

CLIMATE, POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC EMERGENCIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC POLICY ALTERNATIVES

REGIONAL ALTERNATIVE POLICY PAPER
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SAPSN

Southern African People's
Solidarity Network



People Centred & People Driven
Regional Challenge to Globalisation

CONTENTS

Introduction and Background	1
Challenges affecting the SADC Region	3
State of Political Affairs in SADC	6
Shrinking Civic and Political Space	8
The demise of the SADC Tribunal: A Major Setback for the Region	10
Socio-Economic Challenges	11
The Paradox of Plenty in Africa	12
Illicit Financial Flows Bleeding the SADC Region	13
Debt Crisis	15
Corruption	16
Human Development	19
Gender inequality	21
Disaster Risk Reduction and Management	22
Policy Options	24

**Climate, Political and Socioeconomic Emergencies in Southern Africa:
Towards Democratic Policy Alternatives**

Regional Alternative Policy Paper

INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

Southern Africa is currently experiencing a number of political, social, economic and environmental challenges. This is despite the existence of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) – a regional body created to promote regional integration. The challenges being faced by the region are inextricably intertwined such that political crises, for instance, usually perpetuates salient economic, social and environmental challenges and vice versa. While some of the challenges affect individual Member States more than others, their implications are of a transboundary nature. The crises in Zimbabwe, has had economic and political implications in neighbouring South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. On the other hand, the social tensions in South Africa, culminated in xenophobic attacks on non-South Africans who were accused of taking away opportunities from locals.

Despite clear common values on good governance, democracy and peace provided for in the SADC Treaty, the regional block is yet to fulfil its mandate. Admittedly, the SADC Secretariat has on record implored Member States to foster peace and development in their respective countries. Despite the World Bank 2018 Report acknowledging SADC as the most stable region on the continent, countries like Swaziland, Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, South Africa, Mozambique and Madagascar, continue to face social, economic and political crises of varying degrees. Cumulatively the political crises have the potential not only to cause national instability but destabilise the regional as a whole.

SADC governments are also synonymous with overprotecting the interests of multinational companies at the expense of local communities and entrepreneurs. This is more pronounced in the agriculture and extractive sectors. Unsustainable extractivism thrives and many natural resource rich SADC Member States exhibit the natural resource curse. In the agriculture sector, the majority of Member States are promoting technologies that facilitate the proliferation of Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) at the expense of Open Pollinated Varieties (OPVs) which small scale farmers produce and depend on . The informal sector continues to sustain most of the SADC countries although it is not supported and is criminalised due to lack of harmonised and reformed laws to address the current contexts of most Member States. Social service provision is continuously threatened in the wake of privatisation of public services manifesting in various forms including Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) which are being adopted in key sectors such as health, education and water and sanitation. All these challenges affect mostly marginalised groups including People With Disabilities (PWDs), women, youths, small holder farmers, artisanal and small-scale miners as well as informal traders.

¹ SAPSN Strategic Plan, 2018-2022

While politicians in the SADC region are jostling for power, courting big businesses and deepening the SADC crisis, citizens are continuously marginalised and disenfranchised as spaces for engagement are diminishing and not friendly for citizens' participation. Citizens are clearly at the receiving end of the political shifts taking place in the respective countries. SADC citizens continue to be starved of spaces to engage and inform the development of the region both at the member states and regional level. The SADC regional bloc has essentially remained state-centric and driven by bilateral and multilateral donor institutions and private sector interests. The crises that SADC faces as a region demands that citizens, who are the rights holders, have a voice that is not only heard but that matters in finding solutions.

This policy paper is informed by the outcomes of the successive SADC People's Summits of the past ten years. Having made several demands through the People Summit communiqués for the past 10 years and specific letters to the SADC Secretariat and the SADC Heads of State and Governments Summit itself. The policy paper, thus consolidates the common challenges that require redress in the region and proffer specific recommendations to both the individual Member States and the regional bloc as a whole.



CHALLENGES AFFECTING THE SADC REGION

The SADC region is faced with a wide range of challenges which range from political, social, economic and environmental. The Southern African bloc has also been rocked by corruption, election disputes, failing economies which have subsequently led to failed health and social services. In some instances, intra country disputes have also resulted in political and economic instability as the case with DRC, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. To add on to these challenges, the regional bloc has also been adversely affected by drought as a leading natural disaster followed by a recent phenomenon in the region; Cyclones Idai and Kenneth causing a humanitarian crisis in Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Seychelles. Cyclones Idai and Kenneth dragged down economic growth in Southern Africa from 1.2 percent in 2018 to 0.7 percent in 2019, The Cyclones had devastating impacts on infrastructure and agriculture in Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (AfDB, 2020).

The increased occurrences and destructiveness of climate-induced disasters in the region is quite disturbing leaving poor and vulnerable bearing the burden of climate change. The looming climate crisis in the region threatens food security in the region, limiting the ability of the SADC member states to cope with the social, economic and humanitarian crisis.

While Botswana and Tanzania among others are experiencing growth, most SADC countries are struggling due to weak social safety nets. As such the SADC region has failed to cater for its citizens and this has also seen an upsurge in economic refugees consequently resulting in pressure on the countries hosting the refugees. The outbreak of coronavirus further threatens an already failing health system in the region. Whilst its health implications are obvious, the impacts of coronavirus on human, economic and social welfare are insurmountable, considering the current health infrastructure in the region. If the spread of the virus is not urgently arrested and is allowed to spread to high-density areas, slums, refugee camps and other centres of impoverishment, Southern Africa will face a health, economic and social disaster on a scale never experienced before. The developed world is being over-run by the pandemic and their economies driven into recession. The chances of Southern Africa, therefore coping are remote, as most of the region's economies are already in a desperate state. SADC citizens are therefore not just bemoaning the devastating impacts of corona

virus but the health crisis with the majority not being afforded the right to basic health care in their respective countries.

