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THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

Southern Africa is, in general, experiencing a period of positive transition. There are some drawbacks, delays in the democratisation process in South Africa, the human rights situation in Malawi, but also encouraging developments, such as those in Angola since May 1991 and in Mozambique more recently. Through our ongoing commitments to the SADC states under the Lomé Convention, and through the Special Programme for South Africa, the Commission is seeking to assist the region in this process of transition.

1. Political Developments in South Africa

The political developments in South Africa moved from hope to uncertainty over the last months, although the recent meeting between Mandela and de Klerk gives again reason for hope.

During the preparation to CODESA II in May of this year, in which the European Community participated as an official observer, it became evident that it would be difficult to reach agreement on fundamental issues. These included the vital area of the decision making arrangements for the Constitution making body. What is at stake is not a simple question of one percentage compared to another. It is a more fundamental divide between alternative conceptions of government: power-sharing versus majority rule. But, despite disagreement of this nature, the European Community was hopeful that the dialogue would continue between the government of South Africa and the ANC for a peaceful settlement of outstanding issues.

But, parallel to the constitutional talks, the violence in South Africa continued. And this despite the undertaking by all main political parties in South Africa through the National Peace Accord to bring an end to violence.

Boipatong, Bisho and the other cases of violence underlined the importance of international observers, not only for the investigations of the incidences of violence as undertaken by the Goldstone Commission, but more generally for deployment in areas of tension.

A European Community Troika visited South Africa 2 — 3 September 1992 in an attempt, among other, to encourage the parties to resume constitutional negotiations, to discuss with the political parties and other organisations ways to break the deadlock, and ways and means to reduce violence.

It is of course for South Africans themselves to resolve their problems, but the role of the international community is important in assisting in the process. This is why

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the European Community has agreed to provide 15 observers to be associated with structures of the National Peace Accord as part of the efforts to end the violence. The Community also agreed to provide 5 observers to the Goldstone Commission's independent investigation task force.

Despite these set-backs, the process towards the creation of a democratic, non-racial South African society must continue, and actions are urgently needed to get the process restarted. Not only the political development shows that time is of essence. The country's economy and society is running rapidly downhill.

It was therefore with great pleasure when we witnessed how quickly President de Klerk and President Mandela arranged to meet. We welcomed the Record of Understanding between the ANC and the Government and the renewed commitment to pursue negotiations. Although this is a step forward, we hope that some of the fundamental differences can be solved soon.

We have noted the rejection of the Record of Understanding by Chief Buthelezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party. It is of great importance that all parties, especially the Inkatha Freedom Party be brought into the negotiation process and would participate in the next round of Negotiations for a Democratic South Africa.

The solutions to these problems are in the hands of the South Africans themselves but the European Community will make every effort to facilitate the process.

2. Special Programme for victims of apartheid

The EC Special Programme for victims of apartheid was established within the framework of European Political Cooperation in 1985. It was decided that assistance should be channelled through non-violent organisations, the churches, the trade unions and Kagiso Trust.

The budget for the „Positive Measures“ programme has increased steadily since 1986 and now amounts to 80 Mio. ECU for 1992. You will appreciate that the Special Programme currently is the European Community's largest programmable development programme in Africa.

In this respect, I should underline the importance the European Parliament has played; not only in the establishment of the Special Programme but also the support it has given to the programme through the past 7 years.

Given the changing situation in South Africa, the Commission opened a Programme Coordination Office in Pretoria.

The reorientation of the Special Programme in mid 1991 required the Commission to move from a project to a more programme based approach and to encourage a shift in emphasis from politically orientated projects to programmes of a more developmental character, and also to increase involvement in education projects.

From 1986 to mid 1991 an amount of 130.7 Mio. ECU covering 402 projects has been implemented exclusively through the 4 traditional South African channels. The main areas of involvement was human and social assistance, training and education and legal assistance.

With the change to a more development oriented programme since mid-1991 approval of 115 projects for a total of 101,3 Mio. ECU has been made. The main

sector remains training and education while rural development and agriculture show an increased importance. The previous sectors humanitarian, social and legal assistance have not been neglected.

