10

# ADDRESS BY THE OAU SECRETARY-GENERAL, H.E. MR SALIM AHMED SALIM

# TO THE EEC SEMINAR

ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF SADCC

Dublin, 30 April, 1990.

MR CHAIRMAN,

EXCELLENCIES,

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES,

IT IS A GREAT HONOUR AND SPECIAL PRIVILEGE FOR ME TO ADDRESS THIS SEMINAR DURING THIS COMMEMORATIVE OCCASION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COORDINATION CONFERENCE (SADCC). THE CHOICE OF DUBLIN, AS THE VENUE OF THIS SEMINAR, UNDERSCORES THE IMPORTANCE THIS COUNTRY ATTACHES TO THE ROLE OF SADCC AS A SIGNIFICANT INSTRUMENT OF COOPERATION AMONG THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA - A SUB-REGION THAT HAS SUFFERED AS A RESULT OF PRETORIA'S HOSTILITIES, INTIMIDATION, ECONOMIC DESTABILIZATION AND MILITARY ATTACKS ON THE VITAL ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURES, ETC. THESE ACTS BY APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, NOT WITHSTANDING SADCC MEMBERS STATES, HAVE CONTINUED TO DEEPEN THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH THE HELP OF MANY COUNTRIES, OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS.

MR CHAIRMAN,

COUNTRIES MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAVE PLAYED
A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN SUPPORTING SADCC COUNTRIES. THIS IS ALL THE
MORE REASON WHY I HAVE CAUSE TO BE ENCOURAGED THAT UNDER THE
PRESIDENCY OF IRELAND THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SUPPORT
TO SADCC COUNTRIES WILL BE SUSTAINED AND INCREASED IN FUTURE.

I AM PARTICULARLY PLEASED TO ADDRESS THIS SEMINAR AFTER MY MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW YORK WHERE NAMIBIA WAS OFFICIALLY ADMITTED AS THE 161ST MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE, AFTER DECADES OF ILLEGAL OCCUPATION BY SOUTH AFRICA, IS A SOURCE OF PLEASURE AND GREAT PRIDE, NOT ONLY FOR THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND AFRICA ALONE, BUT ALSO FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE AS WELL AS FOR THOSE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. I, THEREFORE, HOPE THAT, AS THIS YOUNGEST NATION IN THE WORLD JOINS THE OTHER SADCC COUNTRIES IN THEIR COMMON DEVELOPMENT ENDEAVOURS, INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE SUPPORT FROM COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, WILL BE EXTENDED.

## MR CHAIRMAN,

IN COMMEMORATING TEN YEARS OF SADCC'S EXISTENCE, AS AN ECONOMIC GROUPING, ITS MEMBER STATES AND ITS DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS, ON ONE HAND, AND AFRICA, ON THE OTHER, ARE CELEBRATING TEN YEARS OF SUSTAINED EFFORTS AT ACHIEVING A LESS DEPENDENT AND MORE SELFRELIANT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION. AS FOR AFRICA, THE DECADE OF THE 1980'S HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY SEVERE ECONOMIC CRISES, COMPOUNED BY NATURAL CALAMITIES OF ALL SORTS: FAMINE, DROUGHT, DESERTIFICATION, FLOODS AND CYCLONES TO SAY NOTHING OF MAN MADE CALAMITIES SUCH AS CIVIL STRIVE, DESTABILIZATION AND ITS ATTENDANT REPERCUSSIONS OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS, FLOODS AND