In an attempt to defend human rights, most civil society actors and human rights defenders have become victims of torture and victimisation. This is a major threat to citizen action in the region. The shrinking of civic and political space in the region has undermined governance in the region leading to a governance crisis in the absence of social accountability from pressure groups due to fear of victimisation. This manifests through anti-NGO laws, arbitrary inspections, harassment, and criminalisation.

The failure by member states to convert the mineral resources and reserves underground into capital coupled with governance crisis exacerbates the challenges being faced in the region. Several countries in sub-Saharan Africa have gained substantial wealth from their resources, but more efforts are required to address the contribution of this wealth to inclusive growth, equitable poverty reduction and gender equality. The recent large-scale discovery of valuable extractive resources oil, gas and minerals Southern Africa presents great potential for shared economic growth and could drastically reduce poverty levels in these countries. However, if the extractive industry (EI) sector is not managed in a transparent and equitable manner, there are risks of severe negative consequences, including environmental degradation, economic disturbance, population displacement, and accelerated levels of inequality and poverty. Instead of transforming economies, natural resource extraction, over the years, resulted in lower economic growth, inequality, disturbances in the social fabric, conflicts, environmental degradation, exploitation of labour, and increased vulnerability of the sector to corruption and mismanagement, and displacements of people owing to among other things absence of an inclusive developmental framework.

The rising debt crisis in the region is increasingly becoming a cause for concern. The high and rising debt crisis in SADC region increases the vulnerabilities of the member states to other forms of crises. The countries like Zimbabwe, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Mozambique which over borrowed do not have the space to seek for loans to deal with the pandemic for instance. Mozambique's current account deficit of 23 percent of GDP in 2018 and external debt of 145 percent of GDP are of concern (AfDB, 2019). The debt to GDP threshold of 60% is not being enforced with some countries even setting their own thresholds at 70%. A huge debt burden in Africa limits the ability of the continent to finance its own development as most countries divert resources meant for public service delivery towards debt servicing. The emerging crisis that we are seeing is in part the result of unjust and ineffective governance in these and other countries of the Global South . But it is also a consequence of myriad failings on the part of countries of the Global North, including the UK, and intergovernmental institutions, most notably the IMF. All these crises have limited the ability of the SADC region to improve its economic and human development indicators ranking among the worst in the world.

In Southern Africa, the burden of extreme poverty is heavy. In 2017, in an exclusive publication on extreme poverty in southern Africa, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) posits that it is estimated that nearly 88 million people (45% of the population) live in extreme poverty across the region. Southern Africa accounts for 9% of extreme poverty globally, even though it only accounts for about 2.5% of the world population. ISS argues that this is because southern African economic growth has not and is not expected to trickle down to the most vulnerable members of society. The sub-region has the highest level of inequality (as measured by the Gini coefficient) of any region in the world.

² Jubilee Debt Campaign, 2018, downloaded from <https://jubileedebt.org.uk/blog/the-new-debt-crisis-in-southern-africa>

is high enough to both provide for its rapidly growing population and pull up those already in poverty.

Further analysis of the level of economic participation, mortality rates, HIV prevalence also indicate that the majority of the citizenry are adversely affected by the economic policies that are predominantly driven by neo-liberalism and stress for the need for super profits regardless of the people's welfare.

Poverty and inequality thus continue to deepen in a region that paradoxically has in the past 15 years experienced 4.48% in economic growth due to a resource boom. Equally, resource-rich and middle-income countries such as Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Zambia have not been able to significantly reduce inequality despite the consistently high levels of economic growth in these countries in the past decade. A key question to ask would be: what has been the response of the citizenry to widening inequalities, exclusion and marginalisation? In recent years in Botswana, Angola, Swaziland, Lesotho, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Malawi, this paradox of economic growth, high levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment has galvanised young people to organise themselves into social movements, complimenting existing movements. The aim being to engage with the state and non-state actors (private sector) to demand jobs, transparency and accountability and improved opportunities.

STATE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN SADC

SADC member states are found wanting in the maintenance of security and rule of law albeit a dedicated Organ on Politics, Defence and Security which was launched as far back as 1996. Civil society organisations under the banner of the Southern African People's Solidarity Network (SAPSN) have over the years noted with concern the lack of political will on the part of member states and the regional block to undertake the following;

- Conflict prevention, management and resolution
- Early warning and disaster management
- Mediation of intra state disputes
- Failure to resolve legitimacy crises in Lesotho, DRC, Zimbabwe and recently in Malawi
- Policies and capacities to ensure that the region maintains trained units ready to be deployed in peace support operations in the region or under the auspices of the African Union or the United Nations.

Resultantly, the political landscape in the region has been characterised by instabilities ranging from disputes on allegations of rigged elections, lack of democratic governance and in-country disputes. Lesotho has experienced political fragmentation in recent years that witnessed the involvement of the security sector in governance issues. The same can be said for Zimbabwe in which the birth of the second republic has seen the militarisation of the country resulting in gross abuse of human rights. In Zimbabwe the 1st of August 2018 beatings, torture and killings of civilians who were protesting the delays in the announcement on the presidential results left Zimbabweans and citizens of the region in a state of shock as the SADC body took no action to protect the country's citizens. The region has also seen a grip on power by freedom movements which include ZANU PF (Zimbabwe), FRELIMO (Mozambique), SWAPO (Namibia) and ANC (South Africa). Decades after gaining independence, these governments have failed to transform from being resistance movements to democratic governing parties. Moreover, SADC itself was created by these liberation movements who were defending themselves from colonialism. The same political movements have remained in power in the majority of countries and do not tolerate alternative views. In the case of Angola and Zimbabwe, citizens survived dictatorship under a single president for 38 and 39 years respectively. This has seen talk of manipulation of election results by these movements with Zimbabwe and Malawi seemingly ruling the roost. The SADC endorsed Malawi elections of May 2019 which were later nullified by the historic Constitutional Court Ruling which ordered fresh elections for the country. This is a rare case in SADC where a member is forced to uphold national democracy by the court as most state institutions are captured by ruling governments. Political differences are also intrinsically linked with intra fighting in DRC and Mozambique which has resulted in regional destabilisation.

