absorption of protest" strategy.

It is our position that a truly democratic and democratizing multilateral negotiation forum of equals should be convened to give legitimacy and structure to the negotiation process. It should be understood that the negotiation process is not about as to whether or not we should be free; it is not about whether or not the African people have an inalienable right to be free and independent; it is not about whether or not the ascendancy of African interests is legitimate. The negotiation process is to decolonise the settler colonial political economy.

Whatever bilateral agreements reached by participating parties inter-se remain just that; bilateral. It does and will not bind any of the parties which were non-participant. Neither should the bilateral agreements be the condition for participation of others and be a prescription of the nature of the agenda items.

Any attempt to impose bilateral agreement will lead to nothing else, but the further escalation of violence. We think by now, our people, rightly wrongly have demonstrated their capacity to engage in violence. No further proof is required; no further experiment should be entertained in this regard. This is no threat to anyone but a humble statement of reality as we have all been forced to acknowledge.

The economy of our country is really in bad shape. Critical to the factors that

have contributed to the Status Quo is the fact that the economic forces and arena lack legitimate political and state apparatus. A legitimate State and political structures are urgently required to bring conditions that will in turn, legitimate the economic forces. It is thus our view that the solution of the political situation in our country is a priority. We would, accordingly advise our brothers and sisters in the continent of Africa, that, due to the primacy of this step, there should not jump to engage new and extensive economic arrangements and contacts with the existing regime. This is our humble request; stated with due respect to the sovereignty of independent African countries and their right to determine, promote and protect their interest.

In conclusion, we would like, once more to express our appreciation for having been accorded the opportunity to share our views with fellow Africans on issues of great concern to all of us. With the liberation of our country we have resolved to join you in earnest to bring about development and dignity of our people and continent. The African people and the continent will earn no respect from other people and continents of the world until and unless we would have demonstrated our ability to develop ourselves technologically, economically, politically and culturally. In other words we should earn this respect.

I thank you for your attention.

COOPERATING GOVERNMENTS

STATEMENT: Australia

Hon John Kerin, MP

On behalf of the Australian delegation, I thank the Government of Zimbabwe for the generosity in hosting this conference, the first consultative conference for the Southern African Development Community. I also extend thanks to the SADC Secretariat for their work in organizing this meeting.

I am particularly pleased to be representing the Australian Government at this historic meeting. This is my first visit to Africa as the Australian Minister for Trade and Overseas Development, and it is my honour to be here at a time when the Southern African region is about to embark on a new era of economic and political integration.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my congratulations to the leaders of the region for taking the initiative to transform the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) into the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The SADC Treaty, and the accompanying declaration by Heads of State and Government, set out a vision of what might be. The vision presents a challenge to all the players who influence relations within the region to make a quantum leap in the degree of their practical, day-to-day commitment to finding collective solutions to shared problems.

The theme for this year's conference - "Southern Africa: A Framework and Strategy for Building the Community" - is very important and highlights the fact that the organization is aware of the reality of building a Community in Southern Africa. While there should be considerable excitement at the establishment of the Community, it is important to be realistic about the road to integration that lies ahead. The process of integration will not occur quickly, and the community will not appear without much hard work and commitment by all. There will need to be institutions and procedures firmly in place to facilitate integration, and member countries will need to look beyond national borders and seek to foster a true sense of regional commitment.

Recent developments elsewhere, such as in Europe, show how difficult it can be, even many years and many hurdles down the track of regional cooperation, to reconcile the collective interest with the compulsions of national identity and the immediacy of short-term deals for domestic constituencies.

The move to regional cooperation is also gathering momentum in the vast and immensely diverse region of Asia and the Pacific. Australia has been very active in the continuing development of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), which groups the economic giants - the United States, Japan and China - with the small Island States of the Pacific. A consistent theme throughout the continuing evolution of APEC, and one which Australia has consistently stressed, has been the need to preserve a fully open trading relationship both within the region and on a global basis. APEC is not, and will never be, a trading block but rather an attempt to harmonize economic policy approaches amongst the countries of our region in a way which strengthens their interdependence and contributes thereby to the strength of the global economy.

1992 was an extremely difficult year economically for Southern Africa. The worst drought in living memory and the world recession have impacted significantly on Southern Africa, with the drop in demand for raw materials depriving the region of much needed foreign exchange. Furthermore, structural adjustment programs being implemented in a number of countries, while important for long-term improvement, are having some negative short-term effects on the most vulnerable groups in society.

All of this serves to illustrate that there is now more need than ever for cooperation in the region. The work of the SADC regional drought task force, in coordinating a response to the drought, illustrated that there is both a need and a capacity for regional cooperation in Southern Africa.

Increasing trade and investment within the region, by reducing barriers, will be an important means of improving the economic performance of the region. At the present time, intra-SADC trade is less than five percent of the region's total trade value, and investment flows are near nil. As Minister for Trade and Aid, I am aware of benefits of an open and fair trading system. Australia, along with other primary-producing non-subsidizing countries,

is currently suffering because of the massive agricultural subsidies of the major agricultural exporters, as they buy markets and, hamstring farmers and pillage the poorest.

A successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round of the Gatt negotiations will significantly assist the developing world, including Southern Africa. Dollar wise, freer world trade can do more than development assistance, and it is exciting to see that the new SADC recognizes this.

In addition to reducing barriers to trade and investment, there are many possibilities for economically beneficial cooperation amongst the SADC states. These include: the sharing of information; land-locked states cooperating with coastal states; freer movement of capital and labour; joint use of educational and training facilities; the conduct of health and development programs; and the harmonization of macro-economic and sectoral policies.

In all economic cooperation, there needs to be clear rules and procedures to create a climate of confidence and predictability. SADC must also ensure that it harmonizes with the efforts of other organizations, particularly the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA), which the President noted this morning. With limited resources, it is imperative to avoid unnecessary duplication.

The creation of SADC is also appropriate in the light of political developments in the Southern African region. Changes in South Africa mean that South Africa is no longer the destabilising influence it once was. Throughout the 1980s, SADC responded to the challenges of a hostile and interventionist South Africa. Now, following the positive developments in South Africa, opportunities for the Southern African States to cooperate with South Africa have arisen and the time has come for the major regional organization to reflect this. Australia looks forward, as I am sure you all do, to the day when a democratic South Africa will join SADC as a full member.

The set-back in negotiations between the democratic forces and the South African Government remind us that positive evolution in the situation cannot be taken for granted. However, there are grounds for hope that the negotiating process can now move forward again after the distressing set-

backs of the past year, and the continuing threat to that process posed by the widespread violence which still afflicts the long-suffering people of South Africa. We call on all parties in South Africa to return to negotiations to bring an end to apartheid and to build a new democratic South Africa.

In Mozambique, the peace agreement signed in Rome in October 1992 has held. There are good grounds for optimism that the process leading to elections and the long-awaited rehabilitation of the Mozambican economy can now go ahead with the support of all parties.

Australia is keen to see ONUMOZ, the UN presence in Mozambique, working effectively. Any collapse of the peace process would risk a renewed threat to the stability and economic development of Southern Africa to which Australia has a long-standing commitment. Australia would like to make a contribution to ONUMOZ and is discussing this with the UN Secretariat. Having in mind our capacity given the significant contribution we are already making to international peace-keeping elsewhere, such as in Somalia.

The holding of elections in Angola in 1992 was a significant step in the country's history. However, the renewed fighting between the government and the opposition, UNITA, in the wake of the election result is of great concern. We call on UNITA to give clear and unmistakable evidence of its willingness to abide by the Bicesse Accords, and appeal to the Government of Angola, in the interests of all Angolans, to avoid any actions which will make it more difficult for UNITA to step back from the profoundly misguided stance it has taken since the September elections. It is encouraging that the representatives of the parties have been meeting in Addis Ababa to try to resolve their differences.

Australia believes that the observance and promotion of human rights is an essential component of the development process, and by human rights I mean political freedom and social-economic rights. The way in which the Southern African Development Coordination Conference fought for the human rights of the black majority in South Africa throughout the 1980s was most commendable and valuable. I am encouraged to see that the guarantee of human rights in Southern Africa is a central part of the mandate of the new SADC.

The movement toward multi-party democracy and free and fair elections in Southern Africa is to be applauded. The converging trend of greater accountability and transparency in the management of national affairs is making the development process easier, and regional integration a more plausible proposition, and this will enable the SADC vision to be pursued with the full involvement of all the peoples of the region as well as by their governments.

It must be said that, in many ways, Southern Africa suffers from an image problem. The international media focuses on war and famine elsewhere in Africa, particularly in Somalia and Liberia, yet doesn't pay much attention to positive developments in Southern Africa. Many people outside of this continent speak of Africa as a single entity without appreciation of the diversity in social, economic and political life. This is why it is so important that the region not be complacent about continuing malpractices, conflict and corruption. It must be understood that examples of undemocratic and exploitative behaviour impact heavily on the morale and commitment of the donor community and the domestic constituencies they serve. One cannot underestimate the importance of governments in guaranteeing continued support.

The challenge, then, for Southern Africa is to live up to its great and undeniable potential and to confound the international media image of Africa as a continent in crisis. The birth of SADC signals that the leaders of the Southern African region are seeking to create the necessary conditions for economic growth and development. The SADC agenda for greater cooperation, openness, stability and respect for human rights will attract international business investment and encourage private sector involvement in the economy, as well as reducing Southern Africa's dependence on aid and the carrying out of this agenda will enhance the region's image in the international community.

While Australia believes that Southern Africa's future depends on regional cooperation, stability and sound policies, we acknowledge that development cooperation must play an important role in providing an environment in which this can occur. We have a long history of providing development assistance to the countries of Southern Africa. We will continue to support SADC, and Southern African region, with a program of development

cooperation which draws on Australia's skills, capabilities and comparative advantages.

We are currently in the final year of a \$A110 million triennium pledge of bilateral assistance to Southern Africa. This year the program amounts to about \$A40million. Over the three years, \$A11 million was allocated to SADC, including \$A3 million in 1992/93. The program to date has concentrated on food security, human resource development, and transport and communications. In addition, we provide emergency and drought assistance to Southern Africa, including a considerable amount for drought relief in 1992.

We are fully aware that, as a relatively small country population wise, we are unable to make more than a modest contribution to development efforts in Africa. Consequently, it is imperative that we have a tight focus in our program of development cooperation. Following the end of the current triennium pledge, Australia's program of development assistance to Africa, will move to a focus on sectors of priority nrrd in Africa, in which Australia has particular expertise. These sectors are: Agriculture, Food Security, Health and Human Resource Development.

With regard to Agriculture, Australia is in a good position to cooperate with Southern Africa. Australia shares a similar climate and geography with Southern Africa and is one of a few developed countries which is only too aware of the problems of drought which face this region. Agricultural research will be an important part of our new program as we seek to help Southern Africa strengthen its capacity for food security. Australia's agricultural expertise, more than most, is very relevant to many developing countries.

Australia's interest in, and commitment to, agriculture and food security in the developing world is highlighted by the fact that one of our delegation members, Dr Geoff Miller, is a strong candidate for the position of the next Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations. Dr Miller has wide and long experience in Agriculture at the most senior level of Australian Government. His contact with developing countries is extensive and in part founded upon his role as the leading member of Australian delegations to the Cairns Group of free trading

countries.

Health is an urgent problem in Africa. To some extent, traditional diseases have been overtaken as the major concern by the HIV/AIDS initiative as part of Australia's development assistance program with Southern Africa. Part of the initiative involves a group of Australian aborigines, who are actively involved with the treatment and prevention of HIV/AIDS in the Australian aboriginal community, traveling to Africa to visit and learn from the successful salvation army Chikankata Hospital in Zambia.

Australia believes that the health and well-being of any society can be measured by the degree to which women are accorded equal status to men. Australia places particular emphasis on the role of women in all aspects of the development process. In most developing countries, and indeed in many developed countries, the status of women and the opportunities open to them are inferior to those of men. Consequently, women comprise the greater part of the poorest of the poor. Helping them can make a major contribution to the relief of poverty.

In addition, involving women as equal partners in the development process will help society become more dynamic and economically productive, and will ensure that the next generation has a better start in life. Particularly important is education for women that enables them to make informed choices regarding family planning. It is true that sustainable development will not occur in Southern Africa unless women are full participators in society.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) on its achievements over its twelve year live-span. Even more, I would like to again congratulate the leaders of the region for having the vision to see that the time has come for a new style of organization, and for forming the Southern African Development Community.

To conclude I would like to wish SADC all the best as it seeks to build an economic community in Southern Africa. The times ahead for the region will be difficult and characterized by uncertainty. Community will not appear overnight, but will require a great deal of hard work and a full

awareness of national and regional interests. Undoubtedly, though, this hard work will pay dividends and the benefits of the community could transform the region.

May I also reaffirm my government's commitment to the objectives of the Southern African Development Community and to the process of development and change in the region which we also welcome.

STATEMENT: Austria

Dr. H. Schurz

H. E. Ambassador to Zimbabwe

On behalf of the Austrian delegation, I take much pleasure in joining the previous speakers' praise to the SADC Secretariat for the careful preparation of this year's Consultative Conference and to the host country, Zimbabwe, for the impressive facilities offered to the participating delegations.

The main theme of last year's Consultative Conference - "Towards Economic Integration" - gave a clear indication of SADC member States awareness of the **changing global environment for cooperation and development assistance** between the community of donor states and institutions, and the recipient countries, amongst them in Southern Africa. I need not go into the causes for this phenomenon in world affairs, and into its implications for this region. These have been discussed at length, and commented upon, in detail by the Austrian Statement to the 1992 Consultative Conference in Maputo.

With admirable clarity, SADC's member States have reacted to this new reality and decided in Windhoek, in August 1992, on "a framework and strategy" for **working towards a regional economic community**. The member States have approved the concept of regional integration and given priority to promoting regional investment, production and trade. They have also emphasized the need to promote the free movement of capital, goods and labour, and people generally within the region, in order to create, eventually, a true Southern African Community of Nations.

These are indeed, noble aims and worthy goals required in the years to come if SADC is to maximise development for the region and its people.

The Theme Document for this year's Consultative Conference, on "**Building the Community of Southern African States**", focuses on the steps necessary to translate the principles and sentiments of the Treaty of the Southern African Development Community, into a **practical program** -

and does so with admirable clarity and impressive grasp of the problems ahead.

Austria intends to be firmly associated with the additional support: SADC member States will continue to need in the future to realize the goals.

Austria's support will continue to center on the strategic sector of transport with the SADC region, through continued participation in TAZARA's "10 - Years Development Plan", with an overall commitment of US \$25 million towards track welding and maintenance, and continued support for track maintenance within the "Beira Corridor's Rehabilitation and Development Programme".

We shall continue as we have done in the past ten years, our support for human resources development, primarily in the rural regions of Zambia and Zimbabwe, and for technical training in Angola. Beyond bilateral programmes, Austria's cooperation with international donor institutions - the African Development Bank, the World Bank, UNDP and UNIDO - is reflected in Austrian funding of joint UNIDO/PTA Sector studies, yearly training courses for customs officials from PTA countries, and training facilities for advanced instruction in tourism and hotel management.

Through a co-financing facility, together with the World Bank, Austria has committed US\$32 million for energy production in Malawi.

Aware of the importance of food security for SADC countries, Austria will continue its food aid programme, directed mainly to areas affected by the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees from the ravages of civil wars, and, in the last year, to the victims of the devastating drought in Southern Africa.

Let me conclude by quoting a committed friend of Africa UN-Secretary General Dr Boutros Ghali (he spoke on December 28, 1992 in Geneva, to the Panel of High Level Personalities of African Development): "Africa and its resources, notably its human resources, are of enormous potential. The end of the Cold War allows us to think afresh; to recommit ourselves to the social and economic development of the continent and to reappraise our approach".

We share this view.

The Austrian delegation is here to reiterate our support for SADC's endeavours to find a new form of regional integration for its member States. With respect for the work already done, and the commitments solemnly given, I place Austria's sincere and good wishes for the success of SADC in the years ahead on record.

STATEMENT: Belgium

Hon. Erik Derycke

Secretary of State for Development Cooperation

On behalf of the Belgian delegation I would like to thank the Government of Zimbabwe for its generosity in hosting this 1993 SADC conference. I would also like to congratulate the SADC Secretariat for their excellent work in organising this very important conference. I am particularly pleased to be here for this meeting to represent the Belgian Government.

The chosen theme for this conference: "Southern Africa: A Framework and Strategy for Building the Community" is a vitally important policy issue. This year's meeting is therefore of major significance for the countries of the region. Last year in Maputo I expressed the hope that war-torn Mozambique would reach a peace settlement in the very near future, so that this country can benefit from peace and stability in general and be able to concentrate on the development of its human and economic resources.

I feel deeply happy today that this happened and that the peace-building process is now well underway. It is therefore fortunate that this year's conference is held in Zimbabwe, whose president, Robert Mugabe was, and still is, one of the main brokers of the peace agreement between the former opponents in Mozambique. He deserves international gratitude for his efforts, which were watched with interest and hope by my country.

While Mozambique can now start rebuilding its economy and can focus on the social development of its people, there is however serious concern about the situation in Angola, where all the hope for peace through a democratic process was smashed in a few days time. We all do hope that in a very near future all Angolan parties involved, will unite again in a move towards peace, making thus development and prosperity possible.

Another cause for concern is the evolution of the situation in South Africa, where the blood of innocent people is being shed daily. In spite of the

devotion and the goodwill of so many South Africans, it seems that the biggest ambush on the road for a democratic South Africa, remains the bitter violence and hatred that is engulfing the country. As long as this situation lasts, there will be no meaningful development in the sub-region. I therefore do hope that those SADC countries which achieved peace, democracy and reconciliation within their own borders, will now help their South African neighbours to attain the same goals. All of us in one way or another are deeply affected by the fundamental changes which are taking place in this part of the African continent. The region is in a crucial period of transformation and transformations are always dangerous and unpredictable but we are confident that common sense will prevail. It is due to initiatives as the Windhoek Treaty that the future can be seen in a positive way.

The region not only has political problems but also natural catastrophes have destabilised the economies of many member States. The devastating drought, which ravaged most of the Southern African countries brought their economies to the brink of collapse. I was deeply shocked and moved about this dramatic situation.

Fortunately, the international community showed its solidarity by pledging massive food aid. Belgium contributed 15 000 tons of wheat and rice. Eventually the rains came and hopefully the region will recover soon from this terrible natural disaster. This disaster, however, reminds us that there are elements in nature which we will never master, and which can crack down upon us at any given moment. Although we cannot prevent the negative influence of these elements, it is possible to take positive measures which can alleviate the effects of future droughts. The "Joint UN/SADC Appeal" in June last year in Geneva contained many programmes of this kind and Belgium allotted about US \$6,5 million of its SADC envelope to one of these projects.

1992 was for SADC a year of big changes: The Windhoek Treaty materialised the resolutions of the Maputo Conference of 1992, where the theme "Towards Economic Integration" was thoroughly discussed. Last year I said in my statement:

"By drawing conclusions from the past and from the economic and political situation in the region, SADC is

now ready to launch a new attempt to create an economic entity which will serve as a vehicle for obtaining sustainable economic growth in the region ...”

It is with intense satisfaction that I learned that the summit in Windhoek “crossed the rubicon” and moved from the concept of “Conference” to that of “Community”. As a representative of a country belonging itself to the European Community, I warmly welcome this move, which should eventually lead to a well structured regional organisation. I am also convinced that the new SADC will be more flexible and will operate in a more efficient way.

I know that you are aware of the long and difficult process you are engaged in; economic integration is a slow, difficult and often risky process in itself, but moreover, it requires from the people and from their governmental authorities a radical mentality-change, which is still a far more difficult goal to achieve. It is however a necessary condition for success that people, in the long run, should work together and develop a sense of belonging to the same community, sharing a common fate, and experiencing a sound solidarity in solving problems.

The theme document “A Framework and Strategy for Building the Community”, perceives this issue in a well-balanced paragraph about people, culture and information and gives a good idea about the process of integration in Southern Africa. The ideas sound fine and it is hoped that they will be implemented as soon as possible. It is through such visible achievements like the proposed removal of visa and other travel-restrictions, or like promoting more cultural exchanges that people will gradually understand what “Regional” means, and that they will eventually acquire a common feeling a regional identity. I also hope that SADC will provide the incentives and the necessary security to encourage the large-scale foreign investment which is so urgently needed in the region.

Another important point, in my opinion, is that a regional integration must necessarily be based on democratic values and on sound human rights, which can only succeed if the basic communities, the people themselves, are really involved. An “Integration” based on dictatorial decision-making, military force, inequities, fear, censorship, lack of basic freedoms, such as

freedom of expression, freedom of association, etc, is doomed to failure. I am glad to see that the theme document stresses this concern in clear terms and that the aim is to create a non-militaristic security-order, leading to reductions in military force levels and in defence expenditures, thus benefiting the development-efforts of the region. Belgium is highly committed to the principles of democracy and human rights. In order to materialise this commitment, and to assist those countries which need help in implementing democratic reforms and a better respect for human rights, I have set aside a special creditline concerning that matter.

For the past four years the Belgian Government has adopted a regional approach towards the SADC member countries and has allocated a budget of 1.2 billion Belgian Francs, which is about US \$40 million, to SADC projects. However only one quarter of this amount has been disbursed yet. This delay is due to different reasons. First of all on the Belgian side, the regional cooperation was a new way of cooperation and was a new method of working and it took a while to get all the services concerned used to it. But also SADC has partly of responsible for the delay. This is often due to badly prepared project-files and in some cases, unilateral decisions of the Secretariat, taken without the agreement of the concerned countries, hence the need of better and permanent contacts with the donor community and the recipients.

