

ECA/MRAG/96/18/MR

**United Nations
Economic Commission for Africa
Multidisciplinary Regional Advisory Group**

**REPORT OF AN ADVISORY AND TRAINING MISSION
TO SOUTH AFRICA ON AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT
ISSUES AND CHALLENGES**

**Johannesburg (South Africa)
18-29 March 1996**

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**Addis Ababa
April, 1996**

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Executive Summary

1. On the invitation of the Executive Director of the Foundation for Global Dialogue (FGD), W.A. Ndongko, Senior Regional Adviser (Macroeconomics and Policy Reforms) of ECA-MRAG undertook an advisory and training mission to the Republic of South Africa from 18 - 29 March 1996. The main objective of the mission was to deliver a series of workshops, lectures and seminars on topical African development issues and challenges, to a variety of constituencies - ranging from government, business, universities, research institutes to NGOS - with a view to enabling them understand the current socio-economic predicament in the rest of the continent and some of the policy reforms which have been initiated by the African Governments to redress the situation.

2. Some of the major African development issues and problems discussed with the various constituents included the impact of the international economic environment on the long-term development of the continent, regional integration in Southern Africa and the role of ECA, modalities for collaborating with international financial institutions (World Bank and IMF) in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), the impact of SAP's on employment and labour, the effects of foreign direct investment in Africa, financing of infrastructural development and lessons for South Africa, cross-border initiatives, Export Processing Zones, the Lagos Plan of Action, etc.

3. During the lectures, seminars and workshops which were conducted by the mission, a variety of development issues were raised and concerns expressed by the participants from the different constituencies. The issues and questions were in the areas of SAPs, private investment, regional economic cooperation and integration, the changing international economic environment, the globalisation of financial, banking and production systems, external debt management, relevance of Asian development experience for Africa, reintegration of South Africa into the rest of Africa and the potential leadership role the country in the long-term development of the continent.

4. In view of the pertinent issues and questions which were raised by the participants regarding the socio-economic situation and development policies in Africa and considering the important leadership role which South Africa could play in the development of the rest of the African countries, the mission recommends that, the Economic Commission for Africa, should within the framework of its mandate and programme of activities, promote and enhance that role. To this end, the Commission could use its extensive experience in articulating development strategies for Africa, building institutional and human capacities for development and providing advisory services to member States and their intergovernmental organisations, to assist South Africa in building a viable and sustainable economy with a view to facilitating the reintegration of the country into the continental economy and at the same time enhance its leadership role in the development of Africa. This is absolutely necessary in view of the profound changes which have been taking place in the international economic, financial and trading environment - all of which have to a large extent affected the ability and capacity of many African countries to effectively design, implement, monitor and evaluate viable economic reform programmes.

5. Finally, on the basis of the issues raised by the various constituencies during the seminars/lectures/workshops and the feedback received by the Foundation from many participating institutions and development actors, future ECA missions to South Africa should address a number of priority areas. These include (a) advising on an appropriate economic strategy for South Africa, (b) assessing the future prospects of UNCTAD and WTO for South Africa, (c) analyzing the relevance of the experience of African countries in the financing infrastructure development and macro economic policy reforms for South Africa, (d) developing an appropriate industrial policy for South Africa, (e) assessing the capacity of existing institutional arrangements (e.g. SADC, COMESA, ECOWAS AND SACU) for promoting effective regional integration in Africa; and (f) assessing the potential contribution of the ECA and African Development Bank to South Africa's development.

I. INTRODUCTION

On the invitation of the Executive Director of the Foundation for Global Dialogue (FGD), W.A. Ndongko, Senior Regional Adviser (Macroeconomics and Policy Reforms) of the ECA-Multidisciplinary Regional Advisory Group (ECA-MRAG), undertook an advisory and training mission to South Africa from 18 to 29 March, 1996.

The Foundation for Global Dialogue (FGD) is a South African Association for promoting International Cooperation. The FGD is a non-governmental organisation which was established to strengthen the fabric of South Africa's emerging democracy by promoting the understanding of international development issues and cooperation between South Africa and the countries of the South and North.

To this end, the Foundation is expected to build networks and partnerships and initiate, co-ordinate and conduct research and training in consultation with existing institutions. The activities of the Foundation consist of:

- (i) Facilitating dialogue between South Africa and the developing countries, particularly Africa, and the industrialized North especially its trading partners;
- (ii) Promoting South-South cooperation with regard to trade and investment, political and environmental issues.
- (iii) Initiating research and training with a view to identifying and taking up global challenges, particularly those which impact on South Africa and the South, promoting a wider understanding of international relations that includes all dimensions of global affairs, reaching out to all sectors of the South African Society to enhance their understanding of global issues, and

supporting the development of South Africa's academic and intellectual capacity in the study of international relations; and

- (iv) Networking and building partnerships around international exchange programmes, and initiating collaborative ventures with institutions concerned with South-South and South-North Cooperation

It was within this framework of the FGD's mission and activities that W.A. Ndongko was requested by the Executive Director to provide advisory and training services on pertinent African development issues and challenges to a variety of key government and non-governmental development actors with a view to highlighting the important contributions which the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, in particular, and other international institutions like the World Bank, have made towards addressing the socio-economic development problems of the continent, and also animating policy discussion and debate on the potential economic leadership role of South Africa in the long-term of Africa.

To facilitate the mission, the Foundation undertook to organise and manage the programme and itinerary during the entire period of the mission in South Africa. However before presenting the broad objectives and the issues which were addressed during the mission, it is important to briefly analyze the potential economic leadership role of South Africa in the development of the continent. This exercise will shed light on the importance of the mission, particularly at this time when many African countries are still experiencing socio-economic crisis and the ECA is in the process of putting together well focused programmes which are intended to enable the Commission serve the Continent better in the next century.

