



AU: Africa's advance toward a better future

by Munetsi Madakufamba

The launch of the African Union (AU) in South Africa in July, replacing the 39-year-old Organisation of African Unity (OAU), has given a fresh impetus to Africa's development agenda. The historic event is a culmination of the aspirations expressed 40 years ago by Africa's founding fathers and visionaries such as Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

After achieving full political independence and ending apartheid – the goals for which the OAU was formed in 1963 – Africa needed to transform institutionally to better place itself for the new challenges of economic emancipation. This, as envisaged by Nyerere and others, can only be achieved through a united Africa.

Within 30 years of its formation, the OAU confounded its critics, totally ending colonialism across the continent and helping to abolish apartheid in South Africa. For southern Africa, this was not achieved without major political and economic sacrifices, especially by countries such as Tanzania and Zambia.

Tanzania hosted and contributed significantly to the OAU Liberation Committee, which was the organ for advancing the political independence of the continent. As was the case with Zambia, Tanzania hosted liberation movements or their leaders, from countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

With the continent now enjoying political independence, it had become imperative that a new institutional

framework be put in place, and the AU could not have come at a better time, as the new generation of African leaders prepare themselves for what is set to be an even tougher struggle.

South African President Thabo Mbeki, the new chair of the AU, expressed the views of many when he said the OAU had laid the foundation for the new body.

He started his speech to inaugurate the AU saying that, "By forming the Union, the peoples of our continent have made the unequivocal statement that Africa must unite! We as Africans have a common and a shared destiny! Together, we must redefine this destiny for a better life for all the people of this continent."

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Water Dome to highlight importance of water at World Summit

The United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) which will be held from 26 August - 4 September 2002 in Johannesburg will bring together tens of thousands of participants, including heads of state and government, delegates and leaders of NGOs and the business community.

Also known as "Rio +10", the WSSD hopes to find practical ways of achieving sustainable development – that is, how to better the lives of all human beings through sustainable development, while protecting the environment for the use of future generations. Among the priority areas that have been identified as essential is water.

For Africa in general and SADC in particular, water is of utmost importance. Consequently, the Africa Water Taskforce of the WSSD has chosen to put water high on the agenda of the summit. To underline this, a special venue called the Water Dome has been

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SADC Information Officer

Editor

Munetsi Madakufamba

Design & Layout/DTP

Inkspots

Origination/Printing

DS Print Media, South Africa

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Correspondence should be addressed to:

SADC TODAY
Southern African Research and
Documentation Centre (SARDC)
15 Downie Avenue, Belgravia,
P.O. Box 5690, Harare, Zimbabwe

Tel: 263.4.791141
Fax: 263.4.791271
mail:sadctoday@sardc.net
Web:http://www.sardc.net



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Role and composition of SADC national committees

As part of the two-year restructuring exercise which started last year, the amended SADC Treaty requires that member states form National Committees to, among other responsibilities, facilitate the participation of member states in SADC activities and improve communication with the Secretariat in Gaborone. This article reviews the role and composition of these national committees.

In March 2001, a SADC extraordinary Summit approved recommendations for far-reaching changes in the organisation's institutional framework aimed at making the 14-member body more effective in pursuing its goals and objectives. These changes, which were further endorsed by the ordinary Summit in Blantyre, Malawi, in August 2001, include restructuring of SADC's governing structures.

One of the structures in the new SADC is the multi-stakeholder National Committees, whose composition has to reflect the key areas of integration as represented by the four directorates being established at the Secretariat to replace the 21 sectors and commissions previously coordinated by member states. The four directorates are:

- ♦ Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment;
- ♦ Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources;
- ♦ Infrastructure and Services; and
- ♦ Social and Human Development and Special Programmes.

The first two directorates were established last year, while the remaining ones will be in place by year end.

Ideally, the National Committees should have expertise covering broad functions of the four directorates. In addition to government representatives, the committees should consist of key national stakeholders such as the private sector, civil society, non-

governmental organisations, and employers and labour unions.

The Council of Ministers meeting in Gaborone, Botswana, in June 2002 noted that most member states had successfully established their National Committees, urging the remaining ones to speed up the process.

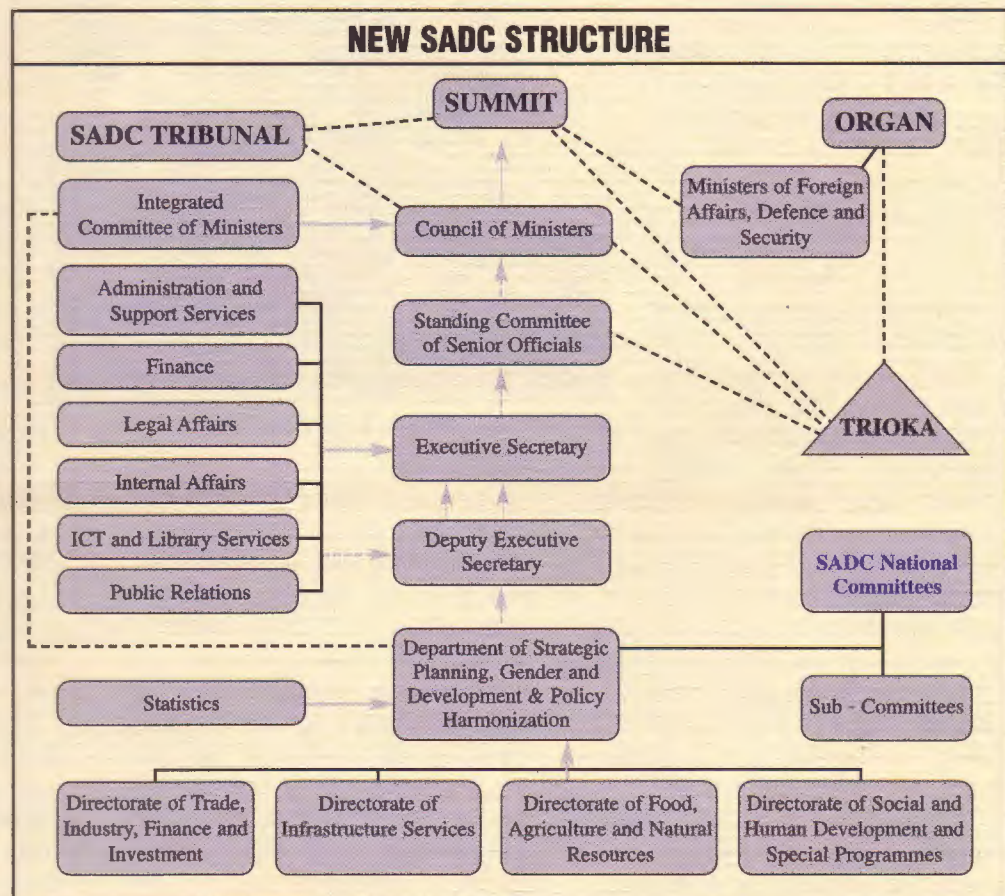
According to the guidelines approved by the Council of Ministers at its meeting in Blantyre last August, each member state has the obligation to create its own National Committee to *inter alia*:

- provide input in the formulation of SADC policies, strategies and pro-

gramme of action;

- coordinate and oversee the implementation of SADC programme of action;
- promote and broaden stakeholder participation in SADC affairs in member states;
- facilitate information flows and communication between member states and the SADC Secretariat; and
- coordinate the provision of inputs for the development of the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan and monitor its implementation.

The guidelines further provide that the National Committees should have a steering committee and a secretariat. Such committees are expected to have sub-committees and technical committees, which ideally should match the functions of the four directorates. □



Ministers approve MOUs to underpin regional macroeconomic stability

by Munetsi Madakufamba

Macroeconomic stability is at the heart of regional integration and poverty reduction in SADC. A number of measures and strategies are being put in place at the regional level as part of reforms aimed at achieving sustainable development.

In 1996, SADC member states signed the Trade Protocol, which entered into force in 2000. This development has been an important part of trade liberalisation which all SADC countries are currently pursuing as they seek to widen economic opportunities and allow greater private sector participation in the regional economy.

However, it has since been acknowledged that other instruments need to be in place to support trade policy which is already being strengthened with the implementation of the SADC Trade Protocol. This calls for a systematic and parallel effort in reforming and harmonising the overall macroeconomic policy framework.

Realising the complementary nature between trade policy, and finance and investment, the Directorate of Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment (TIFI) embarked on a process of drawing up Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) under finance and investment. The MOUs, on Taxation and Related Matters, and Macro-economic Convergence were completed and subsequently approved by the SADC Council of Ministers at their meeting in Gaborone, Botswana in June.

After the approval, the MOUs were signed by ministers responsible for finance and investment at their annual

meeting in South Africa on 8 August. They will now be taken to Luanda for final approval by the summit.

The MOU on Cooperation in



New high rising buildings, a sign of stability and recovery.

Taxation and Related Matters seeks, among other things, to build capacity in skills and best practices for tax officials in SADC. The Macro-economic Convergence MOU, the broadest of the two, hopes to achieve and maintain macroeconomic stability through convergence of stability-oriented economic policies characterised by low inflation, low budget deficit, low but positive interest rate, stable but market determined exchange rates and manageable external debt.

Although the policy thrust of each member state is to achieve macro-economic stability, current performance varies significantly among SADC countries. Some are doing well, while others are struggling. The MOUs will seek to underpin some minimum policy requirements that, if adhered to, would help countries achieve common objectives.

The TIFI Directorate notes that "overall macroeconomic stability in the region is relatively volatile thus failing to give the desired business confidence in the region despite its potential". This, says the directorate, is evidenced by current inflation rates which are less than 10 percent in eight countries, between 10-30 percent in three other countries and over 30 percent in the remainder of member states.

"The signing of the Macroeconomic Convergence MOU will go a long way to oblige member states to put more effort to achieve macro-economic stability and subsequently convergence," says the directorate.

Realising the critical importance that exchange rates play in determining export competitiveness, the directorate has identified this as one of the key variables to be monitored under macro-economic convergence.

"The governments in the region recognize the importance of preventing overvaluation of the real exchange rate," asserts the directorate.

The current policy packages are developed within the context of the international financial architecture and the multilateral trading system, especially as defined by the World Trade Organisation (WTO). □

Update on ratification of SADC protocols, July 2002

Protocol/Treaty/Charter	Angola	Botswana	DRC	Lesotho	Malawi	Mauritius	Mozambique	Namibia	Seychelles	South Africa	Swaziland	Tanzania	Zambia	Zimbabwe
Treaty of the Southern African Development Community (SADC)	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
SADC Protocol on Immunities and Privileges	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
SADC Protocol on Shared Watercourse Systems		●		●	●	●	●			●	●	●	●	●
SADC Protocol on Energy	●	●		●	●	●		●		●	●	●	●	●
SADC Protocol on Transport, Communications and Meteorology	●	●		●	●	●		●		●	●	●	●	●
SADC Protocol on Combating Illicit Drugs		●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
SADC Protocol on Trade		●		●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●
SADC Charter of the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA)	▼	▼		▼	▼	▼	▼	▼		▼	▼	▼	▼	▼
SADC Protocol of Education and Training		●		●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●
SADC Protocol on Mining		●		●	●	●	●	●		●		●	●	●
SADC Protocol on the Development of Tourism		●		●		●	●	●			●			●
SADC Protocol on Health		●		●	●	●	●	●		●				
SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement		●		●	●	●		●						
SADC Protocol on Tribunal and Rules of Procedure		●				●		●						
SADC Protocol on Legal Affairs		●				●		●						
Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Standardisation, Quality Assurance, Accreditation and Metrology in SADC	▼	▼		▼	▼	▼	▼	▼		▼		▼	▼	▼
SADC Revised Protocol on Shared Watercourses		●		●		●	●	●		●				
SADC Amendment Protocol on Trade	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Agreement Amending the Treaty of SADC	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation		●		●		●	●							
SADC Protocol on the Control of Firearms, Ammunition and other Related Materials in SADC		●				●								
SADC Protocol on Fisheries		●				●		●						
SADC Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport		●				●	●							
SADC Protocol Against Corruption		●				●								

Source: SADC Secretariat, July 2002

● Country ratified protocol ▼ Country signed protocol
 ○ Country acceded to protocol ◆ Country adopted amended protocol

NEPAD: The challenges ahead

By Munetsi Madakufamba

A new chapter has been opened in African history with the launch on 9 July of the African Union and formal adoption of its implementation plan, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Touted as a home-grown development plan, NEPAD is the new hope for Africa, a continent whose myriad of problems, self-inflicted or otherwise, have been well documented. The challenges ahead are many.

