



**Southern African  
Development  
Coordination Conference  
Record of the Summit**

HELD IN  
WINDHOEK, REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

17th August, 1992



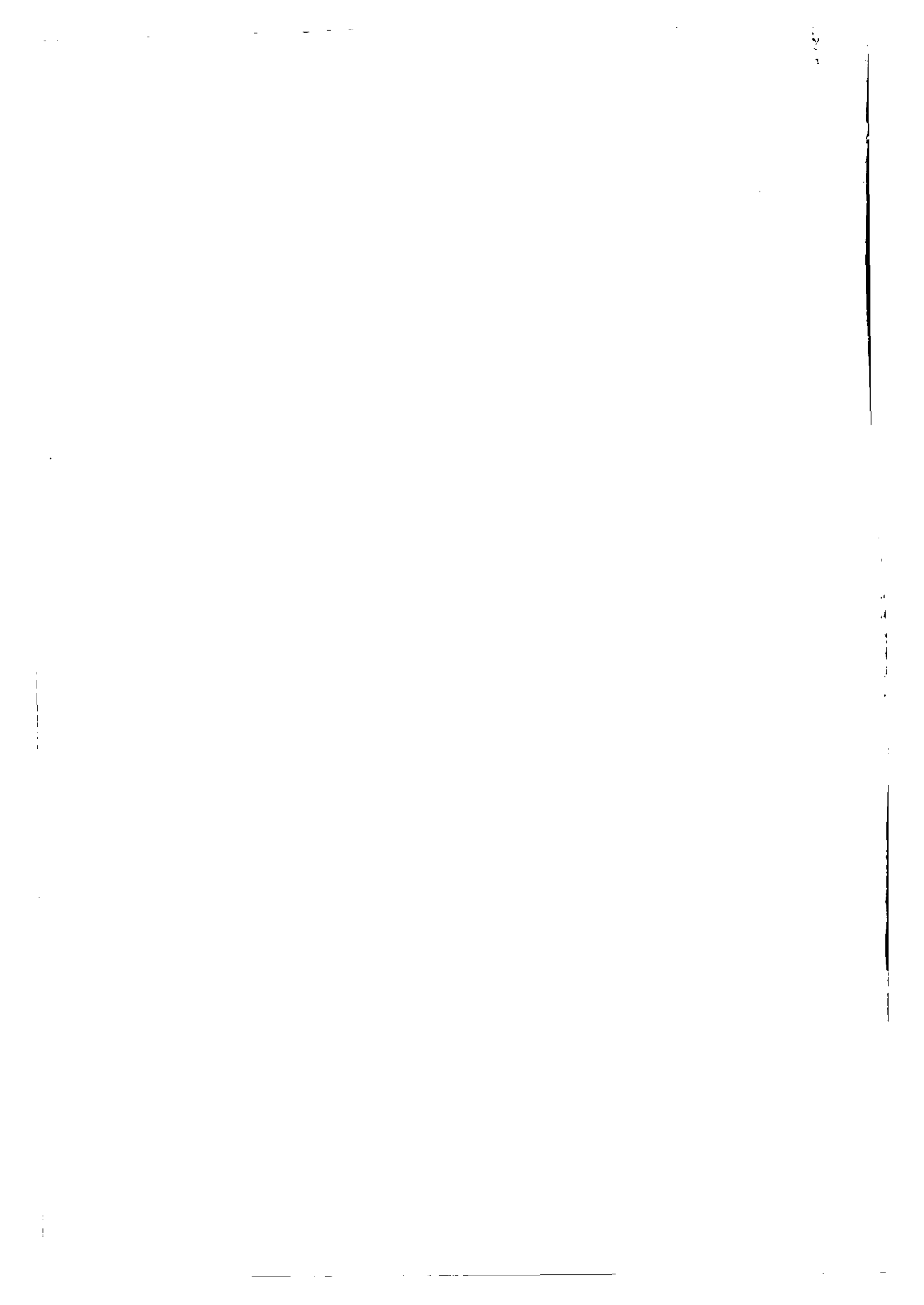
SADCC SUMMIT

WINDHOEK, REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

17th August, 1992

Contents

	Page
RECORD	1
SUMMIT DOCUMENTS	
Agenda (SADCC/S/1/92/1)	23
Annex A - Chairman's Opening Statement	25
Annex B - Statement by H.E. J.A. Chissano	31
Annex C - Statement by H.E. S. Nujoma	35
Annex D - Speech by H.E. Ali Hassan Mwinyi	41
Annex E - Statement by H.E. F.J.T. Chiluba	45
Annex F - Statement by H.E. R.G. Mugabe	49
Annex G - Statement by the Rt. Hon. Franca van-Dunem	53
Annex H - Statement by the Rt. Hon. Obed M. Dlamini	57
Annex I - Statement by H.E. Major Gen. E.P. Ramaema	61
Annex J - Speech by Mr. C. Makwetu	65
Annex K - Statement by Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa	73
Annex L - Chairman's Closing Statement	79
APPENDIX I - List of Attendants	81
APPENDIX II - Communique	87



0. PRESENT

List of attendants (See Appendix I).

1. AGENDA

The Summit approved the Agenda SADCC/S/1/92/1.

2. REVIEW OF THE REGIONAL SITUATION

2.1 The Summit reviewed the overall situation in the region and received reports on Angola, Mozambique and South Africa.

2.2 MOZAMBIQUE

2.2.1 President Chissano recounted the chequered course of negotiations for peace in Mozambique since the last Summit meeting. He highlighted the role played by Zimbabwe, Malawi and Botswana, in bringing about the first meeting between himself and Mr. Dhlakama of RENAMO.

2.2.2 On the basis of the "reasonable guarantees" given by the Government of Mozambique on the safety and security of RENAMO personnel, and RENAMO's freedom to operate as a political organisation, without hindrance, a Declaration of Intent was signed by President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama, on August 7, 1992. The Declaration provides for a full Ceasefire and General Peace Agreement to be concluded by 1st October, 1992.

2.2.3 President Chissano then indicated that their plan envisaged UN personnel moving to Mozambique not later than 30 days after the signing of the Peace Agreement, to monitor the ceasefire and supervise the whole electoral process. However, the President expressed concern over the UN's ability to effectively supervise the Mozambique peace process, taking into account its already extensive involvement in other areas. He also expressed concerns over the ready availability of the estimated US\$80 - 100 million, needed to finance the whole electoral process.

2.2.4 He concluded by urging the Region to ... "help us convince donors"... to lend the necessary assistance to Mozambique.

## 2.3 ANGOLA

2.3.1 Prime Minister van Dunem informed the Summit that, after the May 1991 Peace Agreement between the Government and UNITA, there were three main areas of follow-up action, viz:

- demobilisation of combatants and creation of a new national army;
- extension of government civilian administration throughout the whole country; and,
- launching the electoral process.

2.3.2 The Prime Minister indicated that the ceasefire was generally holding, although there had been some minor incidents of breach. The demobilisation of combatants and integration of the new national army were proceeding slowly. The extension of state administration to UNITA-held areas had also been delayed, until June 1992, when the Government issued an ultimatum that there would be no registration of voters or elections in areas not under national administration. Since then, the situation improved somewhat. Although difficulties are still being experienced, public servants have been able to enter the UNITA-held areas.

2.3.3 29th - 30th September, 1992 had been set as dates for both legislative and presidential elections.

2.3.4 There are some concerns regarding the thoroughness or completeness of the registration of voters, capacity of UNAVEM to assure free and fair elections in the whole country, and to guarantee that violence will not break out during the campaign.

2.3.5 The Government is committed and determined to see the process through within the agreed time frame.

2.3.6 The Prime Minister also indicated that Angola will need assistance with materials, such as ballot boxes, ballot paper, etc.; which are estimated at about £12 million.

## 2.4 SOUTH AFRICA

The Summit received reports from the Liberation Movements, and considered the report of the JPC on the situation in South Africa, particularly with respect to violence, negotiations and unity of the Liberation Movements.

2.4.1 Violence

- 2.4.1.1 Politically motivated and state-sponsored violence that has claimed close to 7000 lives in the past two years, poses a serious obstacle to progress in negotiations for a genuine democratic order in South Africa.
- 2.4.1.2 Nationals of some SADCC member States constitute the core of forces deployed by the regime to instigate and perpetrate violence in South Africa. Although the regime announced the disbanding of these forces, in advance of the special session of the UN Security Council meeting in July 1992, in fact, they are being granted South African citizenship, and being redeployed to other units of the South African Army and Police.
- 2.4.1.3 The Summit observed that only increased external pressure on the regime, international monitoring of the violence generally, and especially the conduct of the regime's security forces, can abate the scourge of violence and enhance the necessary climate for negotiation and normal political activity.

2.4.2 Unity

- 2.4.2.1 Unity among the oppressed majority is so important that the FLS, SADCC and OAU have urged for the re-activation of the Patriotic United Front, established in October, 1991, under the joint leadership of the ANC and PAC.
- 2.4.2.2 The fact that the Patriotic United Front has still not been re-convened bears testimony to the depth of the differences within the Liberation Movement, on how best to conduct negotiations with the regime.
- 2.4.2.3 The ANC emphasised the need for unity in action, more than just unity for its sake. Accordingly, the ANC was forging such "unity in action with its Patriotic Front Allies in CODESA".
- 2.4.2.4 For its part, the PAC regretted the virtual collapse of the Patriotic United Front. The PAC was strongly in favour of reviving the Patriotic United Front, as soon as possible; and urged the FLS and SADCC to assist in this process.
- 2.4.2.5 The Summit agreed that, while reaffirming the need for unity of the Liberation Movement, it is important for the region to understand the differences between them, as a basis for enhancing such unity.

### 2.4.3 Negotiations

- 2.4.3.1 The deadlock reached in negotiations at the second plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA II) in May, 1992, reflects the fundamental gap between the white minority regime and the Liberation Movement, over the concepts of normal democracy and majority rule. In the meantime, the apartheid regime is taking steps to unilaterally restructure South African society, through, inter alia, privatisation of public enterprises and putting legislation through the tricameral parliament which may pre-empt or circumscribe the outcome of the negotiation process.
- 2.4.3.2 Following the Boipatong Massacre on 17th June, 1992, the ANC broke off bilateral talks with the regime, and suspended its participation in CODESA. The ANC made 14 demands to be met prior to the resumption of CODESA. These demands were in three broad categories, viz:
- i) the election of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution, and serve as an interim legislature;
  - ii) the formation of an Interim Government of National Unity, to oversee national government functions, especially in the areas of the economy, security, media and elections; and
  - iii) the release of all political prisoners, ending violence and creation of a conducive climate for free political activity.
- 2.4.3.3 The ANC is grateful for the support of the region, the OAU and international community, which resulted in the UN Security Council Resolution 765 on South Africa. The international community should apply relentless pressure on the De Klerk regime to accept the principles of democracy, and the primary responsibility to end violence.
- 2.4.3.4 To back its demands, the ANC had launched a Mass Action Campaign for peace and democracy. The Mass Action programme of August 3rd - 4th, 1992 was a resounding success.
- 2.4.3.5 The PAC regarded CODESA as dead, and was pressing for a truly democratic negotiations forum at a neutral venue with an independent convenor. To that end, the PAC was engaged in talks with the regime, both outside and inside the country.

3. REPORT OF THE JOINT PLANNING COMMITTEE (JPC)

The Summit considered the report of the JPC with regard to the following:

3.1 REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Summit noted the following regional perspectives of developments inside South Africa:

- a) The violence currently gripping South Africa was maintaining a general climate of tension in the whole region. The fact that nationals of some SADC member States, who are remnants of the era of destabilisation, constitute the core of the so-called Third Force, and were known to be involved in some of the worst acts of the township violence; was of direct concern to the region. These people, either still in South Africa, or back in their own or other countries, were a source of instability and insecurity.
- b) The Region had been an active partner of the Liberation Movement, not just for reasons of solidarity, but also to secure for itself a stable and friendly neighbour. This was necessary for safeguarding national sovereignty and peace, and for consolidating the region's own independence and fledgling democracies. The speedy emergence of a democratic South Africa, and also the nature and content of its democracy and institutions; their relationship and compatibility with SADC's own concepts of democracy were, therefore, matters of fundamental interest to the Region.
- c) Strong historical economic links existed between the Region and South Africa. The nature and period of transition to democracy, and the final democratic dispensation itself, had a major bearing on the state of the South African economy, and its continuing and potential new relationships with the rest of the regional economy.
- d) Apartheid propaganda had made the average South African ignorant of the rest of the region. Therefore, the Region had an interest in sensitising and raising the awareness of the South African public, both black and white, to these regional perspectives; and ensured that they, the South Africans, took these perspectives into account as they shaped their future.



- e) Therefore, looked at from the stand points of economics, politics, peace and security, SADCC member States had profound vested interests in the developments in South Africa. Member States had also agreed that, in pursuit of both this vested interest, and in extending their traditional support to the Liberation Movement, the Region needed to be close, and make a meaningful contribution to the process of change in South Africa.

### 3.2 THE WAY FORWARD

3.2.1 In the light of the foregoing, the Summit noted that the Chairman of the JPC would consult with the Chairman of Frontline States (FLS), in order to agree on the most appropriate and effective way to afford the Region a meaningful and proactive role in the process of change in South Africa. These consultations should, inter alia, focus on the following issues:

- a) the specific role that the Region could play in furthering the process of change towards genuine democracy in South Africa;
- b) the mechanisms and machineries that the Region could use to execute this role, including a consideration of the need for a physical presence in South Africa, in what form and what status to give to such an entity, bearing in mind other decisions of the Region regarding relations with the apartheid state;
- c) the nature and form of support that the Region could extend to the Liberation Movements, to strengthen its hand in the negotiations, and in particular, strengthening the unity of the democratic forces in the context of the Patriotic United Front;
- d) the role that nationals of SADCC member States were playing in the perpetration of violence in South Africa, and measures that Member States individually, collectively in SADCC/FLS or in conjunction with the international community, might take to induce those nationals to disengage from South Africa, by say, removal of threat of reprisals upon return home, while at the same time safeguarding the peace, security and stability of the member States concerned;

- e) the status and welfare of citizens of SADCC member States legally working in South Africa and housed in single quarters hostels which might be affected by reorganisation associated with either the improvement of workers' accommodation or measures to control violence emanating from these hostels.

3.2.2 The Summit further noted that the JPC had requested the Liberation Movements to consult on all the foregoing, and present their views and positions.

### 3.3 RELATIONS BETWEEN SADCC MEMBER STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA

3.3.1 The Summit recalled its decision of its last meeting, urging member States not to establish relations with South Africa beyond the then existing levels, and to do nothing that would confer legitimacy and respectability to the apartheid state.

3.3.2 Furthermore, the Summit noted that the meeting of the JPC held in Maputo, in January, 1992, expressed concern over the collapse of regional consensus with regard to relations with apartheid South Africa.

#### 3.3.3 Diversity of Relationships

3.3.3.1 The Summit took note of the following diversity of bilateral relations between SADCC member States and South Africa:

- a) one member State had virtually no ties with South Africa, except the relaxation of people to people contact arising from the Commonwealth position on sanctions;
- b) most member States had established or were establishing bilateral trade agreements with South Africa. Trade Missions which also performed consular functions, were already in existence, or were being established. There was a growing flow of virtually one way trade, i.e. South African exports to member States;
- c) four member States had long-standing multilateral economic relations, but no political relations with South Africa, even though ministerial contacts occur in the context of the economic arrangements;
- d) most member States maintained bilateral and/or multilateral functional relations with a number of South African public utilities, such as Transnet and Eskom, and others belonged to regional arrangements with South Africa, such as SARTOC and SARCUS;

- e) a number of member States had recently established with South Africa reciprocal quasi-diplomatic interest or representative offices, and contacts at political level were growing;
- f) one member State had normal full diplomatic relations with South Africa since independence, and one other had recently upgraded its relations with South Africa to full diplomatic status.

3.3.3.2 The Summit further noted that, apart from these bilateral relations, a number of SADCC sectors had, of late, sought to involve South African entities in their activities, and SADCC itself, officially incorporated Transnet into the regional Drought Task Force.

3.3.3.3 The Summit also noted that the development of closer or deeper relations between member States and the apartheid regime had largely been influenced by perceptions among/or within the member States, of certain national interests. Or if no such interests were clearly discernible, there was a fear of being left behind, or missing out on certain opportunities associated with close relations with South Africa.

#### 3.3.4 Implications

3.3.4.1 The Summit noted the following implications of developing relations with South Africa, at this time:

- a) These relations had always been capitalised on by the white minority regime in South Africa to promote its regional and international political, diplomatic and economic agenda.
- b) Besides, there were other countries, especially on the African continent, which had long wished to establish relations with South Africa, but had been deterred by the hither-to steadfast position of the Region. In the new circumstances, they face no serious constraint or restraint.
- c) The strategic danger posed by the trend in dealings with South Africa discussed above, is that, as it extends into substantive long-term issues, it begins substantially to shape the parameters of future regional relations. First, by negotiating individually, SADCC member countries are placed in a weak bargaining position; a one way interaction in which individual countries have very little leverage. Second, entering into new commitments now could create new realities, "facts on the grounds", that may be hard to alter in future. Third, bilateral dealings undermine the prospects of

cross-sectoral and regionally balanced trade-offs, which would be possible within the framework of multilateral negotiations after apartheid.