Up till now 12 projects of a total amount of nearly US\$29 million have been approved by the Belgian Government.

In the energy sector 3 projects have been financed for a total amount of US \$6.1 million US \$: The implementation of one of these projects will start early this year; the two others are in preparation.

In the transport and communication sector, 5 projects have been approved for a total amount of US\$11 million : 2 are under implementation and 3 in preparation.

In the food, agriculture and natural resources sector a total amount of US \$5.7 million has been earmarked for 3 projects: 1 is under implementation and 2 in preparation.

Like I said earlier, in the framework of the drought relief I decided to allocate about US \$6.5 million for a water emergency project.

Belgium is prepared to continue to support you on the path of regional integration and I am glad to say that my country will pledge today a further 300 million Belgian Francs, which amounts to about US\$10 million, in support of SADC projects for the coming year. This programming will give us the opportunity to disburse the already approved projects and gives us the necessary time to analyse scrupulously the new projects in order that they can be implemented hopefully within the year. This amount will go to projects in the ongoing sectors: energy, agriculture and transport and communications sectors in which Belgium has a lot of African experience.

I am confident, Mr Chairman, that this conference in Harare will be successful and bring about valuable results which will further strengthen and develop cooperation with SADC.

Thank you very much for your attention.

STATEMENT: Brazil

Hon. Virgilio Moretzohn De Andrade
Head of the Africa Department

I am especially pleased to be present at this first consultative meeting of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). On behalf of the Brazilian government, I would like to greet your excellency, Mr President, all the illustrious representatives of the ten member countries of this new community, in addition to the heads of delegations and representatives of donor countries, international organisations and observers.

In the twelve years since SADCC was founded, the Brazilian government has been represented by a high level delegation at all the Annual Consultative Meetings. From the outset, we acknowledged the importance of political-strategic factors in SADCC's make-up. The fact that it was established by the Frontline states in 1979 (joined, the following year, by Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland) in itself anticipated the conference's status as a relevant forum for forging the political stability of the countries of Southern Africa.

At that juncture, one of SADCC's most distinctive features in the context of regional economic organisations on the African continent was clearly evident: its geographic proximity to the Republic of South Africa (with all the consequences that entailed). In view of this peculiarity, the founding members determined that the reduction of economic dependence on South Africa be enshrined as one of the conference's prime objectives. Underpinning this stance was a clear notion of the risks inherent in maintaining highly subordinated economic ties. There was likewise full awareness of the need to foster concerted action among the states being subjected to all destabilizing measures adopted by the Pretoria regime.

It is always expedient to remind ourselves that SADCC's existence has coincided with a period of persistent crisis in the world's economic and financial system. For developing countries as a whole, the '80s spelt a long

and difficult period beset by progressive dwindling of the influx of direct investments from industrialised countries and international finance institutions. According to estimates by the United Nations University's World Institute for Development Economics Research for the last year of the 1980s, approximately 80% of the total worldwide net capital transfer flow (US \$ 154 billions in the period) went to the United States.

Despite all the adverse factors generated by regional setbacks and the perverse logic of the international finance system, SADCC has afforded unequivocal advances on several fronts in terms of Southern Africa's political-economic activity. According to the conference's own statistics, by the end of 1991 more than 500 projects were being implemented (at an estimated cost of US \$ 8 billion) in the following sectors: mining, agriculture, industry, energy, transport and communications. Moreover, the recovery and revitalization of the railway links and ports serving SADCC's landlocked member states were of great regional relevance. This was particularly true of the ports at Beira, Nacala, Maputo, Dar-es-Salaam and Benguela. Such concerted action on the part of the conference's member states and its international partners has considerably diminished strategic dependence on South Africa.

We live at a time of rapid, far-reaching changes. In Africa, as in Latin America, democracy and development is the two-pronged linchpin that best expresses our peoples' aspirations. The mature example Brazil's people and institutions have set by the recent impeachment of its president shows how effective democracy can be in solving dire political crises. In Africa, meanwhile, citizens' demands for justice and social peace have been a prime factor in advancing the notion of political pluralism across the continent. They have also contributed strongly to the successful elections held in a significant number of states in Southern Africa.

I am convinced that historic decision taken on August 17th 1992 by the Heads of State and Government of the member countries of SADCC by the signing of the Treaty constituting the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was partly due to the desire to meet their peoples' demands for welfare and a decent standard of living. At the same time, the leaders of the countries in the region sensed that the time was ripe for converting the original conference - which had been a mere project coordi-

nation body - into a full-blown community endowed with effective capacity for promoting regional integration.

From the Brazilian government's standpoint, the creation of SADC is one of the most adequate responses to the challenges imposed on Southern Africa by the current climate in the international economy. After all, protectionism is a constant threat to the enhancing of developing countries' commercial presence in the most dynamic consumer markets. Similarly, the relatively closed doors of the European Communities and, above all, the deadlock in negotiations at the Uruguay Round of the Gatt are serious stumbling blocks for the recovery of our economies.

Given this new international environment, the Brazilian Government has also sought integration as a means of improving the country's competitive edge in world trade. The most important step taken in this direction was Brazil's signing of the 1991 ASCUNCION Treaty which envisages the establishment of the southern common market (MERCOSUL). Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay have set December 1994 as the deadline for implementing the common market once the target of reducing all trade tariffs to zero has been accomplished.

Latin American Integration - MERCOSUL in particular - not only serves economic ends (The dismantling of barriers, the unleashing market forces and comparative advantages, the attracting of new investments and technology) but also brings political dividends: continental cohesion inspired by the buttressing of democratic values and human rights.

In the medium term, the Brazilian government foresees ample opportunities and potential for cooperation between MERCOSUL and SADC. As far as Brazil is concerned, the concept of a cooperation frontier is broad-ranging. It applies, for instance, to our extense maritime frontier, the South Atlantic, the ocean that makes us neighbours of African countries. Brazil's interest in Africa is therefore on a par with that which it nurtures with regard to any other of its frontiers.

The present meeting is an opportune moment for stressing the Brazilian government's outright repudiation of the unilateral decision to resort to means of force for settling the crisis in Angola. Brazil was the first nation

to recognise the independence of Angola (as long ago as 1975) and we share deep-rooted cultural, historical and linguistic ties. Besides, since then Brazil and Angola have succeeded in establishing significant cooperation in a wide variety of fields. This corroborates Brazil's effective contribution to its brother-country's development.

As president Itamar Franco stated during the summit conference of the Group of 15 in Dakar at the end of last November, we hope and trust that the will of Angola's citizens, freely expressed in the September elections, will be respected. Signs of the involvement of third parties in actions that attempt against the integrity of the country, thwarting the implementation of the Bicesse Accords and hampering observance of UN security council resolution 785 are of the utmost concern to us.

There was a qualitative aggravation of the situation in Angola from the moment the government (which had hitherto adopted a cautious, low-profile approach to enchoachments by UNITA) was forced to take military action upon pain of losing control of the situation and forfeiting the population's support.

The Brazilian Government views the new stance adopted by the Angolan Government as the exercise of its right to legitimate self-defence in order to counter repeated incursions and attacks by UNITA forces, which are a flagrant breach of Bicesse Accords and Security Council Resolution 785.

We regretfully, note, however, that this reading of recent events in Angola has not been adequately mirrored in current assessment made by the international community, which remains sadly hobbled by its concern to maintain an equidistant position with regard to the legitimately constituted government and UNITA (which stubbornly insists on remaining an armed party). It is imperative that UNITA be persuaded to disarm, an essential precondition for a successful outcome to any negotiations to be promoted in Angola. This, indeed, was the original defect that impaired the implementation of the Bicesse Accords. This vice - which can no longer be countenanced - did not, however, prevent the holding of elections acknowledged to be both free and just which should now serve as the basis for bringing the peace process to a satisfactory conclusion.

Brazil shares the United Nation's Secretary General's concern about the prospects for the peace process in Angola. It likewise believes that, in view of the mandate it has received, the United Nations has a crucial role to play in implementing it.

The United Nation's presence and actions have greatly contributed to averting further deterioration in the situation in Angola while also helping to dissuade the parties involved to eschew acts that may lead to a resumption of the civil war that has already ravaged the country. Were the United Nations to pull out of Angola at this point, this would merely perpetuate the present stalemate and result in further bloodshed and loss of human lives.

The Brazilian government has lent its full-hearted support to the resumption of dialogue between the warring parties. We are convinced that the United Nation's presence in Angola is vital for restoring normality in the country and bringing about an end to armed conflict. We believe that if the mandate for the UN Verification Mission to Angola (UNAVEM) is extended, after being re-defined in line with the wishes of the parties involved, it will be possible to bring Angola's leaders back to the negotiating table in order to obtain a solution to the present deadlock.

Brazil is part of the United Nations Verification Mission to Angola and currently contributes its largest military-police contingent. We are confident that Brazil will be in a position to collaborate significantly to its success.

With regard to Mozambique, we view the signing of the peace agreement between the government and Renamo last October with great satisfaction. Brazil believes that the successful pacification and reconstruction of the country will depend not only on the parties' willingness to abide by the terms of the agreement but also on support from the international community. As a result, the Brazilian Government has decided to send military personnel and police officers to join the "United Nations Peace Operation in Mozambique" (ONUMOZ). We also intend to provide technical assistance for mounting the necessary infrastructure for holding elections in October 1993.

As far as South Africa is concerned, we trust that government and the leaders of the black majority will reach agreement on the political changes

required for putting an end to apartheid and allowing democracy to prevail. It is our understanding that the extension of full political rights to all South African citizens and the holding of free elections at all levels of government are indispensable pillars on which true transformation must be built in that country.

It is our belief that the future democratization of South Africa and its consequent integration into SADC will significantly boost the dynamism of South Africa as a whole, thus fostering greater cooperation with Latin America, especially with MERCOSUL.

In the twelve years of SADCC's existence, Brazil and the conference's member countries have succeeded in finding formulas for promoting harmonious cooperation. In general terms, Brazil's collaboration has been sought mainly in the fields of energy, transport and communications, agro-industrial development and personnel training, in view of the technical standard of Brazil's technicians in these fields, as well as the advantage of a common language in the case of projects developed in Angola and Mozambique.

It was in this spirit that the Brazilian Government, represented by the Brazilian Cooperation Agency and the air force ministry, held the "1st Afro-Brazilian Meeting on Civil Aviation" from March 29th to April 3rd 1992. The meeting was attended by 25 representatives from countries in Southern Africa and served to improve and finetune the "Civil Aviation Development Plan for the 1990s", drawn up by the SATCC Ministers' Committee in 1989.

The Brazilian Cooperation Agency, which is attached to Brazil's Ministry of External Relations, also held the "1st Afro-Brazilian seminar on Manioc" in Maputo last July, which was attended by 25 representatives from SADCC countries as well as Brazilian technicians. In 1993, we plan to implement two projects in Angola: The "Reforestation and Charcoal Project" and the "Vegetable Production Project". We also intend to examine the possibility of a Brazilian company participating in projects in the energy sector, especially in Angola and Mozambique, which will provide evident spin-offs for the region as a whole.

Brazil plans to concentrate its activities within the sphere of SADC in sectors in which we have traditionally provided the conference with successful collaboration. We are confident that there is ample space for diversifying the relations between Brazil and the new Southern African Development Community. We should like to take this opportunity to reiterate to all the member countries of SADC our willingness to provide consultancy in areas in which Brazil has a command of the technology required for promoting sustained development.

In bringing my speech to a close, I should like to make a point of thanking you for the polite, courteous manner in which the Brazilian delegation has been treated by the Government of Zimbabwe and for the warm welcome it has received from the people of this beautiful country. I should also like to congratulate you on the perfect organization of this meeting which has been crucial to the success of dialogue between representatives of the different countries and organisations represented here.

Thank you very much.

STATEMENT: Canada

Hon. Walter McLean P.C., MP

It is my great pleasure to address you today, for the seventh time, on behalf of the Government of Canada. Today there are two events I would like to single out, because they strike me as extremely positive developments.

The first is the remarkable peace accord^d which was signed last October between the Government of Mozambique and Renamo. It is very exciting to think that the terrible years of human suffering and destruction are finally about to end. Now, the people of Mozambique can concentrate on rebuilding their economy and healing the wounds of war. The importance of peace in Mozambique to the prosperity of the Southern Africa region is, I think, patently obvious to all of us. The peace **must** hold, the troops **must** be demobilized, and redeployed, the elections **must** succeed and the international community **must** assist Mozambique in its recovery. As one who has personally invested a lot of time and energy in this issue on behalf of Canada since 1986, I would like to add that I think the efforts of Italy, Zimbabwe, and all others who helped Mozambique in the peace process, deserve our recognition and praise.

The second event is the signature in Windhoek last August of the Treaty of the Southern Africa Development Community. Canada believes that the Treaty represents a very positive step towards regional integration in Southern Africa, and towards the organization of African Unity's goal of creating an African Economic Community by the year 2025. What will be needed, above all, is the political will to see it through.

Canada is convinced that greater regional cooperation and integration is the way of the future. As you know, my government has entered into a North American Free Trade Agreement with the United States and Mexico. As a politician, I can tell you that very hard choices had to be made, first with the Free Trade Agreement we undertook with the United States and then with the North American Free Trade Agreement, and difficult debates were pursued for something that in the end had to be. SADC has similar

commitment under its new Treaty. It will work towards the elimination of all barriers to flows of trade, investment and people across ten countries. This is a major undertaking and Canada heartily endorses it.

Mr Chairman, SADC is absolutely right that regional integration will only succeed if it has the broad support of the people. There will be need for an increase dialogue within countries on the priorities for development. An economic community is more than a community of governments. It must bring together all sectors, including NGOs and the business community. I would like to suggest the idea of a cross-party, parliamentary forum for the discussion of these issues. There needs to be a public as opposed to a government debate and one way to do this is through the parliamentary process. Is it time to encourage a parliamentary Forum.

As we look to the future, the central focus of Canada's development assistance to the Southern Africa will be to help build regionalism. During the next few years, we will blend all our bilateral programs into one large, regional program. A parliamentary subcommittee which I chair recommended last year that Canada continue to support SADC as it confronts the complexities of planning for regional integration. I am pleased to report that the Government of Canada accepted this recommendation and SADC will continue to be the primary recipient of Canadian assistance under our restructured Southern Africa regional program. But we in parliament who support enhanced development assistance need your help to defend our continued assistance. Canada, like most donor nations is facing fiscal restraint. There are many competing demands on our development assistance budget. It is important for SADC to show concrete progress, and to establish a track record with its new mandate. It will need to be seen as highly effective and efficient.

Mr Chairman, with exciting changes before us, the SADC organizational structure and management need to be strengthened and improved. There is an ambitious mandate outlined in the Treaty. Canada and, I believe, others present here are interested in helping SADC in this process of institutional strengthening. So I offer several proposals in the spirit of stimulating dialogue and strengthening our partnership.

My first proposal concerns the central role of the Secretariat. It is our view

that the SADC Secretariat has an important role in coordinating the activities of the sector coordinating units and assisting them in building their management and analytical capability. This is important. The sector coordinating units have had only limited success in the role of project coordination. With SADC's ambitious new agenda they must be strengthened. Of course, SADC must avoid excessive bureaucracy. From my own past experience as a Minister, I understand the sensitivity of having to refer to a central agency, but I soon came to realize that if you want coherent programs in which timetables are met, there has to be some giving-up of autonomy to a central authority.

Therefore, introducing greater accountability of the sector units to the centre is something that SADC must undertake in the spirit of the meeting.

Second, the role of the council of Ministers and the Sectoral Ministers in managing SADC need re-definition. This is where control of the agenda resides. How can we strengthen the capacity at the political level to guide this new and more complex process? Let me suggest that maybe a multi-year focus to the program of action, with milestones along the way to check the progress might be very useful. Incidentally, I would point out that this year's theme document misses the opportunity to do just that. It could have detailed the steps required to translate the principles and objectives of the treaty into a practical program for regional integration. I think it is unfortunate that since last year's document so little has been established in terms of an action plan, priorities or a timetable. If I may say so, I think the political level of SADC needs a more concrete program to work with. And the international cooperative partners do too. We also would like to receive the theme document more in advance of the conference.

Our Canadian delegation has spoken with SADC member States and with other international cooperating partners. We believe there is consensus that priority must be given to the organization and management of SADC because SADC is an instrument for regional development which is work preserving and supporting.

Canada has financed a management study which makes a range of specific recommendations for strengthening SADC. These include:

- i) Introducing accountability regimes;
- ii) Tying resource planning to the program of action;
- iii) Eliminating excess levels in approval processes;
- iv) Improving coordination from the centre;
- v) Rational delegation of authority.

We support the recommendations of the study. We ask SADC to act on them at both the political level and the secretariat: action is required.

Mr Chairman, let me now turn to suggestions for improving the consultation between SADC and the international cooperating partners.

First, Canada thinks that more frequent and meaningful encounters with the sector coordinating units and with the secretariat are necessary. We are, for example, most interested in being closely involved in the technical subcommittees in the energy and transport sectors where we support a range of projects. We would like more precise information of the annual meetings of the sectoral ministers. We would like to see the annual sector working groups become more effective fora.

This year's working groups, and Canada attended all of them, were too short, too unfocussed and by and large there were too many people to get a good discussion going.

The working group plenary session took us by surprise and, unfortunately, the panel was not able to give us any more detail on the practical steps which will be taken to implement the Treaty than what was already provided to us in the theme document. I recently attended a children's conference in Dakar which was an excellent model of a business-like meeting. This is what SADC should aim towards.

Mr Chairman, by providing more opportunities for meaningful dialogue, SADC would tend to attract to these meetings the relevant representatives from our various organizations that could engage substantively in discussions of the issues at hand. This, we believe, would strengthen our partnership.

It would also help improve co-ordination among the ICPS. As you know, Mr Chairman, all our governments are organized and deployed differently for regional programming. This limits our ability to share information and

our ability to achieve maximum co-ordination amongst ourselves. SADC can ensure better coordination among ICPS through providing regular, well-planned occasions for us to gather.

In sum, we believe that improved access to and interface with the institutions of SADC are very necessary if the assistance offered by the ICPS is to be kept relevant to your needs and if it is to be implemented effectively.

Mr Chairman, let me turn to financial support. At present SADC receives a very large share of its funding from the international cooperating partners. We are hopeful that the protocols will clearly identify the obligations of the member States. This is important in terms of strengthening the secretariat, and the sector coordinating units. At the project level, member States must provide their representatives with the necessary resources to fulfil their project obligations.

Mr Chairman, in these days of competing demands for development assistance, let me also urge SADC to be very clear in identifying to the international cooperating partners what the priorities are for external funding.

Canada supports both SADC and the preferential trading area, or PTA. Both organizations have distinct mandates and strengths. It is important, however, to avoid confusion and duplication of effort. We welcome, therefore, the decision taken by the SADC Heads of State to commission an independent study to advise on how best to harmonize relations between SADC and PTA. We understand that PTA is considering a similar exercise. We suggest that a coordinated third party approach may be helpful here. What progress has been made on this harmonization study by SADC? We look forward to an update.

Mr Chairman, I could not speak to you today without discussing South Africa. Yes, there is positive change in the Republic but it is not enough and it is not fast enough.

From the beginning, Canada has supported your objective of reducing the region's dependence on South Africa. Canada continues to support the Commonwealth's position with regard to dismantling the apartheid regime

and the removal of sanctions. We recognize that the decision on admitting the Republic into SADC can only be addressed by SADC Heads of State and the Government of South Africa. Even before this question is addressed, however, Canada believes that the Heads of State of SADC should allow South African institutions, which are at arms length from the Government of South Africa, to participate in SADC at the technical level. Some of this has started already, I believe. Here, I am thinking specifically of institutions such as Eskom and Spoornet.

Canada welcomes the many positive changes in human rights, democratic development and good governance. The election in Zambia and the forthcoming elections in Lesotho and Mozambique are very encouraging. But we note that progress in human rights and democratization is much slower in some member States.

The renewed conflict in Angola is in part because of a failure to take seriously the democratization process. This crisis is a burden for all of us. What can we learn from it?

As I said last year, encouraging democracy means more than just having elections. SADC could serve a leadership role in promoting democratization in the areas of education, training, government institutions, building up a free press and the reorientation of military systems in society. Personally, I do not believe it is practical to demobilize it. Instead, the resources earmarked for military expenditures can be redirected to other, more productive uses, which employ the existing expertise of disciplined military forces.

Canada takes the important issues of human rights and democratic development into account when we make decisions on the levels of development assistance in Southern Africa. These factors will affect our regional programming as well.

Mr Chairman, as I said last year and year before: Canada believes that no development strategy, including regional economic integration, can succeed unless it seriously takes into full account the role of women. Women make up half the region's population. They are responsible for more than half the total hours of work performed. Yet women are overrepresented at the poorest

levels of society.

Talking about this inequity won't solve the problem. Nor will a few, well-intentioned "Women in Development" projects. Every single project or activity SADC undertakes must be examined to see what impact it will have on women. Women should be involved in program design and implementation. Sadly, women are far from becoming an integral part of SADC, but I am happy to detect a new openness on this crucial issue.

