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The People sh'an Govern!

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ATE B EEPYPRESDETOTE CCO WTE  
SISQLU. TO THE ANNUAL CONSULIATIVE CONFERENQE OF SADCC. MPUTOA  
J Y 3 92.  
CHAIRPERSON! R  
DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES'  
woo  
A COMRADES,x FRIENDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN'  
'TK-Hs Azm H,  
W5 ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF SADCC TAKES PLACE AGAINST THE  
BACKGROUND OF IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS UNFOLDING IN SOUTH AFRICA,  
DEVELOPMENTS THAT WILL HAVE CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE ON THE REGION  
. IN PARTICULAR. SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL PROCESSES CURRENTLY ON TRACK  
HAVE PLACED US ON THE PATH TOWARDS GENUINE CONSTITUTIONAL  
NEGOTIATIONS. IT AS THE CONSIDERED VIEW OF THE LIBERATION  
MOVEMENT THAT ULTIMATELY THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD RESULT IN THE  
BIRTH OF A DEMOCRATIC, UNITED, NON-RACIAL AND NON-SEXIST SOUTH  
AFRI CA .  
WE FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, ELECTED ON THE  
BASIS OF ONE-PERSON-ONE-VOTE ON A COMMON VOTERS' ROLL REMAINS THE  
MOST DEMOCRATIC FORUM 'I'O DRAFT A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR OUR  
COUNTRY. INATHE RUN-UP TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY A SOVEREIGN  
' INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY SHOULD REPLACE THE CURRENT  
\$-9ouuo  
WHITE MINORITY REGIME. SUCH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE A  
LIMITED LIFESPAN NOT EXTENDING BEYOND EIGHTEEN MONTHS. THE  
LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF OUR COUNTRY HAS VOICED ITS TOTAL REJECTION  
OF THE IDEA OF A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD OF 10-15 YEARS AS MOOTED IN

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GOVERNMENT CIRCLES. WE DO NOT WISH TO BE SUCKED INTO AN ENDLESS  
PROCESS OF TALKS WHOSE BASIC AIM IS TO SAP THE ENERGIES OF THE  
' LIBERATION MOVEMENT, LEGITIMISE THE REGIME IN THE EYES OF OUR  
PEOPLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND ULTIMATELY PROLONG THE  
APARTHEID SYSTEM. NE. A41; nwaw Wu WT Tia

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WE HAVE REACHED THE PRESENT POLITICAL HEIGHTS AFTER A LONG AND  
ARDUOUS STRUGGLE. APARTHEID HAS COST THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA  
AND THE REGION ENORMOUS PAIN AND INCALCULABLE SUFFERING - BOTH  
IN HUMAN AND MATERIAL TERMS. TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE LOST  
THEIR LIVES IN THE BLOODY WARS INITIATED AND SPONSORED BY THE  
RACIST REGIME. BADLY NEEDED ROADS, BRIDGES AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF  
THE INFRASTRUCTURE WERE SAVAGELY DESTROYED BY APARTHEID SOUTH  
' AFRICA. WE HAVE, THEREFORE, THE OBLIGATION TO POOL OUR RESOURCES

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TOGETHER IN ORDER TO OVERCOME TH PROBLEMS IMPOSED ON US BY

/'

APARTHEID .

HOWEVER, WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE DIFFICULT PATH STILL TO  
BE TRAVERSED. NEGOTIATIONS ARE GOING TO BE TOUGH. WE ARE,  
NONETHELESS, DETERMINED TO SOLDIER ON, THE DIFFICULTIES  
NOTWITHSTANDING, UNTIL WE ACHIEVE OUR FREEDOM - THE FREEDOM FOR  
WHICH SO MANY OF OUR COMPATRIOTS AND MANY FELLOW SOUTHERN  
AFRICANS LAID DOWN THEIR PRECIOUS LIVES. WE THEREFORE OWE IT TO  
OURSELVES, OUR PEOPLES AND OUR COUNTRIES TO LEAVE NO 5 ONE

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. UNTURNED IN ENSURING THAT APARTHEID IS TOTALLY UPROOTED. ONLY  
THEN CAN THERE BE PEACE, DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPERITY IN OUR  
REGION. ONLY THEN CAN THERE BE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION

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IN VARIOUS FIELDS AMONG THE PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES OF THE SUB-CONTINENT. ONLY WHEN APARTHEID IS DEAD AND BURIED AND IT IS REPLACED BY A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM CAN WE TOGETHER STRIVE TOWARDS ECONOMIC INTEGIIQATION TO BETTER THE LOT OF THE PEOPLES OF OUR REGION .