NEPAD is an initiative by African leaders unveiled at the Lusaka OAU summit last year, and formally adopted in Durban. It is based on a common vision to eradicate poverty and achieve sustainable development in Africa, as well as making the continent a key global player.

SADC leaders have expressed their full support for NEPAD, encouraging the "SADC Secretariat to submit to the NEPAD Secretariat regional projects from priority sectors such as infrastructure, water, market access and information technology".

The SADC heads of state and government who attended the Durban summit also approved the communication strategy of NEPAD, meant to popularise the new framework.

For the African leaders, the immediate challenge after successfully

launching the new institution, the AU, and formally adopting NEPAD as its development framework, is to broaden understanding of these changes. NEPAD has been hitherto a language spoken only by the political leaders, with little or no participation by the people most affected by the current problems besetting Africa.

One of the reasons previous development plans such as structural adjustment programmes failed is that they excluded grassroots people in their approach, from formulation to implementation. Without the support of the people, NEPAD would be destined for failure.

However, it has not been the intention of the founders of NEPAD to implement it on their own. Like most political initiatives, the programme will be a trickle-down affair. After its adoption, it is now up to the various stakeholders, the private sector, gender groups, community-based organisations and others, to buy into the programme and play a part. The stage has been set.

But before the founders can wean NEPAD off to other stakeholders, they have to raise the estimated US\$64 billion needed to ensure that the programme achieves its goals and objectives. It is not going to be easy unless there is a drastic change in the way Africa does business with the rest of the world.

The US\$64 billion is expected to come from internal sources as well as from the traditional overseas development assistance. Early critics of the development plan however, say Africa has to provide the bulk of these resources if the programme is to preserve its independence and avoid foreign manoeuvrings.

It is possible to raise some of these resources locally only if Africa can better use its natural resources, diversify the range of products it produces and improve access to outside markets. As Thabo Mbeki, South African President and first AU chairperson, says, Africa has to "cease being merely an exporter of raw materials" and start adding value to its agriculture and mineral outputs.

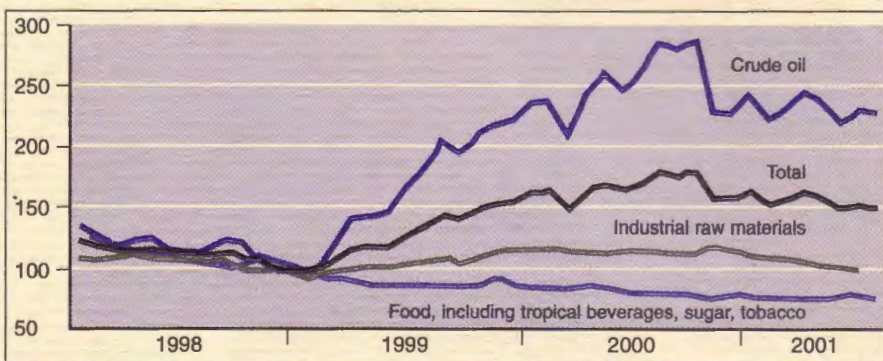
Africa's vast agricultural potential can be improved by better water security and management, embarking on sustainable land and agrarian reforms that guarantee security of ownership and open up new lines of credit and financing for smallholder farmers. The capacity can also be unlocked by employing new farming methods, better transport, storage and marketing of agricultural produce. NEPAD has listed these as some of the initiatives it will put in place to mobilise local resources.

NEPAD's goals and objectives are as many as the hardships that afflict the continent today. They range from improving economic growth, to achieving international development goals, and these will remain its long-term challenges.

One of its major development targets is to achieve and sustain an annual gross domestic product growth rate of seven percent in order to halve the number of Africans living in poverty by 2015.

However, current statistics would suggest that the target is less likely to be within the realm of possibility for many African countries. The average annual continent-wide GDP growth rate is only around three percent. □

World commodity prices, January 1998 - September 2001



Source: Economic Commission for Africa

Council defines system of chairing SADC meetings

All SADC member states will now have an equal opportunity to chair and host Council of Ministers and Summit meetings following a decision which was taken by the Council of Ministers meeting in Gaborone, Botswana, in June.

Member states that have not chaired SADC will now get the opportunity to do so in a top-down alphabetical order. This was announced by Lilian Patel, Malawi's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation who is also the Chairperson of SADC Council of Ministers.

"The current duration for chairing SADC of one year will continue to ensure stability and predictability in the organisation," she said.

Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa are the only countries that have chaired SADC while Angola's opportunity comes when it hosts the Summit later this year.

Patel said in the event that a member state is unable to host, there would be flexibility to allow the next country in the proposed order to chair and host the Summit while the former would have to wait till its turn comes up

again in the alphabetical order.

Although SADC now has two summits per year and four council meetings (two of which run parallel with the summits), the new method would apply only to the August/September summit, which is the time at which the chair changes hands.

If no member state has offered to host the February Summit at its own expense, the SADC headquarters would automatically assume responsibility to fund the meeting through the Secretariat budget. The same would apply to the May and November council meetings, Patel said. □

Africa's advance toward a better future

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He said to the more than 40 African leaders present at the launch: "This is a moment of hope for our continent and its peoples."

And the exuberance shown by thousands of ordinary South Africans who witnessed the launch ceremony in a Durban stadium represented the mood across the continent.

President Mbeki said "the expectations are indeed high" for African leaders to put their words into action.

"People expect these changes to which we are committed."

Africa is today faced by a myriad of challenges ranging from low economic growth and high poverty levels, to preventable diseases and conflicts. The launch of the AU renewed hopes that the new body will steer the continent to greater economic and social development.

SADC leaders have been quick in lending their full support to the new African body. In a communiqué released after an extraordinary summit



Africa's future is here.

held on the fringes of the main AU summit, SADC leaders hailed the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which is the economic plan of the AU.