³SADC Secretariat, downloaded on <https://www.sadc.int/themes/politics-defence-security/defence/>

⁴ Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, Democracy under Threat in SADC: Shrinking of Democratic Space in SADC, 2019

While the scale of fighting has considerably gone down in recent years, the effects of war are still being felt in the region with loss of life and massive displacements having taken place in the affected countries. The displacements have resulted in an influx of refugees in relatively stable countries.

Whilst politicians in the SADC countries struggle for power, it is of concern to note that it is the citizens who continue to be marginalised and disenfranchised as spaces for engagement diminish. Due to the politicisation of spaces in SADC, the debate around the issue of shrinking political and civic space rages on. Politically motivated abductions and arrests continue unabated as regional leaders consolidate their hold on to power. This has affected the region with countries such as DRC, eSwatini, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe consolidating their political muscle by shrinking civic space.



SHRINKING CIVIC AND POLITICAL SPACE

Shrinking civic and political space (SCPS) is increasingly becoming a global phenomenon with CIVICUS monitor rating 43 countries as Open, 42 as Narrowed, 49 as Obstructed, 38 as Repressed and 24 as Closed. CIVICUS has classified civic and political space in the SADC region as highlighted in the table below;

Classification	Country
Closed Civic Space	Democratic Republic of Congo
Repressed	Angola, Eswatini Madagascar, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe
Obstructed	Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia
Narrowed	Botswana, Comoros, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles and South Africa

Source: CIVICUS Monitor: <https://monitor.civicus.org/>

SADC member states have over the past two decades increasingly become less tolerant to criticism and being held accountable for their actions. As a result, draconian laws have been enacted to restrict people's rights and freedoms including the rights to freedom of opinion, expression, association and assembly, and access to information, notwithstanding the national constitutions that guarantee the provision of such rights. Access to information, freedom of expression, media freedoms, internet freedoms, rights of assembly and association are under threat in eSwatini (Public Order Act of 2016), Malawi (the impending NGO bill to control operating space for civil society) , Tanzania (Cyber Crimes Act of 2016 and Online Content Regulations of 2018) , Zambia (Cyber Security and Cyber Crimes Bill, NGO Act No. 16 of 2009 and Public Order Act of 2016) and Zimbabwe (Public Order and Security Act of 2002 which was repealed and replaced by the Maintenance of Peace and Order Bill (MOPO) Act

⁵ CIVICUS Monitor (2020) National Civic Space Ratings: 43 rated as Open, 42 rating as Narrowed, 49 rated as Obstructed, 38 rated as Repressed & 24 rated as Closed. Available at: www.monitor.civicus.org (Accessed: 2020-03-29).

[Chapter 11:23] of 2019 which provide mechanisms to ensure that the police in maintaining law, order and suppression of civil commotion or disturbances in any police district do so in a manner that does not compromise human rights, Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA of, 2002) and the impending Cyber Crime, Security and Data Protection Bill of 2017). DRC and Zimbabwe are on record for using live ammunition against protesters resulting in the death of unarmed civilians. Six people were confirmed dead after the post-election protests in Zimbabwe (Human Rights Watch, 2018). Where human rights activists stand up against human rights abuses, their lives are often in danger. In the case of Zimbabwe, Itai Dzamara disappeared after challenging political, social and economic rights abuses under the Robert Gabriel Mugabe regime in 2015. In DRC, Luc Nkulula mysteriously died in 2018 as his house was burnt down after challenging the former President, Joseph Kabila to step down. CIVICUS Monitor confirms that CSOs and human rights activists in SADC risk surveillance, harassment, intimidation, imprisonment, injury and even death in their fight for democracy. These restrictions shift power from civic to political actors thereby undermining the developmental outcomes as citizens remain passive recipients of government policies and programs .

Shrinking civic and political space in the SADC region is taking a new dimension with social and economic rights activists and environmental activists being blacklisted as well. The victimisation of the members of the SADC People's Solidarity Network during and after the 2019 SADC People's Summit which was held in Dar es Salaam in August 2020 is a cause for concern. Upon return from the People Summit, 33 Zimbabwean delegates were detained for 4 hours at Chirundu Border Post by immigration officers in conjunction with central intelligence officers. The detention was based on false accusations made by the Zimbabwean state media.

²¹ O.L Kupika et al, *Impacts of Climate Change and Climate variability on Wildlife Resources in Southern Africa: Experiences from Selected Protected Areas in Zimbabwe*, 2017

²² SADC Secretariat, available on <https://www.sadc.int/themes/meteorology-climate/climate-change-adaptation/>

THE DEMISE OF THE SADC TRIBUNAL: A MAJOR SETBACK FOR THE REGION

The de facto suspension of the SADC Tribunal in 2010 and the renegotiation to confine the role of the tribunal to interpretation of the SADC Treaty and Protocols relating to disputes between member states only which was done in 2012 is a major setback in the face of the justice system in SADC. Established in 1992, the SADC Tribunal was mandated to establish a regional court to hear disputes between Members States as well as between individuals and states. The tribunal was suspended in 2010 after political interference from Zimbabwe which saw the Robert Mugabe led government's refusal to implement the tribunal's decision on fast track land reform. The tribunal's ruling compelled the government to enforce the judgment which found the government of Zimbabwe guilty of breaching the provisions in the SADC Treaty. The Zimbabwean government oversaw the compulsory acquisition of farms from the 79 white Zimbabwean Commercial farmers in the Mike Campbell case. Since then, the decision to suspend the tribunal has seen the limitation of SADC citizens' right to a collective justice system further impacting on the poor and marginalised in the region.