II. THE POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT LEADERSHIP ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

It will be recall that the Namibian Settlement of 1989, the release of Nelson Mandela, and the unmaning of the liberation movements in 1990 were no doubt the momentous events

which set the centre stage for the re-entry of South Africa into the international arena. However, it was not until the old apartheid Parliament passed the Transitional Council Bill in April 1993, remaining sanctions were lifted and the historic elections held in 1994, that South Africa was completely accepted by the community of nations. South Africa's transition from an isolated nation to an important international player was no doubt welcome with over-whelming enthusiasm and optimistic expectations of the country's development leadership role in Southern Africa in particular and Africa in general. This is based on the fact that there was and continues to be, a generous consensus that the lifting of economic sanctions at the end of 1993 would stimulate massive investment and reinvestment in South Africa - all resulting to rapid economic growth and sustained development of the economy of the country.

The perception among investors of Africa's largest economy providing a viable and sustainable base for business ventures into the other parts of a vast and complex continent, may gain momentum, depending on whether the new South Africa can maintain a prosperous economy. There is almost universal agreement amongst South African economists and policy-makers that economic growth is a prerequisite for socio-economic transformation and sustainable development. Higher sustainable economic growth is necessary to provide employment opportunities and increasing incomes for a growing population and labour force.

Furthermore, it is only through increased growth that the new South African can generate the expanded resources necessary to redress the economic and social legacies of the apartheid regime. In this regard, it should be pointed out that there are only some 2.3 million South Africans who have entered the labour market and have any gainful employment. There is widespread agreement that unemployment has reached chronically high levels; ranging from 30% to 50% of the labour force. The 1993 household survey conducted by the University of Cape Town and the World Bank revealed that unemployment rate for Africans was 39%, coloureds 21%, Indians 17% and whites 5%. Furthermore, the CSS's 1994 October Household Survey revealed that approximately 4.7 million or 33% of the total labour force were unemployed.

Perhaps, this can be explained by the fact that the economy of South Africa has been characterised by very slow growth rates since the early 1980's. In the immediate post-World War II period up to 1960, real GDP grew at around 3.5% between 1960 and 1965; the rate of economic growth was 6% per annum and then declined to an average rate per annum of approximately 5% from 1965 to 1970; fell to less than 4% per annum from 1970 to 1975; and finally to 3% by 1980. During the 1980's, the average growth rate per year dropped dramatically to less than 1.5% and the period 1990 to 1994 experienced a negative growth rate.

The combination of a decreasing growth rate of the economy and an increasing population has resulted in declining Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita. Consequently, if the current economic growth trend continues, the "excess capacity" of the economy could quickly be eliminated resulting in either a reduction in the growth rate associated with recovery or mounting inflationary pressures which will force a tightening of financial policies leading to the restraining of growth. This is in fact one of the basic dilemmas facing the economy of South Africa; that is, the need for economic restructuring with a view to increasing the long-term growth rate and sustainable development of the economy.

Despite the poor performance and the declining growth of the South African economy, since the last thirty years, there is no doubt that when compared to the economies of other Subsaharan African countries, it is approximately three times larger than that of Nigeria; the next biggest. Available data for 1994 reveals the following comparisons:

- (a) Although South Africa has 7% and 5% of the total population and land area of the continent, respectively; the country accounts for approximately 36% of the total GDP of Subsaharan Africa,
- (b) South African exports account for 39% and imports 32% of total external trade of Africa South of the Sahara; and

- (c) South Africa produces almost the same value of manufactured goods, and also exports twice the value of manufactured goods, including processed minerals, as the rest of Sub-Sahara Africa.

Furthermore, according to the Economist Intelligence Unit, (June 1994) Report entitled: "The New South Africa: Business Prospects and Corporate Strategies", the Republic of South Africa is one of the richest countries in terms of natural resources. There is no doubt therefore that the end of apartheid and the lifting of all sanctions has led to the elimination of the requirement to export at a discount and import at a premium, reduction of the costs of acquiring modern technologies, opening up of new markets for South African goods and services in the Africa continent and the rest of the world, and the search for an appropriate solution to the prevailing debt problems and thus permitting the country to borrow at current market interest rates from international sources.

On the basis of the foregoing brief analysis of the current state of the economy of South Africa, it can be argued that rapid economic growth and sustainable development are the dominant determinants of the capacity of the government to undertake economic restoring with a view to improving the efficiency and productivity of the economy in general. This will also enhance macro-economic growth as well as remove micro economic and policy distortions so to place the country on the path of rapid economic development. To this extent, deliberate and decisive policies shall have to be initiated to enable the country fully exploit its development potential, not only in the manufacturing and service sectors but also in the other sectors of the economy.

According to President Nelson Mandela (1993), such policies shall place emphasis on:

- (a) developing relevant and effective educational and training programmes;

- (b) attracting foreign investment in order to strengthen the technology capacity and market access of the country;
- (c) initiating trade policy reforms which encourage competitive domestic sectors and at the same reduces the country's import bill;
- (d) putting in place a competition and antitrust policy that reduces prices and increases efficiency and productivity of the business and at the sametime creates opportunities for the development of black business; and
- (e) developing a range of initiatives and incentives to stimulate private sector investment and economic structuring.

It must, however, be noted that although the new government no doubt has its own internal socio-economic development agenda which has been well articulated in the "Reconstruction and Development Programme" and the "Affirmative Action", South Africa nevertheless offers immense economic opportunities for itself, Southern Africa and the continent as a whole . As President Nelson Mandela argues, "South Africa cannot escape its African destiny. If we do not devote our energies to this continent, we too could fall victim to the forces that have ruin to its various parts" (1993). Consequently, the question arises as to what are the implications of the new emerging South Africa for the rest of the Continent? In particular, what are the implications of the internal economic agenda for Africa? What can South Africa contribute towards the economic development of the continent? On the otherhand, what can the rest of Africa contribute to South Africa in meeting its internal socio-economic problems and challenges?

