

**AN EVALUATION OF 25 YEARS OF REGIONAL COOPERATION AND
INTEGRATION IN AFRICA: WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE SADC
REGION.**

BY

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*This Mini- Dissertation is dedicated to My Father, Segomotso Sesa;
My Mother Neo Maele; to My Kids Katlego and Katlo; and to all My
Southern- African Sisters and Brothers.*

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Leonard Lenna Sesa

January 2006



DECLARATION

I declare that this Mini- Dissertation for the Degree of Master of Social Sciences Political Studies and International Relations in the Department of Peace, Politics and International Relations hereby submitted, has not previously been submitted by me for any Degree programme at this or any other University, that it is my own work in design and that all material contained herein has been dully acknowledged.



L.L Sesa

ABSTRACT

Regional Integration amongst the countries of Southern Africa is experiencing a fundamental realignment in the post- apartheid era. In the early 1980's the Southern African countries were heavily dependent on countries throughout the world, economically and politically.

They could not influence the world events due to heavy reliance on imports for their needs and could not process most of their raw materials to finished goods. Most of all, the entire region was heavily dependent on apartheid South Africa for the market of their goods, export of labour and food imports. All the regional independent countries were undeveloped, poor with low literacy rates.

In the 25 years of its existence, SADC has made tremendous achievements in a number of areas of regional cooperation and integration notably, in the areas of governance, democracy, peace and security; infrastructure and services; trade, industry, finance and investment; food, agriculture and natural resources; and social and human development. Notwithstanding these achievements, our region still has a long way to go in order to emerge as an effective and competitive player in international relations and world markets.

The SADC major Achievements and Challenges is a one of its kind publication which not only showcases SADC's achievements during the past 25 years but elaborates on its roots as well as its challenges and way forward at this momentous stage of its being.

This study evaluates 25 years of regional integration and cooperation. It is composed of 5 chapters.

The first Chapter- Introduction- is the backdrop explaining what SADC is about as well as emphasizing the potential of the region.

In Chapter two- Regional integration in Southern Africa- the concept of regional integration in SADC and the costs/ benefits of regional integration in general.

Chapter three- The Achievements of SADC - is the core of the research. It provides an overview of the major achievements of SADC during the past 25 years and includes the main intervention areas of the Directorates under the RISDP.

The Chapter covers the important aspects of the heart of regional integration and ends with the cooperation between SADC and the International Cooperating Partners.

Chapter four- Challenges - elaborates the key economic, social, and political challenges as well as some institutional and integration challenges. It also explains how the RISDP and SIPO respond to these challenges.

Lastly, Chapter five, Summary, findings, conclusion and recommendations that highlights priority areas for action by SADC in order to achieve its vision.

This research analyses the principal factors, both international and regional. The factors identified are analysed in relation to Southern Africa's most important political arrangement. Given the multiplicity of regional institutions, particular attention is given to an analysis of the relevance of the 'variable geometry' and multi- speed' approaches to integration. It is argued that the existing political infrastructure supporting regional integration has the potential to promote rivalry between the various regional arrangements, and ultimately, their member states.

'SADC belong to the people of our region and we must serve them with a greater sense of urgency to meet their needs'

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ACRONYMS/ ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------|--|
| ACCORD | African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes |
| ACP | African Caribbean and Pacific |
| AU | African Union |
| AUC | Arab Unity Council |
| AISA | African Institute of Southern Africa |
| BMC | Botswana Meat Commission |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| EAC | East African Community |
| EC | Eastern Union |
| .EU | European Union |
| FATMECSA | Pan African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa |
| GNP | Gross National Product |
| GNU | Government of National Unity |
| GSPs | Generalized System of Preferences |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| ITT | International Telephone and Telegraphs |
| MNCs | Multinational Corporations |
| NEPAD | New Partnership for Africa's Development |

| | |
|--------|--|
| NICs | Newly Industrialized Countries |
| NIEO | New International Economic Order |
| NTB | Non Tariff Barriers |
| OAU | Organization of African Unity |
| RAP | Rights Accumulation Program |
| RECs | Regional Economic Communities |
| RISDP | Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan |
| SPA | SADCC Program of Action |
| SADCC | Southern African Development Coordination Conference |
| SADC | Southern African Development Community |
| SACU | Southern African Customs Union |
| TRIMs | Trade- Related Investment Measures |
| TRIPs | Trade- Related Intellectual Property Rights |
| UNCTAD | United National Conference on Trade and Development |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UN | United Nations |
| USA | United States of America |
| VERs | Voluntary Export Restraints |
| WB | World Bank |
| WHO | World Health Organization |
| WTO | World Trade Organization |

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background

It was a special year for SADC as the organization celebrated its 25th anniversary in 2005. Arguably the most successful regional grouping in Africa. SADC prides itself in a history of unparalleled expansion in socio- economic and political integration.