- d) These relations also pre-empt future options to realign relations in a post-apartheid Southern Africa on the basis of equity, balance and mutual benefit.

### 3.3.5 Recommendations

In the light of the foregoing, the Summit confirmed the following decisions of the JPC:

- a) Re-affirmed the decisions of the Summit and Council taken at the Arusha, August 1991, and Maputo, January 1992, meetings respectively. Specifically, member States should be urged not to further extend relations with the South African state, beyond existing levels.
- b) Reiterated earlier Council and Summit decisions requesting member States to consult closely among themselves, within SADCC and FLS, and with the Liberation Movements, on developments in, and relations with South Africa, with a view to involving common or comparable, coherent, consistent, transparent and effective regional strategies and approaches, in response to the changing situation in South Africa. In this regard, the Committee agreed to request individual member States, from time to time, to advise it on issues, concerns and interests that may affect or influence their positions and actions regarding South Africa.
- c) Agreed to take up at other fora, such as the OAU, the issue of the current extra-regional "scramble" for South Africa, which is not justified in terms of historical links, geographic proximity or emergency circumstances, and has the effect of undermining regional planning for future relationships.
- d) Directed the Secretariat to study and characterise the existing relations between individual member States and South Africa; and to assess the real and/or perceived national interests of member States, and make recommendations on realistic and practical regional approaches to relations with South Africa during the transition to democracy.

- e) Directed that, in these fast changing or extraordinary circumstances, the Secretariat assesses on a case by case basis, in consultation with Sector Coordinators and the Liberation Movements, and taking into account particular interests or concerns of member States or the region as a whole, the nature and/or levels of contacts or relations that may be established with South African institutions, and make recommendations to the JPC or any other relevant SADCC authority, accordingly.

#### 4. REGIONAL INTEGRATION

##### 4.1 ISSUES

- 4.1.1 The Summit noted that the draft Treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community provides for agreement on protocols on specific areas of integration. The proposed protocols would set-out the principles and objectives of integration, and determine the rules under which member States would conduct their relations in specific areas. The protocols would also form the basis for entry by any new members, including a democratic South Africa.
- 4.1.2 Hence, it was important to follow the signing of the Treaty with the elaboration of the issues, structure and timetable which would form the basis of negotiations on the protocols.
- 4.1.3 The Summit further agreed that some of the issues which would receive priority in the process of integration were:

- a) The People, Culture and Information

It was important to develop a popular constituency for regional integration, to ensure that the people of the region determine its content and direction. This could be achieved through raising awareness among the region's peoples about the ideals and benefits of regional integration. Toward this end, a cultural programme and information campaign must receive priority.

In addition, the facilitation of the movement of the people generally in the region, through such measures as the removal of existing visa requirements and other entry and exit encumbrances, taking into account the need to safeguard national security, maintain law and order and curb crime. The provision of SADCC desks at entry and departure points would also

help raise the profile of the Organisation among the ordinary people. In this regard, the Secretariat would reactivate the SADCC Immigration Facilitation Committee.

As the process of integration matures, consideration should be given to the establishment of representative bodies at the regional level.

b) Human Resources Development and Science and Technology

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, the improvement of productivity levels and the promotion of the mastery of science and technology.

c) Food Security, Land and Agriculture

The on-going drought had brought home the need to find a long-term solution to the problem of food insecurity in the region. The region has the necessary natural resources, but lacks the technology and the management and organisation to achieve sustainable food production to bring to an end regional, national and household food insecurity.

d) Investment, Market Integration and Financial Relations

Currently the region is over-dependent on donor resources to implement its programmes. Significant scope existed to mobilise the region's own resources.

The creation of the necessary facilities to mobilise the region's resources and to promote greater mobility of factors of production within the region, must receive early attention. Similarly, greater movement of goods and services in the region needed to be promoted by the progressive removal of barriers, particularly bureaucratic impediments, and creating the necessary trade infrastructure.

A comprehensive strategy and programme would be required to promote investment and production, including the creation of the relevant financial intermediaries. As a high priority, effective mechanisms would need to be put in place, for

development financing, money markets for trading in bonds, stocks shares and securities, across national borders.

The status of existing arrangements such as the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and bilateral arrangements, and relationships with the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA), would have to be determined in this context.

e) Employment and Labour

The region had a long history of migratory labour. It was a factor likely to feature very prominently in any discussion of a new economic dispensation in Southern Africa. It was important not to treat the issue in isolation, but to link it to regional relations in areas such as investment and trade flows.

f) Infrastructure and Services

The achievement of harmony between regional and national policies and plans, the enhancement of trade in services and the achievement of efficiency gains and financial viability and profitability for the regional infrastructure in transport, telecommunications, energy, etc. should be the objective of integration in this area.

Further, economies of scale and efficiencies suggest that regional entities in services such as railways, civil aviation, electricity etc, would yield maximum benefits to member States.

g) Natural Resources and the Environment

Arrangements for the joint management and sustainable utilisation of the shared resources of the region, and protection of the environment, should be put in place, to avoid conflict and the wasteful competition for these resources.

Arrangements were necessary for the processing of the region's raw materials, to add value to them, to produce goods which are currently imported and to achieve greater efficiency in the region's agro-industries and mineral beneficiation plants. This was likely to yield immediate real benefits for the region.

h) Harmonisation of National and Regional Policies

For regional development integration to be realised, national policies and plans of member States needed to be harmonised, in order to yield regional ones. Both macro-economic and sectoral policies and plans need to be harmonised. In this context, monetary cooperation and the harmonisation of monetary policies and exchange rates will receive priority. Hence, the institutions of member States and those of the Community, responsible for overall planning and policy analysis, would need to establish effective lines of communication and interaction.

i) Political Relations, Peace and Security

Measures to maintain harmonious inter-state political relations and shared political values, in such areas as observance of democratic principles, respect for human rights and the rule of law, must underpin arrangements for the proposed community.

In this context, it was necessary to provide a machinery for the avoidance, management and peaceful resolution of inter-state conflicts.

4.1.4 Standstill

The Summit noted that for the duration of the negotiations, it was important that member States refrain from taking measures that impact negatively on existing arrangements which are a subject of negotiations or interest under the Treaty. This arrangement should last until the negotiations in the specific areas are concluded.

4.1.5 Organisation and Structure of the Negotiations

4.1.5.1 The Summit noted that the nature of the issues required that both policy makers and technical experts be involved in the negotiations. In addition, many trade-offs across different areas of interest in the negotiations would be necessary. Hence the structure of negotiations should provide for a central authority to oversee the whole process, and to make the necessary trade-offs.

4.1.5.2 Summit also noted the following organisation and structure of negotiations:

- i) the Council of Ministers, supported by the Standing Committee, should be the central authority for the negotiations;



- ii) sector ministers, supported by officials and experts, should be responsible for negotiating specific protocols and report to the Council of Ministers;
- iii) any issues which cannot be resolved by Council should be referred to the Summit;
- iv) the Secretariat, assisted by the Sector Coordinating Units, be the central organiser and manager of the negotiations. In this regard, the Secretariat would undertake the preparatory work, including studies, the production of draft protocols, etc. In order to carry out this function, the capacity of the Secretariat would need strengthening, as appropriate, especially through the use of short-term consultants.

#### 4.1.6 Process and Timetable

- 4.1.6.1 Summit noted that following the signing of the Treaty the following process was envisaged:

Stage 1: The development of the theme document for the 1993 Conference which would help identify the broad issues for negotiations in all the areas of interest to member States. This would be followed by area specific studies and the formulation of draft protocols.

Internal consultation among member States, including governments, business and other non-governmental organisations.

Stage 2: Formal negotiations on the basis of the proposed protocols.

Stage 3: Establishment, rationalisation or strengthening of the institutions and mechanisms to implement the agreed protocols.

- 4.1.6.2 The overall time-frame for the establishment of the Community should be such that the Community was fully operational within the 34 years targeted for the establishment of the African Economic Community (AEC).

#### 4.2 FORMALISATION

- 4.2.1 The Summit considered the Report of the Team of Advisors appointed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers in October 1989, to assist in the task of formalisation of SADCC.

- 4.2.2 The Summit also considered the following documents:
- a) A draft Declaration, focusing on regional integration, and the establishment of a community of Southern African states.
  - b) A draft Treaty, establishing the Southern African Development Community (SADC).
  - c) A draft Protocol on Immunities and Privileges.
- 4.2.3 In considering the Draft Treaty, the Summit noted that there was no explicit provision in the Treaty nor in the recommendations of the Council, that SADC would succeed SADCC. The Summit was concerned that appropriate provisions be made for the staff, assets, liabilities, obligations and activities of SADCC to legally and formally pass to SADC.
- 4.2.4 The Summit, therefore, directed the Executive Secretary to review this matter and arrange accordingly.
- 4.2.5 Further, the Summit approved, and its members signed the Declaration, Treaty and Protocol on Privileges and Immunities.

## 5. SADCC/PTA RELATIONS

- 5.1 The Summit noted that, at its meeting, held in Lusaka, from 30th to 31st January, 1992, the PTA Authority resolved that SADCC and the PTA be merged into a Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA).
- 5.2 The Summit also noted that the Chairman of the PTA conveyed the Resolution on the merger, to the Chairman of SADCC in May 1992.
- 5.3 The Summit further noted that, according to the Resolution, the basis for the Authority's decision that SADCC and the PTA should merge was that:
- a) the duplication of regional organisations in the sub-region, such as the PTA and SADCC, hindered rather than enhanced the process of integration;
  - b) cooperation between these institutions aimed at avoiding duplication of efforts had not been effective;
  - c) it would be in the best interest of the sub-region to have one single sub-regional group as a building block for Eastern and Southern Africa, within the context of the African Economic Community.

5.4 The Summit noted that SADCC positions and actions with regard to the two Organisations had been based on the recognition and clear understanding that:

- a) the two Organisations existed as conscious creations of their member States;
- b) their objectives, mandates, and programmes were clearly defined;
- c) efforts would be made to avoid conflict, duplication and overlap, and rationalise the programmes, projects and activities of the two Organisations to minimise costs and maximise the benefits to their common members.

5.5 The Summit further recalled that the Chairman undertook a mission to member States in May, 1992, to consult on, among other issues, the PTA proposal for the merger of the two Organisations. A copy of the Chairman's report had been made available to members of the Summit. The following points emerged from the Chairman's consultations with member States:

- a) Member States were generally agreed that the objectives and mandates of the two Organisations were not incompatible, but in fact mutually supportive. The two Organisations should, therefore, subsist as autonomous entities.
- b) Countries with dual membership should maintain consistent and coherent positions in the two Organisations, and for the Organisations themselves to establish and apply effective mechanisms to avoid conflict and duplication, and enhance complementarity in their activities.
- c) The creation and or consolidation of regional groupings should be based on affinities and prospects or real opportunities for meaningful relations and economic exchanges. Southern African countries were closely bound by common historical, cultural, economic and political links. They, therefore, formed a coherent community, which made SADCC a natural and logical grouping for them. The political harmony and goodwill which existed among SADCC member States were strong factors for peace, security and stability, and economic cooperation and integration in the region.
- d) Member States referred to the Abuja Treaty establishing the Pan-African Economic Community, and its provisions for Regional Economic Communities to be the building blocks for the gradual establishment of the Pan-African Community. The Treaty calls upon the member States of such regional communities to strengthen them. In this regard, member States

recalled the OAU classification of Africa into five regions of North, West, Central, East and Southern Africa. The majority of SADCC member States belonged to the Southern Africa region, and those which did not, had evolved strong political and economic links and affinities which enabled them practically to belong to the Southern Africa region;

- e) The achievements of SADCC could be diluted, if not endangered by widening the geographic ambit. SADCC had demonstrated, in practical terms, that it was a living reality and a viable and productive regional entity.
- f) Member States also expressed concern over the procedure adopted by the PTA on this matter. Not only was there no prior consultation with SADCC, but the issue was not properly discussed within the PTA. Besides, the general view of member States represented at the meeting of the PTA Authority was that the resolution to merge SADCC and the PTA was intended to be a proposal for consideration by member States, and not a final decision.

#### 5.6 The Summit:

- a) confirmed the consensus of member States that the two Organisations had distinct objectives and mandates and must, therefore, continue to exist as autonomous, but complementary entities;
- b) re-affirmed previous positions and procedures to avoid conflict and duplication with the PTA, and maximise benefits of memberships of both;
- c) directed the Council of Ministers to commission an independent study to advise on how best to harmonise relations between SADCC and PTA, in the context of the process toward the establishment of the African Economic Community; and
- d) requested the Chairman to convey its decisions to the Chairman of the PTA.

#### 6. AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (AEC) AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES (RECs)

- 6.1 The Summit recalled that, at its meeting in Arusha in August 1991, it directed that SADCC should work towards the establishment of a regional economic community for Southern African States.

- 6.2 Further, the Summit noted that both the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Treaty establishing the AEC envisage the RECs to be the building blocks for the continental community.
- 6.3 An examination of the provisions of the Abuja Treaty and the Draft Protocol on RECs suggests that they do not reflect the policy and strategy of regional building blocks. Both the Treaty and the Draft Protocol on RECs, provide for a direct link between the AEC and member States, instead of the link being established with the chosen RECs of the member States.
- 6.4 The Summit noted that the Council had observed that:
- a) the procedures being followed in the elaboration of these arrangements do not accord Regional Economic Groupings (REGs) meaningful status and role in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Although they are invited to, and some do attend meetings, generally they are not afforded opportunities to contribute. When they endeavour to make contributions, as SADCC has consistently done, through written comments, these are just disregarded by the OAU or its consultants;
  - b) member States might wish to consider strengthening their involvement in the Permanent Steering Committee (PSC) negotiations, by bringing representatives from economic and technical ministries;
  - c) there was very little liaison and consultation between member States and the Secretariat, both before and during the meeting of the PSC.
- 6.5 The Summit further noted that, in the light of the foregoing, the Council had agreed to:
- a) express concern that the evolution of the AEC, especially the concept of regional building blocks, is not being reflected in the Draft Protocol on RECs;
  - b) direct the Executive Secretary to convey the concern at (a) above, to the Secretary General of the OAU;
  - c) direct the Executive Secretary, in consultation with Chief Executives of the other REGs, to consult with the Secretary General of the OAU, with a view to affording RECs a meaningful role in the development and operation of the AEC, including especially in the drafting and negotiations of the Protocols on RECs and sectoral areas;
  - d) direct the Executive Secretary and Sector Coordinators to liaise with, and advise member States effectively on issues of concern to SADCC and the region, in the process of building the AEC;

- e) direct SADCC member States, especially in the OAU PSC, to strengthen the capacity of their negotiators, and adopt common positions reflecting the decisions of SADCC on matters relating to the OAU/AEC/REGs.

## 7. ANNUAL REPORT

7.1 The Summit considered the draft Annual Report, and in particular, noted the following:

- a) The quest for democracy and popular participation in the management of public affairs is spreading fast and wide throughout the region. The management of economic affairs was being reformed to allow for greater efficiency, economy, least-cost and competitiveness.
- b) In Angola, the foundation for lasting peace and security is being established following the 1991 peace agreement. It was important that all political parties in Angola exercised the necessary tolerance and restraint as they go through the period of elections, and seek to establish permanent structures and institutions that will safeguard peace and democracy.
- c) In Mozambique the Agreement between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama, reached in Rome on 7th August, 1992, holds promise for, at least, an end to hostilities; and hopefully a total peace agreement.
- d) Changes of leadership through the electoral process should herald a new era of political tolerance across the region, and help strengthen national unity and reconciliation.
- e) The region regrets the delay by the South African Government to reach agreement with Namibia on, and calls for the return of Walvis Bay to Namibia, urgently.
- f) In South Africa, the process to end apartheid, and to bring about a democratic dispensation has run into difficulties. This is largely because the regime is refusing to commit itself to universally accepted principles, agree on effective and democratic transitional arrangements, and to end violence. The return to negotiations must be based on some undertakings by the regime on these matters.