They said, "NEPAD is a partnership among African countries" which "should depend on resources from the continent which could be complemented by those of the African partners in development from the developed world."

The leaders reiterated that the "African Peer Review Mechanism is

an exclusive African process which is voluntary and is aimed at reviewing compliance by the African leaders to their own decisions regarding political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standards."

The AU was launched exactly a year after the last summit in Lusaka, Zambia, which formally took the decision to transform the OAU. Given the arduous transitional process, only a few of the 17 organs of the new AU were launched and

had protocols establishing them adopted.

These were the Assembly of the heads of state and government of the AU, the Executive Council of Ministers, the Commission that will be providing the secretariat services of the AU and the Permanent Representatives Committee of Ambassadors. Other organs including the African Parliament, the African Central Bank, the African Monetary Union and an African Court of Justice will be launched later. □

Poverty tops agenda for World Summit

by Leonissah Munjoma

When political, civic and business leaders converge at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) this August, one thing that will occupy their time is how to eradicate poverty on the planet, particularly on the African continent, the only region on earth continuing to register economic decline with more than 300 million people living on less than a dollar a day.

For the first time, there seems to be consensus on what the most important issue at the moment is in the whole world – fighting poverty. The placing of poverty eradication at the top of the WSSD summit agenda is of significance as it places the world's focus on an issue that has contributed to environmental degradation and to failure to achieve sustainable development.

The WSSD scheduled to take place from 26 August to 4 September 2002 in Johannesburg, South Africa will be about two months after the launch of the African Union (AU), a continental body that seeks to end poverty among all its citizens.

It is hoped that the WSSD will agree on a programme of action that will see poverty reduced, if not eradicated.

This is remarkable and gives an indication that the world has, at last, come to face the reality that has been banging on its doors for decades. It has always been pointed out that for sustainable development to take place, poverty, that affects more than half of the world's population, should be tackled.

The WSSD has put issues that have drawn a lot of consensus from both the north and the south, something that has not usually happened.

The agenda has poverty eradication as its number one item followed by:

- changing sustainable patterns of consumption and production;
- protecting and changing the natural resource base for economic and social development;
- sustainable development in a

globalising world;

- health and sustainable development;
- sustainable development of small island states;
- sustainable development initiatives for Africa – such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD);
- means of implementation; and
- strengthening governance for sustainable development at the national, regional and international levels.

“The central question the WSSD must answer is how to act to turn the world from its current path of unsustainable development, and decisively act to defeat poverty and underdevelopment, particularly in Africa. At the root of these actions must be a fundamental change in the relationships between the North and the South,” says a document that forms the basis of South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) presentation to the Global Civil Society Forum.

Most of the issues on the summit agenda are of significance to Africa and southern Africa. In particular, poverty is at the core of development and regional integration in SADC.

Similarly, the issue of changing sustainable patterns of consumption and production has been high on most workshop agendas in the region. The feeling has been that for sustainable development to take place, there has to be a shift in consumption patterns by the north while the south should be assisted in improving their economic and social development base.

Sustainable development in a globalising world has been an issue of concern to the region. Views from the Africans have been that the developed world is being selfish by asking them to consume sustainably, “when they actually plundered the world resources to reach the level of development they have”.

It is hoped that the WSSD will come up with ways of ensuring that Africa continues on its path of economic development while sustaining



Poverty and environmental degradation are inter-related

its natural resources and keeping the atmosphere clean.

Health and sustainable development is another item for the WSSD agenda that is set to bring about a lot of consensus between the north and the south, bearing in mind the impact that HIV/AIDS has had, particularly on poor countries. Experts have pointed out that the transition to sustainable development has been more difficult for Africa since the 1992 Earth Summit than for any other region in the world. This calls for the WSSD to come up with ways of assisting the continent to deal with the threat that HIV/AIDS is posing to the economic and political viability of African states.

Africa is richly endowed with natural and human resources and it is crucial for the WSSD to focus on addressing the fundamental contradiction of “deep misery amidst great wealth and at dispelling the myth that Africans are destined to live in poverty.” □

Leonissah Munjoma is a Zambian born journalist based in Harare.

Water at the World Summit

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organised to run parallel to the main summit.

"The Water Dome will be the place where water really becomes everybody's business," says the summit's online newsletter.

The Water Dome has pavilions for public and private sector exhibitors, and an African "village" with huts depicting three of the regions of Africa – southern, east and west Africa.

Official SADC activities at the summit are coordinated by the Environment and Land Management Sector (SADC ELMS) which together with the Water Sector has lined up a number of water-related activities.

Among these is the launch of the book *Defining and Mainstreaming*

Environmental Sustainability in Water Resources Management in Southern Africa. The book, compiled by environment and water specialists from the region with SADC and its partners, will be launched by the two ministers of Environment and Water from Lesotho, who chair their respective ministerial committees at regional level.

The publication addresses a key SADC objective of achieving "sustainable utilization of natural resources and effective protection of the environment" enshrined as a policy objective in the 1992 SADC Treaty, and is one of the materials the regional body will showcase at the WSSD.

The book, published in full colour, is a comprehensive guide to mainstreaming environmental sustainabili-

ty in water resources management in southern Africa. It is produced by SADC ELMS and the Water sector, and is the outcome of the regional body's partnership with IUCN - the World Conservation Union Regional Office for Southern Africa (ROSA), the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre's (SARDC) India Musokotwane Environment Resource Centre for Southern Africa (IMERCESA), the Africa Water Resources Management Initiative (AWRMI) and the Environment Department of the World Bank and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).