⁶ Accessible on https://www.veritaszim.net/sites/veritas_d/files/Maintenance%20of%20Peace%20%26%20Order%20Act.pdf

⁷ Naomi Hossain, *What Does Closing Civic Space Mean for Development? A Literature Review and Proposed Conceptual Framework*, 2018

⁸ SADC Secretariat, downloaded from <https://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/sadc-institutions/tribun/>

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

Regional integration remains the key building block for achieving economic growth and sustainable development in the SADC region. It is in view of this founding principle of regional integration that

SADC came up with the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) in 2003. However, the SADC Strategic Ministerial Retreat held in March 2017 noted with concern the slow pace in the implementation of the SADC regional integration agenda. Slow progress in the achievement of regional integration agenda has a bearing on the achievement of sustainable development in its three dimensions (social, economic and environmental). SADC has the least growth rate in Africa with a GDP growth rate of 1.2% in 2018, 2.2% in 2019 and projected 2.8% in 2020. This however, is likely to be reviewed downwards due to the corona virus pandemic which is impacting heavily on the global economy and the SADC region in particular. Given the size of the economic shock, fiscal deficits will remain a permanent feature in SADC if no action is taken to mitigate the impact of the pandemic. The African Development Bank (AfDB) attributes the slow growth rate to high inflation, rising public and publicly guaranteed debt and low commodity prices.

⁹ Mia Swart, *A House of Justice for Africa: Resurrection of the SADC Tribunal*, 2018

¹⁰ It is designed to provide clear strategic direction with respect to SADC programmes, projects and activities in line with the SADC Common Agenda and strategic priorities, as enshrined in the SADC Treaty of 1992.

¹⁰ African Development Bank, *Southern Africa Economic Outlook: Macroeconomic performance and prospects*, 2020



THE PARADOX OF PLENTY IN AFRICA

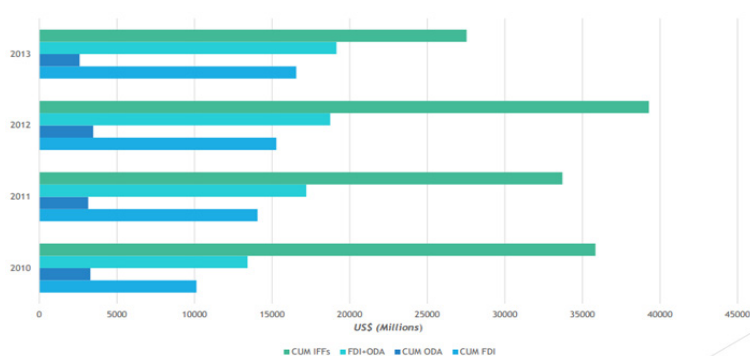
With the continent possessing 10 percent of the world's oil reserves, 40 percent of gold ore, and no less than ⁹⁵ percent of platinum group metals, Africa lags behind in terms of mobilising resources to finance its own development. Too often, these resources have become a disincentive for growth and not an opportunity as expected. Notwithstanding the varying degrees in the different SADC countries, natural resource rich countries are faced with challenges of corruption, politicization of the sector, state capture, resources being vested in the hands of individuals rather than the state, lack of geo-data, exclusion of communities, lack of transparency and accountability, and poor access to information among others. The opacity in contract and contract negotiation limits the ability of most member states to benefit from the extractive sector. Contracts are negotiated behind closed doors, Parliaments are never fully equipped to play oversight on these contracts. They are not open and competitive, and as a result, there are stabilisation and confidentiality clauses which limit the ability of the state to review and publish contracts respectively. The opacity of these contracts leads to tax evasion and avoidance, which drain African resources to the rest of the world, particularly to tax havens and complex multinational ownership structures. The AfDB argues that of the estimated US\$ 50 billion leaving the continent through illicit financial flows, 56% is channelled out of the extractive industry.

The continued “race to the bottom” syndrome where African countries compete for investors by reducing royalties, resource rents and tax rates exacerbate the situation. Resultantly, the inability of Africa to mobilise domestic resources has incapacitated the continent from providing the public goods and services to its people, mainly in education, health and sanitation. The Natural Resource Institute suggest that “resource-rich governments have a tendency to overspend on government salaries, inefficient fuel subsidies and large monuments and to underspend on health, education and other social services”. This has seen most Heads of States and Government in the region shunning their own education and health institutions in pursuit of the same services abroad. This leaves the most poor and vulnerable with no option but to use what is available to them locally and often the services are of a lower standard.



ILLICIT FINANCIAL FLOWS BLEEDING THE SADC REGION

The SADC region lost about US\$314 billion to illicit financial flows in 10 years to 2013, with South Africa, alone, losing the highest amount of US\$209 billion . Now, more than ever, policymakers at the national, regional and global levels must address the core issues surrounding illicit financial flows, which reduce Africa's ability to finance its development including unfavourable natural-resource governance models, tax evasion and avoidance, as well as weak national financial institutions . The amount that SADC received in Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) between 2010 and 2013 jointly fell short of the amount of IFFs from the region during the same period.