- g) Member States had affirmed that SADCC would be the vehicle for integration in Southern Africa. In this respect SADCC was being formalised and a Treaty establishing The Southern African Development Community (SADC) had been signed. The Treaty provided for:
- i) deeper economic cooperation and integration, on the basis of balance, equity and mutual benefit, providing for cross-border investment and trade, and freer movement of factors of production, goods and services across national boundaries;
  - ii) common economic, political, social values and systems, enhancing enterprise, competitiveness, democracy and good governance, respect for the rule of law and the guarantee of human rights, popular participation and alleviation of poverty; and,
  - iii) strengthened regional solidarity, peace and security, in order for the people of the region to live and work in peace and harmony.
- h) In order to translate these goals into actionable activities, SADCC and member States would need to evolve appropriate policies and strategies to mobilise resources for the implementation of agreed programmes and projects, and establish effective and efficient institutional and other mechanisms.
- i) The region was devastated by the worst drought in living memory. In this regard, SADCC established a Regional Drought Task Force which operates at the level senior officials and ministers of Agriculture and Transport; with a mandate to manage all aspects of the drought relief programme.
- j) SADCC and the United Nations organised a major International Conference in Geneva, at which food aid pledges equivalent to about US\$600 million were made, out of a total appeal for about US\$850 million. The pledges were being followed up to ensure food came into the region. Besides the resources pledged in Geneva, member States would need to make available more of their own resources for the importation of food and other requirements, and provide water, in order to save the lives of people and animals.
- k) The Food Security Sector would finalise the Regional Food Reserve Project, which was part of the long-term strategy for ensuring that the region was not caught unprepared by future droughts.

- l) The world recession continued to affect demand for raw materials from the developing countries, which accounted for 60%-70% of their export earnings. The implications for the economies of SADCC member States included loss of revenue to meet investment requirements, importation of essential goods and services, and debt service obligations.
- m) The economies of most SADCC countries, except for Zambia, recorded positive growth rates over the period under review.
- n) The SADC Programme of Action continues to be the physical manifestation of cooperation among member States. Appreciable progress continued to be made in the implementation of programmes and projects in the sectors of Agricultural Research and Training, Energy and Transport and Communications. Efforts were also underway in the sectors of Human Resources Development, Industry and Trade, Mining and Tourism, to implement or formulate their strategies and policies, including mechanisms for involving the enterprise sector. The Environment and Land Management Sector was in the process of assessing the implications of the Rio Earth Summit on the SADCC Programme of Action. Coordinating Units for the new sectors of Culture and Information, and Marine Fisheries and Resources, coordinated by Mozambique and Namibia respectively, were now fully operational; and were formulating sectoral policies and strategies.

8. CHAIRMAN

The Summit re-affirmed H.E. Sir Ketumile Masire, President of Botswana, as Chairman of SADC.

9. COMMUNIQUE

The Summit approved the Communique (Appendix II).





A G E N D A

1. ADOPTION OF AGENDA
2. REVIEW OF THE REGIONAL SITUATION
3. REPORT OF JOINT PLANNING COMMITTEE
4. REGIONAL INTEGRATION
  - 4.1 ISSUES
  - 4.2 FORMALISATION
5. SADCC/PTA RELATIONS
6. AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY
7. ANNUAL REPORT
8. VENUE FOR NEXT MEETING
9. ANY OTHER BUSINESS
10. COMMUNIQUE



OPENING STATEMENT BY H.E. Q. K. J. MASIRE  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA AND  
CHAIRMAN OF SADCC

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Your Excellency, Dr. Sam Nujoma,  
President of the Republic of Namibia,  
Your Excellencies, Heads of State or Government,  
Honourable Ministers,  
Distinguished Guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is a great honour and privilege for me to express on your behalf, our sincere gratitude to His Excellency the President, Mr. Sam Nujoma, the Government and people of Namibia, for the warm welcome and generous hospitality extended to us; and for the excellent arrangements made for our work.

To many of us, this beautiful country and its resourceful people symbolise the spirit and the vision of a new Southern Africa. A region in which we are building on our historical linkages, common experiences and collective interests, to forge a shared future of democracy, peace, equity and prosperity, in community.

The birth of an independent Namibia two years ago, heralded the dawn of a new era of hope for our region. The last vestiges of colonialism came to an end, and the regional grand designs of apartheid collapsed. It is, proper that we are meeting here in Windhoek, so that together, as a family, we can pay homage to the people of Namibia. Many of us were here, on that historic and momentous night of March 21st, 1990. We shared in the joy and pride of seeing the Namibian flag raised, and a new star rise. We also wish to bask in the warmth, and breathe the freshness of Namibia, as we address profound issues and make far-reaching choices on the future of Southern Africa and its people.

Talking about freshness and freshmen, allow me, Your Excellencies, to welcome very heartily, President Chiluba, to this his first SADCC Summit. We all extended congratulations to you, Mr. President, in October 1991; and we have already met you many times in different fora. However, I wish, in the name of this 1992 SADCC Summit, to congratulate you and the people of Zambia - you did us all proud.

When we met in Arusha last year, we made some serious analysis of the dramatic developments taking place in our region, the continent and the world at large; and we concluded that the situation required a concerted regional response. We also re-affirmed our vision of a future of togetherness, and our commitment to regional integration.

We, therefore, agreed that it was necessary for SADC to assert the leadership of the region, and to establish a framework and formulate strategies for the management of future relations in Southern Africa. The approach and strategies for achieving this vision of our future were articulated in this year's Conference Theme: SADC: Towards Economic Integration.

At that same Arusha meeting, we congratulated our Angolan brothers and sisters on having committed themselves to peace. We urged them to spare no effort to ensure that peace takes hold, and the process of democratisation and national unity bears fruit. We also assured them of the region's solidarity and support. In that regard, we are indeed proud to see that Angolans have largely embraced each other in the name of peace, democracy and national unity. We observe with excitement, expectation and overall satisfaction, the preparations for the first multiparty elections. It is our sincere hope that all the parties involved will exercise restraint and maturity, in the build-up to September 1992.

In Mozambique our beloved brothers and sisters are sparing no effort to find a lasting solution to the cruel war that has ravaged their country, and sapped its people of life, for so long. We commend President Chissano and his Government for the selfless efforts they have deployed in search of peace. We were particularly gratified by the meeting between President Mugabe and Mr. Dhlakama in Gaborone in July, followed by the meeting between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama in Rome two weeks ago. The agreement reached in Rome holds the greatest hope for establishing peace and normalcy in their country. Peace for them is peace for us all. Allow me, in this regard, to commend President Mugabe personally, and the people of Zimbabwe, for their contributions to our efforts to find peace in Mozambique.

Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

We continue to follow events in South Africa with a mixture of hope and dismay. We welcomed the commencement of negotiations under CODESA, as the most viable and realistic option for a peaceful end to apartheid. However, we are gravely disturbed by the stalemate in the negotiations.

The incidence of violence, epitomised by the Boipatong massacre, has reached intolerable levels in peace time. We hold the South African Government responsible because it has the power and the authority to stop the escalation of political violence. We, therefore, call upon the Government to do everything in its power to remove all obstacles that stand in the way of negotiations.

It is not our responsibility, or intention to prescribe a formula to the people of South Africa on how to resolve their political problem. But we must make it clear to them, especially to the South African Government, that the region, the continent, and indeed the world at large, expect them to accept genuinely and honestly, the basic principles of democracy. We also expect them

to agree among themselves on the process and institutions that will yield and sustain normal democracy.

We are also deeply perturbed by the failure of the black leadership to forge effective unity, act in unison and speak with one voice. The leaders of the oppressed majority know better than us, that the lack of effective unity among them has offered an opportunity for the regime to vacillate. We, therefore, urge them very strongly to re-activate the Patriotic Front, and consolidate the position of the majority in the negotiation process.

Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

A devastating drought has hit our region. Last year's rains almost totally failed. Production of staple food crops is estimated at far less than normal requirements. The lives of over 18 million people in all the countries of Southern Africa are at risk. We need to secure 12 million tonnes of grain to avoid large-scale famine in the region.

The severity of the drought goes beyond human requirements for food. There are serious shortages of water and forage for both domestic and wild animals, which face emaciation and death in large numbers. The economic, social and environmental consequences of this drought are profound and pervasive, and will be felt for many years to come.

I wish to take this opportunity to commend our Sectors responsible for agriculture and transport, for their timely action in formulating an actionable regional response to the drought.

The Regional Drought Task Force, set up in April this year, assisted by our Secretariat, has so far made appreciable progress in coordinating the procurement and movement of food imports. To reinforce the region's own efforts to combat the effects of drought, the UN and SADCC collaborated in launching a programme for international assistance. This programme was presented to a Joint SADCC/UN conference convened in Geneva, two months ago. I had the honour and privilege to preside over that meeting on your behalf.

The response received from the international community was positive and substantial, particularly given the short time during which the preparations were made for the conference. Pledges amounting to over US\$500 million were made, out of about US\$850 million needed. I take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to the international community for this positive and prompt response to our plight.

This drought, perhaps more than anything else, has put to severe test, both our commitment and capability to work together, for the common good. Our response has been effective. I take this opportunity to thank Your Excellencies, Your Ministers and Officials for the single-minded and purposeful way in which we

are all pulling together. But more importantly, I thank the many thousands of Southern Africans, stevedores, enginemen, drivers, forwarders and clearing agents, who are working day and night, to make food reach the people.

Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

What I have just said, sets the background against which this 1992 SADCC Summit is meeting to make momentous decisions that will determine the fate of both the region and our organisation, for generations to come.

This Summit, indeed, marks a historic turning point, a beacon to the future. In the past 12 years SADCC has functioned reasonably well, as a loose and informal Organisation, concerned primarily with the coordination of discrete projects. In the same period, the region and SADCC have lived through the nightmare of aggression and destabilisation.

The wheel of history is turning; prospects for peace are brighter, SADCC is maturing, but the challenges facing us remain complex. It was both in recognition and anticipation of these realities that Your Excellencies decided, at our 1989 Summit, that SADCC should be formalised and given appropriate legal status. After painstaking efforts, our Council of Ministers will today present for our consideration and, hopefully, approval, a report on the formalisation of SADCC. They will also present a draft Declaration and draft Treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

During the month of May, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and I, between us, visited all member States of SADCC, including Botswana. We met with Heads of State and Government, Ministers and Officials to seek their views on the future of our region, and SADCC in it. You were all very generous with your time. But more, we were gratified by the candidness of your expressions, and the clarity and firmness of your positions. We were also struck by the similarity, almost identity, of your positions.

All the matters you discussed with us are on your agenda today. Since there was so much convergence and commonality of positions, I am taking the liberty to summarise what you told us, as follows:

- (i) It is both imperative and urgent that we work to integrate our economies and communities. This integration must yield equity, balance and mutual benefit for all of us. We all need to feel better off together than alone.
- (ii) SADCC must be strengthened, to provide the region with an appropriate and effective vehicle for integration. The report on the formalisation of SADCC, including the Draft Declaration and Treaty were acceptable in terms of the principles and policies. These were

polished up by officials and ministers in readiness for your consideration today.

- (iii) The lack of progress in the negotiations in South Africa is regrettable. The situation there has not advanced enough to warrant a change of strategy on our part, vis-a-vis relations with the regime. It is, therefore, necessary for us to continue to work together, to strengthen our common positions and render them effective. This is necessary both to strengthen the hand of our oppressed brothers and sisters in the negotiations, and also not to pre-empt the re-ordering of our relations after democracy in South Africa.

In that regard, I am glad that the Summit will consider a report of the SADCC Joint Planning Committee. As you will recall, we established this committee to direct and oversee the orderly development of regional relations and cooperation, including a democratic South Africa.

Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

I wish to point out that, as we reaffirm our principles and policies, and refine our strategies, we should be mindful that our countries are party to other regional arrangements. In addition, Southern African countries have made a serious commitment to participate actively in the efforts towards the gradual establishment of the African Economic Community. It is, therefore, necessary for us to coordinate and harmonise our national and regional positions, to avoid inconsistencies and possible conflicts, so that we can derive maximum benefit from our membership of the organisations.

Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

The Community we are proposing to build will only succeed if it finds its life and sustenance from the direct and full involvement of the region's citizens and their institutions. They must make an input into the designing of its form and content. They need to participate fully, both as direct actors in, and as receivers of the benefits of, regional cooperation and integration. For this level of popular participation to be realised, it is necessary that our countries and the region as a whole, put in place an enabling environment providing for genuine democracy, good governance, human rights and the rule of law. We need to encourage our people to give their best in the process of developing the Community without discrimination on the basis of colour, ethnicity, gender or religion.



In conclusion, I wish to convey my sincere thanks to you, Heads of State and Government, for the honour and support you have given my country, and me personally, as Chairman of SADCC. May I also extend gratitude to our Ministers, Senior Officials, the Executive Secretary and staff of the Secretariat and Sector Coordinating Units, for the dedicated service they continue to selflessly render to our region.

Long Live SADCC!

THANK YOU.

STATEMENT BY H.E. J. A. CHISSANO  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

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Dr. Sam Nujoma, President of the Republic of Namibia,  
Distinguished Heads of State or Government  
of SADC Member States;

Dr. Simba Makoni, Executive Secretary of SADC;  
Distinguished Members of the Diplomatic Corps;  
Distinguished Representatives of Donor  
countries and International Organizations;

Dear Guests;

Ladies and Gentlemen;

First of all I would like, on behalf of the delegation accompanying me and on my own behalf, to convey our warm greetings and sincere gratitude for the friendly welcome and hospitality which the Namibian people have extended to us since our arrival in this beautiful city of Windhoek.

To the Namibian people I bring profound fraternal greetings from the Mozambican people and sincere wishes of success of this meeting.

#### Excellencies

Once again the great family of the Southern region of our continent has gathered here to mark the beginning of a new era of economic cooperation for the integrated development of our countries.

This surely constitutes an important and historic landmark for the peoples of our region.

The event that we have just witnessed brings new and exciting challenges to our capacity and resolve to see the desires and aspirations of our peoples, our countries and the Southern African region materialise into concrete achievements.

With the signing of the Treaty, the SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY - SADC has become a reality, the structure of which requires solid foundations and consolidation so that our Organisation may respond to the national, regional, african and international situations.

SADC is a regional integration instrument for promoting interdependence, sustainable economic development, and a strong regional market, as well as strengthening and consolidating

historic, social and cultural ties existing between the peoples of the region. In short, SADC exists for the economic, social and cultural emancipation of the peoples of Southern Africa.

When we signed the African Economic Community Treaty in Abuja, we undertook to establish, at the regional level, economic integration communities among groups of countries sharing similar social and economic interests.

In our region, relevant studies by experts commissioned by our Organisation, were already underway, thus making this dream a reality. We may therefore, conclude that with this Declaration and Treaty, we have materialized not only the will of the peoples of the Southern Africa but also, and most essentially, the wishes of the African Continent and, perhaps, those of the International Community.

Mr. Chairman;  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Republic of Mozambique attaches particular relevance to regional economic integration for history itself, and geography, have profoundly linked my country to more than half of the countries of our region. This is the great challenge which impels us to reaffirm before this august forum our firm and resolute will to continue to cooperate with the same commitment and responsibility as in the past.

When we took the task of coordinating the development of transport and communications, in a situation of total destabilization of our country, we did so with the conviction that our survival depends on the joint efforts of all countries of the region, regardless of the internal situation prevailing in each member State.

The courage, perseverance and human and material sacrifice which we, all, had to concede, today are a testimony that it was worth investing in laying the foundations for the creation of the Southern Africa Development Community.

We are further encouraged by the light of peace which we see in Mozambique.

In fact, at the meeting that I recently had in Rome with the leader of RENAMO, a Joint Declaration was signed, establishing October 1 as the deadline for the conclusion of the negotiations and the signing of the respective General Peace Agreement.

Thus, nothing else remains but the road to reconciliation, national reconstruction and development, such factors which shall boost the regional integration that we are promoting here.

It is, therefore, becoming clear to my country and to all countries and peoples of the region that peace, harmony and Tranquillity in Mozambique constitute a primordial factor for the harmonious coexistence and cooperation between our peoples and countries.

The Joint Declaration signed on the 7th of August, this year, in Rome, is an important landmark, for we have created the certainty that the war in Mozambique is coming to an end.

Your Excellencies, the Presidents have always supported and encouraged us in finding the path in order to put an end to the conflict in Mozambique. We would, therefore, like to express our gratitude to all, and in particular to President Mugabe for the success of the meeting of Rome.

We reiterate, here at this august assembly, our determination of doing all we can so that the commitments undertaken may be translated into reality. We are hopeful that at the next Summit, we will have peace in Mozambique.

Mr. Chairman,

It is true to say that in order to achieve greater success in our objectives peace in Angola and Mozambique is important and fundamental. For the same purpose peace is equally indispensable in South Africa.

There is no doubt with regard to our firm determination to see a democratic, apartheid-free and peaceful South Africa welcomed into our Organisation, within the institutional framework provided for in the Treaty that we have just signed.

We, therefore, reaffirm our strong desire to see the democratic process proceed in a more speedy manner in South Africa, so that she may as soon as possible join the SADC family. CODESA should resume its activities and continue to search until it finds the most appropriate ways for putting an end to the suffering of the South African people. CODESA should bring peace and real opportunities for participation, through democratic mechanisms, by all South Africans in deciding the destiny of their country as well as sharing the benefits deriving from a non-racial democratic environment.

