

CHAPTER 1

(DRAFT)

THE SADC FRAMEWORK FOR INTEGRATION

This chapter analyses the Southern African Development Community (SADC) framework for integration including its vision and mission. It introduces SADC in its historical context, highlighting the reasons for its formation, how it has evolved over time and the rationale for formulating the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP).

1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1.1 The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference

Regional co-operation and integration in Southern Africa owes its origin to historical, economic, political, social and cultural factors that have created strong bonds of solidarity and unity among the peoples of Southern Africa. These factors have contributed to the formation of a distinct Southern African personality and identity that underpins political and economic co-operation.

The formal establishment of structures to promote regional co-operation and integration started as an initiative of the Frontline States, the original members of which were Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia. This initiative was directed initially towards the political liberation of the region. From 1975 when they were formally constituted, the Frontline States met regularly to co-ordinate efforts, resources and strategy, with regard to the National Liberation Movements of Southern Africa that were fighting against colonialism, racism and white minority-rule. Later, this initiative was extended to address military attacks and destabilization of majority-ruled states by apartheid South Africa. The intensification of the struggle on both fronts strengthened bonds of solidarity and the need for collective action.

Most of the countries of Southern Africa ultimately achieved political independence, but against a background of mass poverty, economic backwardness and the threat of powerful and hostile white minority-ruled neighbours. Thus, the leaders saw the promotion of economic and social development through co-operation and integration as the next logical step after political independence.

Accordingly, based on the outcome of the July 1979 Arusha Conference which agreed on a strategy to launch the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the then nine majority-ruled states of Southern Africa – Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia

and Zimbabwe – met at Summit level in April 1980 in Lusaka, Zambia and declared their commitment to pursue policies aimed at economic liberation on the basis of a sustainable integrated development of their economies.

The Summit adopted the Lusaka Declaration entitled '***Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation***' as well as a Programme of Action covering areas of Transport and Communications, Food and Agriculture, Industry, Manpower Development and Energy. The aims of SADCC were to reduce economic dependence particularly, but not only, on South Africa; to forge links to create genuine and equitable regional integration; to mobilize resources for implementing national and interstate policies; and to take concerted action to secure international co-operation within the framework of the strategy of economic liberation. In pursuance of these objectives, the organization focused on functional co-operation in key sectors through a Programme of Action known as the SADCC Programme of Action (SPA). Above all, SADCC reflected the spirit of Pan Africanism and the latter's preoccupation with the need for regional integration as the means towards African continental unity and the recovery of African dignity and status in global affairs. These principles were enshrined in both the OAU Treaty of 1963 and the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 and the Final Act of Lagos.

At the regional level, the main SADCC institutions were the Summit of Heads of State or Government which had responsibility for overall policy direction and control of the functions of the Conference; the Council of Ministers, which reported to the Summit, oversaw the work and development of SADCC and approved SADCC policies; the Standing Committee of Officials which was a technical advisory committee and advised the Council; and the Secretariat which was responsible for the coordination and management of SADCC programmes.

For the purpose of coordinating the SPA and enhancing ownership, a decentralized structure was adopted under which different sectors were allocated to each Member State. This approach underscored the need to build collective self-reliance, mutual trust and confidence and it was on this basis that the Organisation evolved over the years. The number of areas of co-operation increased, as the number of Member States rose, since each was allocated at least one sector to co-ordinate, but also in response to new challenges like HIV/AIDS. As the areas of co-operation increased, the SPA expanded.

1.1.2 From SADCC to SADC

By the late 1980s, it became apparent that SADCC needed strengthening. The attainment of independence and sovereign nationhood by Namibia in 1990 formally ended the struggle against colonialism in the region. In some of the other countries, concerted efforts to end internal conflicts and civil strife were bearing positive results. In South Africa, the process was underway to end the inhuman system of apartheid, and to bring about a constitutional dispensation acceptable to all the people of South Africa. These developments took the region

out of an era of conflict and confrontation, to one of peace, security and stability, which remain prerequisites for cooperation and development.

On the African continent, efforts continued, mainly under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to promote closer economic relations. In 1991, some of the OAU Heads of State or Government signed the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. Like the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action, the Treaty made Regional Economic Communities (RECs) the building blocks for the continental community. In light of this development, the SADC Heads of State or Government viewed their efforts at regional integration in Southern Africa as part of this continental effort. More recently, the African Union, the successor to the OAU, has reaffirmed its commitment to the African Economic Community. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has designated RECs as implementing agencies for its programme.