Mr Chairman, I would like to close this review of our structural relationship by saying that Canada's commitment to SADC remains firm. The treaty sets a bold new direction. It is the right direction. I have spoken at length today about "Strengthening".

- strengthening the structure of SADC and its management,
- strengthening the communications between SADC and the ICPS,
- strengthening the role of women in SADC

I believe that if we work together in these areas, SADC will be in a much improved position to pursue its new agenda. SADC can count on the continuing support of Canada in this next, exciting period.

Thank you

STATEMENT: China

**H. E. Mr Gu Xiner,
Ambassador to Zimbabwe**

I feel much honoured and pleased to have this opportunity of attending the 1993 SADC Consultative Conference as entrusted by H. E. Mr Quian Quichen, State Councillor and Minister of Foreign Affairs of People's Republic of China. Allow me to take this opportunity to convey to you his sincere gratitude for the invitation extended to him and his hearty congratulations on the convening of the Conference.

Since its inception, the South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) had made relentless efforts and achieved gratifying successes in promoting economic development of its member States and strengthening their economic cooperation. Last year saw the region of Southern Africa afflicted with the severest drought in decades. The countries of the region, through coordinated and concerted efforts and, with the support of the international community, have withstood the test and minimized the adverse impacts of the drought on the region's economic and social life.

In recent years, there have been profound changes in the global situation and the situation in Southern Africa, bringing about to countries in the region new challenges as well as new opportunities. Facing the new situation, member States made the timely decision to transform SADCC and signed the Treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Windhoek last August. The transformation of SADCC to SADC is an event of significance in the region's social and economic integration of Southern African countries. SADC will rally its member states around in a new effort to seize opportunities and meet greater challenges of the 90's. By implementing its programme and targets, SADC will also be helpful to the process of economic integration on the entire African continent. This annual Conference, with **Southern Africa: A Framework and Strategy for Building the Community** as the theme, will surely make positive contribution to SADC's future development.

On the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, China has all along committed itself to developing friendly relations and cooperation with Southern African States, including the provision of economic assistance within China's capability and engagement in mutually beneficial economic cooperation in various forms. We are glad to note that with joint efforts, the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and most Southern African countries have been growing from strength to strength.

I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate that China supports the African countries for the establishment of a just and rational new international order; China supports the African countries in strengthening their solidarity and cooperation, seeking strength through collective efforts, and aspiring for peace, stability, development and economic integration on the African continent; China is ready to make continued efforts, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, to promote and strengthen its economic cooperation with SADC countries, explore new areas and ways of cooperation in order to seek mutual development and prosperity.

I wish the Conference a great success.

STATEMENT: Cuba

Hon. Mrs Noem Benitez de Mendoza
Deputy Chairperson
State Committee for Economic Cooperation

Allow me first to convey, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Cuba, our gratitude for the honour of being invited for the fifth time to this conference. On this occasion, we cannot miss to mention our satisfaction with the fact that the conference is held in the Republic of Zimbabwe, a country with which we have wonderful relations and maintain co-operation links since 1985. Relations which have been valued as satisfactory by the leaderships of our countries.

We grant special attention to this Organization because of what it means to its member States; and we have closely watched its evolution and developments from the date of its inception till today.

The central subject of this conference: "Process of Economic Integration Among Member States" is of great significance; we are sure that the most suitable and advantageous ways and means of implementing it shall be found.

Allow me please to briefly refer to the situation faced by my country and the efforts we are making in order to overcome countless difficulties, in the certainty that we shall find victory after going through so many drawbacks.

1992 has been the hardest year for the Cuban economy in the revolution years. Exports have dropped dramatically in the last four years; from US\$8 billion of exports in 1989 to only US \$2 billion last year.

We are presently involved in a number of priority activities which shall enable us to develop ourselves through our own efforts while overcoming in the shortest time possible the complex situation we are now facing. They are:

- the food programme in order to increase food self-reliance in the country;
- research in the biotechnology, the pharmaceutical, the medical equipment and other industries, with fast extension of the results into production and export;
- tourism and export industries which shall increase short-term revenue;
- energy saving measures or provision of new sources of energy.

We also intend to promote several ways of association with foreign businessmen in order to utilize existing production capacities not fully used due to import limitations in the country. It has been thus decided to promote the establishment of joint ventures with foreign companies having the markets, the production experience and providing additional financial resources, specially in tourism. It is also our intention to diversify exports and utilize available capacities in industry, agriculture and services. By the end of 1992 we already had 76 of these joint ventures.

I have tried to briefly describe the situation of my country, the difficulties and achievements, and I have mentioned some of the remedial steps we are taking in order to overcome them.

In spite of the situation in Cuba we have maintained our links with the Third World countries and we have continued to render our co-operation, mostly by sending technical assistance, of health experts mainly. Thousands of trainees from most of the co-operation we are rendering at present is to the African countries. Out of the 10 member states of SADCC, 7 are receivers of our co-operation (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe).

More than 50 thousand Cubans have rendered services in various fields in these eight countries, 20% of which have been involved in medical care.

9,723 youngsters have graduated from university and medium technical levels. There are presently in Cuba 2,281 trainees in undergraduate and technical courses. Likewise, 3,615 professionals and workers have been

trained short upgrading courses.

Finally, it is our duty to convey the purpose of the Cuban Government to maintain our assistance to the countries of this region, so that together we can bring our peoples out of poverty. You can rest assured that the Cuban people and Government are ready to work in the reconstruction of your economies, looking for the most advantageous ways and means, without any interest other than human solidarity in the struggle to overcome the underdevelopment we have been subject to from centuries back.

Cuba presently has a potential of experts in various fields, specially and in a great number in the area of health; with those we can contribute to the development of the countries of the region. We are ready to discuss this issue and look for ways to the advantage of our countries.

Last, we would like to convey our appreciation for the efforts made by the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe in order to guarantee the organization of this meeting while creating the conditions which have made us feel at home.

Thank you.

STATEMENT: Egypt

H. E. Dr Ibrahim Badawi El Sheikh
Ambassador to Zimbabwe

The Honourable Minister, Amre Moussa, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, has asked me to express his gratitude to you for the invitation address to him to represent Egypt in the 1993 Annual Consultative Conference of SADC. However, he regrets not being able to be here today in person. Honourable Minister Moussa, asked me to represent him and to convey to you, Mr Chairman, and the distinguished delegates, here present, his best wishes for successful conclusion to the work of this highly important conference.

We, in Egypt, look with admiration to SADC as a vital instrument for promoting regional co-operation and integration in the Southern Africa. As such, SADC serves the interests of the region, but also at the same time paves the way for the establishment of the African Economic Community as called for by the Treaty of Abouja.

His Excellency President Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, in his illuminating inaugural speech yesterday highlighted the successes of SADCC over the past 12 years. His Excellency, also pointed out that for SADC to continue to achieve its targets, it is needed, among other things, that hard work and co-operation within SADC and between SADC and its co-operating partners should continue.

In this regard, it is heartening to observe the following encouraging signs:

The SADC countries have persistently manifested their determination to achieve SADC objectives.

SADC co-operating partners have already re-confirmed their goodwill to continue their valuable support SADC activities.

The clear understanding that success of development in all its dimensions cannot be achieved without ensuring an atmosphere based on full respect in the rule of law and the participation of the peoples in the processes of government and development. i.e. effective respect of human rights and democracy.

With these encouraging signs, Mr Chairman, we look forward to greater success of SADC as an excellent symbol of regional co-operation and integration, as a symbol of African and international co-operation.

I would like to assure you with Egypt's solidarity with SADC and SADC countries.

We wish you well.

Thank you Mr Chairman

STATEMENT: Germany

Hon. Hans-Peter Repnik
Parliamentary State Secretary
Ministry of Economic Cooperation

I would like to begin by thanking our host country, Zimbabwe, for hosting this first Annual Consultative Conference of the new Southern Africa Development Community. We have all been received here in Harare with an extraordinary warmth of hospitality both by you, Mr President, and the people of Zimbabwe.

It is a particularly great pleasure for me to be participating in this first conference. I would like to congratulate you all on this important step. In taking it, you have declared the intention to shape your future together.

You were courageous enough to take this step in a year which has been anything but easy for Southern Africa:

- dominating all else was the devastating drought which affected your country, Mr President, and beyond your borders gripped almost the entire region, acting as a serious obstacle to economic development. The drought could hardly have come at a worse time for the countries in Southern Africa, which are already struggling with enormous economic difficulties and are implementing tough structural adjustment programmes.
- the hopes for peace and democracy in Angola have not been realized. I view this with the deepest regret. In the interests of the Angolan people I appeal to those responsible to cease fighting immediately, to stop laying the blame at each other's door and to make a serious effort to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. Otherwise, the international donor community might one day become discouraged from providing further assistance.

- change in the Republic of South Africa has not come as swiftly as had been hoped. Increased outbreaks of violence - I need only mention the names Boipatong and Bisho - have been a cause of great concern to the German Government. It is high time that all parties make a contribution towards effectively containing violence. The international community, with my country as part of the EC, is supporting efforts to this end by sending observers. All parties concerned must now assume their responsibilities and sit down together to draft a constitution which ensures that the entire population, that includes minorities, has an equal share in the decision-making process. A democratic South Africa along these lines would be an asset to regional integration.

The current situation in South Africa illustrates clearly the importance of achieving a security partnership, collective security systems and crisis management mechanisms. I therefore welcome the fact that this Treaty sets the objective not only of economic integration, but also of co-operation in the political and security spheres. Diplomacy, peace and security must appear as new areas of co-operation!

We can derive a great deal from reflection on the current political situation in Southern Africa which will be important for the future process of peaceful development. The wind of change which is blowing across the whole of Africa is being felt as a sign of new departures, of upheaval, but also of deep crisis. The expectation is that, out of the phase of upheaval, democracy, human rights, the rule of law will swiftly be realised. Everyone interested in seeing real progress endorses these goals. Nevertheless crisis is inevitable, since these goals will not be reached as if by magic when the reforms take effect. The wind of change has brought in a learning process which will demand a large degree of self-reliance in the political, economic and social spheres; this in turn requires a participatory approach - from everyone, at every level.

This is the reason why Germany, and in the meantime the EC and other international donors too, is insisting on the respect for human rights, on democratic structures, on a civil society. We refer back time and again to the "spirit of Cartagena" where all those taking part in UNCTAD were united in their agreement on good governance.

Defeating poverty is still the major challenge facing Southern Africa today. The first move must be to combat the structural causes of poverty; but for that too we need a climate of good governance. The German Government together with its partners in the South is endeavouring to orient policy and cooperation in accordance with this objective, in order to ensure optimum efficiency in the use of funds through sustainable development. There is still a long way to go before African societies are self-reliant and governments are ready to accept more independent forms of organisation. As a donor, Germany will not hesitate to lend its generous support to any efforts towards democratic, grass-roots-oriented political reform. Institutions organized according to democratic principles must emerge! We will promote them!

We are therefore particularly glad, despite the disappointments of 1992, to consider the year's more positive aspects:

- Mozambique is a case which shows the peaceful solutions are indeed possible. I do hope that, unlike the situation in Angola, the ceasefire and the forthcoming election result will be respected by all sides and that the country can finally tackle the task of its reconstruction. Germany's participation in the commission monitoring adherence to the peace agreement underlines our willingness to make a special contribution to peace in Mozambique.
- another positive experience last year was the way in which SADC, with donor assistance, met the challenge of the severe drought which hit the region. Although the situation remained difficult for those affected, no one starved to death. I think this is an encouraging success for SADC. It shows that, with commitment and efficiency on the part of each and every member State working together with their community institution, major goals can be achieved in vital matters. SADC and its members should see this as confirmation that they have chosen the right path and be encouraged to continue along it together.
- this last point is related to a third piece of good news to come out of 1992: the new, fledgling democracies in the region, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia, have succeeded in establishing themselves despite the economic difficulties they have faced. In my view, this reaffirms the fact that democracy and a market economy constitute a solid foundation

for the political and economic development of each member country and for the continued development of the new SADC.

I am convinced that this whole process will open up a host of new opportunities for Southern Africa, a region so rich in resources and also common, sometimes painful, experiences. Conditions for closer regional cooperation are particularly favourable in this part of Africa. The signing of the Treaty establishing the new Southern African Development Community is therefore an important step forward, but inevitably other crucial and equally difficult steps lie ahead.

The scope and strategy of future co-operation were defined in last year's very forward looking theme document and in the Treaty. Your task now is to translate these ideas and objectives into actual policy and swiftly as possible. The negotiations on the protocols and agreements, in other words the talks on the actual form integration is going to take, shall truly test the member States' resolve to work together. I cannot help pondering certain questions: will the member States be in a position to put the interests of the whole before their own individual interest? Will they be prepared always to consider their partners when making decisions? And last but not least, will they manage to devolve national decision-making powers to regional bodies?

I can only encourage you to do just that.

The road is not an easy one and setbacks loom at every turn - this is something that we, as European Community, have encountered time and again. Overcoming difficulties is the political challenge which faces any community. The European Community will gladly stand by you to advise and assist wherever required. I would just like to mention two points here which I think are important for the future of SADC.

1. Right from the outset, SADC should be aware of its regional context, that is
 - should be tackling the issue of its relationship to PTA and the division of responsibilities immediately. We cannot afford to have one organisation duplicating the work of another.

- SADC should be including co-operation with post-apartheid South Africa in their deliberations now. We feel that including South Africa in regional integration will be everyone's benefit.

We would be interested to hear what headway has been made in the thinking on these two areas.

2. Of course, the support of the international donor community is important. I would, however, like to offer some words of encouragement as you now venture into new areas of co-operation: don't forget the experience you yourselves have gained over the last 12 years. The pragmatic approach which was always the trademark of the former SADCC is work maintaining. I therefore welcome the fact, that the new theme document envisages a flexible approach, which allows for the differing speeds at which each group of countries is moving and also accommodates various sectors of co-operation.

The Federal Republic of Germany will continue its support for SADC. There is one point we should all be clear on. Given the difficulties all donor countries are facing on the budgetary side of things, official development assistance is going to become a scarce commodity. Germany has traditionally regarded Africa as its priority region. That will continue to be the case in the future. We will be concentrating our assistance on the sectors which we identify as holding the challenges of the future. The conference in Rio has given us a clear picture of the way to go. The goal of **sustainable development** commits the community of nations to step up their activities in the area of environmental and resource protection. A key aspect here is more intensive promotion of sustainable forest management. We intend to channel a large portion of the DM 11 million which we can make available to SADC in 1993 for technical co-operation into this sector. Environmental activities can only yield results if they go hand in hand with efforts to alleviate poverty and promote education. That was another of the important messages which came out of Rio. Therefore, in our co-operation with SADC, we will continue to concentrate on agricultural research and training.

We must act locally to solve individual problems, but think globally, so

that we don't forget the worldwide context into which our particular situation fits. Coming together to form a regional association in Southern Africa, you have taken a step which will open the way up to global commitment. The course you have embarked on will demand perseverance from each member State. I am, however, convinced that you will be rewarded for your pains. You can be sure of one thing: the Federal Republic of Germany will support you on your way.

Thank you.

STATEMENT: Greece

H.E. Mr Alexandros Sandis
Ambassador to Zimbabwe

It is a great pleasure and privilege for me to participate, once again, in the Annual SADC Consultative Conference. On behalf of the Greek Government, I would like to thank the Government of Zimbabwe and the SADC Secretariat for the excellent preparation of the Conference and too convey, at the same time, its best wishes for a successful 1993 Conference. Personally, I am very pleased by the fact that this Conference is held in an African state where I have the great honour to represent my country.

Admittedly, Mr President, the past few years have not been successful in terms of economic growth for the SADC countries as a whole. Priorities given, during the past three years, to issues relating to the promotion of trade, investment and production in the region did not result in the success expected. A less optimistic prospect is foreseen for the future.

Greece believes that the time is ripe for SADC to launch a more significant effort with mainly, a new substantial development aim: "development from within".

The SADC region is not without natural resources, but, despite that fact, it has remained poor and critically disadvantaged. It is time to exploit the considerable natural potential and start creating, with the help of the Community and its member States its own wealth, attracting investment, planning new industries, searching for new markets and investing in human resources.

On the part of my country I can assure the Conference that it is ready to continue cooperating with the SADC member States, at bilateral level, in the field of education (giving undergraduate and postgraduate scholarships). In parallel, great efforts will be undertaken in Greece, so that the investment climate could be promoted and joint ventures could be established, especially in the industrial sector, with the cooperation of the CDI.

In addition, in the framework of the new Lome Convention, Greece is willing to play a positive and supportive role helping the SADC countries to benefit from a larger Community market and creating, at the same time, the appropriate structures (e.g. regional development) for strengthening the economies of other neighbouring states.

In this spirit, I would like to wish the Conference success in its deliberations and to express my sincere hope that the region will attend the best possible growth and well-being.

STATEMENT: Ireland

Mr Ronan Murphy
Assistant Secretary for Development Cooperation

It is a pleasure for Ireland to participate in this Consultative Conference - the first to be held under the auspices of the Southern African Development Community. Ireland has historical links with many of the SADC member States, three of which are priority countries for Irish Development Cooperation.

This is a year of change.

For Europe, 1993 is the year of the Single European Market; it is the year when we look forward to the new European Union.

Let us hope that 1993 also will be a landmark year for the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the starting point on a road which will lead ultimately to much closer cooperation between the countries concerned and to economic integration.

The signing of the SADC Treaty is an important step in the process of cooperation. The objectives of the member States have been identified. But the coming together of different countries, peoples and cultures is a process that requires time and patience.

The statesmen who founded the European Community were motivated by a strong wish to replace the conflict which had caused so much damage to our continent. But their achievement did not come about overnight. It was a gradual incremental process. Each step that was taken brought tangible benefits to the member States.

The resulting peace and stability have brought unparalleled growth to the member States of the European Community.

Just as the European Community took four decades to reach its present condition, so progress in Southern Africa will inevitably take time.

The objectives of the Southern African Development Community are ambitious. Europe's experience suggests that they can best be achieved by setting realistic goals. Realisable, short-term targets must be set and achieved if the people are to be encouraged to work towards longer-term objectives. A vision of the future is necessary, but perceptible progress even towards limited goals is also necessary if the vision is to be sustained.

In recent years, we have witnessed many changes in Southern Africa. Conditions of peace and stability, which for so long evaded many SADC member States, have begun to be created. Only in conditions of peace and stability can economic growth and prosperity occur. Determined efforts and commitment by all member States - both individually and collectively - are necessary to ensure that this process continues.

However, while regional conflicts are now largely resolved, the internal situation in a number of countries remains of concern to us all.

Recent events in Angola, in particular, underline the problems which remain. Ireland, together with its partners in the European Community, urges all Angolans to respect the peace agreements and to use them as a basis on which to build a new and prosperous Angola.

In addition to peace and stability, democracy and respect for human rights are also essential ingredients for progress. The Conference's theme document recognises the importance of people and of non-governmental organisations. Our belief is that the process of multi-party politics will enable the voices of the people of Southern Africa to be better heard; it will enable the people to participate in the development of the region.

In the coming weeks, elections will take place in Lesotho and referendum will be held in Malawi. Together with our partners in the European Community, we will continue to follow events closely and to encourage the democratic process.

We look forward too to the elections which will take place in Mozambique.

We congratulate the Mozambican parties on the progress so far made. To continue on this path can only bring benefits to all.

The drought cast a long shadow over Southern Africa in the past year and, in a negative way, emphasised the economic interdependence of the region. As has been pointed out by the Danish Minister, speaking on behalf of the European Community and its member States, and the Vice-President of the European Commission, the European Community's contribution to alleviating problems caused by the drought has been substantial. Ireland has done what it can to help those countries affected and will continue to do so, especially in the case of countries that are priority targets for our aid.

Let us hope that 1993 will also be remembered as the year when agreement was reached on the structures for a new united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

We remain convinced that the vicious cycle of repression and violence in South Africa, one of the legacies of apartheid, can only be ended through constructive dialogue and negotiation.

Together with our partners in the European Community, we urge all parties in South Africa to remain steadfast to their commitment to establish a new united, non-racial and democratic South Africa and, through multi-party negotiations, to work to this end.

We recognize that the death of apartheid and the imminent birth of a new democratic South Africa pose further challenges for the member States of SADC. The new South Africa can play - for the first time - a positive role in the region. Together with South Africa, you have the power to forge a region of unequalled prosperity for the people of Southern Africa.

Mechanisms must be devised which will allow all countries of the region, large and small, to profit from the benefits which will flow from increased regional cooperation. Machinery must be found to ensure that access to markets and the development of natural resources take place in such a way that the benefits are not concentrated in one area or one country but are shared among all.

To sum up, Mr Chairman, there are many hopeful signs, but clearly much remain to be done. With the resolution of regional and internal conflicts, improvements in human rights and democratization, the fundamental conditions will have been created for economic progress which will benefit all the people of Southern Africa.

May I end echoing the words of thanks expressed by other speakers to the Government and people of Zimbabwe for the very warm welcome they have extended to us.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

STATEMENT: Italy

Mr G. G. D'alessandro
Head of Southern Africa Desk
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

I would like to thank the Government of Zimbabwe for the warm welcome extended to the Italian delegation, and express my appreciation to the Executive Secretary who made every effort for the preparation and organization of this event, which occurs at a moment of particular importance for the region.

Today's SADC consultative conference is a significant occasion to evocate the main themes related to an important region of the African continent, to which Italy is bound by a long standing friendship, reciprocal interests, important cooperation engagements, and deep relations of solidarity.