We reiterate our solidarity with the South African people and we reaffirm our conviction that international assistance to the initiatives by President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and all democratic and peace-loving forces in South Africa will be of extreme importance towards achieving a consensus among South Africans.

This new step which we have just initiated shall be an all embracing reality when the brotherly people and sister country of South Africa will be able to benefit and give their contribution to this project, the Southern Africa Development Community.

Within this all embracing context, the region should be better able to mobilize local resources, and even international resources for a genuine regional integration programme.

Mr. Chairman,  
Dear Guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I could not conclude my statement without conveying a few words of appreciation to His Excellency President Quett Masire for his valuable commitment and contribution in leading the process which culminated in the formalization of the SADCC. Without his efforts the results achieved today would not have been possible to attain.

Our congratulations are also extended to the Organization's Secretariat for having guided in the best possible manner the destinies of SADCC until we reached this new and higher state which is the Community.

We commend the team of advisers who have worked on the documents which we signed, for having been able to put together the contributions advanced by member States on such complex issues as the ones they dealt with.

Finally, and once again, I congratulate the Namibian people for being such honourable hosts of this historic ceremony, in which the peoples of the region are laying the foundations for more victories to come on the way to development.

Thank you President Nujoma for the hospitality of the Namibian people.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.  
A LUTA CONTINUA!

STATEMENT BY COMRADE SAM NUJOMA  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA

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Your Excellencies,  
Honourable Ministers,  
Honourable Members of Parliament,  
Your Excellencies Members of Diplomatic Corps,  
Distinguished Delegates and Invited Guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Comrades and Friends,

It is my great pleasure and honour to welcome you to our capital city Windhoek. It is indeed both an honour and a privilege for Namibia to be given the opportunity to host this important SADCC meeting. For the first time in the history of this very young nation we are witnessing a gathering of such high level of dignitaries from all over the Southern African region who have come to deliberate on matters which will, to a great extent, chart the future path and help determine the destiny of this sub-continent.

Mr. Chairman,

Over the last 12 years of its existence, SADCC has made remarkable strides in the overall development process of the Southern African region. So far more than 550 projects in mining, agriculture, industry, energy, transport and communication with an estimated cost of more than US\$8 billion are under implementation. Of particular significance is the fact that transport and communication, among member States, have been greatly enhanced and dependence on South Africa for, access to the sea, by the land-locked SADCC member States, reduced substantially. It is not without significance that Namibia, the newest member state of SADCC, now provides an alternative access route to the sea for most of the land-locked SADCC countries.

Another project which can be singled out is the Early Warning System to monitor resource levels and food security in the region. This system could not have been implemented at a better time when the region is severely affected by the drought. The information provided by the system will enable the region to identify the early critical areas where help is most needed. It is noteworthy that although Namibia had not been a beneficiary of the SADCC Programme of Action prior to its attainment of independence, the country is very eager to be speedily, fully and effectively integrated into the SADCC fold and programmes.

Mr. Chairman,

You will recall that the sector of Marine Fisheries and Resources was formally allocated to Namibia in Arusha, last year. Accordingly, we have proceeded and finalized the transfer of marine projects and documents from Malawi to Namibia. We have now also accomplished the organisation and staffing of the SADCC Co-ordinating Office for marine fisheries.

Namibia is fortunate to have been bestowed with one of the richest fishing grounds in the world. Our accession to SADCC has raised the tonnes to SADCC marine fish catch tonnage from about 600 000 to 1.3 million tonnes with a value of about 1.4 billion US dollars. Therefore, provided good fisheries management, and conservation policies and practises are applied, the entire SADCC region could easily yield an annual catch of well above 2.0 million tonnes of fish.

It is estimated that at the current rate of increase, the next 35 years will see SADCC populated by close to 200 million inhabitants.

And it is generally accepted that SADCC food production by far does not match the rapidly increasing populations of our region.

There is no doubt, therefore, that SADCC will have to turn more and more to its oceans, lakes, rivers and ponds for food requirements.

In Namibia, the main objective of the fishery policy of the Government is to ensure that fisheries resources are utilized on a sustainable basis so as to attain speedy and lasting contribution to the country's overall economic development.

Already, after only two years of independence there are positive signs of recovery of the fish stocks which were severely depleted during the colonial era. There is a well-controlled and well-managed fishing effort and the fishing sector's contribution to Namibia's GDP has increased from less than 2% in 1990 and 6,7% in 1991 and is projected to rise up to 9% by the end of 1992/93 fiscal year.

Our current fish production is roughly 500 kilograms of round fish weight per capita per year, whilst consumption is less than 4 kilograms per capita per year. At present, Namibia's fish markets are mainly located in Europe, but with an increased production and value adding, Namibia will probably have to look for alternative markets.

Horse-mackerel remains the largest fish resource occurring in the Namibia fishing waters. In the next five years it is expected that a total allowable catch of about 450 000 metric tones per year will be possible. It can firmly be argued that due to its relatively low price, horse-mackerel could reasonably satisfy

growing demands, posed by large sections of rural SADCC populations, for cheap and alternative sources of animal protein, especially during times of drought.

Mr. Chairman,

With its limited and overstretched financial resources, Namibia is making earnest efforts to provide the majority of its peoples who were denied full participation in the development process, the benefits accruing from the economic activities of their country. We recognize that to achieve economic development and growth in Namibia, there should prevail a peaceful and stable political environment; in furtherance of which the Government is ardently implementing a policy of national reconciliation.

Mr. Chairman,

Namibia remains fully committed to SADCC and recognizes that our membership in this important economic grouping with a population of over 70 million assures easy access to a large market for our export products, particularly fish and meat as well as manufactured goods. Furthermore, we see SADCC as featuring prominently in its investment and development programmes; and thus providing the best opportunity for satisfying the basic needs and aspirations of our people.

However, the path to growth and prosperity of the region will not be an easy one; it is fraught with obstacles and tough, and at times, perhaps, painful decisions will have to be made. I am happy to learn, however, that the Council of Ministers' meeting last Friday also recognised the fact that the creation of an environment conducive to increased investment is central to the strategy for regional integration. The most important impact of the creation of a regional market will be to spur new types of investment in more productive and competitive industries to supply the regional and international markets.

Harmonization of economic policies and plans, therefore, is imperative if regional integration is to become an intrinsic and integral part of the management of national affairs.

Our collective experience thus far in respect of resource mobilization, however, clearly points to an existence of a gap between declaration of intentions, however noble, and actual implementation on the ground.

Mr. Chairman,

Our meeting here today is an historic one. The hour has now arrived for a bolder and more dynamic SADCC to keep pace with international political and economic changes.



We need to guard against the danger, however remote that SADCC may one day no longer be a relevant body in a world where postwar blocs have disappeared. SADCC must be prepared to respond to change critically and effectively to maintain a competitive edge and to remain relevant lest we be completely marginalised.

We are called upon to rise to this historic occasion and put regional interests above national considerations and, if necessary, be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices and concession in the overall interest of the region - this would be the test of our political maturity. Allow me also to recall here, that last year, during the OAU Summit in Nigeria, we affixed our signatures to the "Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community" or in short the Abuja Treaty. In this connection we collectively undertook an obligation to promote ideals of greater continental economic unity and integration and to start looking beyond our national and regional concerns.

While on this topic of continental economic integration, I would like to suggest that the Summit should direct the Council of Ministers to commission an independent study to advise on how best to harmonise relations between SADC and PTA in the context of the process towards the establishment of the African Economic Community.

In the short-term, national governments may have to be prepared to accept initial losses of revenues and that inefficient sectors would become vulnerable to competition. But such painful measures may be necessary if, in the long-run, they result in more efficient and stronger economies leading to a better standard of living for the peoples of the region.

Mr. Chairman,

It is against this background that my Government wholeheartedly welcomes the transformation of our Organisation from one primarily concerned with project-coordination to deeper forms of integration. We stand ready to commit ourselves to the new Treaty of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and pledge to contribute our fullest weight to its success.

Our decision is based on SADCC's demonstrable achievements during the past 12 years. Central to these are that peaceful neighbourliness and co-operation; and a willingness to help each other towards economic development. It is, therefore, our conviction that if all nations of the Southern African Region were to adopt this approach to amicable neighbourly relations and economic development then we all could be equally prosperous. As Southern Africans, we are all only too painfully aware of the price of war, conflict and destabilization. A prosperous region will command respect and influence. And a stronger SADC would be better able to face new uncertainties in a rapidly changing world.

Mr. Chairman,

Unless our region can match the attractiveness of other regional groupings both as a target for investment and a market for their products, investments by global companies are likely to flow away from our part of the world to Northern Africa, ASEAN, the East Asian region and the Caribbean Basin amongst others. In addition, although the Central and Eastern European countries have not attracted much foreign investment they would become attractive low cost investment locations once they stabilize their domestic situations and establish free market economies.

Mr. Chairman,

The Windhoek Treaty to which we will commit ourselves today will effectively close the first chapter of our Organisation in which our energies were mainly directed at strategies and programmes to combat the predatory and destabilizing actions of apartheid South Africa.

Tomorrow will be the first day on the long road towards building a Southern African Development Community, (SADC) for which we have to marshal all our resources - including those of South Africa; for without the inclusion of the citizens of that country, our regional Community remains incomplete. We are closely studying the situation in that country with much concern.

Mr. Chairman,

We cannot express much more strongly our deep concern over the recent spate of violence, deaths in detention and the overall sense of lack of control by the authorities in South Africa over security force elements. All these convince us that a speedy transition must be made towards a democratic order in that country without any delay now. And we hope for an early birth of a democratic non-racial and united South Africa.

Mr. Chairman,

We salute the oppressed people of South Africa for their show of unity and moral victory over the regime during their week of mass action this month; and look forward to welcoming representatives of the Interim Government of South Africa to our next Summit.

We must not succumb to the colonial fragmentation of our peoples. The era of colonial and foreign rule has now come to an end in our region; and it is, therefore, be fitting that we as Southern African, chart our destiny collectively.

Mr. Chairman,

Once again, welcome to you all to Namibia. Together we can only win.

Long Live African Unity  
Long Live SADC  
Long Live the spirit of Windhoek

I thank you!

SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT H.E. ALI HASSAN MWINYI  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

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Mr. Chairman,  
Fellow Heads of State or Government,  
Your Excellencies  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of all my colleagues and on my own behalf, I would like to express our deep gratitude to the Government and the brotherly people of Namibia for the very warm welcome and generous hospitality accorded to us since our arrival in this beautiful City of Windhoek. We are especially grateful to our host, His Excellency President Sam Nujoma, for his moving address of welcome. This brotherly treatment makes us feel very much at home.

I am sure that my colleagues will also agree with me that the arrangements made for both our personal comfort and for our meeting, will greatly facilitate the success of our deliberations. These arrangements are indeed excellent despite the fact that this is the first SADCC Summit Meeting which Namibia is hosting since she attained her independence in 1990. This is a clear manifestation of Namibia's strong commitment to the goals and objectives of our Organisation

Mr. Chairman,

There are events in history that change the shape of our lives. Certainly the Organisation we set up over ten years ago has held us together through thick and thin. Over the years, we have harmoniously worked together and established trust among ourselves. Indeed, the fact that the Organisation functioned without a Treaty for all these years speaks louder than any words one can utter. As a consequence, we built a politically cohesive and an economically viable Organisation which has attracted international support. We are most grateful for the valuable financial support which our Organisation received and continues to receive from our friends and the international community as a whole.

We can also say, with pride, that SADCC played its modest role in bringing about the independence of Namibia, the tenth member of our Organisation. Furthermore SADCC member States, acting individually or collectively have contributed to the peace process in Angola and Mozambique. Again without stretching the truth, we can say that SADCC member States have contributed and are poised to continue to contribute to the achievement of majority rule in South Africa.

On the economic front SADCC has scored considerable success. We gave each other responsibilities in coordinating sectoral activities. Taken together SADCC has delivered tangible results and we can point to over two hundred measurable projects worth over US\$8.5 billion. This is no mean achievement. This success has been scored despite the massive destabilisation, wars of aggression and sabotage perpetrated by the apartheid regime of South Africa against SADCC member States.

What we have achieved however, is just a series of victories in battles. The war itself is yet to be won. The economic and political war will have been won when our declared aim for collective self reliance has been achieved. What we have achieved is as much a challenge as an incentive for us to continue to pursue our goals and objectives with greater confidence and stronger commitment.

Mr. Chairman,

The rapid political changes taking place in Southern Africa, particularly the dawning of majority rule in South Africa, will bring new challenges to SADCC. The challenge is how to find ways of maintaining the sustainability of the SADCC's Programme of Action in the unfolding political and economic situation. I am highly encouraged by our Organization's preparedness to meet the new challenges.

Today's events, for example, have great historical significance. They will shape the future of our region. We are assembled here to formalise our Organisation by way of a Treaty. This is a momentous event. At the stroke of the pen we will signal our determination to forge stronger and closer cooperation. By so doing we will be proclaiming our commitment to make all the necessary sacrifices in national sovereignty for the collective good of our region and our people.

Allow me to put this historical moment in its context. At Harare in 1989, we the Heads of State or Government expressed the wish to see SADCC formalised. The Council then appointed a Team of Advisors, lead by Prof. Kighoma A. Malima of Tanzania to study the issue and to make suitable recommendations. Those recommendations are here with us. They are a culmination of consultations held within and outside our region and at all levels for more than two years.

Mr. Chairman,

Speaking for the United Republic of Tanzania, I have no hesitation in accepting the recommendation that SADCC be formalised by way of a Treaty. I have no hesitation because the Treaty incorporates the principles of integration deemed beneficial to member States. Cardinal among them are the principle of equity, balance and mutual benefit. These are the essence of any cooperation arrangement. Previous integration efforts floundered because member States flouted these principles and pursued "beggar-thy-neighbour" policies.

Economic integration is the tide of the times. Everywhere in the world, in America, Asia and Europe the trend is towards the establishment of bigger and stronger economic entities. We in Africa and SADCC in particular cannot afford to be the exception in a world characterised by giant economic blocs and inequitable economic relations. By supporting each other, by pooling our resources together and by pulling each other along the rough road towards economic integration, we will make faster progress towards economic and social development. On the other hand, working alone, we run the risk of being ignored and further marginalised. By competing against each other, we are in effect working against each other. This is self defeating. We should always remember that collective self reliance is better than collective selfishness.

Mr. Chairman,

The integration approach we have chosen for ourselves is, in our view the best there is. A development integration approach which put emphasis on production, infrastructure building, investment and trade holds the best prospects for yielding beneficial results. I am deeply conscious of the fact that integration requires harmonisation of our national policies. It means that we should strive to forge an organic link between our national plans and regional plans. I am confident that we will succeed in this endeavour because we are all deeply committed to the promotion of economic integration in our region.

Mr. Chairman,

I am equally conscious of the fact that SADCC is not the only organisation seeking to promote integration in our region. The Preferential Trade Area also exists to promote the same aims among its member States eight of whom are also SADCC members. Over the last ten years PTA has recorded a number of achievements including trade liberalisation, facilitation of transit transport, the establishment of a payments mechanisms and the setting up of a trade and development bank. It is also possible that, other organisations may come into existence, seeking to draw Southern African countries into integration schemes of all sorts.

The question of the proliferation of regional cooperation institutions has been of great concern to all of us for quite sometime. We do need to give this issue serious consideration in order to find ways and means of dealing with it effectively. In so doing we should take full account of SADCC's achievements, the prospects it holds for the future, the support it has attracted from donor countries and the credibility it enjoys within the international community.

As I stated earlier the kind of economic cooperation which holds the best prospects for the future is that which promotes increased production and the building of physical and social infrastructure. That is what SADCC has been striving to achieve with admirable success. It is that success which has motivated

us to consider signing the Treaty to formalize the existence of SADCC. By signing that Treaty we will be giving SADCC a legal lease of life or existence because we all want it to continue to serve interests of the countries and peoples of this region.

It is Tanzania's view, therefore, that our consideration of this issue should focus on the best ways and means of avoiding duplication of efforts among the various cooperation institutions in the region. We should intensify our efforts to minimize the areas of conflict and maximize the areas of cooperation.

Finally I wish to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the characteristic able manner in which you continued to coordinate the activities of our Organisation during the past twelve months. I wish to thank you in particular for the excellent work you did at the recent Geneva Pledging Conference for food assistance in our area. The Conference has heightened the awareness of the international community to the gravity of the unprecedented drought and famine that has hit our region. It was your wise leadership which made the Conference such a great success. I also commend the work done by the Sector Coordinator - the sister Republic of Zimbabwe, our able Secretariat and the United Nations Centre for Humanitarian Assistance.

On her part, Tanzania will not leave any stone unturned in her efforts to ensure a fast and smooth handling of imported food through the Dar es Salaam Harbour to the intended destinations. I hope that we will all continue to work closely together in overcoming such operational problems as shortage of wagons and slow turn-around.