On the global scene, fundamental and far-reaching political and economic changes were taking place. The cold war had ended, and world affairs were increasingly being managed on the basis of consultation and consensus, rather than confrontation and competition. Integration was fast becoming a global trend. Countries in different regions of the globe were organising themselves into closer economic and political entities. These movements towards stronger regional blocs were expected to transform the world, both economically and politically, as firms within these economic blocs would benefit from economies of scale provided by large markets, to become competitive both internally and internationally. For firms in Southern Africa not to remain behind, it became imperative for a large regional market to be established so that they too could benefit from economies of scale.

At their meeting in Windhoek in August 1992, the Heads of State and Government signed a Treaty transforming the "SADCC" from a coordination conference into SADC, the Community -- and redefined the basis of cooperation among Member States from a loose association into a legally binding arrangement. The purpose of transforming SADCC into SADC was to promote deeper economic cooperation and integration to help address many of the factors that make it difficult to sustain economic growth and socio-economic development, such as continued dependence on the exports of a few primary commodities. It had become an urgent necessity for SADC governments to urgently transform and restructure their economies. The small size of their individual markets, the inadequate socio-economic infrastructure and the high per capita cost of providing this infrastructure as well as their low-income base made it difficult for them individually to attract or maintain the necessary investments for their sustained development.

Accordingly, SADC opted for a development integration approach which recognises the political and economic diversities of regional integrating countries including their diverse production structures, trade patterns, resource

endowments, development priorities, institutional affiliations and resource allocation mechanisms. It addresses many of the production, infrastructure and efficiency barriers arising from the underdevelopment of the region. This approach also has the advantage of complementing trade liberalisation with sustainable corrective measures, designed to cushion the least developed member countries against shocks arising from the removal of trade barriers. It further allows member states to define the scope and sectors of cooperation and to identify appropriate strategies and mechanisms to overcome impediments to integration and to address regional imbalances between member states.

In the 1990s, the membership of the organization increased to 14 with the accession of Namibia in 1990, South Africa in 1994, Mauritius in 1995, and Seychelles and the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1997.

Since its inception, SADC has inculcated a sense of regional belonging as well as a tradition of consultation among the peoples and governments of Southern Africa, which, among other things, has improved regional security. It has also formulated the SPA, which covers cooperation in several economic and social sectors; and implemented several infrastructure and other projects. Furthermore, SADC has developed protocols in a number of areas of co-operation, which provide the legal framework for co-operation among Member States.

While SADC has recorded some remarkable achievements, difficulties and constraints have also been encountered. These include lack of institutional reforms for effective transformation from SADCC into SADC; lack of synergy between the objectives of the Treaty on the one hand and the existing SADC SPA and institutional framework on the other, and finally lack of appropriate mechanisms capable of translating the high degree of political commitment into concrete programmes of community building and integration.

In order to address these and other institutional problems, the Heads of State and Government approved the restructuring of SADC institutions at their Extraordinary Summit held in March 2001, in Windhoek. Under restructuring, the twenty-one sectors have been grouped into clusters under four Directorates at the SADC Secretariat. At the national level, SADC National Committees will co-ordinate their respective individual Member State interests relating to SADC. At the regional level, an Integrated Committee of Ministers (ICM) has been created to co-ordinate the work of different clusters. The new structure also includes the Troika system and the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security.

The objective of the restructuring was to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of SADC policies and programmes and to implement a more coherent and better co-ordinated strategy to eliminate poverty in the Region. To underpin the restructuring of SADC institutions and provide a clear orientation for the policies and programmes of the organisation over the medium to long-term, the Extraordinary Summit also approved that the Secretariat prepare this Regional

Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) which is guided by the vision of SADC.

1.2 THE SADC VISION AND MISSION

1.2.1 Vision

The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) is underpinned by the SADC vision, which charts the direction for the development of the region. The Declaration "*Towards the Southern African Development Community*", adopted in Windhoek, Namibia, on 17 August 1992, by Heads of State or Government of Southern African States, calls upon all countries and people of Southern Africa to develop a *vision of a shared future, a future within a regional community*.

The SADC vision is one of a common future, a future in a regional community that will ensure economic well-being, improvement of the standards of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice and peace and security for the peoples of Southern Africa. This shared vision is anchored on the common values and principles and the historical and cultural affinities that exist between the peoples of Southern Africa.