Source: Kudakwashe Mafigo, 2019

The failure to tax multinational corporations places an extra tax burden on other economic agencies especially ordinary citizens through indirect taxes. Illicit resource outflows reduce the total development resource base, and governments are forced to plug the gap with higher taxes that disproportionately fall on the poorest in society, as well as austerity measures that constrain the provision of public goods and services. In other words, illicit financial flows compromise the rights of citizens to health, education, social security, water and sanitation and the right to food as governments are left with few resources to finance their budgets. This has also seen

huge budget deficits in the region which triggered countries to borrow externally and domestically. The region is failing to finance the huge infrastructure gap which was estimated at R800 billion as of 2011 , as member states suffer from massive load shedding which has far reaching consequences on productivity and ultimately sustainable development.

¹² Kudakwashe Mafigo, *Illicit Financial Flows: Trends, Causes, Economic Links and Remedies: Corruption and the Challenge of Economic Transformation in Southern Africa*, 2019

¹³ Tafadzwa Chikumbu et al, *Tackling Illicit Financial Flows From and Within Africa*, 2015

¹⁴ Kudakwashe Mafigo, *Illicit Financial Flows: Trends, Causes, Economic Links and Remedies: Corruption and the Challenge of Economic Transformation in Southern Africa*, 2019

¹⁵ Ajayi, S. I. (1997). "An Analysis of External Debt and Capital Flight in the Severely Indebted Low Income Countries in SubSaharan Africa," Washington DC: International Monetary Fund

DEBT CRISIS

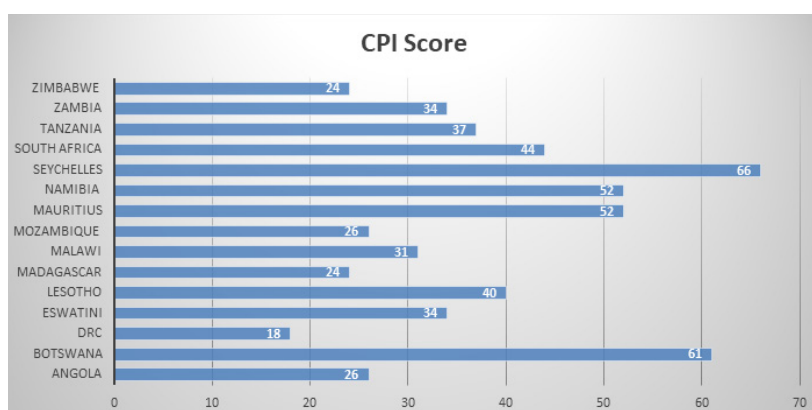
The World Bank estimates that 18 countries in sub-Saharan Africa are at high risk of debt distress. This figure has more than doubled since 2013. Of the 8 African countries already in debt distress, three are members of SADC (Mozambique, Republic of Congo and Zimbabwe) (World Bank, 2018). Mozambique's current account deficit of 23% of GDP and Debt to GDP ratio of 145% are a cause for concern. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) further estimates that public debt in SADC increased from 34.9% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2010 to 54.9% in 2018. The high and rising debt created debt vulnerabilities for many African countries. Some countries like Zambia and Zimbabwe are retrogressive in terms of improving debt transparency and accountability. The Constitutional Amendment of 2019 in Zambia and the proposed Constitutional Amendment No. 2 of 2019 for Zimbabwe which limit the role of parliament on government contracts, treaties and agreements is a blow in the face of democracy with far reaching consequences on debt sustainability. A huge debt burden in Africa limits the ability of the continent to finance the US\$2.5 trillion annual investment gap in key sustainable development sectors as most countries divert resources meant for public service delivery towards debt





CORRUPTION

SADC countries are reluctant to pay appropriate and consistent attention to the multidimensional threats of corruption. The high levels of corruption in SADC are despite the existence of a dedicated SADC Anti-Corruption Sub-Committee (SACC) Task Team and the Protocol Against Corruption of 2001 which is mandated to promote and strengthen the development, within each Member State, of mechanisms needed to prevent, detect, punish and eradicate corruption in the public and private sector. SADC has failed to facilitate and regulate cooperation in matters of corruption amongst Member States and foster development and harmonisation of policies and domestic legislation related to corruption as stipulated in the protocol itself. At national level, SADC member states have established various mechanisms, laws, policies and institutions to 'prevent, detect, punish and eradicate corruption'. Anti-corruption agencies have been set up in at least each member state, despite taking different forms in line with the United Nations Convention Against Corruption and the SADC Protocol Against Corruption which members are signatory to. This notwithstanding, corruption has not abated (OSISA, 2017). According to the 2019 Corruption Perception Index (CPI), only Seychelles (66%), Botswana (61%), Namibia and Mauritius (both at 52%) have an index of above 50% in the SADC region. The majority are ranked high in terms of corruption with DRC (18%) being the worst in the region followed by Zimbabwe and Madagascar at 24%. Refer to Figure 2 below. CPI is an index, which ranks 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of public sector corruption according to experts and businesspeople, uses a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 is highly corrupt and 100 is very clean. (Transparency International, 2018).



Source: SAPSN compilation based on Transparency International CPI Index, 2020

The DRC which is the least on the Corruption Perception Index is a state party to the UNCAC and the SADC Protocol. It also signed and ratified the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (AUCPCC), which is now binding on the DRC. However, it does not comply with these instruments (OSSISA, 2017. Corruption in the DRC is therefore rampant across government structures including the lower tiers of government, the judiciary, civil service and state owned enterprises. This is the case in Zimbabwe which is a signatory to the regional and international conventions against corruption. Despite efforts to enhance the capacity and effectiveness of the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission, the weaknesses in the fight against corruption are attributed to lack of political will by those in power, who in most cases are implicated in the major corruption scandals. Lack of political will breeds impunity and is making it difficult for government to address despite the commitment from the Office of the President and Cabinet. Comparatively, Botswana which is faring well on the Corruption Perception Index with a ranking of 61/100, it has one of the strongest anti-corruption institution Botswana Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC) which has helped the country gain reputation as one of the top performers in terms of governance indicators.