CYCLONES. IN ADDITION, THE SAME PERIOD HAS WITNESSED THE COLLAPSE OF THE PRICES OF THE MAJOR EXPORT COMMODITIES PRODUCED BY THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND THIS SITUATION HAS LED MOST OF THE OAU MEMBER STATES TO THE VERGE OF ECONOMIC BANKRUPTCY. IT IS AGAINST THIS GENERAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND THAT NOT ONLY THE SADCC WAS ESTABLISHED IN EARLY 1980, BUT ALSO THAT THE LAGOS PLAN OF ACTION AND ITS FINAL ACT WERE ADOPTED IN APRIL 1980. WITH THE LAGOS PLAN OF ACTION, AFRICA EVOLVED A LONG-TERM COLLECTIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY BASED ON SELECTED PRIORITY SECTORS AND TO BE IMPLEMENTED THROUGH INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE EFFORTS GEARED TOWARDS THE RATIONAL RE-ORGANIZATION AND RE-ORDERING OF THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC SPHERE AT ALL LEVELS SO AS TO ACHIEVE THE NECESSARY COMPLEMENTARY OF THE ECONOMIES OF THE MEMBER STATES. IT WAS A DETERMINATION TO HARNESS THE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE SUB-REGION IN ORDER TO ADDRESS SOME OF THE CRITICAL DEVELOPMENT BOTTLENECKS FACING THE COUNTRIES AND TO EVOLVE AND DEVELOP SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIES. WITH THE ADOPTION OF THE FINAL ACT, THE OAU MEMBER STATES WERE CONVINCED THAT THE ECONOMIC REGIONALIZATION SHOULD BE REGARDED AS ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL ASPECTS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN. THIS **ECONOMIC** REGIONALIZATION OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT WAS. THEREFORE, CONCEIVED AND PERCEIVED AS AN EFFECTIVE STEP AND AN INSTRUMENT FOR ACCELERATING AND STRENGTHENING ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION AT CONTINENTAL LEVEL. THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROUPINGS, WHICH WERE ESTABLISHED BEFORE OR AFTER 1980, SUCH AS SADCC, WERE SEEN AS THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND OPERATIONAL INSTRUMENTS.

IN GIVING THIS BACKGROUND, MY PRIMARY INTENTION IS TO PUT SADCC IN CONTEXT AND TO DISPEL THE IMPRESSION WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN CREATED THAT SADCC WAS ESTABLISHED SOLELY IN REACTION TO THE PRETORIA REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA. WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT SADCC'S OBJECTIVES INCLUDE THE REDUCTION OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA, IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT THE SADCC HAVE THEIR OWN INTEREST IN AN ORGANIZED REGIME OF ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP QUITE APART FROM THEIR COLLECTIVE ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID. AS ONE OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS, FORMER PRESIDENT NYERERE, STATED EARLY IN 1981, «SADCC HAS NOT BEEN FORMED AS A SPECIFICALLY, ANTI-SOUTH AFRICA ORGANIZATION. ITS PURPOSES ARE NOT SIMPLY GREATER INDEPENDENCE FROM SOUTH AFRICA. IF SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID RULE ENDED TOMORROW, THERE WOULD STILL BE NEED FOR THE STATES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA TO COOPERATE, TO COORDINATE THEIR TRANSPORT SYSTEMS, TO RATIONALIZE THEIR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT...», SADCC WAS BORN OUT OF A GENUINE DESIRE OF ACHIEVING GREATER COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION OF THE ECONOMIES OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE REGION. THE SAME SPIRIT AND MOTIVATION INSPIRED ALL THE OAU MEMBER STATES IN ADOPTING THE LAGOS PLAN OF ACTION, A FEW WEEKS AFTER THE ADOPTION OF THE LUSAKA DECLARATION.