Let me conclude my remarks by reiterating our sincere thanks and gratitude to our host, His Excellency President Nujoma, his esteemed Government and the brotherly people of Namibia for the warm welcome and generous hospitality which we continue to enjoy. We wish them greater success in their noble task of national reconstruction and development.

Thank you for your attention.

STATEMENT BY H.E. F. J. T. CHILUBA  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

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Your Excellency, President Sam Nujoma,  
President of the Republic of Namibia  
Your Excellency Sir Ketumile Masire,  
President of the Republic of Botswana  
And Chairman of SADCC,  
Your Excellencies, Heads of state or Government,  
Honourable Ministers,  
Invited Guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen.

The unparalleled fraternity of Africanness; the open arms with which I and my delegation have been embraced, enveloped me in the brotherly warmth of oneness, allowing me the kind of words that I am about to say. Away from home, yet at home here in Namibia, in the caring hands of my brother, President Sam Nujoma. Brother, I salute you for the excellent arrangements made for this Summit and making us feel at home, in your home once again; indeed we are one family.

Your Excellencies,

Since I am addressing this august assembly for the first time as President and Head of State of the Republic of Zambia, permit me firstly to pay my most deserving tribute to the Founding Fathers of our institution - SADCC, for the vision they had, which has served and continued to serve the peoples of our sub-region. We as a new government are willing to learn from your experience and wisdom in handling the affairs of SADCC in a changing regional and international environment. We are ready to further the objectives, and their implementation in the interest of all the peoples of the sub-region.

Your Excellencies,

You will recall that one of the first things I did when I took office was to undertake a visit to all the neighbouring states and invariably some member States of SADCC. I took this action because I cherish the relationship that exists between our respective countries. It is important that our march towards economic integration continues and should be accelerated.

My government and the people of Zambia attach great significance to the existence of SADCC not only because it integrates our region in the socio-economic spheres, but also because it unites us in finding solutions to our common development problems.



Your Excellencies,

I see total decolonisation, political democratisation and economic liberalisation in our sub-continent, coupled with economic integration, as the great way forward for the development of our region. For us, here present today, therefore, regional unity is not a matter of words and declarations, it is a deliberate, committed, tangible economic programme, involving exchange of products, involving movement of investible resources and increased productivity in our economies. It is a programme, above all, for human upliftment.

We also have harsh realities to contend with: our countries are facing severe economic crisis, compounded by natural calamities such as famine, drought and desertification, as well as other man-made calamities like civil strife, destabilisation and the consequent problems of refugees and displaced persons.

Your Excellencies,

This places before us the imperative need to seek urgent regional initiatives to deal with these crucial issues in the short, medium and long term. The achievement of sustained and equitable development remains the greatest challenge facing us all because although we have made good progress over the past generation, a lot of our people still live in abject poverty and suffer grossly inadequate access to the facilities of education, health, and other social services, and resources such as infrastructure, land and credit, which are required to give them a chance to a better life.

Your Excellencies,

I realise that SADCC has only been in existence for about a decade. This is not a long time - we may still have teething problems. Nevertheless we should ensure that our Organisation is more effective.

There is need, therefore, to adopt strategies that will enable us to strengthen our regional capacity to deal with emerging developments.

May I hasten to mention that being members of SADCC does not mean that we are delinking ourselves from the international economic process. To the contrary, it is a pointer to the fact that as SADCC member States we are reorganising ourselves to be better partners so as to get the maximum out of international economic cooperation. We should, therefore, harness our collective efforts to redress the critical bottlenecks that we face in order to better absorb economic assistance, which will enable us to develop sustainable economies.

Making our regional Organisation more effective has become even more important now. Prospects are growing for peace and stability in Angola and Mozambique. For more than 15 years the development of Angola and Mozambique was crippled by war, causing

needless human suffering especially for women and children. In South Africa we have seen the beginning of the end of the apartheid system. The change I believe is irreversible and it is change for human freedom and democracy. We only hope that the impasse that currently exist between the De Klerk Government and the ANC will soon be resolved so that the Convention for Democratic South Africa (CODESA), or any other agreed forum by all South Africans, could produce complete political peace in the region.

A new democratic government in South Africa has to emerge. As SADCC member States we should all work together and ensure that the democratic process achieves the logical conclusion. Indeed we also need to continue to appeal to the international community not to reduce their pressure on the South African Government, until the objective of a non-racist unitary democratic South Africa is attained. The achievement of peace will place the important role of freeing our already scarce resources from defence and security to the much needed social and economic development programmes.

Your Excellencies and Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

Please allow me to discuss the role of economic integration in a wider regional context. Your Excellencies will recall that the decision of the PTA Authority taken in January 1992 that the Preferential Trade Area be transformed into a common market was in accordance with the provisions of the PTA Treaty. In accordance with the decision, a resolution was passed to merge the PTA and SADCC. Acting in my capacity as chairman of the PTA Authority I communicated the resolution to His Excellency Sir Ketumile Masire, President of Botswana and Chairman of SADCC.

Your Excellencies,

In the wake of these changes, the new impulse of SADCC of the 1990's has now moved to a quest for more economic integration in Southern Africa, in which SADCC shall incorporate a new democratic South Africa as a partner. Just as many other states are adjusting politically and economically, SADCC too is repositioning itself as an organisation, to fit in the new arena. SADCC is being born again today, into a regional body that should foster a common coordinated development strategy and adopt commercial measures towards a common market. SADCC has to promote common trade, a free flow of resources, expertise and investment in the sub-region, while harmonising the existing trade laws, tariffs and customs.

It is, therefore, pleasing and exciting to witness the formalisation of SADCC into a legal entity as a first step towards an economic community initiative. Zambia is extremely proud to associate herself with this transformation being a founding member State of both SADCC and PTA. As SADCC moves into this step of a legal entity, integration with the Preferential Trade Area, into a common market is but a logical conclusion, and eventually an African Economic Community. This position, as you

know your Excellencies, was endorsed by the Council of Ministers and the Summit of Heads of State or Government of the OAU which took place in Dakar, Senegal in June this year. Having one institution is the way forward. It will combine resources and expertise which are currently dissipated in the two institutions. It will provide the wider market necessary for achievement of economies of scale necessary for resilient economic production units.

Your Excellencies,

This process of integration is not something that can take place at once. It is a process envisaged over a period of years which the independent study should clearly specify to create a momentum in PTA/SADCC institutions to move towards our economic goal of an African Economic Community in 34 years. A stronger economic block which can face other emerging trading blocks in the world as can be seen in the EEC-USA-Canada-Mexico trade pact is what this region requires. It is therefore important that the process of regional integration that we have initiated today should be seen as the first step on that long and challenging journey towards an African Economic Community.

Your Excellencies,

The ordinary man in our region, on our streets and in our villages desires neither the rhetorical declarations nor elaborate statements that do not help in solving the basic human problems. Our people want food, human comfort, dignity and natural liberties, rights and freedoms. We are the present trustees for the future of this great sub-continent and we have a duty to perform in shaping the future of tomorrow. We have to move cautiously step by step, from one stage to another, one step at a time and each step building on the one before. Southern Africa will survive and prosper only if we the people, judge intelligently today, only if the policies of regional unity are realistic and far sighted, more organised and socially and politically fair. We have to meet the present needs in ways that do not compromise future generations and that make sound co-effective economic integration.

Lastly your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to reiterate that the fact that we are here today, after more than a decade, is a great testimony to our unity, and a great tribute to that important timely decision taken. It has served us well, it is serving us well and it must continue to serve us well. As we sit to discuss, let the mantle of economic prosperity through unity shine on our heads.

Your Excellencies,

I thank you.

STATEMENT BY H.E. R. G. MUGABE  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

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Your Excellency, Sir Ketumile Masire  
President of the Republic of Botswana and  
Chairman of SADCC  
Our Host, the President of the Republic of Namibia  
Comrade Sam Nujoma  
Colleagues, Heads of State or Government  
Honourable Ministers  
Ladies and Gentlemen  
Comrades and Friends

Two years ago, when we celebrated the first ten years of the existence of SADCC, our joy was further increased by the resounding welcome and warm embrace extended to the Republic of Namibia into the SADCC family as our tenth member. Since then, the Republic of Namibia has demonstrated its commitment to SADCC by hosting the current Summit meeting as well as coordinating the new sector of Marine Fisheries and Resources. We salute the Government and people of the Republic of Namibia for their principled and active commitment to regional cooperation.

Mr. Chairman, we are meeting to take decisions at a crucial phase in Africa's struggle for economic independence and economic survival. We just have to roll up our sleeves and tackle collectively the multitude of economic ills that confront us. Last year, we took the very bold and imaginative decision of signing the Treaty for the establishment of the African Economic Community. Although it will take us 34 years to get there, we have taken the vital first step. The second step in our journey to the Pan-African ideal is to establish firmly functioning regional and sub-regional economic organisations that will be the supporting pillars of the African Economic Community (AEC). That is the big challenge facing us at this particular Summit. As Southern Africans and, indeed, as Pan-Africanists, we have to play a meaningful, constructive and active role towards the realisation of the goals of the African Economic Community Treaty. As things stand in the field of international economic relations in the 1990s, we have no choice but to build the African Economic Community and all its supporting pillars or building blocs. Future trade will increasingly be between trading blocs rather than between countries. Only last week, the Americans formed a trading bloc of 360 million people which will be the largest trading bloc in the world. They have many problems to surmount, but they are working hard on them. The European Community has already emerged as an integrated economically powerful bloc. The nations of Asia and the Pacific Rim are also forming a large trading bloc supported by rapidly

growing national economies. These developments will lead to self-sustaining growth of national economies within the blocs and high tariff walls around each bloc to protect its own producers. The liberal and open world trading system, based on the principles on GATT, will decline in importance in time in the face of fierce competition between the trading blocs. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, for our own economic survival, we have to form our own bloc. We have already been told that, in the next decade, the EEC countries will be spending more money on assisting the poorer countries of Europe such as Portugal, Spain and Greece, than on all the African and Caribbean countries put together.

Mr. Chairman, the SADCC has maintained the spirit and the letter of the Lagos Plan of Action and succeeded in keeping ten states together and moving in the same direction. We have jointly executed projects, especially in the area of transport and telecommunications, and disbursed on common regional projects. Therefore, large sums of money in grants and loans have come into our region, because of, and through the machinery of, SADCC. Furthermore, SADCC has enabled many of our citizens to work on common projects, compare strategies, and share experiences. Our region has unique historical experiences, cultural affinities, linguistic linkages, and cross-border movements, that bring our people together. The old Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), with two C's, and the new Southern African Development Community (SADC), with one C, must build on this geo-political reality.

One of the principal objectives of the old SADCC was to reduce the dependence of national economies in our region on the Republic of South Africa. The two-pronged strategy was to join in internationally sponsored economic sanctions, and to build up our own alternative infrastructures. Much of the massive investment of foreign capital, already referred to, has occurred in this context. Happily, recent developments in the Republic of South Africa have led us to believe that the changes taking place there will lead to full democracy, a non-racial society, and the dismantling of all the structures of apartheid. When that happens, we all look forward to welcoming whole-heartedly the new South Africa in our ranks. We are pleased that the possible admission of South Africa into SADC is already being discussed by our Joint Planning Committee.

While we are bidding farewell to the old SADCC, it should be noted that it benefitted a great deal by the political support it received from the Frontline States. That support created a favourable socio-political environment that facilitated the planning and execution of the many projects already referred to.

Mr. Chairman, the new Treaty we have just signed goes beyond the mere formalisation of the new SADC. It seeks to transform what was a loose association of states for the purpose of coordinating their common regional development projects into a fully-fledged community. Emphasis will shift from coordination to integration; from rehabilitation of war-ravaged economies to promotion of investment and production, from public sector programmes to a

mixture of private and public sector programmes; and from reducing dependence on South Africa to inter-dependence in our region. However, for integration to succeed, and in order to create a single market in which goods and services can be moved across borders with increasing freedom, we need to highlight some of the issues already discussed at Maputo and at Gaborone, and raised in the "Theme Document of the 1992 Annual Consultative Conference", such as:

- a) to give as much attention to production as to trade, because we can only trade profitably in what we produce;
- b) mobilise and promote greater mobility of investment capital within the region, and reduce external indebtedness;
- c) increasingly open our national economies to each other under a trade liberalisation policy framework;
- d) progressively lower and even remove trade barriers; and
- e) accord favourable treatment to SADC nationals and SADC companies in each other's territories.

These are some of the huge tasks we have committed ourselves to undertake in the context of the new Treaty. We know our weaknesses and strengths, but we are bound together by a determination to succeed. A lot of work remains to be done to negotiate the various protocols which will be an integral part of the Treaty. Those protocols must keep in mind the promotion of the objectives of the Pan-African Economic Community.

Finally, while we congratulate the people of South Africa upon the successful and impressive peaceful demonstrations and mass action held a week ago throughout South Africa's major cities, we must condemn the de Klerk regime for the callous and barbarous killings of innocent civilians that are fast becoming South Africa's way of life. It is our hope that all South African movements will soon return to the negotiation table to discuss ways of achieving a new democratic order on the basis of universal adult suffrage. High priority should be given to the early attainment of full and unfettered democratic rights for all the people of South Africa, and free expression of their will. We are told that the ruling National Party wants to be the majority party in a free and democratic South Africa. That decision has to be taken by the South African people themselves. What we demand and insist upon is that they be free to take it in a free and fair election, based on a democratic and non-racial Constitution, without any entrenchment of minority powers. It is vital that the Liberation Movements of South Africa, the ANC and PAC, be united in thought, word, and deed. There is need, therefore, for them to revive the Patriotic Front so it can be the forum for their negotiating strategy.

Mr. Chairman, during the twelve years of SADCC's history of cooperation, I believe we have learnt a lot about each other as individual nations and collectively as a group of nations. It is in this vein that we have gathered here to chart a common economic future.

Indeed, the time has come for us to take SADC to the people and bring the people to SADC. Through this Treaty we can do it, for we now are set to build a development community out of them. Long live SADC - the Southern African Development Community!

I thank you.

STATEMENT BY H.E. DOCTOR FRANCA VAN-DUNEM  
PRIME-MINISTER OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

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His Excellency, Mr. Sam Nujoma  
President of the Republic of Namibia  
Excellencies, Heads of State or Government  
Distinguished Guests  
Ladies and Gentlemen  
Excellencies

In starting my intervention, allow me, on behalf of Your brother, His Excellency, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola, to greet Your Excellencies and thank President Sam Nujoma, his Government and the brotherly people of Namibia, for the warm hospitality extended to us.

I am also conveying the fraternal message of the Angolan people and government, to the peoples and governments of the SADC member States represented here by Your Excellencies.

It is also for me, a matter of great satisfaction to be present in this beautiful capital, Windhoek, at the right time when the SADC member States formalize the transition from the old to the new SADC which aims at achieving the integration of our economies.

We are aware of the fact that this occasion is viewed with pride by all peoples of Southern Africa, who should, at this solemn occasion, pay their tribute to the statesmen who 12 years ago, signed the historic Lusaka Declaration and founded the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).

Some of the most outstanding personalities responsible for the birth of SADCC are no longer with us, but we shall continue to remember the important role they played with their dynamism and wisdom. Their selfless contributions to the political, social and economic development of the region, will forever remain alive in our memory.

The spirit of statesmen like Seretse Khama, Samora Machel and Agostinho Neto remain eternally linked to SADC and the development of Southern Africa.

In their memory and in the memory of all those who lost their lives in the struggle for dignity, freedom and independence of the Peoples of the sub-region we pay our heartfelt tribute.



Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

Twelve years of regional cooperation have brought to our countries, a significant degree of economic development worth mentioning on this occasion. Our attention and efforts, however, should continue to be geared mainly to the sectors of the Trade, Transport and Communications and Human Resources.

In fact, we are convinced that the SADC approach to regional economic integration, given the geographical and under-developed conditions of our countries, can find in these three sectors of our Programme of Action, a sustaining and supportive basis.

On the other hand, the independence of Namibia, the political changes in South Africa, the end of war in Angola and the prospects for peace in Mozambique, all have increased the opportunities and challenges regarding the political and economic future of the region. The resources hitherto devoted to wars can now be channelled to more productive uses.

The countries of the region and the international community as a whole regard SADC as the main factor for the economic progress of Southern Africa.

The transformation of SADCC to a Community will certainly bring about the necessary technical capacity to articulate regional issues of concern and start the design and implementation of economic integration programmes and projects which will adequately take into account the wishes and expectations of the region.

We are convinced that the studies on regional integration and post-apartheid cooperation currently being carried out by SADC will enable us to find the best formula for equitable regional cooperation and the utilization of the resources of all our countries.

In this regard the possibility of overlapping mandates between SADC and PTA should be dealt with carefully.

Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

The Angolan people have now decided to consolidate the peace which may enable the achievement of their happiness and welfare. When the problems of war are overcome, the task of the government of the People's Republic of Angola would be to devote all its energies to national reconstruction within the framework of regional integration.