Economically, the rest of the African continent offers South Africa considerable and far-reaching opportunities for the sale of the country's exports. For example, the local expertise and proximity of South Africa to the rest of the African countries will enable the country to

capture a sizeable share of the continent's market at the expense of the European and Asian exports. It could also engage a healthy competition with other African businesses and countries which are initiating export promotion campaigns. Plans for formalised South African cooperation with African countries commonly refer to as its nine neighbours - Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe have been concretised under the Government of National Unity.

They have been reinforced by geographical, economic, and other practical considerations. This has been reflected by the increasing involvement by South African companies in contracts and investment projects in the neighbouring countries. For example, since 1993, South African Breweries (SAB) acquired 50% of the shares in the state owned breweries in Tanzania and Zambia; in addition to its existing operations in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland.

However, even though South Africa's economic ties with Southern Africa are very important, its present day commercial interests in Africa are bound to extend through out the continent. The reason for this optimism is that many African countries are currently under-going macroeconomic reform programmes with a view to disengaging the state from economic management, through the privatisation of para-public corporations and creation of a conducive environment for the private sector.

As a result, trade and technical cooperation agreements between South Africa and the countries beyond the Southern African region are growing rapidly. Examples are Kenya, Gabon, Congo and Mauritius and other Indian Ocean States associated with African. Even Zaïre, particularly its mineral rich Shaba Province, has attracted South African investors despite the social and political upheaval in that country. South Africa and Zaïre have started to explore the possibilities of exploiting Zaïres enormous potential for hydroelectric generation to the benefit of its Southern neighbours.

By the end of 1994, some 30 countries (more than 50% of Africa), had established some form of official relation with South Africa. All these have been crowned by South Africa becoming a member of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. However, the complexity of economic dependency and interdependence among a considerable number of countries in Southern Africa and the continent at large, which is difficult to subdivide for formalized regional economic cooperation and integration and collective security, is one of the major issues which the South African Government will have to carefully examine, together with its neighbours and subsequently with the rest of the African States.

Nevertheless, the development of economic and commercial ties between South Africa and the rest of the continent, would in the long-run provide the opportunity for strengthening the bargaining power of Africa on global economic issues of contemporary significance such as the external debt, commodity prices, technical assistance, etc. Furthermore, the interactions between South Africa and the rest of the continent could open opportunities for trade in many basic commodities and foodstuffs which the country does not produce. Such products include cocoa from Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon; tobacco from Malawi; coffee and tea from Kenya and Cameroon; lead and cobalt from Zaïre; soda from Botswana; timber from Cameroon, Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire; petroleum-chemical from Nigeria, Gabon, Angola and Cameroon; and tropical foods and beverages from the rest of Africa.

On the other hand, there are substantial gains which South African can derive from the subcontinent through the promotion and reinforcement of viable economic and commercial relations. For example, due to the desperate need for cheap energy and water to resume industrial growth, South Africa has since 1994 imported 13% of its electricity requirements so as sustain the industrial activities located in the Transvaal. In the area of water, South Africa is currently competing with Botswana and Swaziland for the scarce supplies. At the sametime, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe would have to initiate negotiations on shared rivers and catchment areas with the South African government. Overall, therefore, both South Africa and

the rest of the continent stand to gain by promoting realistic cooperation in the areas indicated above with a view to enhancing their individual and collective comparative advantages for their mutual benefits.

Despite the long-term potential benefits of meaningful cooperation between the rest of the African continent and South Africa, the latter is discovering that its re-engagement with a continent from which it has been isolated for many decades shall not be a rapid process. The challenge is that of developing a platform which could enable South Africa to better understand and appreciate the changing African socio-economic circumstances development issues and problems, and to define its role and place in the continent. For South Africa, such a definition requires a clear understanding of the crucial internal and external factors, and the topical issues in Africa's long-term development with a view to guiding its relations and obligations to the continent. It is therefore, within this context that the mission was undertaken to South Africa to conduct a series of workshops, lectures and seminars on a range of African topical development issues and challenges with some important governmental and non-governmental actors in general, and also to expound on the vital contributions which the Economic Commission for Africa has made towards the promotion of social and economic development of the continent over the years.

III. PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS AND DEVELOPMENT ACTORS

During the period of the mission (16-29 March, 1996), a series of lectures, seminars and workshop were delivered to many constituencies which included Government Departments, Parliamentary Committees, Business Sector, University Institutions, Research Institutions and Non-Government Organisations. Specifically, the following were the participating institutions and development actors:

(i) GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS

- Department of Foreign Affairs, Training Institute, Pretoria
- Development Bank of Southern Africa; Midrand Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria

(ii) PARLIAMENTARY PORTFOLIO COMMITTEES

- Finance Committee, House of Parliament, Cape Town
- Foreign Affairs, House of Parliament, Cape Town
- Trade and Industry Committee, House of Parliament, Cape Town

(iii) BUSINESS SECTOR

- South Africa Foundation, Johannesburg
- South African Chamber of Business, Johannesburg
- National Business Initiative, Johannesburg

(iv) UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONS

- Wits Business School, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
- School of Economics, University of Cape Town, Cape Town

- Centre for Southern African Studies and School of Government, University of Western Cape
- Consultus Programme for Public and Development Sector Capacity Building, University of Stellenbosch, Western Cape
- Rand University, Johannesburg
- University of South Africa, Johannesburg

(v) RESEARCH INSTITUTES

- Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria
- Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg
- Institute for Democracy in South Africa, Auckland Park
- National Labour and Economic Development Institute, Johannesburg
- International Labour Research and Information Group, Cape Town

(vi) NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

- Kasigo Trust, Johannesburg
- United South African Trade Unions, Johannesburg

- Congress of South African Trade Unions, Johannesburg
- The Foundation for Global Dialogue, Johannesburg
- The African-American Institute, Johannesburg
- Institute for African Alternatives, Johannesburg
- Centre for Development Enterprises, Johannesburg

IV. AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT ISSUES DISCUSSED WITH DIFFERENT CONSTITUENCIES

As indicated earlier, the purpose of the mission to South Africa was to deliver a series of seminars, lectures and workshops on topical African development issues and challenges, to a variety of constituencies - ranging from government, business, universities, research institutes to NGOs - with a view to enabling them better understand the current socio-economic predicament in the rest of the continent and some of the policy reforms which have been initiated by the African Governments to redress the situation. In addition, the impact of the international economic environment and external shocks on the capacity of the African States to formulate and implement viable development policies and programmes were examined by the mission. All these were to enable the different constituencies define the type of economic and commercial relations and obligations they would like to develop with the rest of the continent.