Inspired and driven by the Front line States, the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was formally constituted in Lusaka in April 1980 with the principal objective of reducing dependence, especially on apartheid South Africa. Focusing on project development in transport and communication, and later food security, energy, industry and trade, the coordinating conference was largely successful in promoting self- reliance among its members (SADC Today, Vol.6. No.6, February 2005).

In response to changing regional and global trends, SADCC transformed to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) through the Windhoek Declaration and Treaty of 1992. This far-reaching transformation advanced the regional agenda from one of loose co-operation to deeper regional integration buttressed on legally binding sector protocols.

To date about 30 legal documents including sector protocols have been endorsed, with a significant number already being harmonized with national policies. Even more crucial, the market size has more than doubled over the years to 210 million consumers in 13

states. The challenge is to produce internationally competitive commodities to satisfy the enlarged economic space.

The Trans Kalahari Highway, which links Southern Africa from the east coast in Mozambique to the west coast in Namibia, is just one of many infrastructure projects that SADC has spearhead. On the political front, stronger democratic institutions have emerged as demonstrated by increasingly regular multi- party elections in the region. Political challenges, however, remain in Angola where first post- civil war elections are to take place, and Democratic Republic of Congo whose elections are scheduled on the 30th July 2006 being for the first time (Madukufamba, 2005:01).

The greatest challenge has been poverty eradication, and with it, HIV and AIDS. Overall, regional economic performance has not been sufficient to uplift the standard of living of the majority of citizens. But recent structural reforms, which have culminated in a centralized management structure and a more elaborate vision, have put SADC on a path of global competitiveness.

The idea of Regional Integration has been around in Africa even before Independence. The East African Community was established before Independence to promote Economic Cooperation and Integration. In the last few Decades, Regional Integration became more serious as a grand strategy for breaking out of underdevelopment and Dependence. It is generally assumed that this shift in emphasis found expression in United Nations Agencies' approach to Developing Countries (Clapham, 1998:47).

The experience of Regional Integration in Africa is that more Developed members benefit most from trade liberalization and Preferential Treatments. This tendency to monopolize benefits of integration was one of the problems that led to the collapse of the East African Community. In this case Kenya was where the benefits polarized much to the detriment of Tanzania and Uganda. A similar situation also became prevalent in the ECOWAS where Nigeria is so much more powerful than every member (Davies, 1997:28).

Where the Political will is strong such problems can be avoided to a large extent. Given the continent's unhealthy Political conflicts and competition amongst members, the Political will remains a mirage. There is no doubt that even within SADC similar problems exist, although unpronounced. Fourthly, members of Regional Groups would be export- oriented where primary products are in very little demand within the Regional Group.

There is no doubt that the formation of these Regional Groups in Africa had the best of intentions, hence the funding of ECOWAS in LAGOS in 1975 observed that it is important:

'To promote cooperation and development in all its fields of Economic Activity for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its peoples, increasing and maintaining economic stability, of fostering close relations amongst its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African Continent.'

Cooperation amongst African formations is needed for a number of reasons:

- To be strong enough to deal with the powerful multinational companies operating in Africa,
- To exert better terms from their Economic Relations with International Organizations, Development Agencies and other Regional Organizations such as the European Economic Community,
- Regional Cooperation is needed because the internal markets in Africa are generally too small,
- Cooperation will facilitate the expansion of markets, which in turn will aid industrialization,
- To mobilize more capital for Development to operate certain projects on a scale which make them economic,
- To achieve product specialization, which is, needed to increase Inter- African Trade, and
- Improve efficiency in the use of Human and Natural Resources (Baylis and Smith, 1997:44).

It is against these imperatives that Regional Organizations for Economic Cooperation have been formed at various times. These include the following:

- (a) Customs Union (Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho and South Africa),
- (b) East African Community (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda),
- (c) Arab Unity Council (Egypt, Sudan and Morocco),
- (d) Central African Customs and Economic Union (Central Africa Republic, the Congo, Gabon, The United Republic of The Cameroon),

- (e) Mano River Union (Liberia, Sierra Leone),
- (f) Union of Central African States (Chad and Zaire), and
- (g) Magrib Permanent Consultative Committee (Algeria, Mauritana Morocco and Tunisia).