THE DIRE NEED FOR OUR REGION TO EVOLVE STRATEGIES FOR REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION BECOMES ALL THE MORE IMPERATIVE, PARTICULARLY AS SEEN AGAINST THE MOMENTOUS TRANSFORMATIONS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN RECENT YEARS)

IN ESTABLISHED PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE WORLD ECONOMY. IN THIS CONTEXT A TREND EMPHASISING PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT SEEMS TO BE TAKING SHAPE. THESE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA HAVE IMPACTED DIRECTLY ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. THIS CONFERENCE, THEREFORE, COULD NOT HAVE COME AT A MORE OPPORTUNE TIME.

HOWEVER, WE ARE PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT IN ADVANCING THIS REGIONAL COOPERATION, WE MUST REJECT THE ALL TOO FAMILIAR HEGEMONIC PRINCIPLES WHICH CHARACTERISED THE "OLD DIPLOMACY" OF THE ERA OF P.W. BOTHA'S "CONSTELLATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN STATES". TERMS LIKE "REGIONAL POWER", "POWERHOUSE OF THE REGION" OR MOST RECENTLY, "POWER POINT" CONTINUE TO RECUR IN OFFICIAL DISCOURSE. THE UNDERLYING MESSAGE, WHICH IS UNFORTUNATELY BEING K REINFORCED BY POWERFUL EXTERNAL ACTORS, IS THAT THE ONLY SALVATION FOR AFRICA, AND FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA IN PARTICULAR, IS ' TO ACCEPT A RELATIONSHIP WHICH ENDORSES AND INDEED REINFORCES

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SOUTH AFRICAN HEGEMONY. A COROLLARY OF THIS IS THAT SOUTH AFRICAN  
OFFICIALS HAVE BEGUN TO ARROGATE TO THEMSELVES THE ROLE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERESTS OF THE ENTIRE REGION IN  
DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY EXTERNAL PLAYERS.  
SADCC WAS FOUNDED TO PROMOTE REGIONAL COOPERATION BASED ON  
ENTIRELY DIFFERENT PRINCIPLES. IN ITS 1989-10 ANNUAL PROGRESS  
POSSIBILITY OF A SOUTH  
AFRICAN  
DREAM OF ECONOMIC,  
THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA WHOLEHEARTEDLY AND  
100%. save cpssoosw aw Skocc\_  
GOVERNMENT WOULD SEEK TO FORGE COOPERATION WITH OUR NEIGHBOURS  
BASED PRECISELY ON SUCH PRINCIPLES. WE WOULD RENOUNCE ALL  
HEGEMONIC AMBITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE WHITE MINORITY  
GOVERNMENT, AND WOULD NOT SEEK ANY ROLE AS THE SELF-APPOINTED  
CUSTODIAN OF THE REGION'S INTERESTS IN EXTERNAL RELATIONS.

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IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT WE PARTICULARLY WARMLY WELCOME THE THEME DOCUMENT PUT FORWARD FOR DEBATE AT THIS CONFERENCE. IF REGIONAL COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IS TRULY TO BE CONSTRUCTED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES OF OUR REGION THEN IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT REPRESENTATIVE ORGANISATIONS TAKE THE LEAD AND FURTHER THAT OUR PEOPLES ARE INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS OF DEFINING THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING SUCH A PROJECT THEMELY

IS THUS TO BE COMMENDED FOR ITS

' SADCC SECRETARY

INTERVENTION ON THIS CRITICAL QUESTION. THE DOCUMENT BEFORE US HIGHLY STATES MANY OF THE ISSUES WE HAVE TO ADDRESS IT POINTS OUT THE NEED TO FIND AN APPROPRIATE APPROACH TO PROMOTING GREAT INTEGRATION TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CRETE

FOCUS

IT

RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA.

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IT IS A GREAT IMP

PORTANT POLICY DOCUMENTS DISCUSSION

IN THE ANC DEFEND PRINCIPLES VERY SIMILAR TO THOSE LONG CHAMPIONED BY SADCC. FOR EXAMPLE DRAFT MANIFESTO ON ECONOMIC POLICY WHICH WILL BE TABLED AT A SPECIAL POLICY CONFERENCE 'LATER THIS YEAR UNDERLINES THE IMPORTANCE OF BUILDING NEW TYPE OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE REST OF THE REGION. :2 EXTRACT FROM THAT

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"TRENDS IN TH WORLD ECONOMY MAKE IT ESSENTIAL FOR  
ADVAN D INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES TO

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ERATION. AN 1W GOVERNMENT W0 D GIVE HIGH PRIORITY

AS ONE OF THE PRIORITY AREAS ITHIN THIS RESEARCH FRAMEWORK?