It is a dialogue rooted in the attitude of Italy towards the culture of the peoples of Southern Africa in the principle of self-determination and independence of the states, and in the respect of human rights as pre-requisite for international co-existence.

This led us to the convinced and passionate engagement of cooperation, which sees us amongst the main donors of the region.

We have done our best to witness our solidarity intervening where natural calamities or conflicts were threatening the human life and the security of the populations.

To this purpose, may I recall an event of fundamental importance which occurred during the past year: The peace agreement between the two Mozambican parties which ended a 15 years war amongst brothers in a country of strategic importance to the SADC geopolitical structure.

It is a result which my country has always believed in (even when the atmosphere appeared less propitious) and in favour of which all energies

were addressed offering the negotiators every support in a genuine spirit of friendship.

We therefore consider that such an event is an important step for the attainment of lasting peace in the region, towards stability and economic integration.

Only through dialogue it is possible to find a solution for the problems of the region, and speaking of dialogue, I recall the constitutional negotiation for the birth of a new democratic and multiracial South Africa and, of course, I cannot forget, the re-establishment of peace in Angola, in a moment when the Bicesse's Agreement is disregarded.

A new era of peace in the region will ensure (through appropriate mechanisms of political cooperation at regional level) the development of peaceful relations, strengthening the democratic pluralism, the respect of human rights and the solidarity amongst the states.

We are glad to see these principles reflected in the Treaty establishing your new community.

It is a fact that the end of an historic era based on a struggle between opposing sides has coincided with the beginning of internal changes intended, as a whole, to increase the value of historical and cultural identities in every nation.

The crisis of planned economy countries and the present recession within the industrialised countries have penalized developing countries.

The reduction of public aid and the stagnation of commercial trade proved that growth process (founded on the sustainable use of available resources at a regional level) should be further encouraged.

The general economic situation does not give any indication of easing up in the near future.

The persistent erosion of exchange terms for developing countries confirms that they should continue on the path to structural adjustment, and to a greater diversification of the productive basis, a more favourable climate for investments and the increase of internal productivity.

This means the reduction even of well founded expectations, in order to better face the strongly determined economic situation.

The experience gained during the first years of the structural adjustment programmes gave evidence that the fulfilment of a courageous reform policy, with international support can produce positive results. In terms of economic growth and greater capacity to attain developments goals.

Southern Africa, which is labouriously coming out of an era marked by conflicts and civil wars, is certainly the sub-region which (for historical and geo-political reasons) has the greater possibilities of beginning a long-term, sustainable development process.

The vitality, demonstrated by the coordination conference since the beginning, to face the problems arising in the area and the active participation of the donor community to the SADCC program of investment (well founded on effective technical structures) witness the strong commitment of member countries for an agreed process of sustainable and peaceful development.

In this way all the existing resources of the region will be fully mobilised.

A common development policy and the reinforcement of regional security and solidarity may now be based on convergent internal democratization processes and economic adjustment policies.

The SADC countries proved their considerable foresight passing, with the adoption of the treaty of the new "Southern African Development Community", to a more challenging phase.

The path towards economic integration looks extremely hard. Nevertheless the difficulties that may arise should be overcome, knowing that future gains are greater than the short-term disadvantages.

Building the new community is a long term process.

It implies the active involvement of the people and of the civilian society, the respect of human rights, the protection of the weakest and the acceptance

of the cultural and ideal inheritance of each group.

The strategic lines of development outlined represent a valid point of reference for all of us.

The new community is furthermore confident that governments will agree on well balanced fiscal measures and a closely correlated monetary policy promoting stability and avoiding, at the same time, possible depressive effects on the economy.

This is essential to attract investment projects in the region, acted with the intention of eliminating tensions and of encouraging the integration process.

In this framework we disbursed the equivalent of US\$1.5 billion in development aid in the area during the last 11 years. In 1991 our disbursement totalled US \$163 millions of which 23% was soft loan and 77% as grants.

Being in Zimbabwe, I cannot refrain from mentioning at least the forest industries training centre in Mutare (fruitful example of our mutual cooperation) where young people are prepared to engage themselves in productive and specialized activities.

I do not know if this is the most appropriate moment to mention the cases of cholera reported by the competent official authorities of different countries, let me say, at least, that we are following with concerned feeling the menace of this calamity.

Mr Chairman, our commitment in favour of the economic and social development of the region will remain a basic component of our policy.

Official aid activities in selected key sectors lowering the private investment costs, enhance the government's capacity of orientating development.

Technical assistance activities, protection of the environment, investment on basic infrastructures and formation of the human capital will continue to receive our support.

In this regard, Italy reaffirms its firm commitment to support the sustainable

development of "open economic systems" satisfying primary human needs.

The aspects related to the protection of the environment, the sustainable use of primary resources, the control of epidemic diseases, involving the whole society, are unavoidable elements of any development project.

Italy therefore reaffirms her engagement on integrating the objectives and activities of Agenda 21 in her cooperation programmes, following the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro last year.

STATEMENT: Netherlands

Mr Wim Wessels

Director for Development Cooperation with Africa and Middle East
On behalf of Netherlands Minister for Development Cooperation

May I, Mr Chairman, begin by expressing the great appreciation of the Government of the Netherlands for the invitation to participate in this important conference. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Government of Zimbabwe for the warm hospitality which I and the other members of the Netherlands delegation are enjoying during our visit.

Since our last meeting in Maputo one year ago, the complex situation in the world has further evolved. Although international relations have improved dramatically, we have at the same time witnessed the revival of old armed conflicts and the emergence of new ones.

The present situation in Southern Africa is a mirror of this international predicament: positive developments on the one hand, but developments that are truly worrisome on the other. The signing of a Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Mozambique and Renamo has been warmly welcomed by the entire international community; finally, after so many years, peaceful dialogue has replaced the language of arms in this war torn country.

In Angola in spite of the best efforts of the authorities to avert fighting, the civil war has resumed as a result of controversies about the outcome of the elections which were held in September. We urge all involved once again to pool their energies to fully implement the Bicesse Accords.

Despite the set-backs in the negotiations and the continuing vicious violence in South Africa, the abolition of political apartheid must soon be achieved, starting via free and fair elections. The democratic government of South Africa will then be in a position to achieve the abolition of economic apartheid and to realize the country's considerable potential for economic and social progress, also to the benefit of the region as a whole.

Against the background of political and economic developments in the region, the SADC member States decided at their recent summit meeting in Windhoek on integrating their economies through closer regional cooperation. This seems to be the appropriate answer to the call made at the last SADCC Meeting in Maputo, where the urgent need for a well-functioning, coherent programme of regional cooperation and integration was stressed. Even more so because of the challenge facing SADC member States to restructure their economies and become more competitive in a rapidly changing world. Closer economic cooperation and integration have become no longer merely desirable but imperative for growth, development and survival. The summit meeting in Windhoek couldn't be more right in this.

However, it should be kept in mind that economic progress needs a firm political basis. Economic integration should not only be based on market-oriented policies but also on the meaningful and active participation by citizens in all spheres of life. They must be allowed to participate without hindrance of life. They must be allowed to participate without hindrance in the economic and political process and must enjoy full human rights. The fulfilment of these basic requirements is inseparable from good governance and are essential if SADC is to achieve its objectives.

Bilateral Cooperation

The Netherlands has over the years established a comprehensive and intensive development relationship with SADCC and its member States. This cooperation will be maintained in 1993 at the current annual disbursement level of US\$200 million. We will continue to concentrate on food security including agricultural production, on rural development including basic health and education, and on the development of human resources. In all these fields specific attention will be given to environmental protection and to women.

Our grant aid policy will ensure that we will not add to the serious debt problems facing most SADC members.

Rural Development and Food Security

As a major food aid donor in Southern Africa the Netherlands takes an active interest in promoting agricultural production and food security in the region. The drought that ravaged Southern Africa last year has painfully underlined how vulnerable the region is and has shown the crucial importance of national food security policies and specifically of their factual implementation.

Thanks to a concerted effort by the Southern African countries and the donor community, the food supply situation in Southern Africa has improved considerably and a tragedy was prevented. The outlook for the coming farming season, however, remains uncertain; rains are erratic, in some areas inputs are in short supply and across the region livestock were reduced by the drought.

The Netherlands Government welcomes the announcement in the sector document that the SADC food security sector is currently coordinating work on the amalgamation of the strategies concerning food security, rural development and natural resources into a single strategy document.

Recognizing the paramount importance of this sector I would like to confirm the Netherlands policy of intensifying its cooperation with the SADC member States on rural development and food security and to commit itself to long-term projects in this field.

Transport

Since SADC's inception, the Netherlands has recognized the importance of the development of a transport network in Southern Africa. Since all but four of the present member States are landlocked, the importance of the transport sector for the survival of millions of people living in Southern Africa is evident. One of the most vital trade arteries for a major part of the region is the Beira Corridor Transport System. The Netherlands has supported schemes for its rehabilitation since the establishment of SADCC. Funds committed for the rehabilitation of Beira Harbour and the deepening of access channels since 1980 total some US\$160 million. The investment phase is now completed and port management and the supervision of pro-

ject implementation have become major elements in the cooperation link in this sector. The cooperation programme stresses training at all levels.

Efforts of SADC in the field of transport have been successful. The excellent way in which the port of Beira has handled hundreds of thousands of tonnes of grain to relieve the effects of the drought in the region has made Beira the most important port serving the Southern Development Community.

Human Resources

The current economic and political situation in the world demands the utmost from peoples and their leaders. Knowing that the demand for skills in this region outstrips supply in practically all fields in both the private and public sectors, the task which the Southern African region is facing in the field of human resources development is enormous.

Two years ago in Windhoek we all recognized human resources as the primary factor in national and regional development. At that occasion the Netherlands delegations confirmed its willingness to support this sector, underlining the main links between human resources development, good governance and regional cooperation. Under these circumstances the process of human development can only succeed through sustained economic growth and by the provision of adequate resources for education and health care. To that end African governments with the help of donors will have to cooperate to mobilize all required resources. Apart from that a climate of good governance is essential for successful human resources development. A society in which democratic conditions prevail, in which human rights are fully observed and which is governed by leaders devoted to justice, progress and equality provides, in my Government's firm belief is the most suitable environment for the process of human resource development in its widest sense.

My Government is prepared to enhance its support to human resources development both with SADC and its member States.

Environmental Protection

Environmental protection has become one of the pillars of the Netherlands Government's development policy. The Netherlands White Paper on development policy entitled: *A World of Difference: A new framework for development cooperation in the nineties* is based on an integrated approach to environment and development, concentrating foremost on the alleviation of poverty and the promotion of sustainable development in both developed and developing countries.

At the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), held in Rio de Janeiro last year, the Netherlands announced that new and supplementary funds, amounting to 0.1% of its GNP, will be reserved for global environmental policy in developing countries to US\$250 million per year. Declarations of Intent to initiate agreements on bilateral sustainable development activities have been signed with three developing countries. Under these agreements partners undertake to support each other in promoting sustainable development. Another follow-up of UNCED is joint initiative presently prepared by the Zimbabwean and Netherlands Governments to organize an African Regional Conference for International Cooperation on Safety in Biotechnology in Harare later this year.

Our active policy to promote sustainable development also implies that the Netherlands attaches great importance to the Commission on Sustainable Development (SDC) which will be established by ECOSOC in New York. This Commission is essential to the implementation of the results of the UN Conference on Environment and Development.

Although Southern Africa's natural environment is in a reasonably healthy state, the frequent occurrence of drought and erosion caused by overgrazing and population pressures are major problems in large parts of the region.

The Netherlands is committed to provide assistance in protecting the vulnerable environment of the region. Our preference in that respect would be to support agricultural production systems involving the successful management of natural resources.

In conclusion, Mr Chairman, I would like to reaffirm the Netherlands genuine and committed support to SADC in its efforts to further regional

integration. It is important, however, that adequate mechanisms coordinate planning. Financial constraints facing both the SADC and its member States as well as the donor community, do call for a constant review of priorities and for efficient implementation of policies, programmes and projects. The Netherlands is convinced of SADC's commitment to meet these challenges and is fully prepared to continue its support, in the widest possible sense, to the Southern Development Community and its member States.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

STATEMENT: Nigeria

Prof Alaba Ogunsanwo
Nigeria High Commission
GABORONE

On the occasion of the 1993 Annual Consultative Conference of the Southern African Development Community, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you goodwill and felicitations from Nigeria. This being the first Consultative Conference since the transformation of the former SADCC to an economic community following the historic Windhoek meeting in August 1992, participants face the challenge of ensuring that the vision of the founding fathers of the new Community is realized. Of course we are all aware of the fact that the process of integration which involves institution building on a large scale, cannot and will not always proceed smoothly or quickly. Revolutionary changes have their zigs and zags, their ups and downs, but in the process, bring about desired progress. The transformation of Southern Africa into an economic community nay into a community of peoples, is a gigantic task that has to be performed in its complexity and multifacetedness. While there will be problems, the rewards awaiting progress and success are too many for anyone to take a negative position.

Yes old attitudes will have to be changed; yes national interests will have to be redefined to take account of the interests of Community as a whole; yes there will be strong temptations occasionally for the strong and the economically buoyant to go it alone and to damn the consequences; yes indeed, there will be times when a national government may be tempted to seek a quick fix to a politically painful domestic problem at the expense of the Community. Yes all these may happen and should be expected to happen along the way. However, the strength of the Community will be manifest in its ability to withstand strains and stresses and to place the genuine collective interests of the peoples of the region above everything else.

We have no doubt at all that the new evolving Community has the capacity,

ability, determination and willingness to meet the challenges of the future. This Community which will soon embrace a population of 120 million following long awaited changes in South Africa, is destined to play a crucial role in the African continent. We in West Africa are eagerly awaiting the full participation of an integrated Southern Africa in the socio-economic development of the rest of the continent. We believe you can learn from our experience by avoiding the mistakes we have made in our efforts to achieve meaningful integration in our sub-region. Going through the proceedings of last Consultative Conference in Maputo in 1992, and the documents prepared for this conference, there is no doubt in our minds that the Secretariat of the Community is alert and is aware of the complex process and problems ahead but much more important, is able to map out strategies and framework for progress. Nigeria wishes you well and believes that your progress will be the progress of Africa.

STATEMENT: Portugal

Hon Jose Manuel Bniosa E Gala
The Secretary of State for International Cooperation of Portugal

I would like first of all to thank President Mugabe and indeed the Government and people of Zimbabwe for the excellent organization, the warm welcome and the hospitality which they have been pouring upon the delegations of the various countries and organizations gathered here to participate in this conference. Zimbabwe, and especially its president, has been playing a central role in building up a process of regional cooperation which is growing from strength to strength in Southern Africa.

In a world where inter-dependency has been growing steadily, regional cooperation is one of the main pillars of any sustained development process.

In this context, I would like to compliment the president of the Council of Ministers of the SADC and it's Secretariat for the impeccable organization and for providing such excellent working conditions, as well as for the excellent working paper presented here, which fosters a fruitful approach of the chosen theme for this conference:

"Southern Africa: A Framework and Strategy for Building the Community" covers not only traditional problems of economic cooperation and development but also security aspects and cooperation at political level between its members, on the trail of the Windhoek Treaty.

The political, economic, cultural, historical and above all the friendly ties which link Portugal to the countries of Southern Africa make this part of the world a constant priority for Portugal's cooperation policies and foreign policy.

We watch with great anxiety the war atmosphere in Angola, at a time where it has already been proved that war can never bring about the solution for Angola's problems. The peace agreements signed in Bicesse in 1991 are still, in our view, the only possible frame of reference for the solution of those problems.

UNITA's withdrawal from the peace process framework that had been set up led to a gradual comeback to a vicious circle of escalating hostilities. Without the recovery of the spirit and dynamics of Bicesse, we fear that it will be a tragic plight for the people of Angola to lose perhaps the last chance of attaining peace in the near future. It is to preserve this remaining chance of saving the peace process that Portugal is still striving for and that we fully support a greater involvement of the United Nations in the Angolan process.

The signing of the general peace agreement for Mozambique was in itself a bright sign of hope that was hailed as such by all and every one of us. At this stage I would like to emphasize the importance of the role played by the mediators and observers in this peace process and to highlight the paramount personal contribution of President Mugabe, which enabled the main actors to overcome some of the major blocking stones that stood in the way of the path leading to peace. There is, alas, still a lot to be done and Portugal on its part will continue to fully support the implementation of the peace agreement.

We thus reiterate our commitments pledged during the donors conference concerning Mozambique in December last year, where, I myself, on behalf of the Portuguese Government, was happy to announce that, part from the programme for the reconversion of the foreign debt and of the expenses relating to Cabora Bassa, Portugal is actively involved in the emergency aid programme to Mozambique (this field of technical cooperating being, as a matter of fact, that in which Portugal will concentrate its major financial efforts).

Portugal will also be participating in the United Nations peace operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ).

In this last year the process of change in South Africa from "apartheid" to a democratic and non-racial society proceeded by leaps and bounds in a generally positive direction, but has also had to face serious challenges.

In this context I am pleased to register the participation of a Portuguese observer in the observing mission in the framework of the peace process mechanisms and of an expert in one of the task forces headed by Judge Goldstone.

The interest with which Portugal follows the situation in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa does not mean in any way a lesser concern for the other countries in the region.

It is indeed with great expectations that we have been following the progress of democratization and self-sustained development which has been taking place in the region.

The adoption in November 1991 by the Development Council of the European Community of a resolution of human rights, democracy and development shows that not only Portugal but all the European Community members are strongly committed to supporting the ongoing processes of democratization and promotion of human rights.

The terrible drought which plagued your region has given rise to situations of untold human suffering witnessed by all of us through the televised appalling images that enter our homes daily. It is with true relief and hope that we see that the situation seems to be now improving and that the perspectives for better harvests look now more encouraging. However adequate precautions should now be taken, so that the situation which we have witnessed in the last year will not recur once again.

As it frequently happens, it is in situations of crisis that we can measure up the extent to which existing structures actually work. In this case, we must acknowledge that the mechanisms set up by your organisation supplied a basis for cooperation which enabled the arrival of emergency aid without major delays to the most remote areas of your countries (the sad exception being the country which was still enduring then the scourge of civil war; but fortunately, also in Mozambique, the situations of more flagrant need are now, in peace, being taken care of).

The theme of this conference and the decisions reached in Harare (transformation of SADCC into SADC) are beacons guiding the way that Southern Africa intends to follow in the future.

It is our firm belief that continuing to work in close cooperation is the right path to follow, since Africa has a great potential for transforming itself into a prosperous region where all its peoples may live in peace and enjoy

economic and social well being.

Portugal has been cooperating for some years in the context of the SADCC, participating and financing the regional projects which involve mainly Angola and Mozambique: Thus, over and above the actions in which we are already participating (for example: the integrated plan of the Hydrographic Basin of the Cunene River, the rehabilitation of the Nampula-Cuamba railway line). I would like to express at this point the interest with which we are analyzing our possible participation in important projects relating to the forming of banks of regional data (one in the cultural area, another in the fito-genetic field and still a third in the domain of geographics).

The Denmark representative speaking on behalf of the European Community stated the position of "the twelve". I would like to publicly express at this point the support of my country to all that was said by him.

The European Community, as a successful example of regional integration and as the largest commercial partner of the southern region of the African continent, may be, we believe, an important partner in supporting the steps to be taken now or in the future towards a closer regional integration.

You may rest assured of our full and unreserved commitment.

STATEMENT: Switzerland

Mr F. R. Staehelin

Director of Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid

It is a great honour and also a pleasure for me to take part in the first consultative annual conference of the Southern African Development Community. I would like to express my gratitude to the Government of Zimbabwe for their hospitality and the useful preparatory work done by the SADC Secretariat.

I am particularly happy to be here in Zimbabwe, in a country which not only fortunately starts to recover from the worst drought of the century but which has successfully managed to keep its economic reform programme on track despite this calamity. Furthermore Zimbabwe has contributed in an important way to advance the peace process in neighbouring Mozambique, for which we are all very grateful.

The preparatory proceedings yesterday, the opening statement today and the debates up to now demonstrate the fact that SADC having shed one "C" is not just a new name for this institution of 10 countries in the southern part of Africa. This clearly marks the will to proceed to a profound reorientation of the cooperation between the member countries. This reorientation is an answer to promising development in your region.

Important progress is being made in:

- economic liberalization and increased efficiency in economic policies;
- political and administrative transparency and accountability, in other words, in social control exercised by the people, the so-called civic community;
- peaceful developments in places where civil strife and even civil war have plagued the country and the whole region; let me express my

strongest plea that the set-back which this process has suffered in Angola can be overcome rapidly and the path towards sustainable peace will be resumed without delay;

- important progress towards an more equal, free and just society is being made in South Africa.

I understand that indeed your decision to move from SADCC with two "C"s to SADC with one "C" - I mean to a development community - is a constructive answer to these positive trends. But let us not delude ourselves, these changes open not only new opportunities for positive developments but also extremely difficult choices for you and your partners in a rapidly changing world, I am convinced that the decision to move towards more regional integration taken by SADC member countries is right, but how will SADC interact with other programmes of cooperation and integration in the region, be it PTA or SACU or more bilaterally conceived moves?

It would be very pretentious for Switzerland to want to give advice on which path to choose at this junction of different paths. This is especially difficult at a time when the pivotal role which a democratic South Africa is certainly going to play in the regional context is not yet clearly defined.