High levels of corruption in Angola, DRC, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe is associated with retarded social, political, and economic development, inability to deliver social services as public funds are illegally diverted to private use, poor governance, political instability, and lack of rule of law. Corruption undermines economic development by generating considerable distortions and inefficiencies. Corruption results in loss of resources and prejudices the fulfilment of citizens' rights. It is of concern to note that corruption in the region has led to a decline in economic growth and reduction in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Corrupt activities have brought about the slowing down of a once robust South African economy as witnessed by the setting up of a Commission of Inquiry on State Capture to tackle corruption issues. In Zimbabwe, the economy has plunged into a recession owing to unclear policy formulation, drought, severe shortages of local and foreign currency and high inflation. Namibia (which seemed to have low corruption cases) has not been spared either with two government ministers resigning in 2019 following allegations of corruption and money laundering in the Namibian fish industry. SADC economies have been characterised by a lack of transparency in public resource governance and rampant impunity of the ruling political parties which has often resulted in economic meltdown. Governments in the region continue to protect

¹⁶ Southern African Regional Universities Association (SARUA), downloaded from <https://www.sarua.org/?q=content/initiative-bridge-sadc-infrastructure-gap>

¹⁷ UNCTAD (2014) World Investment Report, http://unctad.org/en/PublicationChapters/wir2014ch4_en.pdf

¹⁸ SADC Secretariat downloaded from <https://www.sadc.int/documents-publications/show/>

business interests of multinational companies, particularly in the extractives sector thus promoting unsustainable extractivism at the expense of future generations. While the region is resource rich (with the exception of Malawi which is reliant on agriculture) with capabilities of sustaining itself through prudent natural resource governance, this has not been the case. Through corrupt activities, minerals continue to be looted with no benefits for the locals and communities. The mismanagement of mineral resources has seen some economies relying on economic assistance from the IMF, the World Bank, and individual donor nations. As such, the region is faced with a myriad of economic challenges with no solution in sight.

²³Article 11 of the SPAC, provides for institutional arrangements for implementation of SPAC through the setting up of a Committee to oversee implementation.

²⁴ SADC Resource Mobilisation Strategy: https://www.sadc.int/files/1913/7234/8601/SADC_RMS__English_Booklet.pdf



HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Poverty and underdevelopment remain daunting challenges for social and human development in the SADC region. According to the International Council on Social Welfare, approximately half of the population lives below the international poverty datum line of US \$1 per day). Poverty is further worsened by high levels of diseases, in particular HIV and AIDS. HIV and AIDS remains a major challenge in the SADC region affecting significant numbers of adolescents and young people, predominantly females. Furthermore, high poverty levels in the region is also fuelled by climate change as witnessed by Cyclone Idai which wreaked havoc in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi in 2019. The cyclone caused a serious humanitarian crisis which saw more than 1 300 people dead and many others unaccounted for. The cyclone not only brought with it human displacements but also food insecurity in the region with Zimbabwe having not recovered to date. The region has been plagued by social inequality with hunger, malnutrition, gender inequalities and exploitation further contributing to inequality in the region. To compound the situation, the region has high unemployment and low industrial growth which have seen high levels of migration of skilled labour to countries outside of Africa. Social service provision is being threatened under privatisation in various forms including Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) which are being adopted in key sectors such as health, education and water, and sanitation. All these challenges affect the marginalised groups with people with disabilities, women, youths, small holder farmers, artisanal small-scale miners and informal traders bearing the brunt of the uneven social strata.

Based on the United Nations (UN) Human Development Index (HDI), Comoros, DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique and Tanzania are classified under low human development whilst Angola, Eswatini, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe fall under medium human development.

Only Botswana, Mauritius and South Africa are classified under high human development. Seychelles is an outlier in the region with very high human development indicators. The Human Development Index (HDI) is a statistical tool used to measure a country's overall achievement in its social and economic dimensions. The social and economic dimensions of a country are based on the health of people, their level of education attainment and their standard of living.

Human Development Index in SADC Region

Country	Rank out of 189 countries	Human Development Index
Very High Human Development Index		
Seychelles	62	0.80
High Human Development Index		
Mauritius	66	0.79
Botswana	94	0.73
South Africa	113	0.71
Medium Human Development Index		
Namibia	130	0.65
Eswatini	138	0.61
Zambia	143	0.59
Angola	149	0.57
Zimbabwe	150	0.56
Low Human Development Index		
Comoros	156	0.53
Tanzania	159	0.52
Madagascar	162	0.51
Lesotho	164	0.49
Malawi	172	0.46
Democratic Republic of Congo	179	0.45
Mozambique	180	

Source: United Nations, Human Development index 2019, 2020

In the absence of citizen agency, the realisation of equitable, sustainable and inclusive development will remain a pipedream in the region. It is however unfortunate that the marginalised and disempowered groups are the ones who suffer the most. The emergency of the novel coronavirus has further exposed the region with many member states failing to respond adequately leaving the masses struggling for survival especially in the wake of national lockdowns. In countries like Angola, DRC, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe which have weak social safety nets the poor and marginalised groups are worst affected. Although uneven across the region, the public health systems cannot cope with the current burden of disease. State coffers in most parts of the region are in deep crisis with government budgets unable to meet existing challenges and completely dependent on donor aid. We have already seen the failure to deal with several cholera outbreaks, Ebola, which struck the Democratic Republic of Congo and other countries in Central Africa, showing the incapacity of the governments to deal with crises of such magnitude. Emerging from this crisis, it is given that all the human development indices in the region will be worse off due to the looming global economic recession which impacts on official development assistance which most member states rely on.