LET THERE BE NO MISTAKE: OUR CONCERN TO PROMOTE CidSER REGIONAL  
COOPERATION AND EVENTUALLY ECONOMIC INTEGRATION ON THESE TERMS  
FROM OUR CONVICTION THAT THIS

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DERIVES, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE,

q? WOULD BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF OUR OWN PEOPLE AND NATIONAL

I ECONOMY. THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY NEEDS TO SHIFT FROM m M

IVE DEP DENCE ON EXPORTS OF MINERAL PRODUCTS AND

. PRESENT EXCESS

BECOME A MORE SIGNIFIC T EXPORTER OF MANUFACTURED GOODS. IN THIS

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7.

. CONTEXT, THE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA WILL BE POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT  
TRADE PARTNERS FOR A DEMOCRATIC NONARACIAL SOUTH AFRICA. ALREADY,  
SOME HAVE SUGGESTED THAT AN INCREASE IN REGIONAL TRADE COULD  
PROVIDE A MUCH NEEDED "KICK-START" FOR GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN  
A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

BUT WE SAY IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY SHORTSIGHTED MERELY TO SEEK TO  
EXPAND OUR OWN NARROW SHORT TERM TRADE INTERESTS WITHOUT TAKING  
THE DEVELOPMENT NEEDS OF OUR PARTNWSow. EVEN FROM A SELF-  
INTERESTED TRADE POINT OF VIEW, WE WANT AFRICA TO GROW AND  
DEVELOP. OVER AND ABOVE THAT, WE RECOGNISE AND ACCEPT AN HISTORIC  
, OBLIGATION TO COOPERATE WITH OUR NEIGHBOURS BOTH IN OVERCOMING  
THE IMBALANCES WHICH CHARACTERISE THE EXISTING REGIONAL ECONOMY  
AND IN REDRESSING THE CONSEQUENCES OF APARTHEID DESTABILISATION.  
HOWEVER, GIVEN THAT WE SHALL HAVE BEEN LEFT AN APPALLING LEGACY  
BY APARTHEID, OUR CONTRIBUTION IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE SUB-  
REGION IS LIKELY TO BE LIMITED '- AT LEAST INITIALLY. WE DO,  
NEVERTHELESS, BELIEVE THAT BY ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN THE  
RESTRUCTURING OF EXISTING RELATIONS ON A MORE EQUITABLE BASIS AND  
.ADDRESSING CURRENT IMBALANCES, A CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO DEVELOPMENT  
AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION CAN BE CREATED THROUGHOUT THE  
.ED TO INTENSIFY E ,

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MUST yrs?) ADDRESS THE THKEA'L' Ur' AFRLCA ?&?Mn lu.aamu.i%hm  
FURTHERMORE,WE HAVE TO FORGE A COMMON PERSPECTIVE ON HOW BEST WE  
CAN PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT AND RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF ALL



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OUR PEOPLESr REGIONAL COOPERATION AND CAREFULLY PLANNED AND  
PHASED INTEGRATION CAN CONTRIBUTE TO OUR FINDING MORE EFFECTIVE  
. SOLUTIONS TO THESE AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTAL PROBLEMS AFFLICTING  
OUR 'REGION AND AFRICA IN GENERAL.

IN VIEW OF THE CHALLENGES FACING US WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS  
BECOMING URGENT FOR THE PEOPLES OF THE REGION AS A WHOLE TO  
DEFINE THEIR OWN VISION OF FUTURE REGIONAL COOPERATION. IN  
LAUNCHING THE PRESENT DEBATE, SADCC HAS TAKEN A VERY IMPORTANT  
STEP IN THIS DIRECTION. WE IN THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT WOULD ALSO  
LIKE TO PLAY OUR PART. WE THEREFORE STRONGLY RE-AFFIRM OUR  
COMMITMENT TO FORGE A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR PARTNERS IN  
SADCC. WE HOPE THAT THIS WILL CREATE OPPORTUNITIES NOT JUST TO  
. MEET IN GATHERINGS LIKE THIS, BUT TO ESTABLISH MECHANISMS FOR A  
CONTINUING JOINT ENDEAVOUR TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO THESE PRINCIPLES  
AND TO IDENTIFY THE PRACTICAL STEPS THAT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO  
PUT THEM INTO PRACTICEAAE

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THE CHALLENGE IS BEFORE US. UNLESS WE BEGIN TO WORK TOGETHER TO  
CHART A COURSE WHICH CAN GIVE PRACTICAL EFFECT TO OUR SHARED  
PRINCIPLES, EVENTS WITH OVERTAKE US AND WE WILL FIND OURSELVES  
IN A REGION LARGELY SHAPED BY OTHERS TO OUR DISADVANTAGE.

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CHAIRPERSON, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN I THANK YOU  
\_ ALL FOR YOUR ATTENTION!