The launch of the book fits well with the objective of the Water Dome which is to create water awareness. □

SADC common position on the WSSD

Following sub-regional consultations in preparation of the WSSD, in which governments, civil society and the business community participated, SADC agreed on core issues to be considered in the formulation of the Africa position for the WSSD. The core issues which the region wants addressed by the international community are:

- poverty which is prevalent in the SADC sub-region and is the primary constraint to socio-economic development;
- peace, security and stability which are a basic requirement for sustainable development;
- financing for sustainable development, including a transformation and increased access to financial mechanisms such as the Global Environmental Facility;
- health, bearing in mind that developing countries are currently burdened by communicable diseases. HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria are exacerbated by the region's poor socio-economic conditions;
- waste management – poor waste management including hazardous waste, is a core contributor to environmental degradation, health hazards, over-exploitation and depletion of scarce resources;
- food security – there is insufficient, inadequate access and inequitable distribution of food in the SADC region;
- energy which plays an important role in facilitating social, economic and environmental objectives. At least 80 percent of the people in SADC are still dependent almost exclusively on traditional sources of energy;

- climate change – noting with concern the current and potential future impacts of climate change on the SADC sub-region, particularly sea level rise and extreme weather events such as floods and droughts;
- biodiversity – calling for the support of the implementation of the OAU/AU's Model Law for the Protection of the Rights of Local Communities, Farmers and Breeders, and for the Regulation of Access to Biological Resources and the OAU/AU's Draft African Biosafety Model Law;
- water scarcity which is a problem in many parts of the SADC sub-region and the water resource is under constant threat from pollution;
- land degradation and desertification – the majority of people in the SADC sub-region directly depend on land resources for their livelihoods;
- market access, noting with concern that the benefits of economic globalisation have not been fairly shared across nations; and
- capacity building and technology transfer, noting that the technology gap has widened significantly between the region and the developed countries since 1992, in particular, the development benefits of Information and Communication Technology. This situation needs to be addressed with technology transfer, information exchange and technology partnerships.

SADC also wants the WSSD to agree on a Johannesburg Plan of Action to meet its targets in the period 2002 – 2012.

The 2002 Lesotho general elections – An analysis

by Dr. Francis K. Makoa

Described by many observers and analysts as an instrument for reconciling a deeply divided Basotho nation and a panacea for Lesotho's recurrent political crises, the Lesotho general election on 25 May 2002 passed without violent incidents. Mutual tolerance among the competing political parties was remarkable. Indeed, those who had earlier blamed the Westminster electoral model bequeathed by Britain, the former colonial power in Lesotho, will probably feel vindicated.

However, two of the main contenders of the election, The Basotho National Party (BNP) and the Lesotho Peoples Congress (LPC) respectively, without rejecting the outcome, demand verification and investigation, which the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has so far seemed not ready to countenance.

The two parties, including some independent analysts, argue that their request prejudices neither the electorate nor the IEC since it does not detract from the provisions of the national constitution. They contend that by declaring the outcome of this election as provisional, the IEC Chairperson implied that it was as yet to be confirmed through rigorous scrutiny of the ballots cast. The argument seems to be informed by the past history.

The turmoil that greeted the outcome of the 1998 general election was in part due to the Chief Electoral Officer's response to a similar demand. But there being no evidence of a foul play, the outcome has been declared subject to the above caveat as a true reflection of the voters' choice.

After capturing 77 out of 78 electoral constituencies, the ruling Lesotho Congress for Democracy



Unlike in 1998, voting was peaceful in the recent elections.

(LCD) was declared the winner of the May election by the IEC.

The LCD's triumph meant that the other contenders were left with the 40 proportional representation seats to share. This did not generate violence, however, and indeed there is no indication that this must be expected. The situation could well be attributable to the constitutional changes that facilitated participation in the preparation for the election by all the national political parties that contested the 1998 elections. It is also possible that the military intervention by South Africa and Botswana plus SADC's readiness to intervene has acted as a deterrent.

SADC brokered a settlement to the 1998 electoral dispute, culminating in the establishment of an authority (Interim Political Authority, IPA) composed of all the political parties that had participated in the 1998 election. Jointly with the government, the IPA prepared and steered the country to the recent election even though it did not adhere to the time schedule of 15-18 months.

The road to the election was bumpy but the goal was achieved because the political climate was conducive, party campaigning and reporting by the media being unrestricted. Thus all but the two political parties mentioned

above have not called for confirmation of the results. This, notwithstanding, faith in the electoral system is the key to peace and political stability in Lesotho and a ballot recount, auditing or inspection could be one way of averting crises of the 1998 variety.

The constitutional changes made following the 1998 crisis, involving a mixed-member parliament, have spawned a more inclusive parliament as 40 of the 120 seats are allocated on the basis of the total number of votes gained by the parties. However, whether or not the arrangement has eliminated or mitigated the polarization that has bedevilled Lesotho's political system is as yet unclear.

But the signals coming out of the main political camps - BNP and LCD - in the form of taunts and epithets suggest that there is political tolerance but no reconciliation between the two. This means that potential for conflict still exists. Yet the new parliamentary system alone can hardly be expected to forestall inter-party conflicts. The parties themselves through dialogue involving discussions of the issues dividing them will solve the problem.

It is clear, therefore, that there are still constitutional, electoral and political challenges that need to be confronted. The first is finding ways of ensuring popular control of the ballot system. The lack of popular control is the most serious deficiency afflicting the new electoral model. This conceals critical vital information that would enable political parties themselves to guard against fraud. □

The author, Francis K. Makoa (Ph.D) is Associate Professor, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, The National University of Lesotho, Roma, Lesotho.

Peace, leadership and governance

Excerpts from a keynote address by Dr Salim Ahmed Salim on Peace, Leadership and Governance Challenges in 21st Century Africa, at Africa University, Mutare, Zimbabwe on 21 June 2002. Dr Salim is a Tanzanian, and was the last Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, who guided its transformation to the African Union. He is Chairperson of the Julius Nyerere Foundation in Dar es Salaam.

There is a profound linkage, almost symbiotic, between peace, leadership and governance. Each feeds into the other, reinforcing its impact, whether negatively or positively. While leadership impinges on governance, the latter contributes to the prevalence or absence of peace, which in turn circumscribes or bolsters the nature of leadership and governance. The experience of post-independence Africa provides telling lessons of this linkage. Indeed, while each of these facets has a distinct role in the development of our respective societies, the cumulative impacts of their linkage tend not only to reinforce each factor, but more seriously to shape and determine the destiny of our societies.

In their totality, the elements of peace, leadership and governance define the domain of politics in society, as distinguished from the social and economic domains. In the context of the African continent, the history of this domain – that is the political domain – has been one of subjugation, tension, imposition, and alienation.