Coming back to SADC, would like to say that one of the strengths of SADCC with two "C"s was in its pragmatic approach to the coordinated implementation of concrete programmes. It is this method of work which attracted the support from Switzerland during the past 12 years. Now, even if the political and economic environment of this part of Africa is fortunately different and the Southern African Development Community moves towards new horizons of regional integration, we hope that the quality of pragmatism and the will to realise concrete policies and not political dreams will be maintained and indeed will be strengthened.

This building of real community will take a long time and lots of effort. Integration is not a miracle cure which can solve largely home-made economic difficulties. The need of each house putting itself in order (liberalization, good governance, etc.) is in fact a precondition of sustainable integration and for reaping together the benefits of this economic integration. Certainly such an integration can never be reached without a strong political

commitment. Let me add here particularly some Swiss experience in integration among culturally and linguistically different groups. An essential part of such a commitment is the due respect for the weaker members of an enlarged community. Another rather severe lesson, Mr Chairman, that Switzerland had to learn by experience very recently was that of putting first her own house in order. You know that the Swiss Government had proposed to join the European Economic Area Agreement, but at the end of last year, the Swiss people in a referendum decided against it. Now the Swiss Government had to ask Parliament to approve in its next session a considerable part of the economic and legal reforms which the European Economic Area Agreement would have brought us.

My country is committed to the noble cause of SADC, and we will continue to support its activities. We do this in particular by supporting the rail transport sector, namely Tazara, and the training of railway personnel. We will furthermore continue our broader long-term development cooperation with a number of SADC members.

Let me conclude by expressing the best wishes of Switzerland for the success of the new SADC

STATEMENT: United Kingdom

Mr Tim Lankester
Permanent Secretary
Overseas Development Administration

I must begin by conveying to you Lady Chalker's regrets that she cannot attend this year's SADC conference. Other commitments have unfortunately prevented her from being present here in Harare.

I echo other speakers words in thanking the Government of Zimbabwe for its hospitality in hosting this Conference. We are all grateful for the good work of Dr Makoni and his colleagues in preparing for it.

Over the years the SADC Consultative Conference has provided a valuable opportunity for detailed sectoral discussions, also for wide-ranging debate about the future direction of the region. Decisions are, of course, for member States. But, as the representative of a Government with a keen interest in a better future for the peoples of the region, I welcome this change and wish to contribute some thoughts.

Before looking at your forward agenda, let me say a few words about the year just ended. It was, of course, a very difficult one for many in Southern Africa. We followed news of the acute drought with profound concern. But we also drew encouragement from the way in which the region fought back. It is a great credit to the governments represented here that so few died - for the way you organize your own relief efforts and your willingness to welcome and coordinate with international agencies and NGOs.

It is a credit to member governments too that drought was not used as an excuse to slow up on economic reforms. Of course, the drought has affected them, but structural adjustment programmes in most countries remain intact. That bodes well for 1993, and beyond.

1992 also saw further progress on what has come to be known as "good government". More and more governments recognize the importance of ensuring that they are accountable to their people and that the machinery of government has to be made more responsive to their needs.

Sadly there are still countries where full respect for human rights and the democratic process has yet to take hold. The tragedy of Angola is much in our minds at this time.

In contrast, it is enormously welcome that peace has at last come to Mozambique. The urgent task now is to ensure that, with the help of the UN, peace is consolidated.

In South Africa, there are surely irreversible moves to true democracy. Despite set-backs, and lamentable violence, thankfully there is still forward movement towards the establishment of a democratic constitution based on universal franchise. It is vital, not just for South Africa, but for the region as a whole, that the transition is peaceful and that it happens soon.

So, Mr Chairman, the visionary agenda for SADC set out in the Theme Document is beginning to have a firm foundation, not only in SADCC's own considerable achievements over the years, but also in recent political and economic developments in the region. It is an exciting time to be launching out on the evolution of SADC from SADCC.

We welcome your goals of greater economic cooperation and integration. They can bring considerable economic benefits: more efficiency in infrastructure investments, a much larger home market for all to sell to, and therefore hopefully increased regional production, especially in manufacturing, arising from economies of scale. We welcome too the new SADC's intention to underpin economic integration with increased cooperation in political and security matters.

All this suggests a new political vision. But progress will require an understanding from all that there must be given and take along the way.

It is vital too that the effort to achieve closer regional cooperation does not divert attention from the importance of getting national policies right. The

present structural adjustment agenda which most countries in the region are now implementing remains entirely valid. Nor is regional integration an alternative to integration with the global economy: the experience in India, whose government has in the last few years been taking important steps to open up its economy, shows that the existence of a large domestic market is no good reason for putting up shutters and foregoing opportunities and disciplines of the world market. The Theme Document is absolutely right to identify non-convertibility of national currencies as a major constraint on investment and trade in the region. Non-convertibility is no less a constraint on inward investment and trade with countries outside the region.

SADC must reflect the genuine aspirations and desires of the peoples of the region. We in Europe have come a little late to understanding of the importance of subsidiarity: that is to say, confining the decisions that are taken at a regional level to those that really have to be taken at regional level, and leaving others to be taken at a national or local level. Maybe SADC has something to learn from our experience in this regard.

The SADC agenda is an ambitious one and it is important therefore that it is implemented realistically - with appropriate attention to political will, to careful sequencing and to institutional capacities.

The emergence of a democratic South Africa ready to play its part in regional cooperation will present tremendous possibilities for all your countries. We welcome your statement, Mr Chairman, that SADC looks forward to when a democratic South Africa will take its place as a member of the Community. It is not for us to suggest what sort of cooperation there should be with South Africa in future. What is clear is that there will have to be careful preparation and planning, as well as a process of negotiation, if closer cooperation with the new South Africa is to be beneficial to all countries in the region. I am not surprised this thought figures prominently in the Theme Document.

Mr Chairman, let me end by reaffirming my Government's support for SADC and the region. In 1991 the British Government provided through its bilateral programmes over £240 million in grant assistance to the SADC countries and to black South Africans. The figure for 1992 will certainly be higher. In addition, we are providing large sums to the region through the

multilateral institutions, particularly the European Community and IDA. We will continue to support your best efforts to build on past achievements.

STATEMENT: United States of America

Mr Ted D. Morse
Director
Southern Africa Regional Programme

The United States Delegation would like to open this statement by congratulating SADC for its decisive transformation to the new community. As the region and world were going through dramatic changes, everyone asked - "has SADC been overtaken by events? Does it have a useful future?" Southern Africa leaders have answered this with a bold vision of the region's collective future. A new development community has been formally created - created to lead the region in progress through economic integration. The United States pledges a continuity of support for the new development community.

It was encouraging to see that SADC forged ahead in fulfilling its pledge to begin to operationalize the treaty despite three distinct challenges.

First: Last year economic progress stagnated in most member economies. This was very much a result of a world recession, regional drought and national policies. It was particularly painful since 1991 showed positive improvements by eight of the ten economies over their 1990 performance. Southern Africa leaders have recognized that it is imperative more than ever to urgently and elementally transform and restructure their economies - to become more productive, diversified and competitive. We applaud the Treaty and the Theme Document recognition that regional solutions to regional problems can reinforce national restructuring efforts. We encourage SADC, in developing its framework for regional integration, to now take positive steps to resolve the inherent duplication in mandate with the Preferential Trade Area, Southern Africa Customs Union and African Economic Community. We were most encouraged to hear the Chairman's report on the joint research .

Also planning by SADC with elements in South Africa - a move that bodes well for the future of substantive regional economic integration. We, the donors hope there will be a forum or process whereby we can learn from member nations the pace, flexibility and commitment that will be brought to bear on implementing regional economic integration. This understanding is important for us to move in concert with you.

Secondly, the devastating impact of the worst drought in 100 years is well known and was the subject of a separate meeting at his conference. But let us justifiably engage in mutual congratulations. There was food shortage and pain. But the drought was not allowed to turn into a famine. This worked and people were fed. Drought relief was a regional success. Much has been learned from this painful experience - how food security, not food self-sufficiency is the route to survival and progress; that our joint investments in infrastructure over the last 12 years paid off. Half the huge grain imports will come through SADC working together allowed for the rapid formation of corridor and technical groups of facilitate exchange of information. However, the drought brought to the surface tough regional transport problems (like surcharges, rates, licenses, approvals/clearances, controls); it demonstrated that existing regional institutions are not yet adequate to manage harmonized, regionally efficient integrated transport system problems. However, there is promise that regional cooperation can be a real force in Southern Africa, as exemplified by the drought transport cooperation between South Africa and SADC members.

Thirdly, the community's treaty, while based in an optimism we share, charts a tough course ahead. The phased building of the community will take research, analysis, leadership, commitment and time. We have been asked to help fund technical studies on which to base new protocols and new management arrangements. We are receptive to this request, as are other donors and look forward to working together. We recognize that these studies are critical for SADC to move from simple project coordination to true regional, sectoral and macro-economic harmonization before economic integration can proceed. We urge careful analysis of the competing factors implicit in SADC's continued call for "Balance, equity and mutual benefit." as a context for regional economic integration. We applaud SADC's call to involve people, create a popular constituency, to give popular meaning to regional identity. We applaud SADC's move to private sector, market

based, transparent, free movement of goods, capital, labour and services; most importantly, we applaud the recognition that the heart of regional integration must be the promotion of investment and trade. We believe this must be open, free trade if it is to compete in the world's economy. The world is fast learning that open, free trade works best in open free societies and political systems. As we said a year ago, the forces of democratic pluralism, a renewed respect for human rights and demands for popular participation and transparent accountable government are reshaping the region.

SADC's intent to build a community that is self-sustaining with self-financing of its institutions is taken as a strong signal of SADC commitment which we heartily support.

Mr Chairman, Member representatives and fellow delegates. Let me close my remarks by mentioning the United States support in calendar year 1992 and prospects for 1993:

Last year the United States Government on behalf of the American people provided 2.3 million tonnes of drought relief food aid valued at US\$650 million to Southern Africa. We also provided US\$40 million in non-food drought relief including support for the seeds, prices and agriculture market reforms important to a full recovery. The United States delivered US\$31 million dollars to bolster SADC transport to move relief food and inputs as part of its non-food drought relief aid. This was in addition to US\$255 million dollars of bilateral aid to SADC members in virtually every development sector. The 1992 United States total aid to Southern Africa, excluding, repeat excluding, our contributions through the world bank, IMF, African Development Bank, U.N. and NGO Organizations was US\$945 million, the highest in the history of United States support to SADC.

In 1992, we hope that full rains will mean only minimal drought relief food will be necessary in most countries; Mozambique, Angola, Malawi and possibly Zambia being the exceptions. Other bilateral aid is expected to continue at approximately 1992 levels. The US congress has again set aside US\$50 million for regional programs supported by SADC. We are confident that the Clinton Administration will implement that special SADC set-aside

with the same commitment as previous administrations. We will be with you in 1993!

AGENCIES

STATEMENT: African Development Bank (ADB)

Mme B. O. Abu-Affan
Vice President

On behalf of the President of the African Development Bank Group, Mr Babacar Niaye, and on my own behalf I would like to thank SADC for inviting us to participate in such an important meeting. I would also like to convey to the conference the best wishes of the ADB Group President for success in its deliberations.

I wish to thank his Excellency President Mugabe, the Government and people of Zimbabwe for hosting this conference and for the generous and warm hospitality they have extended to us. I also wish to congratulate the organizers of this conference for the choice of its theme i.e., "**A Framework and Strategy for Building a Community in Southern Africa**".

This theme is very pertinent, important and opportune. It is important as it heralds the decision of Heads of State and Government to commit themselves to reducing areas of conflict and duplication; and maximizing areas of cooperation.

The move towards building a development community in the Southern Africa Sub-region comes at the advent of a post-apartheid South Africa. The move is thus forward looking, promoting regional interdependence; and harnessing the opportunities that a free and democratic South Africa will bring about to the Community. Such benefits and opportunities include: production integration, economies of scale and externalities provided by expanded markets, and investment inflows to the sub-region as a result of the creation of a conducive investment climate, and investment rationalization.

For the African Development Bank Group, this action on the part of SADC

member countries is both welcome and accorded paramount importance. This is because we contend that balanced, equitable and mutually beneficial, economic growth and development in Africa depend heavily on the integration of markets and the free movement of human and physical resources. On the other hand, we also believe that for regional integration to be effectively realized, an appropriate and enabling regional institutional framework and strategy are needed. Indeed the SADC sub-region provides a viable bloc in which integration efforts, underpinned by similarity in economic circumstances, history and culture, can easily be fostered.

A classical approach to the success of economic integration in general has been the pursuit of equitable allocation of gains from **market expansion** resulting from trade liberalization. In the Southern Africa sub-region this is particularly called for to assure convergence and stability emerging from equitable distribution of roles and division of labour among member States.

Complementary to the gains from market integration are the potential benefits from regional **policy coordination and harmonization** in the areas of infrastructure, environmental management, research and technology, agriculture and food production, development of the region's mineral resources, industry and construction, tourism and banking, the role of women, etc. Indeed it is very encouraging to note that in the area of infrastructure significant strides towards cooperation among SADC member countries have already taken place.

Coordination and harmonization of policies in these areas would undoubtedly set the stage for the take-off towards economic and social development. Achievement of such development would certainly require substantial investment. For this investment to be forthcoming, the sub-region has to establish its **credibility** to attract both local and foreign investment. In other words, this credibility must be inherent in the integration process and the policy reforms necessary for its realization. Furthermore, if the Southern African sub-region is to move forward as a strong regional block in the face of this era of "new regionalism", attracting foreign investment, technology and know-how, the institutional framework and mechanisms for advancing regional integration must be formulated sooner than later.

The ADB, being a strong supporter for the move towards integration in the

Southern African sub-region, it commissioned an operationally-oriented study entitled "Economic Integration in Southern Africa: Post-Apartheid". The study, which was launched in 1991, is now being finalized. It has elaborately examined the prospects, viability and sustainability of economic integration in the sub-region; and, has provided concrete and relevant recommendations.

I would like to turn now to the drought issue. With regard to the drought which has hit the countries in the SADC region, the ADB Group would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the efforts made by member countries in the region, and by the donor community to mobilize food and distribute emergency assistance to millions of people who would, have otherwise undergone extreme suffering from hunger and starvation.

The African Development Bank Group generally supports long-term development and reform programmes in support of food security. Within this strategy however, and because of the severity of the drought in 1992, the Bank has accepted the request of the Zimbabwe Government to use about SUS 36 million of the structural adjustment loan in support of its food and fuel input programme necessitated by the drought.

The ADB Group also approved, in August 1992, a grant of US\$ 2.5 million for SADC member countries to be used for non-food items in support of drought relief. These included the provision of agricultural inputs, emergency water supply; establishment of emergency feedlots for livestock; provision of essential drugs and vaccines; and institutional support for SADC.

In the medium-term, the ADB's programme of assistance to drought stricken countries aims at providing inputs to restore the productive capacity of the farmers. In the long run, the Bank's assistance aims at improving the management of natural resources, particularly water and land management so as to increase and sustain their productivity. In fact, there are several studies and projects which are financed by the ADB and are now in progress in the SADC region in support of this strategy.

The ADB Group is prepared to play a key role in regional integration efforts, through continuing dialogues with the governments of the sub-region, and through supporting macro-economic reforms, projects and programmes.

and harmonized reforms which require multilateral assistance in the SADC region.

Finally, I would like to reiterate that economic integration is of paramount importance to the ADB Group. SADC's current efforts to develop a framework and strategy for building a community in Southern Africa are in line with the ADB Group policy. We therefore laud SADC's efforts towards building an effectively integrated community in Southern Africa, and look forward to extending all support needed for the development and sustainability of such a community.

Thank you all for your kind attention and may God bless you.

STATEMENT: Commission of the European Communities (EC)

Mr Manuel Marin Gonzalez
Vice President

On behalf of the Commission of the European Communities, it is my pleasure, first of all, to thank the Government of Zimbabwe for its kind hospitality in hosting this conference, and the SADC Executive Secretary for the extensive work which has gone into its preparation.

The evolution of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference into the Southern Africa Development Community, is a decision of great political importance. It demonstrates a clear will to embark upon a process of closer regional cooperation and integration.

As a representative of another, if different, Community, I welcome the new SADC, and hope it will serve to strengthen the cooperation between the countries of Southern Africa.

As we in Europe have also experienced, such a process is a long and difficult one requiring the resolution of complex issues, with inevitable setbacks. The vital factor remains a constant political commitment to the ultimate objective.

This remark is of particular relevance with regard to the challenges facing Southern Africa.

Continuing violence in South Africa has acted as an impediment to the process of normalization. Yet, the end of the year saw improved prospects for a negotiated settlement of the long-standing disputes.

It is my fervent hope that the negotiations now under way will contribute, during the course of this year, to the establishment of representative demo-

cratic structures enabling the entire nation to unite and to play its full role in the region.

The European Community for its part will continue to encourage the process of change in South Africa through its Special Programme of Assistance.

But the political impetus has to come from the region and the time is coming for SADC and its member States to intensify contacts with the political and economic interlocutors in South Africa, representing the whole spectrum of South African society.

The forthcoming political change in South Africa should already be integrated into your development strategies in concrete terms, for instance through sectoral policies at regional level.

The peace agreement, signed in Rome last October, between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO, has contributed to creating the basis for increased stability and peace in the region.

The commitment of the European Community and its member States to assist in the democratization process and reconstruction of the country, was clearly expressed at the Rome Conference last December.

Regretably, the hopes placed last year in the peace and democratization process in Angola have been dashed by the resurgence of violence.

I want to repeat and stress the appeal launched by the European Community and its member States. All parties, and in particular UNITA, must accept the results of the elections, which were internationally recognized as being free and fair. They must enter into a political dialogue which is the only key to solve the country's problems.

In addition to the political difficulties, the region had to face last year the worst drought in decades.

I am proud that the European Community has been able, through its special food aid programme, to deliver seven hundred and thirty-two thousand tonnes to the region in 1992, thus doubling our regular contribution.

However, the scale of the disaster has shown the need to mobilize existing human and natural resources in a combined effort to realize their potential.

In this context, I want to emphasize, as mentioned in the theme document, that SADC and its member States need to agree on policies and programmes in order to find a long-term solution to the problem of food security in the region.

The European Community, through Lome Convention, will continue to work closely with all SADC member States and SADC itself at bilateral and regional levels.

Total economic assistance from the Community to the SADC States during the Lome III Period (1985-90) is estimated at more than 2 billion ECU. Under the first financial protocol of Lome IV (1990-95), our effort will not be less important.

It is against this background that the SADC document "Southern Africa: A Framework and Strategy for Building the Community," will be the subject of our deliberations.

In my speech last year, I mentioned a number of basic principles relating to regional integration as derived from the experience of the European Community.

This year, I should like to emphasize a restricted number of specific issues which have gained particular relevance through your decision to create the Southern African Development Community.

As I said, the emergence of a free, united, stable and democratic South Africa is particularly important and will represent a major challenge to SADC. It will require a careful strategy, well coordinated between SADC and other economic and trading groups like the PTA.

Although a democratic South Africa will be an important component in Southern Africa, it is not the super-efficient economic machine imagined by some, which will automatically stimulate the economy of the region and usher in a period of growth and prosperity.

The pressing internal demands that will face a democratic government as it strives towards an equitable society, will limit its ability to play a dynamic role in the region at the outset.

However, clear opportunities exist to start normal economic exchanges in the fields of investment, trade and transfer of technology, and cooperation in fields such as energy and water supply.

Complementarity and cumulation - these are the key economic concepts.
Cooperation and coordination - these are the key political concepts.

As we have learned in Europe, regional integration is nearly always a matter of compromising between the perceived needs of different countries.

As stated in the theme document, it necessarily impacts on national sovereignty. Implementation of policies which are for the good of the whole will involve short-term cost for some individual member States.

Governments should focus on the long-term benefits and objectives and be ready to bear some short-term discomfort.

Southern Africa is indeed fortunate in being able to draw on the twelve years of experience gained through the SADC and the various arrangements and agreements such as SACU and PTA.

Continuity and a permanent process of learning from past experience should be watchwords in your endeavors.

I feel it is essential to recognize that a weak institutional framework will hamper rather than assist regional integration efforts.

In the absence of a solid institutional system with budgetary autonomy and sufficient resources, integration initiatives will remain dead letters.

The present situation of weak institutions tends to favour the proliferation of bilateral deals - especially with South Africa.

It is likely to be detrimental for the weaker economies or those with a lesser degree of freedom.

The SADC Institutional framework will need to be reinforced by rationalization and a clear distribution of mandates

Finally, I would like to point out another major drawback in the implementation of regional projects and programmes: the low level of participation of the private sector.

Within the framework of the Global Coalition for Africa, an initiative was taken to engage governments and the private sector representatives in a unique process of open discussion and collaboration.

On this initiative we have so far enjoyed excellent collaboration with SADC, the PTA and the Pan-African organizations. Already, there is an encouraging convergence between the proposals made and the objectives embodied in the SADC strategy.

There is reason to hope that complementarity and mutual reinforcement of actions will continue to be key words in our efforts in this area.

STATEMENT: European Investment Bank (EIB)

Mr Roger G. Lavelle
Vice President

It is a privilege to have the opportunity to address this Consultative Conference as it shapes the foundation of a regional community in Southern Africa. I would also like to express my gratitude to the government and people of Zimbabwe and to SADC for their hospitality.