SADCC'S OBJECTIVES ARE WELL-KNOWN TO ALL ITS DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS. FROM THE OUTSET, THE MEMBER STATES RESOLVED TO PURSUE A COOPERATIVE STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT THROUGH WHICH THE REQUISITE GOODS AND SERVICES NEEDED TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THEIR PEOPLES WOULD BE PROVIDED. AND IN THIS REGARD, AND WITH A VIEW TO ACHIEVING ACCELERATED INDIVIDUAL AND SELF-RELIANCE, SADCC MEMBER COLLECTIVE STATES DETERMINED THE DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES WITH A SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAMMES, IN THE FIRST STAGE. IT WAS HENCE RECOGNIZED IN THE EARLY STAGE THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ADEQUATE REGIONAL TRANSPORT AND COMUNICATIONS NETWORK WAS BOTH CRITICAL AND VITAL, NOT ONLY FOR THE PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE OF THOSE GOODS AND SERVICE, WHILE ENCOURAGING INTRA-REGIONAL AND EXTRA-REGIONAL INVESTMENTS INPRODUCTIVE SECTORS. BUT ALSO FOR LINKING UP PHYSICALLY ALL THE MEMBER STATES SO AS TO TRANSFORM THEM INTO ONE SINGLE VIABLE MARKET. AND SINCE 1986. SADCC HAS EMBARKED UPON THIS CHALLENGE IN ITS EFFORTS TOWARDS COLLECTIVE REGIONAL ECONOMIC SELF-RELIANCE. THECONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE, WHICH HAVE BEEN ORGANIZED SINCE THEN BETWEEN SADCC AND ITS DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS, HAVE PROVIDED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE AROUND SPECIFIC THEMES HIGHLIGHTING THE ORIENTATION OF THE SADCC PROGRAMMES AND PRIORITIES REQUIRING EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE AND INTERNAL COLLECTIVE MOBILIZATION.

I HAVE ALREADY POINTED OUT THAT SADCC SHOULD BE SEEN AND UNDERSTOOD IN THE OVERALL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY OF OUR CONTINENT. SINCE LAGOS AND WITH THE FINAL ACT ADOPTED IN APRIL 1980, THE OAU MEMBER STATES ARE CONVINCED MORE THAN EVER BEFORE THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTINENT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AFRICANS THEMSELVES, INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY. BUT THIS DEVELOPMENT WILL BE POSSIBLE ONLY THROUGH ORGANIZED AND COORDINATED EFFORTS AND RESOURCES, AT ALL LEVELS. AT CONTINENTAL LEVEL, THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES MUST ENDEAVOUR TO WORK TOGETHER, TO BUILD TOGETHER.

EVIDENTLY, FOR THE PAST TEN YEARS, SADCC MEMBER STATES DEPLOYED TREMEMDOUS EFFORTS IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THEIR COOPERATION IN THE AREAS OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION. INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT INCLUDING TRANSPORT COMMUNICATIONS. THESE ATTEMPTS SOUGHT TO GUARD AGAINST THEIR VULNERABILITY AND DEPENDENCE ON A HOSTILE NEIGHBOUR. MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, INDIVIDUALLY AND THROUGH THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION, MADE COMMENDABLE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS ENTERPRISE. SUCCESSIVE LOME CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS PLAYED THEIR PART PARTICULARLY UNDER THE CHAPTER ON REGIONAL COOPERATION. I AM PLEASED TO NOTE, IN THIS REGARD, THAT THE FOURTH LOME CONVENTION MAKES FURTHER COMMITMENTS TO SUPPORT REGIONAL COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION UNDER ARTICLE 156 OF THE CONVENTION.

IN ADDITION, SADCC COUNTRIES HAVE DECIDED TO TAKE FURTHER MEASURES TO PROMOTE INVESTMENTS IN THE PRODUCTIVE SECTORS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE ECONOMIES. THEY DO RECOGNIZE THE ROLE WHICH INVESTMENTS CAN PLAY IN TERMS OF PROMOTING THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IN THE TRANSFER OF SKILLS AND TECHNOLOGY. I CONSIDER THIS TREND AS POSITIVE IN AS MUCH AS IT WOULD CONSTITUTE ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF NON-DEBT CREATING RESOURCE FLOWS.