The experience of the Regional Cooperation in Africa indicates that they have been successful in achieving certain objectives.

What are those achievements?

- ❖ They have been able to effect common defence of African States as producers,
- ❖ Facilitating improvements of communication between members in order to improve trade, and
- ❖ Willingness to give assistance to poorer regions within cooperating countries (Hansen and Emmanuel, 1987:603).

The fact that massive poverty continues in the continent should not deviate our attention from some of these achievements. Regional Integration will however contribute much more significantly to these goals through a very high degree of coordination of the economic policies and programmes of African countries. It is also important to make arrangement for economies amongst member states more complementary through product sharing and production Specialization.

Part of the failure to realize these imperatives are lack of coherent, strategic approach to problems affecting member states. There is a real leadership problem in the continent.

African Leaders are too insecure in their power. Former colonies and multinationals dictate adversely to measures which are needed to realize the coordination of development policies and the complementarity of their economies. In a sense, through Globalization, the state in third world countries, particularly Africa have become Powerless in the hands of multinationals.

The origins of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) have to be understood in the context of the historical, economic, political, social and cultural factors that have together contributed to the definition of what is today known as the Southern African region. First there is the geographic formation that lends itself to an identifiable landmass with physical features. Second, a history of people's who have mingled since time immemorial in this part of the earth. Both languages, all of which find their source in the Bantu root and a socio- cultural tradition that bears common purpose and collective action against colonialism evidence this (Maphanyane, 1993:42).

Fourth, the struggle for national independence based on African nationalism and the twin objectives of African Liberation and African Unity has a spirit of political and cultural symbiosis whose most poignant expression is the Front Line States. The shared personal and national experiences for the cause of brotherhood and friendship and a sense of common destiny across the region. Fifth, South Africa, which on the basis of both its historical genesis and its economic and military hegemony over the rest of the region has also become a unifying factor in the definition and development of Southern Africa. All

these factors contributed to the foundation of a distinct Southern African personality and identity, which underpinned first political solidarity and later economic cooperation.

The Southern African Development Community comprises of Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It is a diverse group of nations, ranging from least developed countries, Small Island and land-locked states to countries with vast landmasses and resources and with considerable potential.

SADC nations represent a growing family with dynamic complementarities and the potential to become a united trading block, ready to take on the opportunities and challenges presented by globalization and the multilateral trading system. SADC also represents a union of countries determined to forge ahead toward a brighter future. SADC's market has grown from a population of 60 million in 1980 to over 228 million in 2005. The sharp increase is attributed to natural growth as well as new Member States that have joined over the years, increasing from nine founding nations to the present 14 members. Seychelles withdrew its membership in 2004 but the number was restored as Madagascar was unanimously admitted as the 14th Member by the Summit, held in Gaborone, in August 2005 (Communiqués, SADC Summit, 1996:24).

SADC is aware that regional political instability can divert attention away from economic Integration initiatives. Hence, the region has made considerable efforts to maintain

continued political stability to attract cross- boarder and Foreign Direct Investment. SADC is striving to become one of the safest and most stable destinations of foreign investment in the world (SADC Secretariat, 2005:04).

The region's resources are abundant, ranging from its people with a rich historical and cultural heritage to stunning natural features, including several World Heritage Sites such as Tsodilo Hills in Botswana, Virunga National Park in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lake Malawi National Park, the Islands of Mozambique, the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Kilimanjaro National Park and Zanzibar Stone Town in the United Wetlands Park and Robben Islands in South Africa, Victoria Falls in Zambia and Zimbabwe, Great Zimbabwe National Monument and Mana Pools National Park in Zimbabwe and many more.

The attractions of the region to major tourist markets are the abundant wildlife in game reserves and natural parks, the pleasant climate, the unspoilt sandy beaches and special natural habitants and features such as the Okavango Delta, Mount Kilimanjaro, Table Mountain, Victoria Falls and the Maluti Mountains.

Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries in the SADC region with immense possibilities for further development. The SADC region received 15.1 million tourist arrivals in 2004 compared to 12.2 million in 2000. This accounted for 1.95 percent of the global arrivals or a growth of 24 percent (SADC Today, 2005:06).