The Windhoek Declaration of August 1992 and the treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community (SADC) will be seen by future generations as important milestones in the economic and political development of Southern Africa. They are a timely response of the SADC member States to the tremendous changes in the last few years in the region and in the world at large. The far-sighted and far-reaching objectives expressed by the Heads of State and government in the Declaration merit the full support of the donor community.

I remember an occasion when a British Chancellor of the Exchequer was faced with an important policy issue and said to the others at the meeting: "If we do this, life will never be the same again". A colleague commented "Yes, Chancellor. But that is the thing about life - and what distinguishes it from death". Finance Ministers are rightly a cautious race. But this Conference is, I think, rather clear about objectives. It is now concerned, much more, with practicalities.

The European Investment Bank operates in a practical world. As the housebank, as we call it, of the European Community, it has more than doubled in size over the past decade. As regards SADC member countries our partnership rests on the basis of the Lomé Convention. We already support regional integration through a number of projects, particularly in the power sector. In the light of our role as a transaction-oriented institution that is

involved in public infrastructure projects as well as in private sector investments, the EIB takes a special interest in the practical aspects of regional integration in Southern Africa.

The pragmatic and flexible approach to regional integration, outlined in the theme document, sets SADC on a sound course. It is right that SADC should focus on practical steps to reduce and, in the not too distant future, eliminate the barriers to trade in goods and services as well as to investment flows between SADC countries. Business people, in particular potential investors from inside and outside the region, need to be convinced by tangible progress towards regional integration in areas of practical relevance that governments are really committed to building Southern African Community. This is an essential prerequisite to maintaining the emerging image of Southern Africa. As the most dynamic region on the continent.

I would like now to concentrate on just a few selected areas where important integration measures can be achieved swiftly and on the means by which the European Investment Bank can serve as a partner for regional integration.

I have selected four areas with potential for significant progress in integration, namely trade and investment, financial services, transport and communication and, last not least, the power sector. These are areas in the region where the EIB is either already involved directly through project financing or where we have indirect exposure through feedback from manufacturing or service companies who request our financial assistance.

The modest intra-regional trade among SADC countries, less than 5 per cent of the total trade volume, I believe, and the virtual absence of cross-border investment is, to an important degree, a consequence of major barriers that exist at present in terms of tariffs, regulations, licensing requirements, monetary restrictions and - it must be said - bureaucracy. These obstacles to economic activity need to be attacked with vigour by the authorities in the region or an acceleration of economic growth will not be achieved. Not infrequently we find ourselves unable to pursue investment proposals from some SADC countries because their internal markets are too limited and regional marketing is too risky or even simply not feasible.

The importance of an efficient financial sector in the development process

has been widely accepted in recent years. A few countries in the region have already implemented significant financial sector reforms and are well endowed with financial services. Other countries still need to make considerable efforts to create the basis for adequate financial services. Other countries still need to make considerable efforts to create a basis for adequate financial sector development. The facilitation of monetary transfers in the region through the improvement of regional payment and clearing instruments combined with intra-regional currency convertibility has been identified as an important issue in the theme document. It is indeed one of the priority measures for regional integration with practical implications for trade investment and it will require close cooperation by the central banks of the region.

The EIB has close relations with many development finance institutions in SADC countries and has recently begun to establish contacts with commercial banks interested in term financing. In the light of the capacities of existing financial institutions in the region, we are not sure whether the creation of a new regional development bank should rank very high on SADC's agenda of priorities. This idea, mentioned under the heading "Mobilisation of Resources" in the theme document, should be considered very cautiously in order to make sure that new development finance institution would mobilise additional financial resources and would not absorb scarce human resources required elsewhere. I believe there would be general agreement that the really important objective must be to improve the enabling environment for the private sector and to attract foreign investment, especially given limitations on the flow of public development assistance from industrialised countries.

In the transport and communication sector commercialisation and eventually privatisation of public enterprises and the elimination of barriers to market entry should be top priorities for regional integration. An interesting example are the national airlines of the region. Many of them place a heavy burden on the national budgets which governments can ill afford. The airlines of the region should, therefore, I suggest, be encouraged to cooperate if not merge and seek private capital and technical partners both from inside and outside the region.

Hardly anybody in the SADC region needs still to be convinced about the

importance of a regional power grid, including link-ups to Zaire and South Africa, both of which have considerable power generation capacity. The devastating drought that the region has just experienced and its consequences for hydro-based generation has served to underline the need for an integration of the national grids and close cooperation between the power utilities. New power generation projects in SADC countries must be considered in the regional context. This means that utilities and donors should give preference to interconnections to use existing surplus generation capacity and that the unused hydro potential should be developed where it is most economical.

We hope that the power sector will be an area in which we can expect significant progress to regional integration in the near future. The European Investment Bank, perhaps I may add, is committed to contribute to this process through our participation in many of the power investment projects with regional significance. As examples of our involvement in this sector I would like to mention the Muela Hydro Power Project in Lesotho, interconnection projects in Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique and our financing of the study for the rehabilitation of the Victoria Falls Power Station in Zambia.

As I mentioned at the start the Lomé Convention between the ACP states and the European Communities is the basis for our operations in SADC countries. The support of the private sector, in particular small and medium size enterprises, is a priority area for EIB involvement under the Convention. The Bank supports private investments in manufacturing industry, agro-industry and tourism as well as commercially viable infrastructure projects in power generation and transmission, water supply, telecommunications and transport. Apart from direct operations with private and public entities we use the instrument of global loans which are channelled through qualified financial institutions to support small and medium size investments which we would not be able to support directly because of cost-effectiveness considerations.

At the same time the Fourth Lomé Convention puts special emphasis on regional cooperation. An important part of the financial resources has been set aside for regional projects and programmes. The EIB already supports a number of projects in SADC countries which foster regional integration. I have already mentioned a few examples. We are keen to strengthen our

role as a partner for regional integration. We will give special consideration to conomically sound regional projects. We want to help and I believe we can.

Let me close by thanking the Chairman of the SADC Council of Ministers for the invitation to the conference and by expressing my compliments to the SADC Secretariat for the quality of the documents provided. I wish the undertaking of the SADC governments and people to build a regional community every success.

STATEMENT: Institute for Development of Southern African Red Cross Societies (IDOSARCS)

**Mr Musi Mokete
President**

First and foremost, allow me, to thank the Executive Secretary of SADC for inviting us, the Institute for the Development of Southern African Red Cross Societies (IDOSARCS), to attend the SADC Conference in Harare on the theme "Towards Economic Integration". We indeed find it an honour and a most gratifying invitation for participation in the setting of the significant milestones of the economic integration of the Southern part of the African Community. Let me thank you Mr Chairman, also, for allowing me to make a statement on behalf of, an NGO, IDOSARCS.

The Institute for Development of the Southern African Red Cross Societies (IDOSARCS) was formed in 1986, incidentally in Harare, by the Red Cross Societies of the Southern African countries of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe to serve the humanitarian and developmental objectives of the Red Cross Societies in the region. The matching to the then SADCC countries was by accident rather than by design.

Amongst, other objectives of our, non-governmental, organization, one may mention the following:

1. to identify and evaluate the needs of the National Societies in Southern Africa.

2. to organize training programmes to ensure that needs, where they can be met by human development and capacity formation of our major resource, namely human resource, are effectively catered for.
3. to prepare joint meetings, conferences, etc, of Red Cross policy makers with governments in the region, regional academics, international officials based in the region.

I have no doubt, your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, that you are aware that by Statutes in all the respective countries represented here Red Cross Societies which are members of IDOSARCS have been established to be auxiliary to Governments. They are non-governmental organizations with international links.

Our respective Societies have served our countries honourably over the years since their establishment answering, in the front line, calls of both man-made and natural disasters. We have heeded the clarion call on health matters, the disabled, refugees, emergencies, relief, drought, famine, first aid etc. with the help of our sister Societies and have established significant beacons. IDOSARCS as an umbrella organization, seeks to train, manpower in preparedness for emergencies and equally their prevention when they arise, for relief, development and sustainability of achievements.

IDOSARCS, therefore, expresses its wholehearted support for the programmes of SADC towards Economic integration. We accept a principle and practice of shared future in the region as a *sine qua non*. The Institute of Southern African Red Cross Societies affirms regional solidarity for ensuring peace, security and sustainability of all progressive efforts. In short we accept the challenges already responded to by heads of States and Heads of Governments in the region. Mr Chairman, we hope all the deliberations will be fruitful and useful for the community.

Long live SADC.

Thank you.

STATEMENT: International Finance Corporation (IFC)

Jemal-Ud-Din Kassum
Vice President

It is a great pleasure to be here for these meetings and to have this opportunity to speak on behalf of the International Finance Corporation. This is the first time IFC is represented at this conference and, to some extent, this reflects, I believe, the growing importance of the role of the private sector in development. IFC is keenly interested in the development of this region. We already have a substantial portfolio of investments here, having committed US\$500 million to private sector companies in eight of the ten SADC countries, and we are actively looking for new business opportunities.

IFC is, of course, a part of the World Bank Group, but we are a very different organization from our sister, whom I am sure you all know very well. While we too are owned by governments, including all the SADC countries, our clients are in the private sector; that is, domestic and international investors in developing countries. Unlike the World Bank, however, which must receive government guarantee: thus we only lend to, and make equity investments in, the private sector at our risk. It is now widely recognized throughout the world that the private sector has a vitally important role to play in the process of economic growth and development, and this new emphasis on the private sector has led to a sharp increase in IFC's activities. IFC is now the world's largest financier of private sector projects in developing countries; and I feel sure that some of the many services we offer elsewhere in the world are also relevant in this region.

Let me begin by applauding the evolution of the earlier regional conference into the Southern African Development Community. In particular, it is very encouraging to see the private sector involved with SADC through the Business Council, for the voice of the private sector is an important one, and

one that deserves to be heard. The private sector already accounts for a large proportion of output, employment and exports in the SADC countries and the role of the regional business community can only grow in the future.

The deepening of regional cooperation is also a welcome process, and it is one in which only governments can take the initiative. In the long-standing debate over the appropriate role of the government in the economy, IFC is often thought of as belonging in the "free market" camp because we believe that open and fair competition can promote efficiency and growth. Nevertheless we certainly recognize that there are many tasks which the government is uniquely well suited to undertake. Indeed, unless the government does its job well, and provides the right enabling environment, the private sector cannot get on with its job of providing growth and employment. Promoting greater regional integration is one of these governmental responsibilities. Naturally, from our perspective, we are particularly excited by the prospect of closer economic links among member countries, for we feel that increased regional trade can be a motor of better economic performance. Integration brings larger markets, and these are essential to provide efficiency and stimulate investment. What is more, the boost to business confidence and economic performance from greater trade should be particularly welcome now, with the region struggling to recover from drought and with many countries in the region engaged in the process of structural adjustment.

For all the difficulties of the structural adjustment process, it is one that IFC supports and one in which we believe we can play a helpful role. Part of the process is to provide an opening to the private sector, liberalizing many of the constraints that had previously held it back, and allowing it to deliver the economic growth that benefits society as a whole.

So what can IFC bring to the table to help along the process of private sector led economic growth? IFC is, of course, first and foremost a financial institution; a lender and an investor.

We do not sponsor our own projects; rather, it is inherent in our work that we can only help to finance projects when other investors are willing to share the risks. It is a fundamental principle of the Corporation that the bulk of the money for, and the leadership and management of, the projects in

which we participate must come from genuine private sector sources. We can support the private sector; we cannot replace it. While the IFC participation generally does not exceed a quarter of total project cost, this participation often makes the difference between a foreign investor proceeding to invest or stay away. For a local entrepreneur, IFC not only provides finance, but helps to help to raise finance from others and also provides financial and technical advice based on our long international experience. Thus we can mobilize both debt and equity finance from other investors, people whose confidence is boosted by IFC's presence in a deal and IFC's willingness to take the same risks for the same returns as private investors. In sum, we are facilitator and partner, not a manager and controller.

I mentioned earlier that IFC had committed about US\$500 million in the SADC region. This total represents more than 50 projects, with total capital costs in excess of US\$2.5 billion, in sectors such as mining, food and agribusiness, tourism, textiles, general manufacturing and the banking and financial sectors. These figures provide one measure of our presence in the region.

To view IFC simply as a financial institution, however, is to miss the extent of our commitment to development in general, and to Africa's development in particular. In purely financial terms, IFC's biggest investment and in Africa are in large, natural resource based projects such as gold mining and the oil industry. While these are vitally important in bringing foreign investment and in generating export revenues, IFC has been anxious to support the small and medium sized enterprises that are so important in generating employment and growth in African economies. We have established two initiatives in this area. The first is the African Project Development Facility (APDF), set up by IFC in conjunction with UNDP, the African Development Bank and other agencies. It is not a financing mechanism: rather, it is designed to provide assistance to entrepreneurs who have good ideas but little experience of how to transform a good idea into a bankable project. APDF opened its doors in 1986. Its advice has been solicited by more than 2,000 entrepreneurs, and it has helped to secure funding for more than 100 new businesses in over 20 countries.

Secondly, we have developed the Africa Enterprise Fund (AEF) which is

fully owned and operated by IFC. In order to meet the investment needs of smaller companies, IFC created the AEF as an investment and lending window able to make investments as small as US\$100,000. To date, we have made more than fifty investments through this window of which six have been in the SADC countries and more are in our pipeline.

There are two other areas of importance to development of the private sector in SADC region in which believe we have special skills and experience to offer. The first is in the area of capital markets. Well-functioning capital markets are an essential prerequisite for development, since these markets mobilize long term risk capital resources (both domestic and foreign) and channel them to companies that can use them efficiently to generate growth. In our experience a competitive industrial and service sector cannot be developed without a competitive and efficient financial sector. Thus IFC puts special priority on its work in capital markets development, where we typically provide advice to governments, on matters such as the appropriate regulatory framework and operating practices for stock exchanges; investment in financial institutions, such as banks, insurance companies, leasing companies, venture capital companies and brokerage houses; and help raise investment capital by mobilizing long term funds from abroad. While it is true to say that each of the various SADC countries do not face the problem of inefficient financial markets to the same extent, development of the financial sector is a priority area, and it is one to which we attach great importance.

Another area in which IFC has particular expertise is privatization or, more broadly, the introduction of the private sector into areas of activity previously reserved for governments. The objectives of this are, of course, higher efficiency and more capital investment from the private sector, reducing the financial burden on governments. In addition, ownership of productive assets can be broadened. In the African context, where there are legitimate concerns about the economic power of different interest groups, privatization has been a slow and difficult process, even when the government concerned has made a strong political commitment to the idea. To some extent, these difficulties reflect shortages of capital, inability of local capital markets to raise the sort of funds needed by domestic entrepreneurs, and institutional constraints. Too often, negotiations get bogged down in somewhat academic discussions of enterprise valuation thus, delaying achievement of objectives

I mentioned earlier. I should add that these problems are not unique to Africa; similar difficulties have been experienced elsewhere, particularly in Eastern Europe.

IFC has developed considerable experience in handling these problems, working with governments on how they can best dispose of assets, and with investors who wish to acquire government companies. We pride ourselves on our role as honest broker between governments and the private sector. We also like to think that most of the reservations that can hold up the privatization process are misplaced; acceptable solutions can be found, typically on a case by case basis through individual transactions. Each country's and each company's circumstances are different: we recognize this and would like to help where requested to do so.

In conclusion, I would like to stress our full agreement with the remarks made by His Excellency President Mugabe regarding the important role that the private sector has to play in the SADC region. In particular, I beg to echo his call to the domestic private sector to meet the challenge. I believe the domestic private sector in this region can show the dynamism and leadership that is needed to grow and attract foreign investment. We in the IFC are ready to help; and we look forward to broadening and increasing our involvement here.

Thank you.

STATEMENT: International Trade Centre (ITC)

Ms Ingrid Vanore-Speer
Chief,
Office for Africa and ITC Focal Point of Women in Trade Development

It is indeed a pleasure for me once again to participate, on behalf of the International Trade Centre, at this important meeting. I would like to take this occasion to thank the Government and People of Zimbabwe for their warm hospitality and for the efficient arrangements made in hosting this conference. May I also convey to you the greetings of Mr Raju Makil, ITC's Chief Executive, and his best wishes for the successful outcome of your deliberations.

Over the past several years, the Annual Conference has consistently identified key development issues - human resources, investment, production and trade, for example - as themes for its discussions. This year's theme: **A FRAMEWORK AND STRATEGY FOR BUILDING THE COMMUNITY** must be considered the logical follow up to the August 1992 Declaration formally establishing the **SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY**.

In the annotated theme document for this Annual Conference, it has been rightly pointed out that success will depend not only on governments, but will require the close involvement of the peoples of the region - and, in particular - the **business community**. In today's world of critical economic challenges, sustainable development in this sub-region can be assured only if major communal and harmonized efforts are directed to increasing production, employment, productivity, and economic exchanges. The facilitation and promotion of investment and trade are those steps which will have the greatest impact on long-term economic security.

At the 1991 Annual Conference, special attention had been drawn to the

essential role of human resources development, as the catalyst - power source essential to drive the engine of development. In the documentation for this year's Conference, this theme is again targeted as a key issue and points once more to the urgent need to increase the stock of trained human resources, particularly in the areas of management and production.

In this context of strategic planning for sustainable development, employment and labour are considered as an integral part of regional relations in investment and trade. This must, by necessity, include the building up of technical and management skills in both government organizations and the private sector business community. In this context, many delegates at this meeting will be aware of the **HIGH LEVEL SYMPOSIUM ON TRADE RELATED HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT (HRD)** for eastern and southern Africa, which was presented jointly by ITC and the Italian Institute for Foreign Trade (ICE), in July 1992, and at which all the countries of this sub-region were represented. Briefly I will outline the substance of the major recommendations developed by the participants at this event, which reinforce many of the key points contained in this year's SADC annotated theme document:

- There is an urgent need for a coordinated programme of human resource development for the foreign trade sector, as well as with respect to the division of responsibilities between training institutions;
- The lack of skilled human resources is a key factor behind the unsatisfactory foreign trade performances;
- The range of trade related HRD needs is vast, and covers both basic and more specialized subjects, as well as themes of direct importance of strengthening the private sector, and as a factor of contributing to the impact of economic integration;
- Special attention was drawn to the need to take specific action to increase the role and participation of women in trade development;
- There is a dearth of facilities for practically-oriented training-cum-consultancy of direct relevance for small and medium scale enterprises and the informal sector;

- Efforts to meet HRD needs must include action both at the national and the regional level, and by both the public and the private sectors;
- Systematic efforts should be initiated as soon as possible in order to develop a satisfactory capacity for trade related HRD through strengthening the capacity of national training institutions and/or through building up the expertise of national trainers.

Over the full 12 years of SADC's lifetime, ITC has consistently contributed to helping the countries of the regions, at the regional and national levels. As you know, ITC is the focal point in the United Nations system for technical cooperation in trade promotion and export development. The thrust of its activities is directed towards helping countries, and regional organizations, set the appropriate framework to:

- formulate trade expansion strategies,
- develop export products and markets including intra-regional trade through, inter-alia, the undertaking of supply and demand surveys and the organization of buyers/sellers meetings for a large number of products and product groups thus setting the basis for complementary production development,
- develop national trade information services and link them with regional and inter-regional Trade Information Networks (TINETs),
- improve import operations and techniques, and to
- build up specialized trade support services.

ITC works directly with the SADC Industry and Trade Coordination Division (SITCD) in the planning and implementation of SADC regional activities, both on-going projects and on the development of new project proposals. Many delegates will be familiar with the on-going packaging and quality control projects, as well as the Market News Service programme, now being implemented by ITC in the SADC region. I would like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank the Government of Finland, Italy and Sweden for financially supporting these trade development and promotion

activities to date. A number of other possible new projects have also been discussed with STCD on a preliminary basis, including areas such as public procurement, human resources development, export financing and women in trade development, but the financing necessary to launch these activities has yet to be identified.

ITC is aware of the on-going review process to harmonize the development efforts at the subregional level, in the countries of eastern and Southern Africa, and of the various decisions taken to accelerate these efforts within the framework of SADC and PTA. ITC would like to add its voice to those who have expressed support for this process and sincerely hopes that the peoples of the countries of eastern and Southern Africa will be able to obtain the full benefits of well-defined and clearly-directed strategies for economic integration and development in this dynamic African sub-region.

In closing, I would like to reiterate ITC's wish to reinforce our cooperation with the countries of this sub-region. We sincerely hope that in the years to come ITC can continue to contribute through its trade development efforts to sustained economic development of the region and of the countries it represents.

Thank you, Mr Chairman

STATEMENT: Kuwait Fund

Mr Ibrahim R. Al-Fulaij
Head, Central and South-east Africa Division

It is a great honour and privilege to represent Kuwait Fund in this gathering at this time when, once again, our country falls under the attack and the whole world stands by us in support.

I am honoured to carry the message of gratitude to your governments and people for their continued support. I am privileged to confirm to you the continued commitment of the state and people of Kuwait to support SADC's efforts for building this community.

SADC is a great example of collaboration between neighbouring countries. It has set the standards for achieving deeper economic cooperation and integration between its members on the basis of balance, equity and mutual benefit without interfering with the independence and sovereignty of any of its members.

SADC member States determination to achieve this goal is highly commendable, and this year's theme which emphasizes the role of the people and their involvement in the development process and in achieving the integration of the community is one of the most important advancement of SADC as it addresses the basic issue in development.