The grand total is that from 1986 to date the Special Programme has financed 517 projects to date for a total of 231 Mio. ECU.

Let me end by saying that the Special Programme is indeed special. It has operated under immense difficulties, but despite the difficulties, the programme has enabled development to reach the under-privileged in the South African society. But this is not achieved by the Community alone. Without the tremendous efforts of the European NGO's, our South African Partners and the support of the European Parliament we would not have achieved what we have today.

3. The Southern Africa regional context

I wish to note that during the SADCC summit that took place in Windhoek last August, new steps were taken in Southern Africa to strengthen regional cooperation and integration. In fact, the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference — SADCC — has become the Southern Africa Development Community.

The European Community wishes the new Southern African Development Community welcome and hopes it will strengthen even further the cooperation between the southern African countries, also taking into account the development taking place in South Africa. The European Community will continue its cooperation with SADC as it has done with SADCC, as well as with PTA.

The Community — through the Lomé Convention and its general budget — has provided substantial assistance to Southern Africa. During the period 1985 — 1990, it is estimated that the European Community provided more than 1,7 billion ECUs to Southern Africa alone, more than US\$ 2 billion.

These amounts reflect the importance the EC attaches to the development in the region.

For the period 1990 — 1995 Community regional aid will focus on transport and communication; food, agriculture and natural resources; human resources and trade development and business activities.

At the moment that the region strives to deal with the worst drought experienced since the early years of the century, the Community is providing during 1992 around 770,000 tons of food aid (at a cost including transport of some 220 Mio. ECU) to Southern Africa.

4. Angola

With the agreements reached in May 91 between the Government and UNITA, Angola embarked on a genuine peace process, which led to elections being held last week.

This process has been closely followed and supported by the Community and its Member States, along the policy lines defined in the framework of European Political

Cooperation and according to the conclusions of the Development Council of 28th November 1991.

This European support has been both political and financial. On the political side I recall the joint visit to Angola of the „Community Development Troika“, under the Portuguese presidency in February this year.

The European support to the Angola peace process also has a financial dimension: in the context of a COMMUNITY PLATFORM it assists Angola's social and economic reconstruction. This platform established a coordination between the Community and its Member States in order to support Angola in its process of economic and social rehabilitation, including the reintegration of returning refugees, displaced persons and demobilised soldiers (together 1 million people) and support to the election process. The contribution of the Community for 1992/93 amounted to 70 million ECUs.

The Commission supported heavily the elections, making use of a new special budget line and the indicative aid programme (total support 5 Mio. ECU). We are happy that this support, especially in the logistical field (helicopters and air planes) contributed to the success and the high participation of voters in these elections.

Although the elections took place in a peaceful, quiet and responsible atmosphere, which was confirmed by the observers (including European parliamentarians), we received unfortunately some disturbing information that results might not be accepted by one of the parties. We sincerely hope that results will be respected by all participating parties and real durable peace and full democracy established. This is the only basis for long term sustainable and fair development.

5. Mozambique

As you know, regarding Mozambique things went finally well and a General Peace Agreement has been signed on the last Sunday, 4th of October. The Community and its member states have fully supported the peace process and are happy that the cease-fire will finally arrive very soon. The role of Italy, the San Egidio community and some Presidents of the Southern Africa region has to be underlined.

During the war, the Community has financed with all its possible means, refugees, displaced people and more generally the population affected by the war. The Commission will contribute to the support of pacification of the country during the very sensitive phase of post-war but also the phase of reconstruction.

Two years ago Vice-President Marin promised President Chissano of Mozambique that the Commission is willing, on request of the Government, to prepare and host a donor conference on the economic and social reconstruction of Mozambique.

The General Peace Agreement is a first step in a new development of Mozambique, but we realise also that it is the start of integration, economic rehabilitation and democratisation. The European Community is ready to contribute to this new and exciting challenge.

6. Conclusion

As you realise, the involvement of the Community, in development as well as in political terms, is important in the Southern African region and will continue to be so. It will be adapted to the evolving political and economic developments in this part of Africa, which is closely followed by the Commission.