Specifically, the mission examined the following African development issues and challenges during the different workshops, lectures and seminars (see Annex I) which were organised and managed by the Foundation for Global Dialogue:

- (i) **Macroeconomic Sectoral Planning within a developing Regional Integration Arrangement (e.g. SADC).**
- (ii) **The International Economic Environment and its Impact on Africa's long-term development.**
- (iii) **Regional Integration in Southern Africa: The Role of the Economic Commission for Africa.**
- (iv) **Modalities for collaborating with International Financial Institutions (World Bank and International Monetary Fund) in the Design, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation of Structural Adjustment and Stabilisation Programmes in Africa.**
- (v) **The Effects of Structural Adjustment Programmes on Employment and Labour in Africa.**
- (vi) **The Impact of Foreign Direct Investment on the Economic Development of Africa.**
- (vii) **The Financing of Infrastructure Development in Africa: Prospects and lessons for South Africa.**
- (viii) **Cross Border Initiatives: The Role of Capital and Labour Flows in African Regional Integration.**
- (ix) **The Impact of External Shocks on the Economic Development of Africa**
- (x) **The Effect of Globalisation of Capital Markets and Financial Institutions on the Welfare Policy Capacities of African States.**

- (xi) The Lagos Plan of Action and the Future of Regional Cooperation and Integration in Africa.
- (xii) Export Processing Zones or Free Industrial Zones and the Movement of Transnational Corporations: The African Experience
- (xiii) A Perspective of the "Growth for All" Development Strategy for South Africa
- (xiv) A Critical Assessment of Macroeconomic Management in Africa and Future Challenges in the Context of a Changing International Economy.
- (xv) Labour Movements and Regional Integration in Southern Africa

V. SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR ISSUES RAISED BY THE VARIOUS PARTICIPANTS

During the lectures, seminars and workshops which were conducted by the mission, a variety of development policy issues were raised and concerns expressed by a cross-section of the participants. The policy issues could broadly be grouped into three categories: Continental, International and South Africa. In view of the far-reaching implications of the issues for Africa's long-term development and the potential economic leadership role of South Africa in the development of the continent, a brief analysis of the main areas of concern is presented below.

V.1 Policy Issues at the Continental level

At the level of the continent, the policy issues discussed with the different continuencies were focused on Structural Adjustment and Stabilisation Programmes, (SAPs), the role of private sector investment, revival of development planning, role of trade unions and regional economic

cooperation and integration arrangements in Africa. As regards the SAPs, many of the participants in the seminars and workshops expressed concern over the inability of the African countries to manoeuvre the policies, absence of any popular participation in the design of the programmes, the possibility of any trade off between democracy and the policy reforms, modalities for stakeholders involvement in the design of the programmes.

The importance of the role of intellectuals in promoting critical capacities in analyzing different development scenarios and that of ECA in facilitating dialogue between the Bretton Woods institutions and the African countries were emphasized. Furthermore, questions were raised as to whether the recent UN Special Initiative for Africa could replace or repair the damage caused by the SAPs and whether the failure of the policy reforms in many countries could not encourage African governments to mobilize internal resources to generate the much needed capital for development. Finally the need for designing alternative policy packages was expressed by many of the participants.

As concerns the need to examine the role of private sector investment in Africa, it was argued that it was a futile exercise to undertake since mismanagement in many African countries had created an unfriendly investment climate. It was questioned whether Industrial Free Zones should be encouraged at all in the continent. In view of the overriding objective of the long-term sustainable development in Africa, concern was expressed over the absence of adequate institutional arrangements for development planning in the 1990's in many African countries in general and the inability to formulate annual rolling plans and programmes by the governments in particular. Questions were also raised regarding the role of labour unions in the elaboration of national development strategies in Africa and the importance of reversing the 'brain drain' from the continent.

Finally, in the area of regional economic cooperation and integration in Africa, concerns were expressed over the failure of past and current initiatives, the need to clearly identify the real beneficiaries, the potential costs to South Africa of joining integration schemes (e.g.

SADC), the engagement of South Africa in regional integration efforts given the small size of national markets in the region and whether in fact the country could not look for markets elsewhere. Overall, all the foregoing issues and questions were intended to shed light on many areas where South Africa intends to develop same initiatives and partnership agreements with the rest of the African continent.

V.2 Issues Regarding the Changing International Economic Environment

To the extent that the economies of the African countries are open, their development as clearly pointed out during the lectures, workshop and seminars delivered by the mission, has increasingly since the 1980s been influenced by the rapid changes in the international economic, financial and commercial environment. Such changes include the retreat from global economic cooperation to bilateralism, evolution of new trading systems, establishment of regional trade blocks, globalisation of financial and banking institutions, mounting external debt, decreasing financial resource flows (both official loans and private direct investments) and increasing attention to the Eastern Europeans by the Western countries and major multilateral financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank.

As a consequence of the real and potential impact of the changes in the international environment on the long-term development of Africa, a considerable number of issues and questions were raised by the different constituencies during the workshops and lectures. Specifically, the participants sought explanations for the shift of focus of development assistance from Africa to Eastern Europe by the Western countries and multilateral financial institutions. In addition, questions concerning the operationality and impact of globalisation on African development and the type of policy actions needed to counteract such negative effects were raised by the participants. As regards the African external debt situation, the participants wanted to know whether there were specific measures underway to address the problem, whether "creative debt write-off" and "debt cancellation" could be considered as lasting solutions to the debt problem, and why the present debt burden should be shifted to the future generation of Africans.