Throughout its 30 years of participation in development projects in over 65 countries, Kuwait Fund have always stressed the importance of human resources development as we believe that it is the most viable and the most rewarding investment. Where all other investments carry an economical age, human resources development is ever lasting and will re-generate more developments in all other fields.

During the past year 1992/1993 Kuwait Fund have signed loan agreements with SADC member States totalling about US\$39 million, 21 million of

which are for participation in the projects that carry training and technology transfer components. US\$14 million is for infrastructure, and the remaining balance forms part of Kuwait Fund's participation in the special programme of assistance in Africa.

I am pleased to confirm that Kuwait Fund is now strengthening its world wide operation base and volume and that we are anticipating an increase of our lending volume by 25% over that of last year. For SADC members this will be reflected in an increased programme of operations which is already underway reflect by about US\$45.5 million of projects currently under consideration.

Finally, please allow me Mr Chairman to thank you and the Executive Secretary of SADC for the Excellent arrangements for this year's meeting, and to thank the Government and people of Zimbabwe for their warm reception and kind hospitality.

STATEMENT: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Mr Robin Kinloch
Deputy Assistant Administrator and Deputy Director
Regional Bureau For Africa

It is an honour and a great privilege for me to address this very important Consultative Conference on behalf of UNDP. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to convey to you, Mr Chairman, the compliments of Mr Draper, the Administrator of UNDP, and of Ms Johnson Sirlead, the Director of the Africa Bureau, who regret that they are not able to participate due to conflicting schedules. I wish also to express my sincere thanks to the Government of Zimbabwe for the warm welcome and for its generosity in hosting this meeting.

This yearly Conference provides an occasion for a review of developments taking place in the Southern Africa region. Each year is marked by some achievements and set-backs. 1992 was no exception. This new year provides us with new challenges as well as renewed hope. Last year in Maputo we were looking forward to the possibility that a peace agreement could be worked out in Mozambique, and it has indeed materialized. We now hope that the reconciliation process will follow smoothly with the support of all the parties concerned, including the international community. All precautions to preserve peace must be taken in order to avoid that peace efforts and reconstruction be derailed.

In South Africa the dialogue initiated by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) continues and, although the present situation remains difficult, the gradual opening of the country to the rest of the continent augurs well for the future. While a political solution is still pend-

ing, private market initiatives are increasingly providing an environment for greater cooperation in the sub-region.

Economic conditions remain difficult for Africa which is still facing critical problems such as balance of payments, deterioration of export trade and severe foreign exchange shortages. The 1991/92 drought could not have come at a worse time for the Southern African region as the populations grapple with the rising cost of living, and other effects associated with the structural adjustment programmes.

Even if the rainy season appears to have come back to a normal pattern, the effects of the drought will not subside overnight. On the other hand, the simultaneous implementation of the structural adjustments in many countries of the sub-region is leading to more open market oriented policies that provide a common ground for cooperation.

It is therefore quite understandable that within this evolving political and economic context, the countries of the Southern region have taken steps to reinforce their regional institutions, resulting in the establishment of the Southern African Development Community. While the consequences of this arrangement for PTA and SADC are being worked out, cooperation by donors with SADC and PTA will need to be appropriately articulated in order to be comprehensive at all levels, to include infrastructure and human development, and to avoid duplication. PTA in December 1992 prepared a document which highlights the areas of duplication in selected sectors and programmes between the two organizations. In 1990, through a PTA project on aid coordination, UNDP funded a study on rationalization and harmonization of IGOs in Eastern and Southern Africa that was endorsed by most of the IGOs. In view of the present developments, we will be willing to assist in making an up-date of the study, if this is with the wish of the member States.

The case for regional and sub-regional cooperation has long been recognized. Today it is viewed as a significant element for economic problems. Trading blocs are being reshaped in various parts of the world but a sizeable critical mass is required to be reckoned with. The Multilateral Trade Negotiations of the Uruguay Round have taken more time than anticipated and are still not completed. Although these developments may provide major trading

blocks with an opportunity to play a greater role in future rounds of negotiations, it will require a more united front in the sub-region. In this respect, we are happy to learn that the business community proposes to merge the Business Council of SADC with the PTA Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and that the two organizations would become the "Southern and Eastern African Business Forum".

Regional cooperation and integration is the primary theme of the 5th Cycle Inter-country Programme of the UNDP Regional Programme for Africa covering the period 1992-1996, which was approved by our Governing Council in February 1992. This sub-programme covers three elements:

- i) rationalization and harmonization of Inter-Governmental Organizations;
- ii) establishment of the African Economic Community, and
- iii) assistance to key sectors with intrinsic integration characteristics.

Our new Director, Ms Johnson Sirleaf, is holding consultations with the ECA, the ADB and the OAU to ensure a greater harmonization and coordination of our support to economic integration, as well as ensure a greater priority to aspects related to policy operationalisation, strategic planning and management strengthening. Capacity building and human development will be the centre piece of this strategy. Following these discussions, we plan to approach the SADC Secretariat for further consultation on new programming.

In the meantime, we have extended bridging support to two major projects: the Tse Tse Control Training Center in Lusaka, and the unit producing East-Coast Fever Vaccines for the sub-region in Malawi.

In terms of UNDP resources, the combination of over commitments during the 4th Cycle and a reduction of the allocation for the 5th Cycle, following a decision of our Governing Council to increase the share of national allocations to LDC countries, has resulted in a drastic reduction of resources available for programming at the regional level.

The Africa Bureau has consequently initiated a careful review of programme plans and commitments, in order to ensure that the activities funded are tightly focused within the approved themes, correspond to the highest

regional priorities and promise tangible and widespread results.

We will therefore look for a reduced number of projects/programmes. They should be demand driven and based on the strategy of the recipient's IGO and the renewed focus of the UNDP Bureau for Africa. Moreover, to ensure a greater impact of these programmes, and in view of our limited resources, we shall look in the weeks ahead to develop a closer participation of member States. This will include allocation of national and/or country IPF resources, and a special resource mobilization effort with other donors.

Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, in extending our best wishes for a prosperous 1993, we would like to assure you that UNDP fully supports the efforts of SADC towards the development of the sub-region.

STATEMENT: United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO)

**Mr L. C. Alexandrenne
Deputy Director-General**

On behalf of the Director-General of UNIDO, I wish to express our gratitude to the Executive Secretary of SADC for having invited UNIDO to participate in the 1993 Annual Consultative Conference.

It is always a pleasure to be in Zimbabwe. Our thanks to the Government and people of Zimbabwe are two-fold. Not only for the warm welcome and generous hospitality extended to our delegation since our arrival, but also for their support for the technical cooperation programme of UNIDO in Zimbabwe. With the continuation of that support, UNIDO, I am sure, will be able to build up and maintain an impressive programme in the industrial sector.

At the time of the last SADCC Annual Consultative Conference, member States had just gone through a decade of crises to emerge at the start of the nineties with prospects of satisfactory economic progress. The exuded optimism and hope for development and sustainable growth. They were also fully convinced that their longstanding attempts to establish an economic development community in the subregion were about to yield concrete and positive results. Although the paths to sustainable development and growth have been slightly shaken by widespread drought, the subregion's aspirations to establish an economic development community were fully endorsed by the Heads of State and Government of the member States of SADCC in August 1992. Signature of the treaty establishing the Southern

African Development Community (SADC) marked a major leap forward towards the realization of the ultimate goal of promoting integrated development and cooperation in the sub-region.

We have noted that one of the objectives of the new SADC is to promote self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance and interdependence of member States. This objective is fully in line with the objectives and goals of the Programme for the Second Industrial Development Decade for Africa. If this objective is to be achieved, however, immediate steps should be taken to strengthen current sectoral integration mechanisms and every effort should be made to harmonize strategies, policies and economic development plans and programmes.

While on the subject of the Second Industrial Development Decade for Africa, I would like to inform the member States that, in adopting Resolution 47/177, the General Assembly of the United Nations has adjusted the period initially set for the Second Decade from 1991 - 2000 to 1993 - 2002: the first two years having been devoted to the preparation of the Decade programme.

That adjustment notwithstanding, several projects were already approved last year for funding under the technical assistance component of IDDA funds. Some member States of the SADC Sub-region were among the recipient countries. In addition, an amount of US\$4.75 million was programmed for supplementary activities. These are designed to bolster the technical cooperation component of the Decade in such areas as technology development and acquisition and mobilization of financial resources and to provide programme support in four specific areas: entrepreneurship and private sector development; industrial policies, strategies and programmes; regional and subregional economic integration; and development and transfer of technology. Short-term advisory services, also funded under the Decade programme, were provided to the African countries in such areas as industrial policies, institution building, the development of plant-derived medicines for pharmaceutical use, industrial rehabilitation, transfer and application of solar energy technologies and the establishment of maintenance and repair facilities and demonstration programmes for spare parts production.

In accordance with the decision of the Conference of African Ministers of

Industry, UNIDO also provided assistance in preparing programmes and activities for the commemoration of Africa Industrialization Day. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the member States of SADC for their support in preparing the celebrations on 20 November 1992, the theme of which was Building Materials Industry and Economic Integration in Africa.

Over the years UNIDO has taken major steps to complement the endeavors of the SADC Member States. As of December 1992, the value of our approved and on-going technical cooperation programmes in the individual SADC member countries and in SADC as a subregional body stood at some US\$35 million. The various projects under these programmes have been funded either through UNIDO administered funds or through funds made available to UNIDO by UNDP. In keeping with our mandate, UNIDO will continue to assist the SADC member States in promoting integrated industrial development and cooperation in the subregion.

The prospects of a post-apartheid democratic South Africa bear far-reaching implications for the continuing economic development of the Southern African Sub-region and give rise to the possibility of greater regional cooperation in such areas as industry, trade, transport, communications and energy. Due account should be taken of the positive potential contribution that South Africa can make to the Southern African subregional development.

Through funds made available by UNDP, UNIDO is currently planning a study on the impact of changes in the Republic of South Africa on the industrial sector in the Southern African subregion. In addition to providing an overall assessment of existing industry in South African, thus helping to identify those industrial operations that compete directly with on-going activities in other countries in the subregion, the study will review the strengths and weakness of the industrialization process in the subregion and seek out the potential for increased cooperation. The study will also focus on possible new mechanisms for linking industrial systems across the subregion through cross-border investments, joint venture programmes, industrial information services, technology transfer, and human resources development. The study will also home in on the possible facilitative role that the intergovernmental organizations might play in terms of private sector development and identify technical cooperation projects contributing

to that end.

In consultation with various sub-regional parties concerned, UNIDO has already drawn up the terms of reference for the study and sent them to some of the member States and subregional organizations in the subregion so as to secure their full support during the field exercises in the respective countries and when preparing and finalizing the study.

In conclusion, Mr Chairman, I would like to inform the representatives of member States of SADC and the Executive Secretary of SADC that the Conference of African Ministers of Industry (CAMI) is scheduled to be held in Mauritius from 31 May to 4 June 1993. Prior to that Conference, the Intergovernmental Committee of Experts of the Whole of Industrialization in Africa will meet from 22 - 31 May 1993 at the same venue. The Director-General of UNIDO has already sent out the letters of invitation to member States and sub-regional organizations. It is expected that country delegations will be headed by the Ministers of Industries and we trust that all member States will participate fully in a meeting of crucial importance to the industrial future of our continent.

Let me once again reaffirm the commitment of UNIDO to promoting industrial cooperation and development through the SADC subregion and permit me to wish you every success in your deliberations as well as a most pleasant stay in this splendid country.

Thank you.

city of water supply caused health risks etc. Some SADC countries e.g. Zimbabwe declared the drought a national disaster due to its severity.

Considering the central role of women in food production and processing, water collection, and general management of family welfare, the drought more directly and severely affected women, causing incomparable hardships and suffering for them and their families. Such situation calls for planners and decision makers, to pay special attention to the severe consequences of drought on women. It is also imperative to involve women at all levels of decision making, planning and implementation of strategies and programmes that address the negative effects of drought. Disaster preparedness activities and training devised in the course of the drought, should include many women. The adverse effects and social hardships and inflation caused by the structural adjustment programmes in different countries, also hit hardest on women, who are food providers and caregivers of their families.

I am pleased to report that, in accordance with its mandate and concern for women's plight caused by drought and structural adjustment programmes, UNIFEM funded a one day national seminar in Zimbabwe, on 2 December 1992, to brainstorm on effects of drought on women and consider coping measures adopted by women. Deliberations and recommendations of the seminar provide lessons learnt from the drought and gender sensitive measures for preparedness and addressing effects of future droughts and other emergency situations.

Mr Chairman, the mainstream approach to women's participation in development, has been an important thrust in UNIFEM interventions in Africa as a whole and SADC in particular. For instance, in October 1992 UNIFEM funded a brainstorming seminar for development practitioners, training and research institutions from Africa South of Sahara, to inter alia, propose guidelines on gender sensitive training in development, taking culture into account. At SADC level, you will recall last year's UNIFEM statement, mentioned, among others, a million dollar programme, funded by CIDA through UNIFEM, which was being launched. The programme is an excellent example of mainstreaming gender in national and regional development strategies and programmes. It focuses on institutional development or capacity building of SADC and government institutions to ensure mainstreaming gender concerns in the development process. It also

finances research and pilot projects on areas of women's constraints in development.

The programme became operational early last year when active implementation of activities took off. The first workshop under the programme, which trained SADC project review experts on gender analysis and evaluations skills, was conducted by Esami in October 1992.

Participants were drawn from SADC sector co-ordinating units and after a two weeks' training, they utilized the acquired skills to review some SADC on-going and pipeline projects from a gender perspective. A follow-up seminar is scheduled for September 1993, when the trained experts will review many more on-going and pipeline SADC projects, make concrete proposals for improvements and where possible revise project documents to ensure gender sensitivity of relevant project under the SADC programme of action.

Under the SADC WID programme, financial support has been provided to an energy/environment related research on woodfuel intensive rural industries, involving many women in three countries, namely Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia. The findings of the research will be utilized to improve technologies used in order to reduce fuel consumed by the rural industries, hence promote environment conservation and protection. Findings will also be utilized to improve economic viability of the industries, as such improve the income and living standards of rural industries operators and their families. A regional workshop on improving traditional techniques of charcoal production has also received funding, and will improve economic conditions of charcoal producers and protect the environment by reducing the trees and firewood consumed in charcoal making. Support to such activities, is in line with UNIFEM's involvement in international efforts on environment, as stipulated in Agenda 21, the environmental world plan of action drawn at UNCED, Rio de Janeiro, 1992.

Another pilot sub-project on legal rights education programme for women in six countries Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe has been financed under the programme. Awareness on legal rights by women and necessary legal reforms, will ensure women's access to land, credit and other productive resources, hence enhance their

role in agriculture and food production as well as improve their socio-economic and cultural status.

The big number of refugees and displaced persons in the region, is another major concern of UNIFEM, since women and children constitute the majority of this disadvantaged group. The refugee plight is addressed through UNIFEM's three year initiative which supports socio-economic activities for refugees, such as improving technologies for food production and processing, literacy, education and training to improve their quality of life in the camps and countries of origin upon repatriation.

Mr Chairman, I would like to express UNIFEM's appreciation to SADC Secretariat food security co-ordination unit, and other sector co-ordinating units for the co-operation and great support to the outlined UNIFEM funded initiatives and activities. The support is no doubt testimony of growing gender sensitivity in the organization. Special thanks go to the sector co-ordinator for food security, Mr Magwara and his staff, for their co-operation and commitment to co-ordinating UNIFEM supported initiatives in SADC. The good working relationship that exists between food security and the UNIFEM regional office in Harare, is valuable in our work and support to the region, which we pledge to increase with time.

In conclusion I wish this conference every success in its deliberations, particularly the consideration of "**A Framework and Strategy for Building the Community**".

STATEMENT: World Bank

Mr. Stephen M. Denning
Director
Southern Africa Department

On behalf of the World Bank, I would like to thank the Government of Zimbabwe and SADC for organizing this important meeting, particularly a time when ... happily... it is raining so profusely in most of the region.

I would like to pay tribute to the efforts of the SADC member States and the donor community for averting famine and tragedy arising from the drought. The spirit of collaboration and dynamism demonstrated in the region in the last year shows what can be accomplished. The world tends to hear a lot of bad news out of Africa, while good news often gets less prominence in the press. We believe that the response to the drought in Southern Africa by the region and by the international community is a major achievement and deserves more publicity than it is currently receiving. We need now to channel the same energy and cooperation that we've seen in dealing with the drought to the longer term issues of development of SADC's member States.

Since we met last year, we have seen SADCC in the process of being transformed into SADC, with a significantly broadened mandate. We welcome the opportunity that this forum offers by way of consultation with the donors and cooperating agencies.

We note the breadth of the mandate being conferred on SADC, with objectives ranging from promotion of economic growth to common political values, ensuring complementarity of national and regional strategies, self-reliance simultaneously with interdependence, and strengthening historical and cultural ties.

While these are legitimate goals, we hope that the breadth of SADC's mandate will not distract from the pragmatic task of making economic

collaboration a reality on the ground in the SADC member countries, for instance **by pursuing regional projects that are locationally, technologically and commercially sound.** The development of the Maputo and Beira corridors are just two examples I might cite of the kind of project I have in mind.

Like other speakers, I tend to think that the quest for closer **economic integration** needs to be tempered with **realism.** There is thus a risk that SADC's far-reaching commitments could distract the countries of Southern Africa from getting on with a **pragmatic action program** which is focused on achieving **gradual but steady progress** in bringing about economic integration. Logic and the lessons of experience elsewhere in the world point to an approach that **addresses the binding constraints first:** i.e. an approach that is **incremental rather than comprehensive,** and one that is **open-ended rather than exclusive** in terms of membership. We don't believe that regional integration will proceed quickly if it proceeds by picking a fixed list of members and then let progress be determined by the pace of the slowest.

We thus counsel realism and caution. It is understandable that there is a concern in ensuring a permanent status for SADC. There is also a case in favour of that by building incrementally upon what has been achieved.

As an example of an important area where progress can be, and is being made, I would endorse the chairman's suggestion to create a **framework for efficient cross-border private investment** which would produce for the regional market as well as markets outside the region, thereby reaching economies of scale. In this area, an initiative is under way with support of the World Bank, the Commission of the European Communities (CEC), African Development Bank and the IMF. Particular emphasis in the initiative is being put on **macroeconomic policy reform particularly elimination of non-tariff barriers and deregulation of investment controls.**

We are pleased to see that this initiative has been well received by a number of SADC and PTA member States. With the help of the co-sponsors, the participating countries have established technical working groups to identify what further policy and institutional reform needs to take place to make the

required private investment climate a successful and sustainable one. Two workshops have already taken place, in which the issues and options of the steps involved in making regional integration a reality on the ground have been pragmatically explored. A further consultation is planned for June of this year.

Many of the constraints involved in cross-border investment are **non-financial** in nature and need to be addressed by the member countries themselves. In the case of **financial** constraints, the donor community has already expressed its willingness to explore ways in which it could assist in the removal of those constraints. We hope that this support will serve to accelerate the process of getting results on the ground.

Like other speakers, we note that SADC is very much aware of the **potential duality and overlap with the PTA**, particularly in trade investment matters. We are pleased to see that a study will be undertaken to harmonize and rationalize the respective mandate and modus operandi of the two institutions. We continue to feel that the matter needs urgent attention and we hope that the study will reflect the appropriate degree of urgency.

Although it's traditional in these speeches to describe the assistance that one's agency is providing to SADC member countries, I'm not planning to cover that, since most of you are familiar with World Bank assistance. For those of you who would like more details, they will be given in annex to the printed version of this speech which will be circulated.

Let me merely say that World Bank lending to SADC members last year reached an all-time high of US\$1.4 billion, including \$300 million for the drought, and this demonstrates the significance of our continuing commitment to the SADC region.

We were also happy to see the very successful results of the Consultative Group meetings last month in Paris for Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia. The results of these meetings showed that even in times of world economic recession and the many distractions in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, there is still strong international support for Southern African countries when good development programs are put forward. It is important to keep this in mind, since although there is frequent talk of shifts in aid from

north-south flows to west-east flows, the fact is that there is no evidence of any such phenomena in occurring Southern Africa to date. In our experience, if strong development programs are put forward, financing is not a problem. We hope that this continuing international support will be an encouragement to participating countries to do their part in the development of the region.

Thank you very much.

ATTACHMENT

World Bank lending to SADC member countries reached US 1.4 billion in the last fiscal year, including \$300 million for the drought.

There was no lending to the **Republic of South Africa**. There is an on-going program of economic and sector studies which will provide the basis of future projects once the political circumstances have evolved to the point of a democratic South Africa. We have not reached that stage. But it should not be far off. The main focus of our work in South Africa at present is on human resources and urban development to tackle the most egregious deficiencies in such facilities for the long-deprived overwhelming majority of the population.

The World Bank has also been involved in a number of major regional projects in the infrastructure sector:

- i) **Mozambique-Beira Corridor**. This US\$435 million undertaking involving 18 bilaterals and multilaterals aims at rehabilitation/upgrading of the Beira transport corridor in order to restore its cost-efficient transit functions.
- ii) **Malawi Northern Transport Corridor**. This will facilitate cooperation in the transport sector between Tanzania and Malawi. It is designed to carry one-third of Malawi's external trade, and is cofinanced with Germany, the Netherlands, UK and USA.
- iii) **Tanzania Port Modernization**. It is designed to enhance Dar es Salam port's transit capacity.
- iv) **Swaziland - Komati River Basin**. Komati is an international water way flowing through the territories of Mozambique, RSA and Swaziland. The proposed project aims at conjunctive development of this river basin.
- v) **Lesotho Highlands**. This project is designed to create physical and managerial capacity in Lesotho to export water to RSA and produce hydropower to reduce Lesotho's dependence on imported energy.