Jacob Houtman, Head of Southern Africa Division, Commission of the European Communities

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AUTORENNOTIZ

Markus BRUNNER,

geb. 1965; Abschluß des Studiums der Volkswirtschaftslehre an der Universität Innsbruck im Juni 1992 mit einer Diplomarbeit über „Entwicklung als Mittel zur Durchstaatlichung in Guatemala von 1970 bis 1990“ (Betreuerin: Univ.-Prof. Dr. Claudia von Werlhof); von 1990 bis 1992 Mitarbeit an einem Forschungsprojekt zu Österreichs Beziehungen zu Guatemala (gemeinsam mit Wolfgang Dietrich und Martina Kaller); zur Zeit auf Jobsuche. Publikationen: unter anderem Mitherausgeber und -übersetzer von Gustavo Esteva: *Fiesta — jenseits von Entwicklung, Hilfe und Politik*. Brandes & Apsel/Südwind, Frankfurt/Wien, 1992 sowie Mitautor mit (W. Dietrich und M. Kaller) von „Projekt Guatemala“ — *Vordergründe und Hintergründe der österreichischen Wahrnehmung eines zentralamerikanischen Landes*. Brandes & Apsel, Frankfurt, erscheint im März 1993).

John-ren CHEN,

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Brigitte EDERER,

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Dietmar LARCHER,

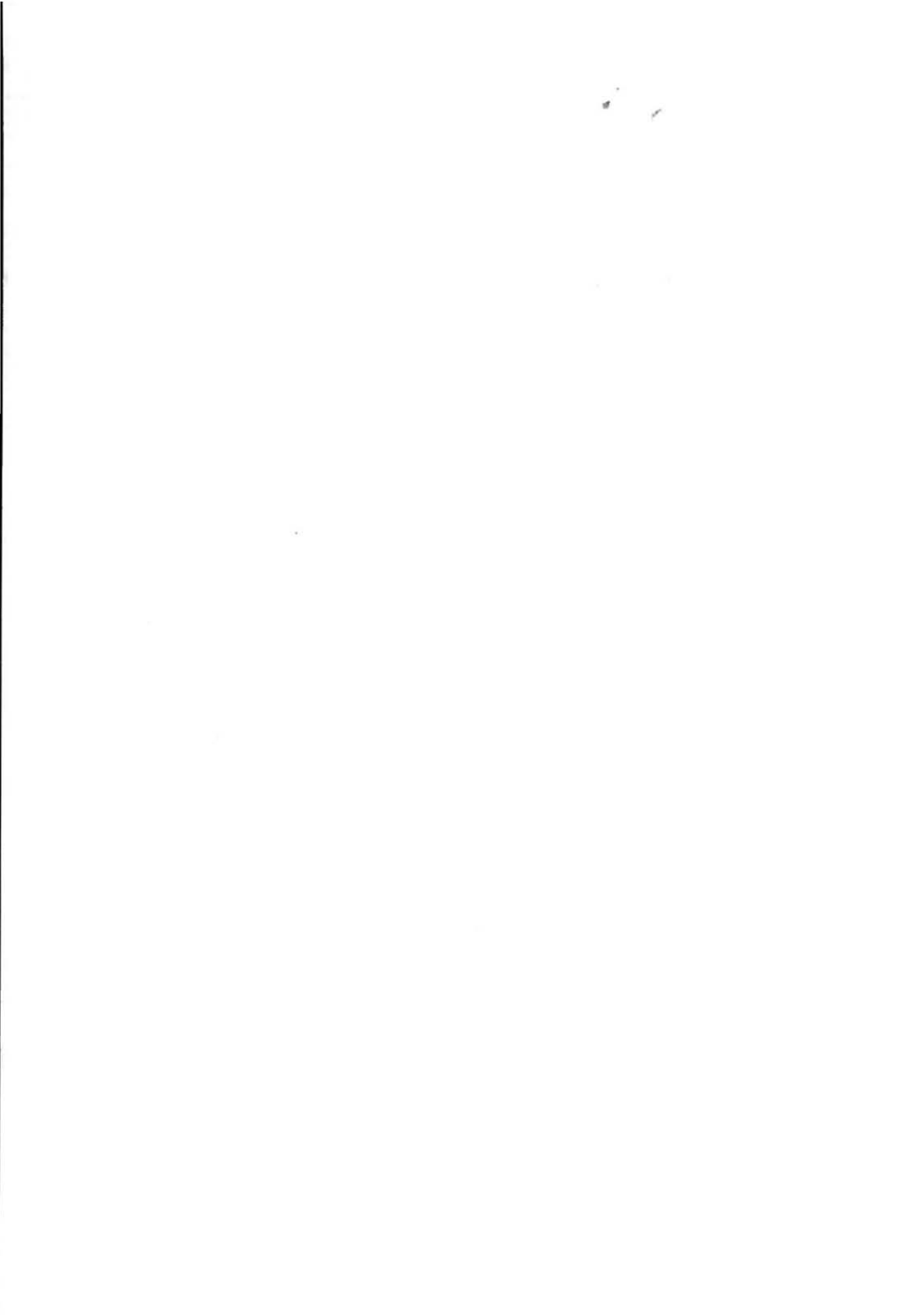
lehrt Erziehungswissenschaft an der Universität Klagenfurt. Sein Schwerpunkt in Forschung und Lehre ist Interkulturalität. Seine eigenen Kulturschocks, die ihn geprägt haben, erfuhr er beim Leben in einem US-amerikanischen Schwarzenghetto, bei der Übersiedlung von Tirol nach Kärnten und beim Durchstreifen des östlichen Nicaragua. Davon berichtet sein neues Buch: Kulturschock. Fallgeschichten aus dem sozialen Dschungel. Bozen/Bolzano: Edizione Alpha & Beta. Bozen 1992. Andere einschlägige Titel: Zweisprachigkeit und Identität (gemeinsam mit Boeckmann, Brunner, Egger, Gombos, Juric), Fremde in der Nähe; beide bei Drava in Klagenfurt/Celovec erschienen.