In the area of African external trade, the participants questioned the extent to which regional cooperation in trade was viable considering the similarity of African exports, whether UNCTAD enhances Africa's external trade and whether there were any positive factors which could influence the export of South African manufactures to the rest of the continent. All these questions led to a likely discussion between the mission and the participants.

Finally, the participants raise a number of issues regarding relationship between Asia and Africa, and in particular the developmental lessons which the latter could draw from the former; and the role of the former in the development of the latter. Most important, concern was expressed over the fact that both Asia and Africa have experienced similar development problems in the past but today, the Asian subcontinent is well ahead of the African continent in economic growth, particularly in the promotion of foreign private investment as a 'vehicle' of development. All these issues gave rise to an intensive debate among the participants - a clear demonstration of the increasing awareness of the extreme importance of the impact of changes in the external economic environment and "success stories" on African economic development.

V.3. Issues Concerning South Africa's: Leadership Role and Relations with International Institutions

Considering the leadership role which South Africa is expected to play in the development of the African continent in general and in the Southern African subregion in particular, participants raised pertinent questions and issues regarding that role and the future relations of the country with international institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Concerning the leadership role, fear was expressed by some participants that South Africa might be seen by the other African countries to be dominating its neighbours and the rest of the continent. Furthermore, concern was expressed over the potential negative effect of the dominance of South Africa on regional economic cooperation and integration in Southern Africa (e.g. SADC). Finally, the participants wanted to know whether economic reform

strategies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme of South Africa were being initiated and implemented elsewhere in Africa?

As regards the policy orientation of the new South Africa, the participants wanted to know the type relationship that could be develop between the Government and the World Bank in the design and implemetation of future economic reform programmes. Most important, questions were raised regarding whether South Africa should increase its external debt by accepting more foreign loans, considering the enormous needs in the areas of housing, education, health etc. Furthermore, the participants wanted to know whether the structural adjustment programmes should be introduced in South Africa, and also whether South Africa was less vulnerable than other African countries in dealing with the Bretton Woods Institutions.

There is no doubt that these issues and questions were intended to assess the capacity of South Africa in providing a leadership role in the development of the continent and at the sametime to avoid the mistakes and pitfalls of many of the African countries during the negotiations, design and implementation of the structural adjustment and stabilisation programmes which have been initiated and supported by The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund since the 1980's.

Considering the fact that virtually all the development issues and policy concerns (continental, international, and South Africa) expressed by many participants during the seminars, workshop and lectures, have been given considerable attention at various times and fora, by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, it is important to examine the role which the Commission could play in promoting and enhancing South Africa's leadership role in the development of the continent in general and cooperation with other African countries either on a bilateral or subregional basis.

VI. THE ROLE OF ECA IN PROMOTING AND ENHANCING SOUTH AFRICA'S LEADERSHIP ROLE IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Before examining the rationale for ECA to promote and enhance the leadership role of South Africa in the development of the continent, it is important to recall that the current mandate of the Commission 'to provide intellectual leadership and technical support to African countries and intergovernmental organisations', includes the promotion of economic and social development through regional and subregional cooperation and integration, initiating socio-economic development policies, providing advisory services to governments and their intergovernmental organisations and serving as a regional coordinating framework for the development activities of the United Nations System in Africa.

To the extent that since its establishment in 1958, the Commission has at times reoriented its programme focus in order to respond more effectively to the continuing changing development needs and challenges of Africa as well as changes in the international economic environment in general, the urgent need for assisting the crisis-ridden economies of many African countries, given the potential leadership role of South Africa in that challenge, requires that the Commission should provide an appropriate and viable framework for promoting, enhancing and intensifying cooperation between South Africa and the rest of the continent in many priority areas of development. To this end, this section of the report will attempt to examine the extent to which such cooperation (within the framework of the mandate of UNECA in general, and the proposed focus of future programmes of the Commission in particular) can meaningfully contribute to the rapid socio-economic transformation and sustainable development of the rest of the continent.

Within the context of the proposed new programme focus, ECA has the comparative advantage in collaborating with South Africa in enhancing its reintegration into the rest of the continent. The accumulated experience of the Commission in articulating development strategies

for Africa, building institutional capacities for development and providing advisory services to member States and their intergovernmental organizations, could be placed at the service of the government of South Africa.

Furthermore, the comprehensive inter-governmental machinery and subregional offices which the Commission has established over the years could provide a useful forum for interaction between the other African countries and the Republic of South Africa in different areas of economic endeavours, as well as serving as a conduit for South Africa to learn from the experience of African countries with development management and economic reform programmes and vice-versa. A case in point is the ECA Lusaka-based MULPOC which has already undertaken a number of activities in the area of economic and social development of South Africa through the work programme of the Southern Africa Labour Commission.

Bearing in mind the complexity and dimension of the development problems in South Africa, the priority areas which are strategically relevant to socio-economic transformation are housing, education, health and employment generation. In this regard, the Commission could critically assess such policy blue-prints as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Growth for All, the Affirmative Action etc and the extent to which they can address these issues. Furthermore, there is need for the Commission to provide assistance in such areas as institutional building with a view to replacing the economic and social structures created during the apartheid regime. This will assist in the promotion and enhancement of rapid socio-economic transformation of the both the South African economy and society.

Most importantly, in promoting and enhancing the leadership role of South Africa in the development of the continent in general and economic cooperation in particular, the Commission should forge greater collaboration, within the framework of the Joint OAU/ADB/ECA Secretariat, in developing strategies to support the integration of South Africa into the Southern African economy. In particular, ECA should strongly support the negotiations between South Africa and the SADC countries aimed at restructuring existing economic and trade relations, and

creating a new framework for a mutually beneficial, equitable and interdependent subregional arrangement in Southern Africa.