GENDER INEQUALITY

Countries in Southern Africa have signed and ratified a number of regional and international instruments that call for gender equality for example the Beijing Declaration of 1993 and the SADC Gender Protocol of 2008 and reviewed in 2016. All these are efforts within the region to address the disparities that exist between men and women and to challenge the socio-economic structures that create inequality and ignore gender equality (UN, ECOSOC, 1997). However; in spite of the existence of these progressive instruments, the achievement of gender equality is still a mirage in Southern Africa, yet it remains central in the fight against poverty and inequality. Despite the substantial achievements made in some countries, like Namibia and South Africa in terms of legal equality and despite the progress made in terms of women's representation in politics in some countries, patriarchal cultures and customs remain dominant and women continue to be side-lined from participating in economic governance and developmental processes. It is important to note that the full realization of women's rights requires the availability of financial resources. In the majority of SADC countries, however; prospects for improving the wellbeing of its people remain poor because of limited access to resources. Women and girls have limited access to critical services such as healthcare, education, social protection as well as water and sanitation. Moreover, the burden of unpaid care work is still unequally shared between men and women across the region with women shouldering the burden. The extent to which a country achieves its social and economic objectives depends not only on the amount of paid work its people do but also on the amount of unpaid work its people do. It is women who have to go out of their way in subsidizing and providing for social services that could have been provided for by the government. These include providing care for the sick and the elderly, looking for alternative sources of water and energy among others. However, worrying to note is that these significant contributions to the care economy is not paid for, let alone recognised.



DISASTER RISK REDUCTION AND MANAGEMENT

SADC member states are vulnerable to natural disasters ranging from cyclones, droughts and health epidemics and pandemics such as HIV/AIDS, Ebola, cholera, malaria and typhoid. Social and economic under-development in the region has undermined the ability of the region to deal with these disasters and emergencies limiting the ability of SADC to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) among other development aspirations. SADC secretariat identified the following challenges limiting the ability of the region in its preparedness, mitigation, response, rehabilitation and recovery from natural disasters and emergencies;

- Institutional frameworks for Disaster Risk Reduction at the regional, national and, in some cases, local/community level, which are often under funded and not coordinated;
- Lack of comprehensive and constantly updated risk assessments and analysis;
- Weak information and knowledge management systems, specifically in high risk areas; and
- The need to reduce underlying risk factors

The preparedness, mitigation, response, rehabilitation and recovery from natural disasters and emergencies are constrained by the absence of a dedicated SADC protocol on disaster risk reduction and management. The region currently relies on the following frameworks which have failed to inform decisions on mitigating against the implications of these disasters and emergencies;

- Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation particularly Article 2 which states that a specific objective of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation shall be to “enhance regional capacity in respect of disaster management and co-ordination of international humanitarian assistance.”
- Article 25 of the Protocol on Health (1999) on Emergency Health Services and Disaster Management which provides that State Parties shall: (i) co-operate and assist each other in the co-ordination and management of disaster and emergency situations; (ii) collaborate and facilitate regional efforts in developing awareness, risk reduction, preparedness and management plans for natural and man-made disasters; and (iii) develop mechanisms for co-operation and assistance with emergency services.

- Regional Water Policy (1995) which includes policy provisions covering people's protection from water related disasters, including personal security and property protection, disaster prediction, management and mitigation.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) warns that global warming will continue to worsen and SADC is one of the most affected regions of the world. SADC Member States continue grappling with highly variable, erratic and unpredictable rainfall and increasing temperature coupled with an increasing trend in climate-related extreme events such as frequent droughts, cyclones, floods and heat waves. Climate change poses serious threats to sustainable development at national and regional level. The occurrence of floods, droughts and cyclones may damage infrastructure, destroy agricultural crops, disrupt livelihoods, and cause loss of life. The recent cyclone Idai left a trail of destruction in Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Mercy Corps estimates that three million people in Southern Africa have been affected by the cyclone. The table below is a breakdown of the implications of cyclone Idai in Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe;

Malawi	Zimbabwe	Mozambique
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 840 000 impacted • 54 deaths • 577 injured • 94000 displaced 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 270 000 affected • 344 deaths • Hundreds missing • 90 000 in need of shelter assistance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 200 deaths • 1400 injured • 14000 houses destroyed • Thousands of people displaced

Source: Mercy Corps, April 2019

Extreme poverty, COVID-19, HIV and AIDS, gender inequality, lack of access to resources and services, limited technological means, lack of efficient governance, conflicts and wars, fragmented health services, low levels of education, water and food insecurity, frequent natural disasters such as cyclones, droughts and floods and dependence on rain-fed agriculture increases the vulnerability of SADC countries to climate change and other natural disasters and emergencies.

POLICY

OPTIONS

The policy recommendations outlined below will go a long way in ensuring the realisation of the region's social, economic, political and environmental development aspirations. While governments of Member States have the overall responsibility towards the achievement of regional commitments, the role of citizens should not be over emphasised.

1. Regional integration

In order to address the multidimensional and multi-sectorial challenges facing the SADC region and the member state, regional integration should be at the centre of sustainable development. Setting of

regional frameworks and protocols is not enough. The SADC member states must come up with clear frameworks for ensuring that the recommendations from the peer review reports are implemented at national level. This should be enforced across economic, political, environmental and social dimensions. In the wake of natural disasters and emergencies, concerted efforts accelerate efforts in the preparedness, mitigation, response, rehabilitation and recovery.