We shall pay special attention to assisting our Organization in its efforts to enable member States to get as much benefits as possible from regional cooperation.

The Angolan Government views with great optimism its participation in this Community and is convinced that from now on, financial resources will be made available for the implementation of regional projects located in Angola for the benefit of all countries in the region.

I THANK YOU.



STATEMENT BY H.E. THE RT. HON. OBED M. DLAMINI, MP  
PRIME MINISTER OF THE KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND

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Mr. Chairman,  
Your Excellency, President Sam Nujoma,  
Your Excellencies, Heads of State or Government,  
Distinguished Guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is with great pleasure and honour that I, on behalf of His Majesty King Mswati III, the Government and the people of the Kingdom of Swaziland, take this opportunity to express our profound appreciation and thanks to our host, His Excellency President Sam Nujoma, the Government and the people of the Republic of Namibia for the very warm and brotherly manner in which we have been received to this beautiful country.

Also allow me, Mr. Chairman, to thank His Excellency the President and the people of Namibia for hosting our present Summit. This is a clear indication of Namibia's total commitment to the aims and objectives of our regional Organisation. This gesture, Your Excellency, which you have bestowed upon us all here and upon our regional Organization illustrates what SADC is all about.

I further wish to express our profound gratitude to the government and the people of the Republic of Namibia for the generous hospitality extended to all of us since our arrival in this lovely capital of Windhoek. We are most grateful for the excellent arrangements that the Government of Namibia has made for our 1992 Summit and for our comfort.

In this regard, allow me, Mr. Chairman, to also applaud you for your able leadership of our regional Organization for the last twelve years. Under your captainship, SADC stands out as one of the most original, most favoured, and most cohesive regional organizations in Africa, seeking to shape the common destiny of their people through cooperation, self-reliance and mutual benefit for all.

I am reliably informed that good progress continues to be made in bringing most of our development programmes and projects to fruition. Such achievements are indicative of a serious effort by a people truly committed to regional cooperation for our collective benefit and economic growth.

May I, through you Mr. Chairman, also take this opportunity to thank most sincerely the SADCC Secretariat for the excellent documentation which has been very helpful in facilitating our deliberations.

Mr. Chairman,  
Excellencies,  
Distinguished Guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

Our region is currently undergoing momentous political changes. There is, at present, a growing desire in our region for peace and for governments that are democratic, transparent and fully accountable to the people. In this regard I would like to mention, in particular, the changes taking place, firstly, in Angola and Mozambique and, secondly, in the Republic of South Africa.

The Swazi nation would like to join our brothers and sisters in Angola and Mozambique in hope and prayer for the success of the current peace efforts aimed at bringing about lasting peace to these two countries so that their people could carry on, in unity, the task of nation building under conditions of peace and stability.

On South Africa, we would like to express our continuing prayers for a successful resumption of the peace process that had given us much hope for the future. Our hope is kept alive by the good prospects that now exist for the disrupted discussions to resume once again. I am sure that I am speaking for all of us assembled here today and for the people we represent, in saying that, we are anxiously waiting for the day when we, as SADC, can fully join hands with the people of South Africa to work for the peace, economic growth and prosperity of all the peoples of Southern Africa. Furthermore, we anxiously await the day when we can welcome South Africa as an equal eleventh member of SADC.

The world over is moving towards regional economic blocs and/or further consolidating and strengthening those that already exist. The Single European Market to be concluded at the end of 1992; the North American Free Trade and the South East Asia and Pacific Rim are some of the most obvious regional economic groupings. The main objective of these economic blocs is to promote and facilitate intra-regional trade and to break down trade barriers so as to allow free flow of capital, goods and services, and, above all, people; amongst member states.

In 1991, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting in Abuja, Nigeria; recognizing the need for an African united economic front, in the face of being marginalized by the industrialized countries economic groupings; and wanting to promote intra-regional trade amongst member states, unanimously

agreed to the establishment of an African Economic Community. The OAU further agreed that the existing regional organizations, such as, SADC, PTA, ECOWAS, to name but a few, should be developed to the fullest extent possible so that they may be the building blocks of the African Economic Community.

The lessons to be learned from Europe, America and Asia are that integration is the only way of survival in today's world. For this integration to be useful and successful it has to be rooted as much as possible in the national priorities of member states.

SADC should move with speed if we are to avoid being marginalized. The 1992 Theme, "SADCC: Towards Economic Integration", has recognised the importance of this subject and I am happy that all our efforts will be directed at making sure that, as a region, we collectively address issues of regional cooperation and integration.

I look forward in the near future, to recommendations on mechanisms to set this process in motion. With South Africa becoming democratized and likely to join SADC, as I am sure there is no doubt about the latter, there is need to consolidate our economic and institutional mechanisms for cooperation.

Some experience in regional integration schemes, though limited, is available within our region through the Southern African Customs Area and the Rand Monetary Area. The experience gained in such cooperation could provide us with lessons from which to learn, in widening our cooperation and integration to include a post apartheid South Africa.

Mr. Chairman, the 1992 Summit marked a momentous and auspicious occasion. It was momentous because before us today lie questions for major decisions to be made for the future of our region. Mr. Chairman, I am referring here to the important issue of the formalization of SADCC and the implications for the role of the new Organisation in the 1990s and beyond.

The informal nature of SADCC since its inception, has been a useful tool and has actually contributed to the great success we have had in implementing our programme of action. There is, however, no doubt in my mind, Mr. Chairman, that our decentralized, informal structure cannot take us far into the future that will be characterized by well defined economic blocs. Indications are that even in the present, our informal structure, may have contributed to some restraint on the part of our cooperating partners in assisting us to achieve our goals.

In the past 12 years, SADCC has weathered many storms and has parried many blows from those who did not share our ideals, goals, aspirations and vision for a peaceful and progressive region. We have emerged from these trials and tribulations stronger and committed as ever to our cherished goals which brought us together in the first place. Today, we can look back with pride from where we came from since 1980. SADCC has come of age!

Mr. Chairman, it is my fervent hope and trust that the Declaration, the Treaty and the Protocol we have signed today, formally set our organization in a new direction to achieve our stated objectives of integrating our economies for the mutual benefit of all.

Mr. Chairman,  
Excellencies,  
Distinguished Guests,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

Let me conclude by saying that the strength of our region is in our people and their resourcefulness. As we adjust to developments dictated by events outside, let us make sure that we unleash the creative energies of our peoples where ever they may be, for them to lead the way towards economic integration and into the 21st Century. Together we can achieve great heights!

Thank you for your attention.

SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE  
1992 SADCC SUMMIT SIGNING OF  
THE DECLARATION, TREATY AND  
PROTOCOL ON PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES

WINDHOEK: 17 AUGUST, 1992

H.E. MAJOR GENERAL E.P. RAMAEMA, KCM DOM  
CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL AND  
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE KINGDOM OF LESOTHO

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Your Excellency, President Masire  
President of the Republic of Botswana  
and the Chairman of SADC  
Your Excellency President Nujoma  
President of the Republic of Namibia  
Your Excellencies, Heads of State or Government  
Honourable Ministers  
Your Excellencies, Members of the Diplomatic Corps,  
Distinguished Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen.

On behalf of the Government and the people of Lesotho, I heartily congratulate President Nujoma, the Government and People of Namibia for hosting this historic and momentous occasion of the triple signing in this beautiful city of Windhoek, of the Declaration entitled "Towards the Southern African Development Community", The Treaty of the Southern African Development Community and the Protocol of the Treaty Establishing the Southern African Development Community on Immunities and Privileges.

Let me again convey my thanks for the warm hospitality and courtesies extended to my delegation by the Namibian Government and the people of Windhoek.

Mr Chairman,

The development agenda for the 1990s and beyond is posing the challenges that leave more questions than answers in the areas of liberalisation of the world trade, the dwindling official development assistance transfers, human resources development, science, education, and the transfer of technology, alleviation of poverty, reversal of the environmental degradation, the fight against the pandemic diseases decimating our populations, demographic issues and the reorganisation of the production and investment through regional and international economic and trade blocs.



Coupled with the above challenges are the enabling forces ushering in peace and the democratization process which could bear dividends in diverting resources to priority and productive areas and in the popular participation of our peoples in the decisions that affect their lives. The formalization of SADCC would give the organization an impetus to meet these challenges.

The dynamic process of development, with the constantly changing scenarios, demands adjustment and restructuring, changing of the policies and institutional arrangements of our organization to enable it to respond to forces that would negatively impact on its cardinal responsibility of providing improved standards of living for our communities. We, therefore support the Organisation's move to implement the mandate given to it in the Lusaka Declaration of 1980 to our economies while maintaining its tested ability to coordinate development.

The Memorandum of Understanding signed in Harare in July 1981, provided SADCC with a useful institutional framework that has yielded successes in the economic, social and political fields. The Harare Summit Directive of August 1989, to formalise the Organization, and in the process, consolidate its gains, has been carried out over three years culminating in this historic occasion of the signing of the SADC Treaty today.

We in Lesotho, a small member of the Organization, find comfort in SADC. We feel assured that in setting the mechanisms to respond to challenges of development, the Organization will retain its central principles of balance, fairness and equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of regional integration. We are further gratified by the fact that implementation of the SADC Treaty will be by negotiated protocols that will take into account members' concerns and national priorities.

Mr Chairman,  
Distinguished delegates,

We applaud the open door policy of SADC. Accession by new members on the basis of equity, mutual benefit, interdependence and balance will be most welcome. It is our view, in Lesotho, that for an economic integration process to be meaningful, the present obvious disparities in the region should be taken into account. This process should be designed with an in-built protection mechanism to ensure that stronger member states do not dominate weaker ones. We have been victims of economic dominance and know that there can be no sustainable existence of an organization that harbours such negative tendencies.

While we subscribe to the view that our region should avoid a proliferation of inter-governmental organizations that invariably result in a drain on our scarce human and financial resources, we believe that any intentions to consolidate, rationalize or amalgamate these organizations should be preceded by thorough and unbiased investigations and studies to enable a proper review of their mandates and institutions.

Organizations such as the Common Monetary Area, the Southern Africa Customs Union, the Preferential Trade Area for Southern and Eastern Africa and our own SADCC have specific mandates and have acquired unique experiences that can make invaluable contributions to the integration process of our region.

SADC must be prepared to face new patterns in investment and production, which are likely to develop in the ensuing conducive political, social and economic environment of the post-apartheid era. It will, therefore, be mandatory for SADCC to accelerate the building up of its managerial, financial, technological and physical infrastructures as a powerful magnet to attract foreign investment amid unprecedented world wide competition.

Lesotho has signed the Windhoek Declaration, the SADC Treaty and the First Protocol in the conviction that, through the concerted and untiring support of all members, this Organization will have the determination, the potential and capabilities to coordinate and integrate our economies equitably and with the eventual goal of building a Southern African Development Community.

The continued principle of a decentralized institutional framework will allow continued participation and contribution of member States in the achievement of our Programme of Action. Lesotho continues to be grateful for being entrusted with the coordination and eventual integration of the Sectors of Tourism, Environment and Land Management. We are committed to ensure that the region benefits from the Rio Earth Charter and the eventual negotiation of a Convention on Drought and Desertification.

Mr Chairman,  
Your Excellencies,  
Honourable Ministers,  
Ladies and Gentlemen

Much time has been lost by our region as a result of our the inability to vigorously implement one of SADC's cardinal objectives, since 1980, of "forging links to create a genuine and equitable regional integration".

The region has been traumatised by political, economic and social destabilization, dislocations and disruptions caused by the apartheid regime and the externally orchestrated civil wars.

We would, therefore, appeal that members give SADC institutions and organs the necessary support to enable them to put in place, as soon as possible, the required draft protocols which as the Treaty has indicated should cover areas of peace and security.

The first stage in realising the objectives of the continental African Economic Community, requires the establishment of new and the strengthening of existing regional economic communities within a period not exceeding five years from 1991.

The Arab Magreb Union, the Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) and the Central African Economic Community have made a head start over SADC. Therefore, SADC needs to catch up.

Mr Chairman,  
Excellencies,  
Honourable Ministers

We must launch this second phase in the development of our Organisation with deserved pride at its achievements. The old SADCC, was criticized and dismissed in some quarters right from its inception, but we have no doubt today that it has really stood the test of time, having survived the most turbulent era in the region's modern history.

Long live the memory of SADCC! Long live the new SADC!

Speech read by Hon. A. L. Thoahlane, Minister of Finance and Development on behalf of Head of Lesotho Government.

SPEECH BY MR. C. MAKWETU,  
PRESIDENT, PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

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Mr. Chairman  
Distinguished Heads of State or Government  
Comrade and Friends

Please accept the compliments from the Azanian people, and from the PAC of Azania. May I express sincere gratitude for the invitation extended to us by the Chairman of SADCC, H.E. President Masire, to participate in this important and timely Summit of the Heads of State or Government of SADCC countries.

To fully appreciate the importance of this Summit conference and the critical decisions that need to be taken, we should take cognisance of the global political, economic and technological factors underpinned by the international division of labour, the political economy of our region, and the social, political and economic conditions prevailing in my country, Azania. With these issues in mind, we should bravely chart the path, on the basis of consensus, that our region should follow in the interests of its people.

Mr. Chairman,  
Your Excellencies,  
Comrades and Friends

It is worth noting that the economies of the world's major industrialised countries are now expected to achieve about a 2% aggregate growth rate down from an earlier forecasted growth rate of 2.9%.

The effective demand within the export markets of industrialised countries is undermined by these conditions; and similarly, the availability of foreign investment from industrialised countries is continuously constrained. Technological development, internationally, is rendering obsolete our products, know-how and production processes. Reliance on the export of raw materials of and/or semi-processed commodities is becoming even more telling on our economies. The future lies in manufactured commodities and knowledge-based products rather than natural resource-based industrial activities. The world is indeed experiencing extremes of technological innovations. In competitive international arenas and increasingly within our local environments, the success of industrial corporations is predicated upon their innovative attention to technology and the continuous supply of new higher quality products and services.

We are further witnessing the development of regional concentration of economic forces in Europe, North American and the Pacific Rim. Such economic regional concentrations will wield enormous bargaining economic power against fragmented so-called Third World economies. We should further be mindful of the fact that international capital is no longer after cheap labour that Africa used to have in abundance. It is now after skilled workers and large consumer and industrial markets uncharacteristic of our economies. All these factors and conditions have an impoverishing effect on us; the rate of unemployment in our region is endangering our moral, social and political stability. Our people are crying for employment, for the satisfaction of their basic needs as represented by food, health, education, clean water, housing, quality sanitation and public transport.

Mr. Chairman  
Ladies and Gentlemen

We have already touched on the prevailing international economic and technological conditions. The economies of our region have been continuously faltering. We have been continuously experiencing declining investments; under utilisation of capacities; outdated machinery; increasing rate of unemployment; rising inflation; concentration of economic resources, and thus resources in the few hands; frequent occurrences of shortages of commodities; and, a restive labour force already giving signs of hard times in the future labour relations. As if that was not enough, a devastating drought has increased the injury as well as adding the insult to our efforts.

Imperialism, colonialism and settler colonialism have brought inequitable socio-economic imbalances to the region. For instance, South Africa with 30% of the region's population and 18% of its land, accounts for 73.4% of the region's GDP and a GDP per capita reported to at seven times the regional average. About 50% of South Africa's non-gold exports are absorbed by SADCC countries and at least 40% of the region's overseas traffic goes through this South Africa's ports. South Africa's normal trade surplus with the rest of the region is about US\$1 billion per annum.

There are also considerable dysfunctional effects arising from structural problems. These include, among others, the following:

Inflation is worsened through sharp rises in production costs and mark-ups and accordingly causes deviations from desirable production and consumption patterns and priorities; undermines realistic economic growth and transformation; and, accordingly jeopardise social welfare and human conditions.

Initially leads to overall contraction of the economies; declines in capacity utilisation and closure of enterprises; and accentuated shortages of critical goods and services; encourages speculative investment, etc.

Necessitates massive retrenchment in the public sector; leads to no alternative employment; the poor become poorer;

Ignores high import propensities of these economies as a function of past economic relations, and leads to greater and more entrenched external dependence.

It is a known fact that the Azanian economy is, as we have stated in one of our economic policy paper ".... characterised by the concentration of political power .... in the white minority at all the levels of the State and within individual economic corporations. The concentration of political power is in a symbiotic relationship with the concentration of economic power. The existing concentrated ownership of productive and social consumption resources by a small section of the society is an impediment to the democratisation process in the country; provides fertile ground for social and political conflicts between the haves and have-nots; retards economic growth and efficiency."

The future prospects for our economy is tied to its political development and transformation to a new democratic new State. There are serious constraints facing economic growth and development within our economy. These include the following:

There is a wait and see attitude of foreign and domestic investors, and this attitude is to continue until the birth of a new African State.