The context of colonialism and apartheid engendered a particular character to the domain of politics in Africa, which impinged on the relations between state and society, within society, in the nature of leadership, and in the mode of governance. The more than a century of colonialism and many decades of apartheid led to the deliberate and systematic distortion and/or destruction of indigenous systems of politics, even where traditional systems were retained and incorporated to serve the colonial regime. More seriously, it was the colonial imposed structures, institutions, and practices that subsequently formed the foundation for modern politics in Africa.

These colonially derived structures in the domain of politics were characterized by exclusion, alienation and the deprivation of the majority of Africans of the means of articulating their demands and interests, and of contributing towards the shaping of their societies. Politics became an arena of monopolized power, ridden with antagonism, sectarianism and intolerance. The social contract between the state and society was only loosely honoured, thus making anarchy to remain looming at the threshold...

Africans like any other colonial peoples had struggled against colonial rule not only because it symbolized foreign domination but also because of a higher ideal of self-determination and empowerment. The ideal cannot be said to have been achieved at independence. The end of colonial rule and racist exclusion only provided an opportunity to redefine the relationship between those who would accede to reigns of power within the state structures and those from whom legitimacy to exercise that power and authority are derived. In the new social contract, the new African leadership almost everywhere found the inadequacy of the inherited colonial state structure. Not only was there an imperative to transform these structures but even more daunting has been the transformation of our own mindsets to enable us see the deeper meaning and challenges of independence and post-colonial reconstruction.

An occasion such as this conference offers us an opportunity to reflect

on the path we have traversed and the distance we have so far covered, taking note of successes we have registered, setbacks and tribulations we have gone through in order to map out correct strategies for a further advance in an otherwise more challenging environment for African social and economic emancipation.

The need to transform the structures of politics was thus seen to be an urgent imperative. It became necessary to go beyond the mere reform of the political order, and to embark into a fundamental transformation of the political process by promoting sustainable peace, dynamic leadership



Salim Ahmed Salim with Rukudzo Murapa, Vice-Chancellor of Africa University.

and good governance. This has been the new challenge for the African continent.

Concretely, it is the challenge of institutionalizing the critical ingredients of the political domain by building sustainable structures, procedures and values. It is an endeavour to transcend ad hoc arrangements in dealing with issues of peace, security and stability; avoiding reactive interventions in overcoming obstacles, and not relying on chance and fortune in getting visionary and dynamic leadership. This is the path that I see Africa taking as it enters the new century and new millennium. □

Mozambique's Frelimo elects Guebuza

Armando Emilio Guebuza, the leader of government business in parliament, has been elected as the presidential candidate of Mozambique's ruling party, the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo).

President Joaquim Chissano announced last year that he would not run for another term, although he is constitutionally allowed to do so. He led the country through a successful transition from the 16-year civil war to peace and multiparty democracy.

The Frelimo Congress in June elected as its candidate and secretary-general, the man who negotiated the agreement in Rome that led to the signing of the General Peace Accord with the former rebel movement Renamo (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana).

Guebuza is a charismatic figure who is a member of the Political Commission of Frelimo and consistently tops the poll for election to the party central committee, this time garnering 92.4 percent of possible votes.

Guebuza joined Frelimo in the early 1960s and during the 10-year liberation struggle for the country's independence he rose to the rank of political commissar. He has been in the top leadership ever since the party's second congress, held in 1968, but his political activism started much earlier. In the 1950s he was a clandestine anti-colonial activist, and was arrested twice by the Portuguese secret police.

In 1974, Guebuza was among the young ministers appointed to be part of the transitional government, which included Portuguese representatives and of which Chissano was Prime Minister. Guebuza played a key role in establishing, throughout the country, the *grupos dinamizadores*, the grass-

roots bodies that countered sabotage from the departing settlers and took over most of local administrative powers.

After Independence in 1975 he held several ministerial posts in President Samora Machel's government, including the post of interior minister. Following the death of the first president in 1986, Guebuza was appointed to head the government commission of inquiry investigating the causes of the plane crash that took the lives of Machel and 34 others.



Guebuza

Under Chissano's first cabinet, Guebuza was the Minister of Transport and later, head of the government team that for two years negotiated with the Renamo rebels in Rome, the General Peace Accord of October 1992. A wealthy man involved in private business since the early days of economic and political liberalization in the 1980s, his

business portfolio includes interests in brewery and media.

His credentials as one of the most popular figures within the party were confirmed when the party's central committee voted overwhelmingly for Guebuza, 59, a Ronga (southern ethnic group), but born in Morrupula, Namputa province, in northern Mozambique.

In his first public statement as secretary-general, Guebuza singled out the municipal elections in mid-2003 and the 2004 legislative and presidential elections as his imme-

mediate priorities, and said he will campaign to be elected President of the Republic by a handsome majority.

According to the party statutes, Chissano will retain his post as president of Frelimo, opening the possibility of, for the first time in the country's history, the posts of President of Frelimo and Head of State being held by different people.

As a way to accommodate Chissano's decision to step down, the party reached a compromise position of *renovação na continuidade* (renewal in continuity), which enabled the changes in party statutes.

Other amendments included strengthening the mechanisms to prevent corruption. All party leaders, centrally and in the provinces, must declare their assets and sources of income, and those of their spouses. These declarations will be deposited with the party and must be updated regularly. Party leaders must also decline from discussing or voting on any matters in which they have a financial interest.

Frelimo has a lengthy and complex method of voting to ensure transparency and inclusion of a minimum percentage of women, youth and new faces in party organs, notably the central committee. □



Mozambique provides important transport services to the region, as well as electricity from the giant Cahora Bassa dam on the Zambezi river.

SADC at Commonwealth Games

by Tafadzwa Sekese

As the curtain came down on the Commonwealth games on 4 August in Manchester, England, SADC countries were left satisfied with a much improved performance than four years ago in Malaysia, with South Africa topping the list of winners from the region.

At least nine SADC countries contested at this year's club games namely Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

South Africa won a total of 46 medals; nine gold, 20 silver and 17 bronze, mostly from swimming, coming tops from the region, and sixth overall in a competition dominated by Australian athletes. South Africa's feat was 12 medals more than they got in Malaysia at the 1998 games. Their disabled swimmer Natalie du Toit who lost one leg below the knee in a car accident 18 months ago, won the David Dixon Award as the outstanding athlete of the 10-day games and broke two world records in the 50-metre and 100-metre Elite Athletes with a Disability freestyle events. She also became the first disabled athlete to contest an open final when she com-

peted in the 800-metre freestyle.