Secondly, the Commission should collaborate in the development of strategies and policies for the promotion of trade, investments and transport links between South Africa and the rest of the continent. To this end, there is need to develop policies to ensure (i) that the development of relations between South Africa and the rest of the continent is on a mutually beneficial and sustainable basis; and (ii) that these relations reinforce the development of a programme of equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation and integration in a post-apartheid Southern African region as a step towards the broader continental economic unity envisaged in the Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community.

Finally, it is important for the Commission to assess the impact of South Africa's reintegration into the continent on the process of regional economic cooperation in Africa. How, for example, will South Africa influence and shape regional cooperation in the future? This calls for the consideration of not only regional cooperation arrangements such as SADC, SACU or PTA/COMESA, but also ECOWAS, ECCAS and the Arab Maghreb Union.

Since it accounts for a large proportion of the continent's total output, South Africa can play a leading role in forging and accelerating the process of creating those very economic, financial and business links which are the goals of the African Economic Community. This is important considering the enlargement of the size of the continental market which could significantly enhance Africa's bargaining position in the post-cold war era, the emerging world of trading blocs, and in trade negotiations, particularly within the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the Uruguay Round Negotiations.

VII. MISSION CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The importance of promoting and enhancing the leadership role of South Africa in the development of the African continent by the ECA cannot be over emphasised considering the rapid and profound changes which have been taking place in the international economic, financial and trading environment in recent years. All these changes, which were examined during the workshops, lectures and seminars will certainly produce a negative impact on African development in general and the capacity of many African State to design and implement effective economic reform programmes. The shift in the international attention towards Eastern Europe has increased Africa's marginalisation and weakened the continents's economic and financial position.

There is also the merging world of trading blocs: Europe 1992; North American Free Trade Agreement, and the ASEAN Free Trade Area, which have also tended to marginalise Africa. Confronted with this undesirable situation, it is vital for the other African countries and South Africa to transcend economic calculations of gains and losses from European integration and from the world of trading blocs.

Attention should be focused on the African continent, on its future during the decade of the 1990s and beyond into the Twenty - First century. This is important because at the end of the day, it is the rest of Africa and South Africa which can make themselves relevant or irrelevant. There is need to articulate a common strategic agenda for both South Africa and the rest of the continent this will require total cohesion and unity of purpose. This could enhance the competition of South Africa and the other African countries in the international economic, financial and trading areas. To the extent that there exists a common destiny between South Africa and the rest of the continent, there is need for bringing together the political and socio-economic forces towards achieving rapid socio-economic transformation and sustainable development in the entire continent.

In the view of the mission, the reintegration of South Africa into the African economy will produce a long-term positive impact that could enhance the necessary socio-economic transformation and fundamental change. The ECA should play a vital role, within the framework of its mandate, in providing the appropriate mechanisms for the coordination of economic cooperation ventures between South Africa and the other African countries, and by so doing promote the leadership role of the former in the overall development of the continent.

VIII. FOLLOW-UP ACTION BY ECA: PRIORITY ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED BY FUTURE MISSIONS.

It will be recalled that a wide range of African development issues were addressed by the mission during the lectures, workshops and seminars which were organised by the Foundation for Global Dialogue for various governmental and non-governmental development actors in South Africa. An examination of the many and diverse concerns and questions raised by the different constituencies during the discussions and also the positive reactions received by the Foundation, there a number of critical areas of vital interest to South Africa in particular and Africa in general, in which follow-up action is required from ECA in the immediate future.

To this end, the following are the recommended policy issues which subsequent ECA missions to South Africa should address:

- (1) What economic growth strategy should South Africa follow and what should the role of privatisation be? Labour seems to lean towards a RDP-type of philosophy while business (as represented in "Growth for All") prefers a mix of strategies-increasing investment, fiscal austerity, low-wage job creation-with strict labour discipline.

- (2) In terms of globalisation and liberalisation of the world economy, what are the dangers and challenges of free trade agreements, transnational corporations and their dealings with developing countries? What are the future prospects of organisations such as UNCTAD and WTO for South Africa and Africa?
- (3) African experiences in the financing infrastructure development and macro-economic policy reforms. More and better Information flows are necessary between ECA and South African institutions in these areas.
- (4) An assessment of the impact of the World Bank and IMF macro-economic policies on developing countries: Lessons for South Africa.
- (5) What should South Africa's industrial policy be? Should it be export-oriented or guided by import substitution? What lessons can South African learn from other African countries?
- (6) What are the problems and prospects of building regional African trading blocs? Are the institutional arrangement (where they exist-SADC, COMESA, SACU, ECOWAS) equal to the task of promoting regional integration in Africa?
- (7) What potential contribution can the African Development Bank make to South Africa's development?
- (8) What is the role and significance of ECA in promoting and enhancing the leadership role of South Africa in the development of the African continent?

ANNEX A: LIST OF INSTITUTIONS AND PARTICIPANTS**I. Department of Foreign Affairs Training Institute, Pretoria 18/3/96****Seminar Themes:**

- (1) The Modalities for Collaborating with International Financial Institutions (World Bank and International Monetary Fund) in the Design and Implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes in Africa.
- (2) The New International Economic Environment and its Impact on Africa's long-term development.