- vi) **Mozambique Maputo Transport Corridor:** Earlier this month, the Bank approved a technical assistance project aimed at assisting in the renovation and restructuring of this important regional transport link.

Among other things, the World Bank is the executing agency for a number of SADC-sponsored regional studies. Many of these studies have reached completion such as the **Airlines Study, Power Interconnector Study, and the Fertilizer Development Study**. These studies are of critical significance of related investments and their commercialization. We look forward to hearing of arrangements being made for their implementation. Two other studies are also in the program: **transportation integration, and inter-basin study of long term demand and supply of water**. Arrangements for these are being pursued.

STATEMENT: World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

Professor G. O. P. Obasi
Secretary General

It is a great privilege and honour for me to be able to address this important assembly today.

May I take this opportunity to express to you, Mr Chairman, and through you to the Government and people of the SADC countries my deep appreciation for inviting the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) to this important conference and for the opportunity to address you on this occasion. It also gives me great pleasure to thank the Government and the people of Zimbabwe, for the warm welcome extended to me and my delegation since my arrival in Harare. We are indeed grateful to the Government of Zimbabwe for hosting important regional and international conferences and meetings, including those organized by the World Meteorological Organization, namely the Ninth Session of the Regional Association I (Africa) in December 1986 and more recently the meeting of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in November 1992. It is a pleasure for me to be back once again among the warm and friendly people of Zimbabwe.

I would like to reconfirm the solidarity of my Organization, WMO, with the SADC countries, particularly at this difficult time. Your community has been recently experiencing one of the most severe droughts which has caused distress and famine among the people. The perspectives of peaceful settlement of civil strives in some countries within the Sub-region, although encouraging, seem also very fragile. Despite this adverse situation, we are pleased that the governments of SADC countries have taken appropriate

economic and social measures to safeguard the well-being of the population of the region, especially through the transformation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) into the Southern African Development Community (SADC). This is indeed a bold and welcome step which I hope will contribute towards consolidating the links between the countries concerned. SADC can therefore be proud of becoming one of the crucial building blocks of the African Economic Community, whose full realization we all look forward to in the near future.

This Conference is therefore being held at an opportune time, as it will permit SADC and its cooperating partners to review and develop appropriate strategies for establishing a sound regional economic community in Southern Africa.

In this context, Mr Chairman, the World Meteorological Organization is prepared to continue cooperating with the SADC countries. As you know, WMO has been involved in a number of cooperative efforts to develop and strengthen Meteorological and Hydrological services in the SADC countries in order to improve their capability to provide the necessary support to the main areas of national development, and in particular those relating to Transport and Communications, Natural Resources and the Food Security and Agriculture, Environment, as well as Energy. These efforts were deployed with the full support of the SADC Governments as well as those of some of the traditional donors to SADC, such as UNDP and particularly the Government of Finland. In fact, following the drought which had afflicted the region in the early eighties, a Drought Monitoring Centre has been established in Harare, with the support of UNDP. This Centre is now operational and has provided among others advanced forecast and warning to the officials concerned of the recent drought in SADC countries. Regretably UNDP is now unable to provide sufficient funding to this Centre which we believe should be kept operational. In view of the relevance of this Centre to major SADC economic activities, WMO has been trying to mobilize additional resources from potential donors in order to ensure its continued operations.

Furthermore, within the framework of the FINNIDA/SATCC/WMO Meteorology project, the national Meteorological Services have been strengthened through manpower training, installation of equipment and

development of meteorological applications software for the benefit of the user community. This project, the second phase of which is coming to an end in mid-1993, has laid down the necessary foundations for the Meteorological Services to play a key role in socio-economic development of the SADC countries. However, due to internal financial constraints, FINNIDA is not in a position to continue supporting this important project. I would therefore like to take this opportunity to appeal to our donor partners and to the SADC Governments for continued support to the Meteorological Services during the coming years.

The SADC region is regularly affected by severe weather phenomena such as droughts, floods and severe tropical cyclones. The combination of environmental and climatic factors often affect adversely the prosperity of the people in many parts of the region and, indeed, in Africa as a whole. Improvements in Agricultural practices, Water and Energy Management, Transport, Ecological Protection and Soil Conservation are therefore essential to the alleviation of poverty, and to increased food self-sufficiency. For these reasons, meteorological and hydrological infrastructures have to be strengthened so that they can provide the necessary support. There is little doubt that the scientific disciplines relevance to WMO, namely Meteorology, Climatology, Hydrology and Oceanography can contribute substantially in addressing the concerns of SADC countries. In this regard the socio-economic benefits arising from the use of meteorological and hydrological products, in support of various sectors of the economy, have been extensively demonstrated. Early Warning Systems to monitor the effects of weather on crop growth and yields have enabled SADC governments to develop appropriate food strategies.

Consistent with the approach SADC has agreed upon towards regional integration, it is my belief that an effective and economical way of addressing major issues of climate change, environmental degradation and desertification is through regional cooperation. SADC has already taken initiatives in this respect through the inclusion of meteorology within the work programme of SATCC and the development of regional meteorological facilities such as the drought Monitoring Centre in Harare (Zimbabwe) which I have already referred to, the Meteorological Instruments Calibration Facility in Gaborone (Botswana) and the Regional Telecommunications Hub in Lusaka (Zambia). I am confident that such regional centres will be

of great support to the National Meteorological services and to SADC regional programmes, such as the Food Early Warning System. The cooperation strategy should also include other continental centres such as the African Centre of Meteorological Applications for Development (ACMAD) established in Niamey, Niger, by the member States of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) with the support of WMO. This Centre as you know is meant to pool together available resources of the African countries to address major issues relating especially to drought, water resources, climate prediction and other environmental concerns. I am confident that the SADC countries will continue supporting the Centre which will contribute to sustainable development in the Sub-region.

I am pleased to note that SADC is committed to establishing a full and viable community within the next few years. I would like to assure you that the World Meteorological Organization is ready to further contribute towards the full realization of the Southern African Development Community, especially in addressing the areas of human resources development, science and technology, food security, land and agriculture, energy, natural resources and the environment, transport and communications and finally, as appropriate, mobilization of resources. In this context, WMO could contribute in the technical studies concerning the relevant protocols and the formulation of strategies and programmes in its areas of competence. I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to other SADC's cooperating partners to make further efforts in support of Meteorological and Hydrological Services in the SADC region.

A strong, link exists between SADC and my Organization. It is my wish to see the existing cooperation strengthened even further. WMO will on its part endeavor to assist SADC in every way possible in partnership with donor countries and other United Nations agencies.

I wish to thank you again for having made it possible for me to address this August assembly. I wish SADC every success in its honourable objective.

Thank you Mr Chairman

CLOSING CEREMONY

STATEMENT: On Behalf of Cooperating Partners

Ted D. Morse
Director of USAID
Southern Africa Regional Programme

For the last two years we have been asking where goes SADC, does it have a future in the changed world of 1992-1993? The SADC leaders have answered with a bold vision of organisation's future. They have described a future as an integrated community to carry out regional economic integration - and much more. The summit leaders have been very decisive in translating that vision into a treaty. The challenge now is to turn that into reality.

There have been many speeches here over the last three days that have recognized the challenge ahead, they have been diplomatic as well as practical. Some have acknowledged the general framework that SADC has laid out for the new community. Others have identified the shortcoming and raised questions about what is still to be done. In closing this conference I would like to challenge all of us to a call for action - serious, practical, substantive action to follow on the vision of the future and the decisive treaty. Many are still skeptical about SADC's leadership for true regional economic integration in Southern Africa. That skepticism will soon turn negative, undermining, unless practical, realistic action is seen. This includes deciding on one versus two studies of relations with PTA; to study merger or harmonization must be decided.

There is a danger that the region becomes a victim of its own bold vision and victim of its own total strategy. By outlining a wholistic, long term vision you have raised expectations that are too high to be met in even the medium term. (People would have been just as critical if your vision was too limited!) There must be urgent action by SADC to turn the framework into an operable strategy. Priorities must be established for action and sequenced

out through the immediate to mid-term. You must act soon to provide this guidance beyond just listing the sectors that need attention. It is not enough to recognize the limitations on the community. You must act decisively on those limitations which you have decided to overcome and accept other limitations as real. Building the community is your stated goal. This speaker joins others in congratulating you on your recognition that the community must be built on broad popular participation. But where is the action plan for this? Where is the structure to do this building? The leaders have given the broad framework, set the principles and the general policy. But where are the action plans to build the popular participation? Those of us who work in the SADC context are often isolated. We must remember that regional identity and community are not widespread among the population. The masses do not know of SADC. How is this to be done? Through indoctrination? Many systems have failed to elicit popular commitment through indoctrination. You will need to build this community by touching their lives, by making a difference. By government getting out of their way, but letting them know the opening was the combined action of the community leaders. That you are opening space for them to grow, be empowered. Take responsibility. You recognize the importance of business leaders and many more who must be involved. How? When?

I call on the national SADC members to develop and show us by their actions their commitment and support for this community. Even those of us who live in the region and work with the national governments and the regional institutions do not yet see this action, this national commitment. The leaders created the context for this in August. Six months have passed and we are impatient for the signs that will only be seen by national action.

Donors - cooperating partners, are you energized to act? Many of the next steps must be built on practical, sound research and analysis. Are you ready to act on requests for funds to do this? Are you ready to be flexible to hire regional specialists and researchers instead of importing expatriate technical assistance? Are you ready to act to give experience of those who have gone before SADC in building communities? (There are reasons why the European Community are at the stage they are today in building the European Community. There are reasons why the association of south east Asian nations are at the stage of evolution they are today. There are reasons why we North Americans decided to build a free trade association before

leaping beyond that). We must all be prepared to act on our comparative experience so SADC does not have to make the mistakes we have made. And in our joint actions we must challenge even the very principles that the treaty has established. While they may be politically attractive, is "balance and equity" compatible with free market led economic integration?

Are the national governments ready to ratify this treaty beyond attending a SADC sponsored conference to endorse it, commit themselves, to a pace and depth that begins to define the limits where national sovereignty comes in conflict with the regional obligations.

This must happen.

The region is at a watershed. They want to move beyond coordinating development projects. It will take open, honest, practical, substantive, aggressive action to make this happen. Quite frankly, this will take a corporate, cultural change within SADC itself. I humbly suggest that these are not the management values that have driven SADC's organizations and management for the first 13 years. The new task requires new management institutions and management values of directness, openness and substance. We as donors, must act differently. The region's political and security agenda are not finished. These must be supported to completion. But the political solutions have shifted inside Angola for compliance with the election; inside Mozambique on the peace process; and internal negotiations within South Africa. We donors must also shift our SADC support to a true economic and trade focus in line with not only last year's them, but this year's treaty and framework. Where are the hardnosed business statistics, the real world trade analysis, the tough economic competitive opportunities in this meeting? we must shift our priorities for SADC from politics to economics and we have not yet done that. Read our speeches..

The framework is right to call for bottom up to protocols from the sector coordinators. The community must be built on tangible successes. The sector coordinators are going to need to act with professional boldness to move from project coordination to development integration: 10 years and 30 million dollars to regionally develop drought resistant seeds must be translated directly onto people's field trials; scientific breakthrough to kill the tick borne heartwater disease cannot be stymied by the time consuming national registration of the decoy and vaccine under the mask of quality

control. Crossborder investment is a sad zero at a time when these economies need to grow. Professional recognition and accreditation have blocked the free movement of the region's scarce human resources. Start on these opportunities and dozens like them. As the sector coordinating groups act on the challenge to research and develop protocols, be careful that tokenism does not substitute for prioritization and strategy.

Everyone must act to agree on the balance of time spent building the community versus producing sector results versus managing sponsored projects. By its own admission, SADC's biggest shortcoming has been its weakness to mobilize its own resources. Now it is not just financial resources problems but also scarce human resources needed to carry out this regional mandate without taking away from national development. Action plans have to resolve this dilemma and resolve it quickly. Full-time staff will be needed to manage this process to make things happen, to achieve results. This is where limitations must be recognized and expectations tempered with the reality of manpower, financial, time and organizational constraints.

The integration process is to be based on the twin pillars of government commitment and popular participation. There is a process for this. Not just a few more conferences but tough action is needed to assure these pillars are embedded in firm foundations. The community is to be underpinned by democracy and harmonization of these actions? SADC, if you do not decide this now, a year from now we will be back here with a ratified treaty and maybe one or two token protocols but not enough action to overcome the skeptics. Let us start to work together.

Thank you

VOTE OF THANKS: On Behalf of SADC

Hon. D. N. Magang
Minister of Transport, Works and Communications, Botswana

We have now come to the end of this 1993 SADC Annual Consultative Conference and my task is simply to pass a vote of thanks on behalf of the SADC member States and to all who have contributed to the success of this conference.

I would like to begin by expressing our profound appreciation to His Excellency President Mugabe for taking time away from his busy schedule to officially open this Conference.

We are grateful for his words of inspiration that have guided the deliberations of this Conference. In particular, His excellency underscored the need for popular participation in the integration process of the region. In this regard we note with appreciation the NGOs preparedness to work together with the Governments of this region in their commitment to build the Southern African Development Community. We also welcome the input of the SADC Business Council on behalf of the SADC business community. We will rely on them to help build our community.

We express our gratitude to our cooperating partners for their support during our hour of need when SADC countries were devastated by the severest drought in living memory. We take comfort in their assurance that they will continue to assist us as we are clearly not yet out of our moods.

We are further encouraged by the words of support expressed by the cooperating partners and all those who addressed this gathering. In expressing their support they have endorsed the path we have chosen towards the integration of our region.

We especially welcome the advice on how SADC might improve the organization and management of its programme of action. As stated by the Chairman in his opening statement, SADC is indeed reviewing its mechanisms and institutions with a view to providing the necessary impetus needed to launch the community.

We hope that when we meet again next year there will be some evidence of action being taken in these areas of concern.

In closing, Mr Chairman, let me once again, on behalf of SADC thank the people and Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe for their kind hospitality and the excellent arrangements they have made for this Conference.

In addition, I would like to express our gratitude to all the conference participants for their enduring support of SADC which we will continue to count on as we move towards greater integration of this region.

Finally, it is my pleasure to announce that the SADC Council of Ministers has accepted the offer of the Government of Botswana to host the 1994 SADC Annual Consultative Conference. I look forward to seeing you all in Gaborone this time next year.

I thank you Mr Chairman.

CLOSING STATEMENT: Conference Chairman

As we come to the end of this 1993 SADC Annual Consultative Conference, perhaps we need to reflect on the long road we have traveled together. I am sure we can all agree that tremendous progress has been made over the last thirteen years. The era of conflict is now receding behind us. A new era is emerging in the horizon - an era of peace, democracy, economic and political freedom. This will not have been possible without your support, and that of the international community at large.

It is against this background that we should examine the challenges that lie ahead. While I can understand the impatience about the seeming lack of clear answers to the many questions that arise on the road to integration; I believe we should temper our expectations with the full realization that this is a difficult and complex agenda we have set for ourselves. The concrete actions can only emerge over time. I am confident that with commitment and your support we shall build progress on our past successes.

We have taken note of your criticisms and suggestions on how we can improve the management of our affairs including this conference. As we proceeded to restructure the new SADC in order to respond better to the complex agenda we have set for ourselves, we shall take into full account your views.

As I pointed out earlier, there can never be progress on regional integration without peace in all of Southern Africa. We, therefore, urge all our partners to support the democratization process currently underway in Southern Africa. We also urge them never to condone those who wish to impose their will to the people through undemocratic means.

In this regard, we welcome the peace talks currently underway in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; between the Government of Angola and UNITA. We are convinced that the peace accord agreed to, under the auspices of the United

Nations, is the basis for enduring peace in Angola. We, therefore, urge the international community to prevail upon UNITA to accept that agreement as a basis for the end to the conflict.

Despite the set-back for peace in Angola, there has been encouraging progress elsewhere in the region. The situation in Mozambique is a source of inspiration to all of us about what can be achieved. We call upon the international community to do everything necessary to consolidate the peace process in this sister member State. We urge particularly, that the international community support the resettlement of refugees, displaced persons and the former combatants. Only through the rehabilitation of the economy, can we guarantee lasting peace and stability. We urge the same for Angola after the end of the current conflict.

Furthermore, we urge the international community to remain engaged in the process of change toward a democratic dispensation in South Africa. Although some progress has been made toward the dismantling of apartheid, serious obstacles still have to be overcome and the spectre of violence remains a source of utmost concern.

In conclusion, I wish to thank you all for coming, for your support and for your counsel. I also thank the people and Government of Zimbabwe for their hospitality and for the arrangements they have made for this conference.

I wish you all safe journeys home.

Thank you.

COMMUNIQUE

COMMUNIQUE: The 1993 Annual Consultative Conference

1. The 1993 Annual Consultative Conference of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) convened in Harare, Republic of Zimbabwe on 27 - 29 January 1993.
2. The Conference was officially opened by His Excellency, Mr R. G. Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe. His Honour, Mr F. G. Mogae, Vice President and Minister of Finance and Development Planning of Botswana and Chairman of the SADC Council of Ministers, chaired the Conference and made an opening statement reviewing the regional situation and outlining the Theme of the Conference.
3. Response statement to the official opening address by President Mugabe were delivered by Mr Wighard Haerdtl, Permanent Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany, on behalf of Cooperating Governments; and by Sir Anthony Siaguru, the Commonwealth Deputy Secretary-General, on behalf of Cooperating Multilateral Organizations.
4. The Conference was attended by all the ten SADC member States, the two Liberation Movements: the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, Thirty Two Cooperating Governments and Twenty Six International Organisations. Eight Regional Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) also attended for the first time, and a representative addressed the Conference on their behalf.
5. The Conference noted the significant political social and economic changes taking place in Southern Africa. In particular, the Conference welcomed the regional trend towards more democratic forms of government, respect for human rights and market-oriented economic systems.

6. The Conference welcomed the ceasefire and peace agreement in Mozambique, and the arrangements now under way to prepare for elections under United Nations supervision. The Conference urged the international community to take all the necessary measures to consolidate the peace process and to guarantee that free and fair elections will take place.
7. With regard to Angola, the Conference expressed concern over the deteriorating situation in that country. The Conference urged UNITA to accept the outcome of the elections, which have been judged free and fair by international observers. The Conference also called upon both sides to the conflict to exercise maximum restraint, to avoid aggravating the already critical conflict situation. In this regard, the Conference welcomed the resumption of peace negotiations currently taking place in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and expressed the hope that a lasting solution will be reached.
8. On South Africa, the Conference noted that political violence continues unabated, and urged the South African Government to take appropriate measures to establish law and order. The Conference further urged all political parties to desist from violent actions, and to return to the negotiating table; to avert further bloodshed and put the country back on the road to democracy and economic recovery. The Conference agreed that there cannot be full peace and stability in Southern Africa without first normalizing the situation inside South Africa. The Cooperating Partners also noted SADC positions and plans for integrating a democratic South Africa into the Organization.
9. The Conference welcomed the signing of the Treaty in Windhoek, Namibia in August, 1992, establishing the Southern African Development Community.
10. The Conference considered the issues, strategy and the process that would be followed by member States in the integration process, as set out in the theme document.

Southern Africa: The Framework and Strategy for Developing the Community. The Conference agreed that the Framework and Strategy

offered a sound basis for translating the theme into concrete and actionable programmes and projects; providing for full participation of the people of the region. The Conference also emphasized the need to strengthen and improve the organizational structures and management of SADC. The Conference also stressed the need for realism and clear prioritisation process of the programmes and activities of integration.

11. The Conference noted that Conference Working Groups had provided fora for frank exchange of views on the status of implementation of the SADC Programme of Action. The Cooperating Partners urged that adequate time be allocated to the Working Groups and issues for discussion be prioritised and articulated clearly. Cooperating Partners also re-affirmed their support for the priority Sectoral programmes of SADC.
12. Regarding the relations between SADC and the PTA, the Conference noted that studies to examine ways of harmonizing and relationalising relations between the two Organisations would be commissioned. The Conference agreed that this matter merited urgent attention.
13. The Conference commended SADC member States and the international community for the way and the speed with which they respond to the 1992 Drought Emergency in Southern Africa. The Conference noted that a large proportion of the food aid requirements had been met and a potential calamity averted. The Conference further noted proposals on the long-term measures SADC member States would take to ensure Food Security, and for addressing future emergency situations in the region. Cooperating Partners pledged to provide, to the extent possible additional assistance determined by the mid-term review of the drought.
14. The Conference received and accepted the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Botswana to convene in Botswana, in late January/early February 1994.
15. Mr T. Morse, of the United States of America, delivered the closing statement on behalf of the Cooperating Partners. A vote of thanks on behalf of members of the Southern African Development Community was presented by Hon D. N. Magang, Minister of Works, Transport

and Communications, of the Government of Botswana. The Chairman delivered a closing statement.

15. The Conference expressed gratitude to the Government and people of the Republic of Zimbabwe, for the hospitality and excellent conference facilities.

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