The SADC region is well endowed with mineral resources that provide considerable potential for industrial development including precious and base metals, industrial

minerals and precious stones. The SADC region is a major reservoir of some of the world's most valuable minerals, many of which have not been exploited to the full. Currently less than 10 percent of this mineral wealth is consumed within the region mostly because the mining sector is almost entirely integrated into the world economy.

Of the over 900 million hectares of total SADC landmass 147 million hectares is arable land. Consequently, agriculture plays a major part in the SADC regional economy, contributing 35 percent to its Gross Domestic Product. About 70 percent of its people depend on it for food, income and employment. In addition, agriculture is a dominant source of exports in many countries, on average contributing about 13 percent to total export earnings and about 66 percent to the value of intra- regional trade. The performance of the agricultural sector has a strong influence on the rate of socio-economic development, poverty reduction and regional integration. Given the fact that many SADC economies are agro- based, many investment opportunities exist in food processing, agribusiness, and clothing and textile(www.sardc.net).

In Order to encourage domestic and international investors in all the areas with development potential, SADC embarked on a programme aimed at inflation targeting, macro- economic stability and the creation of a wider economic space. Member States continue their efforts to improve economic growth in order to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development.

The SADC region constitutes a small market, smaller than that of Turkey and about one-fifth of the United States market. However, with the African context, its aggregate Gross

Domestic Product (GDP), amounting to US\$187.7 billion in 2000, is more than double that of ECOWAS and equivalent to more than half of Sub-Saharan Africa aggregate GDP (SADC Sectoral Reports, 2005:4).

SADC has maintained positive growth trends, which began in the early- 1990s. In fact, throughout the mid- 1990s, the SADC region recorded growth rates of above 2.7 percent. The average economic growth rate for the region in 2004 was 4.1 percent compared to 3.2 percent in 2003.

SADC's total volume of exports (estimated at US\$66 Million) is more than double that of ECOWAS and COMESA. While Gross National Products (GNP) per capita fell over the last two decades (from US\$1,023 in 1980 to US\$932 in 1999) the region still has the highest level of income per capita compared to other regional arrangements on the continent.

SADC is focusing on increasing its competitive advantage as a sub-Saharan Africa destination for investment through deepening cooperation amongst its Member States. To date, 24 Protocols have been signed which provide the legal framework for implementation of agreed by Member States to make SADC an attractive investment destination include macro-economic stability, infrastructure developments and regional peace and stability. SADC is viewed as the region with the greatest potential to spearhead the African Renaissance (Salomao, 2005:25).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Other elements have been in place for the process of regional integration but it has not been consolidated. This is as result of other member States being skeptical of the integration because of the continuous political stability that has riddled the sub- region, which have impeded development that discourages the process of regional integration. After its 25th Anniversary (*Silver Jubilee*), the sub- region is yet to find either peace or development. Therefore this study will attempt to evaluate the following questions;

1. How is the frame- work for regional integration in Southern Africa?
2. What are the achievements obtained by SADC from 1980 to 2005?
3. What are the challenges faced by regional integration in SADC?

1.3 Rationale of the Study

The rationale of this study is to depict in broad strokes the evaluation of 25 years of regional cooperation and integration in Africa: with reference to the SADC region.

The SADC region at the moment like any other regional organization is experiencing relative political instability which is a negative sign towards the process of regional integration. The study is of significant importance because it enables member states to evaluate ways of dealing with such challenges in future and ways on how to create a political stability and peaceful environment in the sub- region, which facilitated the process of integration.

1.4 Aim of the Study

To evaluate 25 years of regional cooperation and integration in Africa: with reference to the SADC region.



1.5 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of the study has identified the challenges and achievements of regional integration in the SADC region, and the study has the following specific objectives;

- (a) To understand the frame- work for regional integration in the Southern Africa.
- (b) To identify the challenges faced by regional integration in SADC.
- (c) To evaluate achievements obtained by SADC from 1980 to 2005.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study is restricted to the Southern Africa as a sub- region in particular in all its ramifications: its nature, challenges, achievements and failures of regional integration in the region.

SADC presents itself as a viable case study in the study of regional integration and challenges and opportunities.