Cumulative, rates of unemployment, currently estimate above 40%, are continuously depressing domestic demand.

Higher cost of capital is being experienced as a result of higher interest rates, perceived higher corporation tax, and increasing rate of inflation, etc.

The Azanian economy is faced with serious structural problems, as represented by: an economy that has marginalised the majority of its population; an industrialisation stalemate as represented by the failure of the industrial sector to increase its domination of the country's GDP; the periphery relations of the economy to the economies of industrialised countries, with our country remaining basically the producer and exporter of primary products and semi-processed metals; we continue to be an importer of expensive capital goods and hi-tech importables; our primary sector is depressed, etc.

The highest economic growth rate of 2% is expected for 1992 compared to - 0.5% in 1991. If the trend continues inflation is estimated to average around 14% for the year 1992. Given the population growth rate of about 3% and the cumulative effects of poor economic growth rate during the past years, the above level of economic growth will have insignificant effect.

Mr. Chairman  
Ladies and Gentlemen

The PAC's Pan Africanist perspective, scope and orientation emphasise the organisation's commitment to unity among African nation states and the sharing of responsibility by the African people in developing their continent. We consider as the duty of the Azanian proletariat, business-persons, peasants, technical and professional personnel to struggle collaborative with other compatriots in the region for the control of the vast, economic resources of the region and continent; to end the technological dependence of our continent; to rid Africa of its embarrassing indebtedness to the international capital; to eradicate hunger, disease and ignorance in the African continent.

The need for regional economic cooperation cannot be overemphasised. The higher stage of regional economic cooperation is regional economic integration. The process to do so has started. It is important to enunciate conditions necessary for regional economic cooperation or regional economic integration these are:

There is a need for a relatively extensive consensus among member States on policy issues covering political and economic systems, the ownership and distribution of productive economic resources within individual would-be member States.

Trust with respect to future intentions of each would-be member State should exist.

Readiness to deal in a corrective manner, with initial resource, trade, development levels imbalances, maldistributional effects of economic cooperation and integration, etc.

It is the PAC's view that the above prerequisite conditions will deserve the immediate attention of a liberated Azania with her regional partners. Due to the complexity represented by these conditions certain choices will need to be made. These include:

A choice between an incremental programme or projects or sector approach or an "integrated" holistic approach to regional integration.

Choice of trade as a critical instrument in the process of economic integration or to place emphasis, initially, on production and technology development.

Our current thinking, subject to improvement and refinement, is that (a) initially, there will be a need to increase the infrastructural, technological, entrepreneurial and managerial capacity of the BLS states within Southern African Customs Union (SACU).

An incremental projects approach to regional economic integration between SACU and SADC as cooperating partners might be recommendable at the initial phase.

There will be a need for a simultaneous emphasis on trade and on production, infrastructural and technological development within the region.

Ultimately, as a result of successful implementation of the lower stages of economic cooperation, a holistic approach to regional economic integration leading to a regional common market should be envisaged and worked for.

In concluding this section of our discussion, we would like to emphasise that we see the economic development thrust of the region to be dependent, among others, on the following efforts:

The region should develop through the redistribution of means of economic production to the majority of its people; supportive incentives and institutional arrangements should be put in place to motivate economic activities; all these activities should aim at integrating our people into the economic main stream as producers of wealth rather than mere employees; they should aim at increasing demand for products and services emanating from the region.

The region should aim at producing most of its capital and intermediate goods.

Research and Development investments must be increased.

The region should aim at achieving relative self-sufficiency with respect to agricultural equipments and requisites, including veterinary medicinal requirements.

Massive physical and human infrastructural investment is a must.

The harnessing and development of water resources for energy production, agricultural production, human consumption should be given a highest priority.



The regional transport and telecommunication facilities need serious and extra efforts.

Mr. Chairman  
Ladies and Gentlemen

As it was done in a conference in Johannesburg at the beginning of this year, a question can be asked? how far democratic have we become? It was and still is the PAC's humble, but firmly considered position that the degree or extent of democracy in a country having a history like ours, can only be assessed from the objective and subjective conditions of the victims of the undemocratic and settler colonial political economy or social formation. Changes in the objective and subjective conditions of the politically oppressed, economically exploited and socio-culturally dehumanised will represent functional measures of the extent of democracy in our country. Before the unbanning of the nationalist political organisations, the imprisonment of nationalists for political offenses and the exiling of a number of people, an undemocratic settler colonial social formation or status quo was in existence. The unbannings and return of exiles and release of some of the political prisoners have only returned us to the pre-banning, pre-exiling and pre-imprisonment settler colonial social formation stage.

The repeal of some of the Acts which were merely instruments of a particular settler colonial State Form, did not "Repeal" or change or transform this settler colonial State Form. It remains unchanged. These facts unequivocally inform us that: **THE STRUGGLE DOES NOT ONLY CONTINUE BUT MUST BE DELIBERATELY CONTINUED USING ALL MEANS AVAILABLE AND ACCEPTABLE TO THE OPPRESSED AFRICAN PEOPLE.**

It is an undeniable fact that our country is riddled with violence. The sources of violence are numerous but we can identify the following: The undemocratic settler colonial system; State engineered and perpetrated violence; the omissions and commissions of the police and state security system; and the political intolerance and struggle among the political organisations for political turf. As political leaders it is within our relative control to end the violence emanating from the struggle, among ourselves, for political turf. We should do so now not later. Having done this national and liberation duty and responsibility we shall be better placed and positioned to respond, in unison, to the other sources of violence. International assistance and involvement in dealing with these other sources of violence, are necessary and desirable. This has been the PAC's position even at the time the de Klerk's government and other political parties in the liberation movement were vehemently opposed to the idea. We have emphasised that our struggle is an African struggle. Accordingly, the involvement of OAU and the Frontline States in the transitional arrangements is obviously desirable and necessary.

It is worth reiterating that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, in pursuance of its resolutions, is not opposed in principle to resolving the legitimate struggle for national liberation and self-determination through the mechanism of genuine negotiations. Such negotiations must take place in a democratic forum with participants having a national mandate.

We have further stated that with respect to the negotiation process in general the following issues are important:

To the PAC what matters is to answer the question: Who is negotiating with whom, representing which constituencies and, the processes that lead these constituencies to choose their representatives.

What matters is the type of the agenda items and the potential outcomes of the negotiation process, rather than the mere existence of the negotiations.

The negotiating process must be a truly decolonising power and the democratic outcomes beneficial to the colonised.

The negotiation process should be both democratic and democratising.

The above issues were ignored when the CODESA formula was conceived and was introduced in our political arena. The fate of CODESA was, accordingly, immanently determined.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania would like to put on record that just like we maintained and later proved correct that apartheid could not be reformed, we would like to say CODESA CANNOT BE REFORMED. A genuine structure and process to prepare the country for a democratic post settler colonial African state must be found. We are ready to make out contributions to this regard.

We remain emphatic that a democratic constitution cannot be delivered by undemocratic mechanisms, processes and procedures. Negotiations for a democratic constitution for a New African State in our land must take place in a democratic forum with participants having a national mandate.

The Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of one person one vote, is the mechanism through which such mandate is obtained. The PAC insist that a democratically elected Constituent Assembly cannot be bettered by conditions imposed by the regime. The objectives of any negotiation with the regime must be the transfer of political power from the illegal and illegitimate minority regime to the democratically elected majority. The PAC also reaffirms its commitment to strive for the Patriotic United Front so that the oppressed can speak with one voice.

The Pre-Constituent Assembly negotiations with the regime must be of a limited agenda and duration: dealing with transitional political and legal structures and processes and the modalities necessary for preparing the country for its first elections to the Constituent Assembly. Constitutional issues, which will be the responsibility of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly, should not be brought into the Pre-Constituent Assembly negotiations, through the back-door under the euphony of Principles.

Mr. Chairman  
Your Excellencies  
Comrades and Friends

We have tried to look at the international economic conditions, and we addressed the social, economic and political conditions in the Southern African region. We also paid attention to the social and economic conditions in Azania and the imperatives for regional economic cooperation. We concluded our contribution to this Summit by reiterating the PAC position with regard to political negotiations in our country. We made our contributions on what we consider to be a useful and constructive way forward. It should be noted and be remembered that our position on negotiations have never changed. We are not bringing to this Summit any new agenda. We have been very consistent in our position. So far history and events have proved us right. We are not prophets nor are we misfortune tellers just genuine politicians that listen to the oppressed; that are guided by the aspirations of the oppressed; that put the aspirations of the oppressed top on our political agenda. We are ready to be denounced, to be ridiculed, so long we know that our stand is that of the African people we remain unshaken. We were the first to tell the world that apartheid could not be reformed but eradicated; we were again the first to introduce the concept and mechanism of a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of one person one vote and allowing for proportional representation during the initial stage of political dispensations in our country. The transfer of political power from a minority regime to a democratically elected majority has been lexicon in our political agenda and programmes.

Our Consistency, Forthrightness, and Sacrifice have brought sense and meaning to otherwise opportunistically driven political processes that were capable of robbing the African people their right to independence, self-determination, a national sovereignty and independence. We are proud of our contribution.

I thank you for your attention.

STATEMENT BY CYRIL RAMAPHOSA  
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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Chairperson, His Excellency, Sir Ketumile Masire,  
His Excellency, Comrade President of the  
Republic of Namibia, Dr. Sam Nujoma,  
Your Excellencies, Heads of State or Government;  
Honourable Ministers,  
Distinguished Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Comrades and Friends.

I convey to you warmest greetings from the African National Congress and from our President, Comrade Nelson Mandela. Kindly accept his apology that he could not attend this important occasion.

We are living in times when Africa and the Third World are being increasingly marginalised by the changing circumstances in the Northern hemisphere, times which render the presidential elections in the USA and changes in the former USSR apparently more important than the profound human tragedy which grips somalia. This does not augur well for our region.

To our credit, we are not sitting back and merely bemoaning this fact. The establishment of the Southern African Development Community, by the Treaty which has just been signed, is proof of the region's effort to build a bulwark against the further marginalisation of our sub-continent. We in the ANC salute your excellencies for laying the foundation stone for integration. The Southern African Development Community must also provide a vehicle to continually and proactively advance our interest both within the region and in international fora of note. The timing of this Treaty, Chairperson, could not have been more precise. I must admit to having witnessed the signing ceremony with a lump in my throat- whilst we are overjoyed that the SADC is now formalised, we wish we were already an institutional part of the momentous occasion. We are pleased to note that you have left a slot where the democratically elected president of a democratic South Africa will sign.

We remain convinced that South Africa will be a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country soon. The balance of forces in South Africa has shifted irrevocably in favour of the aspirations of the democratic majority. Just a fortnight ago, in the face of the prophets of doom, we were able to secure the participation of millions of our people in the mass action campaign for peace and democracy. Townships throughout our country resounded with the will to win a true democracy. Millions of our people voted against the apartheid regime and against violence with their feet by participating in an unprecedented two day general strike, city

occupations, marches and occupation of government buildings. Through their actions our people demonstrated once again that the days of apartheid are numbered.

When the ANC broke off talks with the apartheid regime at the end of June, our decision was informed by the evaluation of three sets of circumstances, Firstly, the ongoing wanton violence which continues to dog the lives of the majority of South Africans. Prominent in the violence are the continued massacres launched from hostels, the train massacres and the complete disregard of human life by the perpetrators of this violence.

We charged the regime with responsibility for the violence by acts of omission and commission. We remain seized of this view. Secondly, the blatant refusal by the regime to implement agreements long struck, as in the case of the release of political prisoners some 450 of whom remain incarcerated. In the face of this the regime demands a blanket amnesty in circumstances where the heinous crimes of its operatives are now being exposed. We remain convinced that this matter can only be properly addressed by an interim government of national unity. Thirdly, the ANC took stock of the failure of the regime to come to terms with the fact that South Africa must become a democracy within the framework of universally accepted norms. This failure resulted in the impasse at CODESA II.

The African National Congress is committed to a negotiated transfer of power to the majority in South Africa. Our record in this regard is unimpeachable. Our commitment can be traced back to the mandate given to our President, Comrade Mandela, by the National Executive Committee of the ANC in 1986 to begin exploring the basis for the commencement of negotiations with the regime. This commitment also flows through the Harare Declaration of 1989 which placed before the world a consolidated package for negotiations; we held the talks in the belly of the beast at Groote Schuur and Pretoria in 1990; we set the framework for the all party congress which convened as CODESA I. We want to see negotiations resumed. We cannot, however, continue negotiations with a party which negotiates in bad faith and remains hell-bent on retaining power at all costs. Thus, we took stock of the three contributing circumstances as outlined earlier. We reiterate our willingness to resume negotiations on condition that the South African regime responds to our 14 demands relating to the violence and agrees to the election of a sovereign constituent assembly whose decisions will not be subjected to the veto of any other body and agrees to the installation of an interim government of national unity.

Our campaign for peace and democracy is aimed at exerting maximum pressure on the regime to accede to our demands. The phenomenal support for our campaign of unprecedented Mass Action must surely be a signal to De Klerk that our people are not prepared to wait any longer but want peace and democracy now. We are convinced that the attainment of these demands are now within our grasp. It is clear that the regime will have to be continuously persuaded, cajoled and nudged by pressure. It is in this regard

that we appeal to the member States of SADC acting both collectively and individually to apply pressure on the regime to place negotiations back on track. Given the vested interests of the region in securing democracy in South Africa, we must also appeal for a continuing interest to ensure that negotiations remain on course. We should collectively seek the means to institutionally involve the region, through an appropriate organ, to observe and support our efforts towards securing the transfer of power.

There are two key elements in our scenario to secure the transition from apartheid to democracy. The first is that the transition must be swift, bold and transparent to secure lasting peace and economic growth. We remain at odds with the regime about the length of the transition. Secondly, we must endeavour to maximise the unity of the oppressed. On this score, several gains were made last year with the Conference of Patriotic Forces which we had jointly convened with the PAC. Some of those gains were rolled back by events soon after that milestone conference. Notwithstanding this, the ANC was able to act jointly with other Patriotic Front members during the negotiations process and the mass action campaign. The campaign brought together a broad front of organisations ranging from churches, business and taxi organisations, trade unions, teachers and students. The balance of forces is clearly shifting more and more in favour of a dynamic broad coalition of forces, which will encompass the patriotic front forces.

The establishment of democracy in South Africa will be in the overall best interest of the entire region. There are however many differing expectations of precisely what benefits will accrue to the region. At the SADC Consultative Conference held in Maputo during January, our Deputy President, Comrade Walter Sesulu, articulated the ANC perspective on this matter. I would like to reiterate that understanding here.

We recognise and accept an historic obligation to cooperate with our neighbours in overcoming the imbalances which characterise the existing regional economy and in addressing the consequences of apartheid destabilisation. However, given that we shall have been left an appalling legacy by apartheid, our contribution in the economic life of the sub-region is likely to be limited - at least initially.

The ANC remains of the same view. From our perspective, the post-apartheid dividend which will be reaped first will be peace and political stability in the region. The end of a regime which arms, clothes and feeds bandits to destabilise neighbouring states, despite international condemnation, will surely renew the prospects for economic growth in the war-ravaged countries.

The achievement of the objectives of the Southern African Development Community is predicated upon constructing the conditions for equity, balance and mutual benefit. Principles which are fundamental to the growth and development strategy adopted by the ANC at its watershed Policy Conference in May

1992. This view is diametrically opposed to the notions of a locomotive or power-point for growth articulated by the 'New Diplomacy' of the apartheid regime. All emphasis is placed on the short term advantage of the regime. Even the assistance rendered by Spoornet to facilitate drought relief, is used by the regime to cock its snoot at the world and to reinforce the misguided notion of a power-point for growth. It should also be apparent that the current one-way trade flows are unsustainable, and the tap is likely to be turned off as aid flows decline. What, to our mind, is far more important is to ensure technology transfer from South Africa to the region, the development of an industrial base in the region, developing a growth path for all states in the region, and to develop the integrity of currencies in the region to facilitate greater interchangeability. We argue that the region can only grow by a strategy for integration through multi-sectoral coordination of activities.

The African National Congress pleads with the member States to act together as a region. We appreciate the fact that the wars of destabilisation and ravages of drought have exerted a heavy toll on the sub-continent. However, we are dealing in circumstances of extreme inequality; the fact that 73.4% of the regional GDP accrues to South Africa must surely impact on the nature of agreements which can be struck between member States and the apartheid regime. Acting as a region means, at one level, a strengthened arm in negotiations on a range of issues with the present incumbents of power in South Africa, which also allows for the medium term objectives to be taken account of in strategising; at another level, acting as a region will minimize the prospects of entrenching the awesome power of the apartheid regime, both politically and economically, which will seriously undermine the attainment of mutual benefit and equity. Once the die has been cast, it will be extremely difficult to reverse the inequality and the dependency syndrome, even with a democratic government in place.