Zambia and Zimbabwe followed in second and third in the region (20 and 22 Commonwealth rankings) with three and two medals respectively. Kirsty Coventry from Zimbabwe who clinched gold in the swimming discipline set a new games record in the 200-metre individual medley.

Despite a leg injury two years ago, Namibian Frankie Fredericks, dominated the men's 200 metres winning gold and placing his country fourth on the regional rankings, and 23 on the games official tally with one gold and four bronze.

Mozambique and Tanzania followed, each winning gold. Mozambique's gold came from the legendary "Maputo Express", Maria Mutola, who won the women's 800 metres with a powerful run. Tanzania's gold came from the tough men's marathon



Maputo Express: Maria Mutola, Mozambique's gold medalist

where they beat favourites Kenya.

Botswana won two silvers and one bronze, followed by Lesotho and Mauritius both with single bronze medals. □

Regional tourism needs clearly defined products

Unless SADC member states re-define their tourism products, the regional sector may fail to improve on the 8.3 percent growth recorded in the last financial year, the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (Retosa) has challenged.

Retosa, the official organ charged with the responsibility to market and promote the region's tourism, says half of the countries in the region are experiencing negative growth of their sectors due to lack of clearly defined tourism products.

Francis Mfune, Retosa Market Research and Promotions Officer said: "More needs to be done for growth of tourism in SADC, such as setting up a one-stop shop for positive information on the region to clear the negative [perceptions] that still persist in key source markets."

Mfune who recently led a media mission to Malawi, said international tourist arrivals to southern Africa had reached 12.5 million in 1999.

He added that the region's market share increased by 118 percent, and tourism receipts by six percent to

US\$5 million with Tanzania, Seychelles, Namibia and Angola enjoying overwhelming high growth rates over the past three years. Zimbabwe and Swaziland registered negative growth rates in receipts in the 1998/99 season, he added.

"While tourism receipts varied considerably among member states, individual countries have consistently maintained their levels of receipts per arrival," says Mfune.

He disclosed that average receipts per tourist per country was US\$420 between 1995 and 1999. □

US Grant for SADC airspace project

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the United States Trade and Development Agency (TDA) have signed a US\$600,000 grant for a feasibility study aimed at completing all pending analytical work for establishing the SADC Upper Airspace Control Centre (UACC).

The SADC Executive Secretary, Prega Ramsamy and the outgoing US Ambassador to Botswana, John E. Lange signed the financing agreement in Gaborone recently. The latter is also the US Special Representative to SADC.

The grant, which is to partially fund the cost of goods and services required for the study, is also expected to cover

DRC, Rwanda sign peace accord

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) President Joseph Kabila and his Rwandan counterpart Paul Kagame signed a historic memorandum of understanding (30 July) in Pretoria, South Africa on the withdrawal of militia troops from each other's country.

The government of Rwanda reaffirmed its readiness to withdraw from the territory of DRC as soon as effective measures that address its security concerns, in particular the dismantling of the ex-FAR (Rwandan Armed Forces) and Interahamwe (Rwanda Hutu Militia) forces in DRC.

Under the agreement, DRC is to round up and extradite an estimated 12,000 Hutu militia troops said to be hiding within DRC territory within 30 days, to be followed 15 days later by Rwanda's withdrawal of 30,000 of its troops, now inside DRC. The withdrawal is meant to be completed within a 45-day period. (*allAfrica.com*)

the finalisation of the region's master plan including the Communications Navigation Surveillance/Air Traffic Management (CNS/ATM) systems. The study will examine the technical, financial, environmental and other critical aspects of the proposed project.

In May this year SADC was awarded the prestigious aviation's Smiths Laurel Award in recognition of the organisation's achievement of having brought closer to realisation the goals of CNS/ATM systems.

Less dependence on rainfall urged

The Southern African Food Agricultural and Natural Resources (FANR) ministers have defended the urgent need for the establishment of a regional agricultural policy and strategy less dependent on rainfall.

This view came out during the FANR annual meeting in Maputo in July at which the ministers discussed the current food crisis which threatens millions of people in the region with hunger.

The reason southern Africa remains vulnerable to food shortages is that it continues to depend on rain-fed agriculture for much of its food, and only about five per cent of agricultural land is irrigated.

The one-day meeting also discussed issues related to land, wildlife, sea and freshwater fishing, agricultural research and training, genetically modified organisms and the environment, all matters which directly or indirectly are linked to food security.

Addressing the meeting, the Mozambican Minister of Environment John Kachamila said that malnutrition is one of the main problems faced by the region. (*SARDC*)

SADC is the first region to embark on and accomplish Global Navigation Satellite Systems (GNSS) Approach Designs, which were done for 28 SADC International airports. SADC has also established the Very Small Aperture Terminal (VSAT) network throughout the region and it is now helping the neighbouring regions to establish similar systems. (*SARDC*)

Ministers review progress on trade talks

The SADC Committee of Industry and Trade Ministers meeting in Windhoek, Namibia on 5 August, reviewed progress on the implementation of the SADC Industry and Trade Programmes, in particular the SADC Trade Protocol whose implementation, encompasses the creation of a SADC Free Trade Area over a period of eight years.

The Ministers considered recommendations and achieved substantial consensus in particular on issues pertaining to issues of outstanding rules of origin, improved market access, trade in services and quality and standards for regional and international trade.

Due to the importance of the industrial sector in trade development, the ministers urged for acceleration of the process to formulate the SADC Industrial Development Policy and Strategies as a matter of urgency.

The Ministers also agreed on strategic approaches and preparations of SADC Member States in international negotiations under the World Trade Organisation, the EU/ACP Cotonou Agreement on Economic Partnership Agreements and the U.S. Africa Growth and Opportunity Act. (*SARDC*)

Book challenges further research on brain drain

Destinations Unknown - Perspectives on the Brain Drain in Southern Africa. Edited by David A. McDonald and Jonathan Crush. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa.- 400p. Review by Chipu Muvezwa, SARDC.