Erna PFEIFFER,

geb. 1953, Dolmetschstudium aus Spanisch, anschließend Doktoratsstudium aus Romanistik und Slavistik, 1982 Promotion sub auspiciis praesidentis. Mehrere Studienaufenthalte in Spanien und Lateinamerika; derzeit Assistentin am Institut für Romanistik der Universität Graz. Arbeitsschwerpunkte: Spanische und lateinamerikanische Literaturwissenschaft mit besonderer Berücksichtigung sozialpolitischer Fragestellungen (Dritte-Welt-Problematik, Geburtenkontrolle, Machismo etc.), Frauenforschung, Fachdidaktik des Spanischen. Nebenberuflich literarische Übersetzerin: u.a. *Tristana*, von Benito Pérez Galdós (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1989, 1991), *AMORica Latina: Mein Kontinent — mein Körper. Erotische Texte lateinamerikanischer Autorinnen*, hg. und übers. v. E. Pfeiffer (Wien: Wiener Frauenverlag, 1991). Wichtigste wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen: Dissertation: *Literarische Struktur und Realitätsbezug im kolumbianischen Violencia-Roman* (Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 1984). (zus. mit Hugo Kubarth): *Canticum Ibericum. Neuere spanische, portugiesische und lateinamerikanische Literatur im Spiegel von Interpretation und Übersetzung*. (Frankfurt/M.: Klaus Dieter Vervuert, 1991). *Entre Vistas. Diez escritoras mexicanas desde bastidores*. Frankfurt/M.: Claus Dieter Vervuert, 1992. Daneben zahlreiche Artikel in Zeitschriften und Sammelbänden.

Osvaldo SUNKEL,

Professor Osvaldo Sunkel was born in Chile, in 1929. He studied Economics at the University of Chile and the London School of Economics. He joined the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) in 1955. Until 1973 he was Professor of Economic Development, at the Chilean National University and the Catholic University of Chile. From 1978 till 1988 he was co-ordinator of the ECLAC/UNEP Development and Environment Programme. He is now a Special Advisor to the Executive Secretary of ECLAC (Santiago). He is the author of several books and articles on inflation, development, planning, international relations, economic history and environment. His best known book is *El subdesarrollo latinoamericano y la teoría del desarrollo*.



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