<u>Name of Participant</u>	<u>Position/Function</u>
1. Mr. P.S. Hadebe,	Deputy Director-General, Dept. of Finance, Pretoria
2. Ms. Busi Gaboo,	Deputy Director-General, Department of Trade and Industry, Pretoria
3. Mr. Shan Ramburuth,	National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC), Pretoria
4. Barnes Jerome,	Student, Diplomatic Training Programme
5. Cassimjee Mohamed	" " " "
6. Diseko Mathe	" " " "
7. Du Plooy Eugene	" " " "
8. Haslop Annabel	" " " "
9. Kapitan Kishore	" " " "
10. Kemp Enrico	" " " "

11. Lebakeng Nomzi	"	"	"	"
12. Mabhongo Xolisa	"	"	"	"
13. Mafa Theza	"	"	"	"
14. Mahadeo Ishwar	Student, Diplomatic Training Programme			
15. Mahlangu Happy	"	"	"	"
16. Miyeni Anthony	"	"	"	"
17. Mkatshane Zola	"	"	"	"
18. Mngomezulu Tebogo	"	"	"	"
19. Moofokeng Prince	"	"	"	"
20. Mokgoadi Tsietsi	"	"	"	"
21. Mtilwa Mbulelo	"	"	"	"
22. Nkobi Poloko	"	"	"	"
23. Nyawose Thanduwazi	"	"	"	"
24. Paterson Jim	"	"	"	"
25. Pitswane Johnny	"	"	"	"
26. Qwabe Bongiwe	"	"	"	"
27. Rambau Victor	"	"	"	"
28. Seedat Ahmed	"	"	"	"
29. Sefolo Lebogang	"	"	"	"
30. Sibeko Siphithi	"	"	"	"
31. Skolo Nontatu	"	"	"	"
32. Wilkinson Lorraine	"	"	"	"
33. Xinwa Skhumbuzo	"	"	"	"

II. Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria, (18/3/96)

Seminar Theme: The International Economic Environment and its Impact on Africa's long-term development

<u>Name of Participants</u>	<u>Institutions</u>
1. Mr. H. Ngor	Embassy of Sudan
2. Mr. B. J. van Whyk	Agricultural Economics, Univ. of Pretoria
3. Ms. Adri Senekal	Rapport
4. H.E A. Perron	Canadian High Commission
5. Mr. V. Mathews	Singapore High Commission
6. Dr. Leonore v.d. Merwe	Strategic Management
7. Ms. Ellen Hajie	" "
8. Mr. Karl Wokalek	German Embassy
9. Dep HC Mr. P. Budunaiski	Namibian Embassy
10. Mr. C. Hammar	Sudan Embassy
11. Mr. Bert Ferreira	Beeld
12. Mr. E. Greyling	Intelligence Academy
13. Mr. Donovan Lobard	Siemens Limited
14. Mr. Jabu Mvubu	" "
15. Dr. F.P. Groenewald	KKTW
16. Mr. J.A. Webb	"
17. Ms. Dale Lautenbach	The Star
18. Ms. L. C. Lazouras	-
19. Dr. L. v.d. Merwe	Transnet
20. Mrs. M. Beukes	-
21. Mr. Edwin Malemo	SASS

22. Mr. Vincent Ntsubane	"
23. Mr. Bernard Raubenheimer	"
24. Mr. F. Vryer	Prestige Consultant
25. Mr. C. Langsberg	"
26. Prof C. van Veijeren	SASS
27. Ms. Arsie Stegen	"

III. Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), Pretoria, 18/3/96

Lecture Theme: Regional Integration n Southern Africa: The Role of ECA

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>
1. Martjie Bosman	Head, Social Development Research Unit (HSRC)
2. William Dichaba	Centre for Constitutional Analysis
3. Peter Hall	Researcher, Development Policy Unit, HSRC
4. Ian Liebenberg	Centre for Constitutional Analysis
5. Johan Marais	Researcher, Social Development Research Unit, HSRC
6. Cosmas Mareka	Researcher, Socio-political Analysis Unit, HSRC
7. Patrick Dudu Molatedi	Researcher, Development Policy Unit, HSRC.
8. CH (Cas) Prinsloo	Head, S & T Research Unit, HSRC
9. Jim Ramdin	International Bilateral Relations Unit, HSRC.
10. Andrew Whiteford	Researcher, Human Resource Information-Planning Unit, HSRC.

IV. University of Witwatersrand, School of Business, Johannesburg, 19/3/96

Lecture Theme: Modalities for Collaborating with Institutional Financial Institutions (World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) in the Design and Implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes in Africa.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Institution</u>
1. Wessel Mulder	Rand University, Johannesburg
2. Elsabe Loots	" " "
3. Jack Heyn	" " "
4. Clive Napier	University of South Africa, Johannesburg
5. Matthew Simmonds	Wits Hons Student, International Relations
6. Lana Agueeva	Wits Hons " " "
7. Nikki Erasmus	" " " " "
8. Candice Taylor	University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
9. Bradley Johnson	" " "
10. Gordon Freer	International Relations, University of Witwatersrand
11. Morabo Morojele	P & DM, University of Witwatersrand
12. Prof. Mark Swilling	Graduate School of Public and Development Management, University of Witwatersrand.

V. The South Africa Foundation, Johannesburg, 19/3/96

Lecture Theme: A Perspective of "Growth for All Development Strategy"

<u>Name</u>	<u>Institution</u>
1. Sylvia Gordon	Director, South Africa Foundation
2. Billy Lacey	Senior Economist, South Africa Chamber of Commerce

VI. Foundation for Global Dialogue Johannesburg 20/3/96

Seminar Theme: Modalities for Collaborating with International Financial Institutions in the Design and Implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes in Africa.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Institution</u>
1. Darlene Miller	Institute for African Alternatives, Johannesburg
2. Cathy Meikljohn	Centre for Development and Enterprise, "
3. Francis Kornegay	African-American Institute, "
4. Thabo Rapoo	Centre for Policy Studies, "
5. Pinkie Baloi	Kagiso Trust, "
6. Garth le Pere	Foundation for Global Dialogue, "
7. Anthoni van Nieuwkerk	Foundation for GLobal Dialogue, "
8. Kato Lambrechts	Foundation for Global Dialogue,

VII. United South African Trade Unions (USATU), Johannesburg, 20/3/96

Lecture Theme: The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes on Employment and Labour in Africa.

Name

Institutions

Andrey E. Rose

General Secretary, USATU.