1.2.2 Mission

The RISDP is also underpinned by the SADC mission statement. From the 1992 Declaration and the Report on the Review of the Operations of SADC Institutions, particularly from the objectives and strategies spelt out in Article 5 of the Treaty, the SADC Mission Statement is: "*To promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient productive systems, deeper co-operation and integration, good governance, and durable peace and security, so that the region emerges as a competitive and effective player in international relations and the world economy*".

The pursuit of this mission is guided by the following principles, which are stated in Article 4 of the SADC Treaty:

- a) sovereign equality of all Member States;
- b) solidarity, peace and security;
- c) human rights, democracy, and the rule of law;
- d) equity, balance and mutual benefit;
- e) peaceful settlement of disputes.

1.3 THE SADC COMMON AGENDA

The SADC Common Agenda is spelt out in Article 5 of the Treaty as amended, as well as in the Report on The Review of Operations of SADC Institutions and

consists of the policies and strategies of the organisation. The policies of SADC are to:

- promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development that will ensure poverty alleviation with the ultimate objective of its eradication, enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration;
- promote common political values, systems and other shared values which are transmitted through institutions which are democratic, legitimate, and effective;
- consolidate, defend and maintain democracy, peace, security and stability;
- promote self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance, and the interdependence of Member States;
- achieve complementarity between national and regional strategies and programmes;
- promote and maximise productive employment and utilisation of the resources of the Region;
- achieve sustainable utilisation of natural resources and effective protection of the environment;
- strengthen and consolidate the long-standing historical, social and cultural affinities and links among the people of the Region;
- combat HIV/AIDS and other deadly or communicable diseases;
- ensure that poverty eradication is addressed in all SADC activities and programmes; and
- mainstream gender in the process of community building.

The broad strategies of the SADC as contained in the Treaty are to:

- harmonise political and socio-economic policies and plans of Member States;
- encourage the peoples of the Region and their institutions to take initiatives to develop economic, social and cultural ties across the region, and to participate fully in the implementation of the programmes and projects of SADC;

- create appropriate institutions and mechanisms for the mobilisation of requisite resources for the implementation of programmes and operations of SADC and its institutions;
- develop policies aimed at the progressive elimination of obstacles to the free movement of capital and labour, goods and services, and of the peoples of the region generally, among Member States;
- promote the development, transfer and mastery of technology;
- improve economic management and performance through regional cooperation;
- promote the coordination and harmonisation of the international relations of Member States; and
- secure international understanding, cooperation and support, and mobilise the inflow of public and private resources into the region.

1.4 SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF THE REGIONAL INDICATIVE STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN (RISDP)

According to the Agreement Amending the SADC Treaty, the RISDP, based on the strategic priorities of SADC and its Common Agenda is designed to provide strategic direction with respect to SADC programmes, projects and activities. The RISDP aligns the strategic objectives and priorities with the policies and strategies to be pursued towards achieving those goals over a period of fifteen years.

The RISDP is indicative in nature and outlines the necessary conditions that should be realised towards the attainment of SADC's regional integration and development goals. In other words, it is not a prescriptive or a command type of plan. In view of the need to monitor and measure progress, the RISDP sets targets that indicate major milestones towards the attainment of agreed goals. In this connection, the RISDP sets up a logical and coherent implementation programme of the main activities necessary for the achievement of the region's broader goals with a reasonable, feasible and agreeable time frame that takes into account resource constraints.

While maintaining a "development integration" strategy, the RISDP, in view of the significant discrepancies existing among SADC Member States, recognises the need for a flexible approach towards deeper integration and the implementation of various policy reforms and recommendations.

Most of the policies, strategies and programmes of SADC were designed independently by individual Sector Coordinating Units before they were grouped

into clusters managed through Directorates. For this reason, the various policies, strategies and programmes were not properly co-ordinated leading to weak intersectoral linkages. The RISDP identifies and strengthens the linkages, programmes and the policies of the various sectors with a view to improving efficiency and delivery of the SADC Programme of Action.

The RISDP provides SADC Member States, with a coherent and comprehensive development agenda on social and economic policies over the next fifteen years. It also provides the Secretariat and other SADC institutions with clear guidelines on SADC's approved social and economic priorities and policies, and, therefore, enhances their effectiveness in discharging their facilitating and coordinating role.

In the light of the SADC vision of a common future within a regional community and its mission to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development, the ultimate objective of the RISDP is to deepen the integration agenda of SADC with a view to accelerating poverty eradication and the attainment of other economic and non-economic development goals. To attain this objective, the RISDP takes stock of the current political, social and economic situation in the region with a view to provide a way forward for SADC to attain its objectives.