2. Strengthening Governance Institutions

- SADC countries should urgently repeal retrogressive statutes that promote partisan politics and polarization and focus on the promotion of democracy and national development;
- Member States must upgrade the SADC Principles and Guidelines on Democratic Elections to a protocol so that they are enforceable with clear sanctions for non-compliance by member states;
- Reinstate the SADC Tribunal to ensure it resolves both disputes between members states as well as between individuals and states.
- SADC must ensure the continuation and deepening of the political reform processes in member states in terms of human rights, democratization, constitutionalism, free and fair elections and protection of the rights of citizens;
- SADC Head of States must reform Article 24 of the SADC Treaty to clearly compel the SADC Secretariat to consult and recognize all civil society and social movements input in all decisions that affect SADC citizens

- Pursuant to Article 11 of the SADC Protocol against Corruption, SADC Member States should establish a Committee to oversee the implementation of the Protocol. This is long overdue considering the destructive effects of corruption in Southern Africa.

3. Sustainability of Funding in SADC

Domestic resource mobilisation is at the centre of sustainable development as it remains the most sustainable and reliable source of revenue at the disposal of the SADC member states. By raising resources domestically, SADC member states will wean themselves from overdependence on official development assistance and debt financing in the wake of the looming debt crisis in the region.

3.1 Domestic Resource Mobilisation

- The SADC Council of Finance Ministers must cause the development of enforcement mechanisms for the implementation of the SADC Resource Mobilisation Strategy among member states.
- There is need for SADC to ensure regional corporation on taxation including on automatic exchange of information with tax havens and avoid harmful tax competition.
- Strengthen accountability institutions such as the Audit offices and the members of parliament in order to safeguard public resources.
- SADC countries must renegotiate contracts entered into by Trans-National Companies (TNCs) and Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) to ensure that the revenue mobilized from these contracts is shared and redistributed fairly and equally for national development with the main aim of fulfilling the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs);

3.2 Debt Sustainability

- Enforce the debt sustainability threshold for SADC which is at 60% of GDP.
- Strengthen debt management institutions to ensure that they fulfil their mandate to ensure availability of data on Public and Publicly Guaranteed sovereign debt and on the total external debt obligations of economies, and more comprehensive quarterly publication of debt information.
- SAPSN urges SADC governments to engage in prudent debt contraction and management; avoid expensive means of borrowing such as commercial, private sector using Euro Bonds which are short-term;
- SADC governments should avoid unproductive debt such as borrowing for consumption purposes and repayment of previous odious and illegitimate debts but rather borrow for long term investments to fight inequality and reduce poverty.

3.3 Natural Resource Governance

- SADC member states should invest in value addition and beneficiation of oil, gas and minerals in order to optimise on the natural resources in their jurisdictions.
- Implement and enforce transparent and accountable frameworks in the natural resource sector such as the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) to ensure government and corporate disclosure of information in the oil, gas and mining sectors.
- SADC should design a dedicated capacity building training for contract negotiators to ensure the viability of mining, oil and gas contracts

4. Embracing Inclusion in development

SADC member states must ensure integration of gender, positive youth development and social inclusion in program interventions. This can be achieved through the following;

- Enforce the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development of 2008 which provides for the empowerment of women, to eliminate discrimination and to achieve gender equality and equity through the development and implementation of gender responsive legislation, policies, programmes and projects. This entails integrating gender into all sectors of the economy, promoting women's representation and participation in all political and decision making positions and increase women access to resources, including land.

- There is need for SADC member States through Ministries responsible for youth to come up with youth-oriented programmes which nurture entrepreneurial skills suitable for the sustenance of

small and medium enterprises. This must be coupled by ensuring skills development, financial support and creating conducive environment for youth investment. This will go a long way in generating and sustaining youth employment in the region.

- Youth are an important constituency in the development matrix of SADC and as such have to participate in setting their priorities as well as implementation, monitoring and evaluation and provision of oversight in government programmes. The adoption of the youth aspirations is not an end in itself but a process of building public accountability.

- SADC member states must come up with a framework for transitioning from informal economy to formal economy in line with the Article 204 of the ILO recommendations in order to a) facilitate the transition of workers and economic units from the informal to the formal economy, while respecting workers' fundamental rights and ensuring opportunities for income security, livelihoods and entrepreneurship; (b) promote the creation, preservation and sustainability of enterprises and decent jobs in the formal economy and the coherence of macroeconomic, employment, social protection and other social policies; and (c) prevent the informalization of formal economy jobs.

5. **Enhancing Disaster Risk Reduction and Management**

- To enhance the preparedness of SADC member states in mitigation, response, rehabilitation and recovery from natural disasters and emergencies, there is need for the promulgation and adoption of a SADC protocol on Disaster Risk Reduction and Management. This must be informed by the strengths and weaknesses identified in the member states based on past experiences.

- In the wake of increasing threats associated with climate change, there is an urgent need for SADC member States to promulgate a framework to implement climate change mitigation and adaptation actions, with financial resources that come from public, private and alternative sources consistent the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

6. **Provision of Social Services**

- In light of deteriorating public service delivery, SADC member States must conduct a needs assessment on the public services in their respective countries in order to inform the financing and infrastructure needs therein. In addition efforts towards addressing public service delivery gaps must be in line with international and regional benchmarks including Abuja Declaration (15% towards health), Maputo Declaration (10% towards agriculture) and Dakar Declaration (20% towards education).

- In order to address the varying needs of the vulnerable groups and bridge the inequality gap, the SADC member states must adopt a "rights based approach" to budgeting in which policy choices are made on the basis of transparency, accountability, non-discrimination and participation. This will ensure that the budget respect the needs and aspirations of citizens of the region.



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