We are pleased to note the relative success of the SADCC/UN Conference on drought which was held in June of this year, 1992. This is the best endorsement of the gains of Southern Africa acting as a region. Of commendable note in this exercise was the actions by you, Chairperson, who as Head of State of Botswana, did so much to mobilise drought relief for the region without any benefits accruing to your own country from your efforts. We want to commend you, your Excellency, and the people of Botswana for the outstanding moral lesson in forging a regional identity and regional cooperation.

It is worth repeating that we are fundamentally opposed to the sustenance of the hegemony which the apartheid regime still seeks to construct in the region. We are convinced that growth in the region will be attained via an arduous, but necessary route of much greater integration. We implore member States not to become ensnared in the web spun by the apartheid regime in which long term advantage is sacrificed on the altar of short-term benefit.

This certainly is an awesome challenge which we face jointly. We, as Southern Africans, are all charged with the responsibility to ensure that our region is not further marginalised or overtaken by events elsewhere on the globe. We have but this one opportunity to bring stability and growth to the region. In understanding the ramifications of this opportunity, we need to consider our shared principles and resources which we share to develop the comparative edge of our region in the global economy.

In conclusion, we remain indebted to the member States for their tireless efforts in advancing the cause of democracy in South Africa. It is in this context that we perceive the truism of the adage, 'Our Liberation and yours are inextricably intertwined'. To the Government and the people of Namibia, we express our profound gratitude for the warm hospitality accorded to our delegation.

Chairperson, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for your attention!





CLOSING STATEMENT BY H.E. Q. K. J. MASIRE  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA AND  
CHAIRMAN OF SADC

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Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

As we come to the end of the Summit, we open a new era and turn a new chapter in the development of the region. By our signatures we have committed ourselves to forge closer links in our cooperation, to harmonise our policies, encourage our people to participate fully in the implementation of integration programmes and projects, and above all else, to build a community underpinned by shared values of democracy, the promotion of peace, unity and solidarity among our people.

Our Community will survive and succeed if we are willing to exercise our national sovereignty for the common good of our region and all its peoples. Our willingness to commit our national resources, meagre as they are, to the financing of agreed programmes and projects for mutual benefit is critical for our future.

Let us, therefore, start the difficult task of building our Community with full determination. We have enormous untapped or under utilised resources. We should be able to succeed if we pool our energies and rededicate them to the realisation of this noble objective.

We, as governments may not have all the solutions to the economic problems affecting our people. Our experience to date has shown that we must harness the energies and capabilities of our people and their institutions in the process of building the Community. Let us take bold decisions that will remove all impediments to the participation of our people in the work of their Community.

Allow me, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to suggest that the significance of this morning's act will only be appreciated by our people, if, among other things, they are facilitated to move across our borders without hindrances. I, therefore, urge that the outstanding work on the facilitation protocol be completed as speedily as possible.

As we leave Windhoek, we should commit ourselves to ensure that the negotiations that are now going to take place in the development of protocols will succeed. It will be a negation of this spirit if the bold decisions we took today are not carried through and if we fail to put in place institutions and

mechanisms that will enable us to realise the vision we have committed ourselves to.

We must continue to work together to ensure that peace, democracy and the realisation of human rights is realised throughout Southern Africa, including South Africa, and that our Community has mechanisms for avoiding conflict, and where conflicts have to inevitably happen, that we are able to manage these conflicts. Above all else we need to have capacity for conflict resolution without which progress on economic integration and indeed any activity would not be possible.

Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

In concluding my statement, let me once again thank His Excellency, President Nujoma and the people of Namibia for making our stay enjoyable, and for putting facilities at our disposal that have enabled us to conclude this very important Summit. To the secretaries, photocopying staff, nurses, doctors, drivers, the protocol officers, and others whom I might not have mentioned, I say thank you and please do not get tired. The hotel workers, to SADC officials and Honourable Ministers, who together have prepared all the background documents we implore them to continue to work hard.

When we meet next time, let us be able to take stock of what we will have done in putting the process to economic integration.

THANK YOU.

PRESENT

CHAIRMAN

H.E. Sir Ketumile Masire  
President of the Republic of Botswana  
Chairman of SADC

Hon. F.G. Mogae  
Vice President and Minister of  
Finance and Development Planning, Botswana  
Chairman, SADC Council of Ministers

Mr. M.L. Mokone  
Permanent Secretary  
Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Botswana  
Chairman, SADC Standing Committee of Officials

ANGOLA

The Rt. Hon. F. van Dunem  
Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Angola

Hon. A.S. Silva  
Vice-Minister of Transport

Mr. J.T.C. Simoes  
Regional Coordinator  
Energy Sector (TAU)

BOTSWANA

Hon. A.M. Mogwe  
Minister of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs

Hon. K.P. Morake  
Minister of Agriculture

Hon. D.N. Magang  
Minister of Works, Transport and Communication

Hon. Dr. G.K.T. Chiepe  
Minister of External Affairs

Mr. L. Mothibatsela  
Secretary for Economic Affairs  
Ministry of Finance and Development Planning

Mr. M.L. Selepeng  
Permanent Secretary  
Office of the President

Dr. M.V. Raborokgwe  
SADCC Livestock Sector, Desk Officer  
Department of Animal Health and Production  
Ministry of Agriculture

Dr. M.L. Kyomo  
Director  
SACCAR

LESOTHO

Hon. A.L. Thoahlane  
Minister of Finance  
Planning, Economic and Manpower Development

Mr. B. Leleka  
Sector Coordinator  
Environment and Land Management

Mrs. M.A. Matlanyane  
Sector Coordinator  
Tourism

Mrs. M.M. Matabane  
Economic Planner  
Ministry of Planning, Economic and Manpower Development

MALAWI

Hon. L.J. Chimango, MP  
Minister of Finance

Mr. T.A. Kalebe  
Deputy Chief Economist  
Department of Economic Planning and Development

Mr. D.C.W. Kambauwa  
Principal Secretary  
Ministry of Forestry and Natural Resources

MOZAMBIQUE

H.E. J. A. Chissano  
President of the People's Republic of Mozambique

Hon. J.S. Veloso  
Minister of Cooperation

Hon. R. Maguni  
Minister of Information

Mr. B.J. Malate  
SADCC National Contact Point  
Ministry of Cooperation

Mr. A. Namitete  
Chairman of the Committee of Officials - SATCC and  
Sector Coordinator for Transport and Communications  
Ministry of Transport and Communications

Mr. P. Mangoela  
Director  
SATCC

Mrs. Y.J. Mussa  
Coordinator  
Culture and Information Sector

NAMIBIA

H.E. S. Nujoma  
President of the Republic of Namibia

Hon. B. Amathila  
Minister of Trade and Industry

Hon. T-B. Gurirab  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Hon. N. Bessinger  
Minister of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism

Hon. H. Angula  
Minister of Fisheries and Marine Resources

Hon. A. Von Wietersheim  
Minister of Agriculture, Water and Rural  
Development

Hon. A. Toivo ya Toivo  
Minister of Mines and Energy

Hon. H. Ruppel  
Attorney General

SWAZILAND

The Rt. Hon. O. M. Dlamini  
Prime Minister

Ms. A.P. Mkhonza  
Principal Secretary  
Ministry of Economic Planning & Development

Mrs. E.S. Nkambule  
Director  
RTC Secretariat

TANZANIA

H.E. A.H. Mwinyi  
President of the United Republic of Tanzania

Hon. A.H. Diria  
Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation

Hon. C.D. Msuya  
Minister of Industries and Trade

Hon. J. Makwetta  
Minister for Transport and Communications

Hon. A.S. Ali  
Minister of Finance and International Cooperation  
Zanzibar

Mr. J.L. Shija  
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Mr. A.T. Pallangyo  
Director  
SADCC Industry and Trade Coordination Division

ZAMBIA

H.E. F.J.T. Chiluba  
President

Hon. V.J. Mwaanga  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Hon. R.D.S. Penza  
Minister of Commerce, Trade and Industry

Hon. M.M. Mphande  
Deputy Minister of Mines and Mineral Development

Mr. M.M. Liswaniso  
Permanent Secretary  
Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation

Mr. W.R. Sweta  
Chief Mining Engineer and SADCC Mining Coordinator  
Ministry of Mines and Mineral Development

ZIMBABWE

H.E. R.G. Mugabe  
President of the Republic of Zimbabwe

Hon. N.M. Shamuyarira  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Hon. K.M. Kangai  
Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Water Development

Hon. D. Norman  
Minister of Transport and Energy

Hon. C. Ushewokunze  
Minister of Industry and Commerce

Hon. P.A. Chinamasa  
Attorney General  
Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs

Mr. C.N.C. Mangwana  
Deputy Secretary  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. R.T. Mugwara  
Sector Coordinator  
Food Security

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mr. M. C. Ramaphosa  
Secretary General

Mr. T. Manuel  
Member of the National Executive Committee  
Head of Department of Economic Planning

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

Mr. C. Makwetu  
President

SADCC SECRETARIAT

Dr. S.H.S. Makoni  
Executive Secretary

Mr. E.S.S. Nebwe  
Special Advisor

Mr. E.M. Maphanyane  
Economic Advisor





## COMMUNIQUE

## SADCC SUMMIT

Windhoek, Republic of Namibia  
17th August, 1992

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1. The Summit of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) met in Windhoek, Republic of Namibia, on 17th August, 1992, under the Chairmanship of His Excellency Sir Ketumile Masire, President of the Republic of Botswana.
2. Delegations of member States were led by the following:
 

MOZAMBIQUE	:	H.E. J. A. Chissano President
NAMIBIA	:	H.E. S. Nujoma President
TANZANIA	:	H.E. A. H. Mwinyi President
ZAMBIA	:	H.E. F. J. T. Chiluba President
ZIMBABWE	:	H.E. R. G. Mugabe President
ANGOLA	:	The Rt. Hon. F. van Dunem Prime Minister
SWAZILAND	:	The Rt. Hon. O. M. Dlamini Prime Minister
BOTSWANA	:	Hon. A. M. Mogwe Minister of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs
LESOTHO	:	Hon. A. L. Thoahlane Minister of Finance; and Planning, Economic and Manpower Development
MALAWI	:	Hon. L. J. Chimango Minister of Finance

PAN AFRICANIST : Mr. C. Makwetu  
CONGRESS President

AFRICAN NATIONAL : Mr. M. C. Ramaphosa  
CONGRESS Secretary General

3. The President of the Republic of Namibia, H.E. S. Nujoma, delivered an address of welcome. The President of the Republic of Botswana, Sir Ketumile Masire, in his capacity as Chairman, made a statement reviewing the activities of the Organisation, and the economic and political situation in the region. Statements were also made by the following:
- \* The President of the United Republic of Tanzania, H.E. A. H. Mwinyi;
  - \* The President of the Republic of Zambia, H.E. F. J. T. Chiluba;
  - \* The President of the Republic of Mozambique, H.E. J. A. Chissano;
  - \* The President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, H.E. R. G. Mugabe;
  - \* The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Swaziland, the Rt. Hon. O. M. Dlamini;
  - \* The Secretary General of the African National Congress, Mr. M. C. Ramaphosa;
  - \* The President of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr. C. Makwetu.
4. Of foremost concern to the Summit was the drought currently gripping the region. The Summit commended its Chairman President Masire for his leadership in addressing the drought situation and, thanked the international community for its pledges of support at the SADCC/UN Conference on the Drought Emergency in Southern Africa, held in Geneva in June this year. The Summit directed the Ministers of Agriculture to make appropriate arrangements, in the event the drought continues into next year, and also to put in place the necessary recovery measures should the drought break. Above all, the Summit directed the Ministers of Agriculture to put in place a system for regional and national food security. The Summit called upon SADCC's cooperating partners to assist in these efforts.
5. The Summit commended the Government and people of Angola for their resolve to establish the foundation for lasting peace and security in their country, following the 1991 Peace Agreement. The Summit expressed the hope and wish that all political parties in Angola will exercise tolerance and restraint during and after the elections, and accept the will of the people.

6. The Summit further noted with appreciation the agreement signed by President Chissano and Mr Dhlakama in Rome on 7th August, 1992 aimed at the cessation of hostilities by October first. The Summit commended President Chissano and Mr Dhlakama for their continued positive and constructive efforts to restore peace and stability in Mozambique as well as President Mugabe for his role in facilitating this process.
7. The Summit reviewed developments in South Africa and was briefed by representatives of the South African Liberation Movements on major issues regarding the violence, the negotiations and unity of patriotic forces. The Summit noted with concern that the violence currently gripping South Africa had resulted in a general climate of tension and uncertainty in that country. The Summit further noted with concern that nationals of some member States, who have been recruited into the South African Defence Force and the Police are involved in the cycle of violence. The Summit agreed that this situation represented a real threat to peace and security in the region. The Summit called upon all parties particularly the South African Government to take all necessary measures to end the blood-letting and commit themselves to contributing to the solution of the problem.
8. The Summit also noted with regret the lack of progress in the negotiations which is a result of the refusal by the South African Government to accept universally agreed principles of democracy and its reluctance to stem the tide of violence much of which can be linked to the state security apparatus. The Summit called upon all democratic forces in South Africa to unite in order to bring about an early constitutional dispensation acceptable to the majority of South Africans. The Summit offered to do what it can to involve the region in supporting the process of change in South Africa.
9. Regarding relations between SADCC member States and South Africa, the Summit expressed concern at the apparent weakening of consensus among member States as evident from the emerging diversity of their economic, political and diplomatic relations with South Africa. The Summit reaffirmed its previous decisions urging member States not to establish relations with South Africa beyond the existing levels. The Summit also reaffirmed the decisions of the Council of Ministers that SADCC will be guided by positions adopted by the Commonwealth Heads of State and Government Harare Summit, on sanctions against South Africa.

10. The Summit, therefore, called upon the international community, particularly African countries, to refrain from doing anything that would give legitimacy to the current regime in South Africa or weaken the hand of the democratic forces. In this connection the Summit commended the recent peaceful mass-action campaign under the leadership of the ANC, and called on the international community to put pressure on the Government of Mr. de Klerk to accept universally agreed principles of democracy.
11. The Summit agreed that it was necessary to clarify that relations between SADCC and South Africa will be normalised only when a democratically elected government was in place.
12. The Summit considered a Report of the Council of Ministers on the Formalisation of SADCC, and agreed that the Report adequately addressed the issues and concerns of the region. The Summit agreed that it formed a sufficient basis to strengthen SADCC and give it appropriate legal status, and other necessary instruments to create a regional economic community of Southern African states. The Summit, therefore, approved and signed a new Declaration, a Treaty and a Protocol committing member States to deeper and more formal arrangements for cooperation and integration under the framework of a new organisation, The Southern African Development Community (SADC). In particular, the Summit noted and reaffirmed that:
  - a) the Treaty establishing SADC provides for agreement on protocols on specific areas of integration which will set-out the principles and objectives of integration, and determine the rules under which member States will conduct their relations in specific areas;
  - b) it is important to follow-up the signing of the Treaty with a clear elaboration of the issues, structures and timetable which will form the basis of the negotiations on protocols;
  - c) priority be given to popular participation, to ensure that the people of the region determine the content and direction of regional integration;
  - d) the movement of the people within the region should be facilitated;
  - e) the need for the progressive removal of all barriers to the flow of capital, goods and services; and
  - f) priority also be given to arrangements for peace and security in the region.

13. The Summit expressed the hope that a democratic South Africa will join the SADCC family of nations soon in order to enable all of the region's peoples to join hands in building a new economic order in Southern Africa based on balance, equity and mutual benefit.
14. The Summit noted that the Theme of the 1993 SADCC Annual Consultative Conference: SADC: A Framework and Strategy for Building a Community in Southern Africa will articulate the issues and propose a time-table and the steps necessary to build an economic community in Southern Africa.
15. The Summit noted the proposal by the Authority of the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern African States (PTA) that SADCC and PTA should merge into a Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). The Summit reaffirmed the consensus of member States that SADCC and the PTA have distinct objectives and mandates and must, therefore, continue to exist as autonomous, but complementary entities.
16. The Summit appreciated efforts being made to avoid conflict, and duplication in the activities of the two organisations. The Summit, therefore, directed Council to commission an independent study to advise on how best to harmonise relations between SADC and PTA in the context of the process toward the establishment of the African Economic Community.
17. The Summit noted with regret that the status of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, as integral parts of Namibia, still remains unresolved. The Summit reaffirmed its support to Namibia, and called on the international community to put pressure on South Africa to restore the sovereignty over Walvis Bay and the offshore islands to Namibia.
18. The Summit noted with satisfaction progress being made in the implementation of the SADCC Programme of Action. The Summit considered and approved the SADCC Annual Report, covering the period of July 1991 to June 1992, and decided that the Report should be released for public information.
19. The Chairman, Sir Ketumile Masire, delivered a closing statement.
20. The Summit thanked H.E. President Nujoma, the Government and people of Namibia, for the cordial and brotherly welcome and hospitality accorded to the Heads of State or Governments, and their delegations.