#### MR CHAIRMAN,

IN SPITE OF ALL THE EFFORTS AND INITIATIVES BY SADCC COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS THOSE OF THE FRONTLINE STATES OR EVEN BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN THIS DEVELOPMENT ENTERPRISE. DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS, COUNTRIES IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION HAVE NOT YET MANAGED TO ACHIEVE LEVELS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH THAT WE WOULD HAVE WISHED TO ATTAIN. MANY REASONS DO ACCOUNT FOR THESE MEASURED RESULTS. FIRST, THE ADVERSE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CLIMATE HAS NOT BEEN EITHER CONDUCIVE OR CONTRIBUTIVE TO THE ALLEVIATION OF A NUMBER OF CRITICAL PROBLEMS FACING ALL AFRICAN COUNTRIES, IN GENERAL, AND SADCC COUNTRIES, IN PARTICULAR. THE DETERIORATION OF THE TERMS OF TRADE, THE EXCRUCIATING DEBT AND DEBT SERVICING BURDEN. THE COLLAPSE OF COMMODITY PRICES, THE DEVASTATING EFFECTS OF THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES (SAP'S) DID NOT FACILITATE THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF THESE COUNTRIES. THE NET TRANSFER OR RESOURCES TO THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF THESE COUNTRIES.

THE NET TRANSFER OR RESOURCES TO THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE ECONOMIC NORTH HAS NOW BECOME A PHENOMENON THAT CAN NOT BE ACCEPTABLE. CLEARLY, THESE AND OTHER RELATED ISSUES HAVE HAMPERED THE DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS OF NOT, ONLY SADCC COUNTRIES, BUT ALSO THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES. IT IS MY SINCERE HOPE THAT AFRICA'S PARTNERS IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD AND PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO HAVE HAD AND CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH SADCC COUNTRIES WILL ENDEAVOUR TO DO THEIR UTMOST TO SEE TO IT THAT THESE PROBLEMS DO NOT CONTINUE TO CRIPPLE THE ECONOMIES OF SADCC COUNTRIES.

THE SECOND, AND BY FAR MOST THREATENING DIMENSION OF THE PROBLEMS OF SADCC AND THE FRONTLINE STATES IN THE REGION, IS THE SCOURGE OF APARTHEID. ITS SPILL-OVER EFFECTS, IN THE FORM OF THE DESTRUCTION, HAVE DEBILITATED THE SAME ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE THAT WAS BUILT IN THE PAST OR PROJECTS WHICH ARE BEING PUT IN PLACE WITH THE HELP OF DONOR COUNTRIES, MOST OF THEM FROM THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. EUROPEAN SOUTH AFRICA'S *MILITARY* AGGRESSION AND SUPPORT TO BANDIT MOVEMENTS, NOTABLY IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, HAVE RESULTED IN HEAVY MATERIAL AND HUMAN LOSSES. THE COSTS INCURRED BY THE COUNTRIES OF THIS SUB-REGION, RESULT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY INCURSIONS AND ASDESTABILIZATION, WERE PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED NATIONS IN OCTOBER 1989. THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY ARE ALARMING BUT NOT SURPRISING FOR THOSE AMONG THE FRONTLINE COUNTRIES WHO HAVE HAD TO FACE WITH THE FULL BRUNT OF PRETORIA'S AGGRESSION. THE STUDY POINTS OUT THAT, BETWEEN THE PERIOD 1980/1988, THE TOTAL COSTS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S DESTABILIZATION OF HER NEIGHBOURS STOOD AT A STAGGERING SUM OF US\$ 60 BILLION OR US\$ 10 BILLION PER ANNUM. THIS FIGURE IS TWICE THE ANNUAL GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP) OF THE SUB-REGION AND MORE THAN THREE TIMES THE COMBINED GROSS EXTERNAL RESOURCE FLOWS TO THE SUB-REGION IN THE FORM OF GRANTS, SOFT LOANS, EXPORT CREDITS AND COMMERCIAL LOANS. THE FULL WEIGHT AND EXTENT OF HUMAN COSTS AND SUFFERING COULD BE SEEN IN TERMS OF MILLIONS OF REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE REGION. THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO WERE KILLED IN THE PROCESS REACHED 1.5. MILLION PEOPLE AND OVER HALF OF THEM WERE CHILDREN.