Firstly, it's original nature and frame- work,

Secondly, as different countries, some being landlocked, rich compose SADC, developed and strong member states, what are the political challenges of regional integration in the SADC region,

Thirdly, as 25 years is a quarter of century years, there is a need for a sub regional organization to assess its self for the future, and

Finally, SADC need to also take in to consideration what are its achievements since 1980 up until 2005, are there any achievements obtained.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This study is significant as one of the pioneer studies of challenges and opportunities of regional integration in the Southern African region. Studies have been under taken on the nature of Southern Africa Development Community as an organization, but have been undertaken as part of an assessment from its year of inception (1980) to its year of its twenty-fifth anniversary (2005). So many challenges and opportunities will be identified.

Secondly, this study is significant in that, it would contribute in enhancing the debate on seeking solutions to specific challenges or problems. It will be of beneficial to the coming generations to be aware of the history, aims and objectives together with its challenges as a Regional Organization. Contribution of individual intellectual, assist policy makers/ practitioners such as SADC Organs like of Politics Defence and Security, SADC member States, help Researchers/ research institutes such as Africa Institute of Southern Africa

(AISA), African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) and others, on processes of regional integration that political stability is one of the keythings.

It is also beneficial to students of Politics, Peace Studies and International Relations. Students may even use this work as reference material.

1.8 Theoretical Perspective

Regional Integration amongst the countries of Southern Africa experienced a fundamental realignment in the post- apartheid era. Given the multiplicity of regional institutions, particular attention is given to an evaluation of the relevance of the 'variable geometry' and multi- speed' approaches to integration. It is argued that the existing political infrastructure supporting regional integration has the potential to promote rivalry between the various regional arrangements and, ultimately, their member states.

Regional integration amongst the countries of Southern Africa is experiencing a fundamental transformation in order to accommodate a newly emerging post apartheid political economy (Vale, 1996; Weeks, 1996). South Africa, the regional 'superpower' which the sub- continent had previously tried to isolate, is now recognized to be of paramount importance to the future success of Southern African regionalism (Gibb, 1997:55). Since F.W de Klerk's reforming speech of February 1990, which signaled an end to South Africa's formal policy of regional destabilization, regionalism has been firmly on the political agenda of Southern Africa (Ramsamy, 1995:16). Furthermore,

there is a truly remarkable degree of consensus over the desirability of some form of regionalism (Gibb, 1996:26).

Political debate about the nature and evolution of Southern African regionalism is often characterized by ill-defined concepts. Thus, phrases such as 'multi-speed', 'two-speed', 'variable geometry', and 'concentric circles' colour, if not always illuminate, political argument about the shape and pace of integration. In fact, although these simplifying images can be used to clarify the complexities of the Southern African integration process, they can also obscure some of the key issues at stake (Miller, 1996:26).

July 2004
in Pot.

Regionalism is, however, an extraordinary diverse phenomenon incorporating a multitude of different schemes, ranging from sectoral cooperation agreements to economic union (Wise and Gibb, 1993:29). In part, the multiplicity of regional organizations within Southern Africa reflects differing perceptions concerning the benefits associated with various levels of integration. Regionalism is not a single homogenous entity. This study does not attempt to educate the usefulness of the several different models of regional integration to Southern Africa. Instead, focus is concentrated upon an analysis of the policies being pursued by Southern Africa's regional institutions and most importantly, the compatibility and relationships between these institutions.

Regionalism in Southern Africa has been affected by a number of processes of change of the World such as globalization, post- Cold War and post apartheid transformations. In this changed period, regionalism in Southern Africa needs to be studied within 'new

global context characterized by multipolarity. A number of scholars argued that the new regionalism in the South (Third World), especially Southern Africa should be focused on a political response to the market- driven process of globalization and the social eruptions associated with this process (Miller, 1996:27).

Different scholars have differently defined the new regionalism, but the concept usually refers to a 'second wave' of regional cooperation and integration that had started already by the mid- 1980s but took off only after 1990 when the cold war came to an end.

As Hettne sums up, the new regionalism differs from the old regionalism in the following respects: 'whereas the old regionalism was formed in a bipolar Cold War context, the new is taking shape in a more multipolar world order; whereas the old regionalism was created from outside and from above (i.e. by the superpowers), the new is a more spontaneous process from within and 'from below' (in the sense that the constituent states themselves are main actors; whereas the old regionalism was specific with regard to objectives, the new is a more comprehensive, multidimensional process.

Hurrell (1995:332) also suggests four important characteristics of the 'new regionalism'. First, there is the appearance of 'North/ South regionalism', second, there is the very wide variation in the level of institutionalization, with many regional organizations consciously avoiding the institutional and bureaucratic structures of conventional international organizations and of the regionalist model represented by the EU; third, it is ever harder to draw the line between political and economic regionalism as the new regionalism is fed both by the end of the Cold War and the decentralization or regionalisation of

security concerns, and by developments in the global economy; finally, many parts of the world have seen a significant increase in regional awareness or regional consciousness, even if this is not always easily or unproblematically translated into concrete schemes for regional cooperation.