Africa's ongoing development efforts will continue to be undermined as long as the current phenomenon of human capital flight, or "brain drain" as it is commonly known, continues. There has been a growing trend of thousands of highly skilled professionals leaving the continent every year for opportunities in the developed world which has had the double effect of Africa losing human capital, while spending money on education, training and expatriate replacements.

The recent book says English-speaking Africans are mainly leaving for the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The book is based on indepth national surveys undertaken by the Southern African Migration Project with skilled personnel and employers in South Africa, Botswana and Lesotho, as well as with South Africans in the diaspora.

Regionally, this phenomenon is usually categorised as a brain drain,

and mainly sees people moving from Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe to Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa.

The brain drain is not a new phenomenon, but has risen sharply in recent years, says the book. It is estimated that Africa has lost a third of its skilled personnel in recent decades and it is costing the continent US\$4 billion a year to replace them with skilled expatriates.

The book provides useful insight into perspectives of skilled people on experiences with emigration, and challenges many of the popularly held stereotypes about the "brain drain" in southern Africa. The book also contains comprehensive research on skilled migration within the region.

In the first chapter, the authors argue that if regional integration in southern Africa is going to take place in any meaningful way, the exchange of highly skilled personnel must be an integral part of it. They describe the regional boundaries as "colonial constructs" that "die hard" and encourage the region to

think favourably about its skills pool.

The surveys established that skilled foreigners are happy to be living and working in their adopted country, that they are involved in communities where they live, and send remittances to family and friends, and remain proud citizens of their home country. This sense of patriotism to either the home or host country has been ignored during most coverage of brain drain issues.

These research findings come at an important time in the development of new immigration legislation and dialogue in southern Africa, and will hopefully contribute to the policy transformation as it relates to the movement of skilled people and to the free movement of people, goods and services.

The challenge for similar research projects would be to broaden the geographical scope and compare more countries in the region including Zimbabwe that has been hit by a mass exodus of both skilled and unskilled personnel to destinations in the region and internationally. The research serves as a reliable baseline of empirical data as well as a methodological yardstick for future research on the topic. □

Recent publications and acquisitions

Amended SADC Protocol on Trade.

Declaration on Information And Communications Technology.

SADC Protocol on Fisheries.

SADC Protocol on Immunities and Privileges.

SADC Protocol on Shared Watercourse.

SADC Protocol on Tribunal and the Rules of Procedure Thereof.

Available from: SADC Secretariat, P Bag 0095, Gaborone, Botswana.

Website: www.sadc.int

Constitution making and democratization in Africa.

Hyden, Goran and Venter, Denis.- 2001

Available from: Africa Institute of South

Africa, PO Box 630, Pretoria 0001, SA.

Email: ai@ai.org.za

Website: www.ai.org.za

Food Insecurity: when people live with hunger and fear starvation: the State of Food Insecurity in The World 2001.

Available from: Food And Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Viale delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy. Email: copyright@fao.org

Land Reform in Zimbabwe: Constraints and Prospect.

Bowyer-Bower, A.S. Dr and Stoneman Colin. (Eds.)- 2000

Available from: Ashgate Publishing

Limited, Gower House, Croft road, Aldershot, Hampshire GU11 3 HR, England. Website: www.ashgate.com

Mozambique National Human Development Report -2001

- UNDP, UEM, INE, SARDC. - 2002

Available from: SARDC, Rua Afonso Heriques, 141, Maputo, Mozambique

Pan-Africanism: exploring the contradictions, politics, identity and development in Africa and the African diaspora.

Ackah, William B.-1999

Available from: Ashgate Publishing Limited, Gower House, Croft road, Aldershot, Hampshire GU11 3 HR, England. Website: www.ashgate.com

SADC diary

2002	Event	Venue
August	2 SADC Committee of Industry and Trade Meeting	Namibia
	2 SADC Committee of Mining Meeting	Botswana
	2 SADC Committee of Water Meeting	Angola
	7-9 Inter-state Defence & Security Committee of the Organ on Politics, Defence & Security Co-operation of SADC	Angola
	8 SADC Committee of Finance and Investment	South Africa
	17 SADC Day	All SADC
26/08 – 04/09	World Summit on Sustainable Development	South Africa
September	23-26 Customs Advisory Working Group	South Africa
	26-3/10 SADC Heads of State and Govt Summit	Angola
October	16-18 SADC Trade and Investment Promotion Conference	Japan
	23-30 SADC Consultative Conference 2002	Botswana
	23-02/11 The African Youth Parliament (AYP2002) & partners	Kenya

Currency checklist

Country	Currency	(US\$1)
Angola	Kwanza (100 lwei)	45.95
Botswana	Pula (100 thebe)	6.29
DRC	Congo Franc	345.00
Lesotho	Maloti (100 lisente)	10.46
Malawi	Kwacha (100 tambala)	75.05
Mauritius	Rupee (100 cents)	29.65
Mozambique	Metical (100 centavos)	23,250.00
Namibia	Dollar (100 cents)	10.46
Seychelles	Rupee (100 cents)	5.62
South Africa	Rand (100 cents)	10.46
Swaziland	Lilangeni (100 cents)	10.46
Tanzania	Shilling (100 cents)	965.00
Zambia	Kwacha (100 cents)	4,455.00
Zimbabwe	Dollar (100 cents)	55.00

Source: Standard Chartered Bank, Zimbabwe Ltd, 9 August 2002

Public Holidays for the period Aug – Oct 2002

Date	Holiday	Country
1 August	Family Day	DRC
5 August	Farmers Day	Zambia
8 August	Farmers Day	Tanzania
9 August	National Women's Day	South Africa
11 August	Heroes Day	Zimbabwe
12 August	Defence Forces National Day	Zimbabwe
15 August	Assumption Day	Mauritius & Seychelles
17 August	SADC Day	All SADC
6 September	Somhlolo / Independence Day	Swaziland
7 September	Victory Day	Mozambique
11 September	Ganesh Chaturthi	Mauritius
17 September	Founder of Nation & Heroes Day	Angola
24 September	Heritage Day	South Africa
25 September	Armed Forces Day	Mozambique
30 September	Independence Day	Botswana
1 October	Public Holiday	Botswana
4 October	Independence Day	Lesotho
11 October	Mothers Day	Malawi
14 October	SADC Creators & Performers Day	All SADC
24 October	Independence Day	Zambia