## MR CHAIRMAN.

THESE ARE THE KINDS OF ISSUES THAT GATHERINGS LIKE THIS ONE COULD REFLECT ON IN ORDER TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE OF THE AREA. I BELIEVE THAT STEPPING-UP ANTI-APARTHEID CAMPAIGN AND SPECIALLY THROUGH INCREASED PRESSURE FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA CONSTITUTE THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF BRINGING DOWN INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION BY APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA. THIS IS THE CALL I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE TO ALL OF YOU. APARTHEID IS STILL WELL ENTRENCHED IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE CHANGES AND THE RECENT MEASURES TAKEN BY SOUTH AFRICA, WELCOMED AS THEY ARE, ARE NOT A COMMITMENT TO THE ABOLITION OF APARTHEID. THE TENETS OF THE APARTHEID MACHINERY REMAIN WELL EMBEDDED IN SOUTH AFRICA. CONTINUED COLLABORATION WITH RACIST PRETORIA AND CALLS FOR THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS ONLY SERVE TO FURTHER ENTRENCH THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

HERE, LET ME PAY A WELL DESERVED TRIBUTE TO THE GOVERNMENT
AND PEOPLE OF IRELAND FOR THE PRINCIPLED AND CONSISTENT POSITION
THEY HAVE TAKEN IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID
INCLUDING THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF AND SUPPORT FOR THE NEED FOR
CONTINUED INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AGAINST THE APARTHEID REGIME.

### MR CHAIRMAN,

THE SEETING-UP OF SADCC, AS WELL AS THE EXISTENCE OF SUB-REGIONAL ECONOMIC GROUPINGS IN AFRICA, FALLS IN LINE WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. WE ARE NOW FULLY ENGAGED IN A PROCESS OF BUILDING ON SUCH GROUPINGS AS THE PREFERENTIAL TRADE AREA FOR EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA (PTA), THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICA STATES (ECOWAS), THE CENTRAL AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (ECCAS) AND THE MAGHREB UNION AS PILLARS THAT WILL EVENTUALLY SUPPORT AN AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE FIRST READING OF THE DRAFT TREATY ESTABLISHING THE SAID COMMUNITY WAS DONE DURING THE 51ST SESSION OF THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, IN FEBRUARY, THIS YEAR. THE PTA, WHOSE MEMBERSHIP INCLUDES SADCC MEMBER STATES, IS A WIDER FRAMEWORK FOR REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION. THIS IS WHY IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERLINE THAT ANY ASSISTANCE TO SADCC SECTORAL PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS A DUPLICATION OF EFFORTS BUT RATHER AS CONSTITUENT COMPONENTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND INPUTS IN THE WHOLE EXERCISE OF STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMIES OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE SUB-REGION. A STRONG SADCC MEANS A STRONG

PTA AND VICEVERSA. SUSTAINED SUPPORT TO THE COUNTRIES IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICA SUB-REGION BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WILL, INDEED, PUT THESE COUNTRIES AT A SOUND AND COMFORTABLE LEVEL OF FUTURE COOPERATION WITH POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

BEFORE CONCLUDING, MR CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO THANK
THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF IRELAND FOR THEIR CONTINUED
SUPPORT TO SADCC. I WOULD ESPECIALLY WANT TO THANK THEM FOR
THE EXCELLENT ARRANGEMENTS AND FACILITIES THEY HAVE MADE FOR
THIS SEMINAR. TO THE ORGANIZERS, I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU FOR
THE INVITATION AND FOR ALLOWING ME TO SHARE WITH YOU THESE IDEAS.

I THANK YOU.