VIII. Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU), Johannesburg, 20/3/96

Lecture Themes:

- (1) The International Economic Environment and its Impact on African Development
- (2) Structural Adjustment Programmes and their Impact on Employment, and Labour in Africa.

Name of Participant

Institution

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|---------------|--|
| 1. B. Sifingo | International Relations Secretary, COSATU |
| 2. S. Papane, | Education Secretary, COSATU |
| 3. C. Horton, | Researcher, National Labour and Economic
Development Institute (NALEDI) |
| 4. T. Filita, | NALEDI Researcher |
| 5. K. Ndaba, | Negotiations Coordinator, COSATU |

IX. Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), Midrand, 22/3/96

Workshop Theme: The Financing of Infrastructure Development in Africa: Prospects and lessons for South Africa.

<u>Name of Participants</u>	<u>Institutions</u>
1. Flora Mosaka-Wright	DBSA
2. Ike Mosalake	"
3. Elmarie Oosthuizen	DBSA
4. Chanel Barnard	"
5. Faried Manuel	"
6. Hannes Spangenberg	"
7. Mamathe Kgarimetsa	"
8. Gert De Waal	"
9. Alwyn Coetzee	"
10. Piet Viljoen	"
11. Mosebjane Malatsi	"
12. Babani Xaba	"
13. Oupa Mokoena	"
14. Chris Heymans	"
15. Amb Mokaba	"
16. Lukas Van Der Merwe	"
17. Herbert Atkins	"
18. A P Marks	"
19. Khosi Kunjwa	"
20. Morgan Pillay	"
21. Enoch Gxwala	"

22. Evodia Malefane	DBSA
23. Vincent Potloane	"
24. Donald Macleod	"
25. Mike Marler	"
26. Brain Hollingworth	"
27. Paul Jackson	"
28. Rhoda Seperepere	"
29. Siphwe Cele	"
30. Jackie Mahlangu	"
31. Kate Moloto	"

**X. Parliamentary Portfolio Committees on Trade and Industry, and Foreign Affairs,
Cape Town, 25/3/96**

Lecture Theme: Modalities for collaborating with International Financial Institutions
(World Bank and IMF) in the Design and Implementation of Structural
Adjustment Programmes in Africa

<u>Name of Committee Member</u>	<u>Party Affiliation</u>
1. Hon Moesi	African National Congress
2. Hon Moijoneum	" " "
3. Hon. Muedamutsura	" " "
4. Hon. Ben Turok	" " "
5. Hon. Buting	" " "
6. Hon. Hajaij	" " "
7. Hon. L. J. Modisenyane	" " "
8. Hon. Ms. Seperepere	" " "

9. Hon. Allie

Ingata Freedom Party

XI. University of Cape Town, School of Economics, Capetown, 26/3/96

Seminar Theme: The design and implementation of structural adjustment programmes in Africa: Modalities for Collaborating with International Financial Institutions.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>
1. Lara Gibson,	Post graduate student, School of Economics
2. Andre Treicrio,	Post graduate student, " "
3. Michael Rhys,	Post graduate Student, " "
4. Petronella Mpyngo,	Post graduate Student, " "
5. Tom Hertz,	Doctoral student, University of Massachussets
6. Rashad Cassim,	Co-ordinator, Trade Policy Monitoring Project, School of Economics
7. Anthony Black,	Researcher, School of Economics
8. Lenara Walker,	Researcher, School of Economics

**XII. University of Stellenbosch, Department of Public Management and Development,
Western Cape, 26/3/96**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Institution</u>
1. Ms. Belinda Van Wyk,	Department of Public and Development Management

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|-------------------------|--|
| 2. Dr. Frederick Uys | Department of Public and Development Management |
| 3. Dr. Johan Burger | Department of Public and Development Management |
| 4. Herman Thiel | Department of Political Science, Univ. of Stellenbosch |
| 5. Ms. Rachelle Japhta, | Department of Economics, Univ. of Stellenbosch |

XIII. University of Western Cape, School of Government and Centre for Southern African Studies, Western Cape, 27/3/96

Seminar Themes:

- (1) The Design and Implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes in Africa: Modalities for collaborating with the Work Bank and the International Monetary Fund.
- (2) The International Economic Environment and its Impact on Africa's Long-term Development.

Name of Participant

Institution/Department

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Saliem Patel | Centre for Southern African Studies |
| 2. Gina Jekels | School of Adult Development Education |
| 3. Bertram Pitts | " " " " |
| 4. Anthea Sheldon | " " " " |
| 5. Paula Cardoso | " " " " |
| 6. Rod Alence | Political Studies Department |
| 7. Ismail Adams | Economics Department |
| 8. Karolina O'Donoghue | Economics Department |

9. Vernon Seymour	Centre for Southern African Studing
10. Laurence Sakera	School of Adult Development Education
11. Mathimso Harn	Centre for Southern African Studies
12. Babini Vantyu	" " " "

XIV. Institute for a Democratic South Africa (IDASA) and International Labour Research and Information Group (ILRIG), Cape Town, 27/3/96

<u>Name</u>	<u>Institution</u>
1. Mr. Jeremy Marither,	IDASA Information Center
2. Ms. Shirley Robinson	IDASA " "
3. Michael Blake	IDASA " "
4. Pat Hill	IDASA National Office
5. Jeremy Daphine	International Labour and Resource Information Group

XV. National Business Initiative (NBI) for Growth, Development and Democracy, Cape TOWN 28/3/96

Discussion Theme: A Perspective on "Growth for All" Development Strategy

<u>Name</u>	<u>Institution</u>
Mr. Brian Craig,	Senior Manager (Economics), NBI

XVI. Foundation for Global Dialogue (FGD) Johannesburg, 29/3/96

Theme: Debriefing Meeting

Name of Participants

Institution

1. Dr. Garth L. Le Pere

Executive Director, FGD.

2. Ms. Kato Lambrechts

Project Administrator, FGD

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