According to Amin, the role of new regionalism differs more radically from the open regionalism alternative. He regards the new regionalism as a building block for constructing an entirely different global system and thereby an antagonistic alternative to the ongoing globalization (1999:54).

In Oden's view of the new regionalism, regional constellations of states could constitute building blocks in the world order, and some of those would do not necessarily have to be linked to one of the three dominating trading blocs (EU, Nafta, Asia- Pacific area) (1999:156). Hveem (1999:102) sees the new regionalism with concerning the political economy of regionalism and defines globalization as a basically economic process, whereas regionalisation in terms of new regionalism is seen as a political reaction, an attempt to direct economic internationalization according to some political agenda.

Grugel and Hout (1999:10-11) state that the 'new regionalism' derives its importance in the first instance in the context of globalization and regionalisation. They regard it as a response to one of the key elements of the post- Cold War agenda, namely liberalized trade. They see the new regionalism as the adoption of conscious strategies or a defensive strategy: the former is to improve their global market position, or, more properly put, the market position of those companies with production sites within their geographical

boundaries (for example, China); the latter is reflected in the context of long-haul economic reform (for example, Brazil).

Mistry points that one of the reasons for the emergence of new regionalism is that the multilateral system as currently made is dysfunctional in accommodating the kaleidoscopic economic and political transformations that are occurring in the world.

Thus he offers a provocative assumption that open regionalism may not just be helpful for more effective multilateralism in the future, but may be a prerequisite to a new multilateralism of a more workable kind (1995:45-6). He, in comparing Hettne (1994) and Braga (1994), states that it is becoming clear that the non-trade parts of regionalism which have always been dominated by trade economists who have monopolized study on regional integration since the creation of Vinerian analysis in the early 1950s- may even be more important than the trade related aspects of the process (Braga, 1995:47).

Mistry also looks at the new regionalism from both the political and economic angles. He indicates that the definition of the new regionalism is clear about two things: first, that it is different from the old in encouraging greater porosity of interaction between the region and the rest of the world, rather than inhibiting it; and second, that the visible trade-related aspects of the new regionalism are much less significant than its other economic (especially investment, human capital development and technology transfer) and political/ security dimensions' (Mistry, 1999:124).

Furthermore, (Marchand,1999:58) notes that it is significant to devise research strategies that will help us to understand the complexities of the formal/ informal nexuses. They assert that 'new regionalism' implies that not geographical proximity alone or formal political and economic cooperation but actual practices or a whole range of elements, which have been considered outside the domain of political research and the study of regional organization, such as daily cross- boarder activity in Southern Africa will determine the delimitation of the region.

Hettne (2001:84-88) focuses on the multiple responses to globalization manifest at regional level. Accordingly, the new regionalism includes economic, political, social and cultural aspects and goes far beyond preferential trade arrangements. Drawing on the work of Polanyi, he concludes that the new regionalism marks a concerted response against the forces of globalization in the same way that, in an earlier era, social democratic forces organized at state level in order to reign in the worst aspects of the free market. 'The struggle against peripheralisation' he states, ' is the struggle for increasing regionness'.

REGIONALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The shape of regional integration in Southern Africa will be determined by the interplay of a complex web of historic, economic, social and political circumstances that are both regional and global in character (Gibb, 1997:89).

Any evaluation of collaborative strategies has to begin with an appreciation of the existing pattern of economic inequalities. From a regional perspective, the principal obstacles facing integration stem from the considerable absolute and relative inequalities in the development levels between South Africa and the other eleven countries belonging to SADC. South Africa dominates the political economy of Southern Africa and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. In 1991/2, approximately 80 percent of the region's land GNP was produced in South Africa, which had 18 percent of the region's land area and 32 percent of its population.

Many SADC Countries have already experienced the polarizing effects of regional integration (Scheepers, 1979; Gibb, 1993). The Portuguese Community, the Central Africa Federation and the East African Community all suffered from the effects of industrial development being concentrated on the most economically active member state; Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and Kenya respectively. In a region such as Southern Africa, characterized by intense inequalities, regional integration based on the principles of the free market will promote a tendency towards agglomeration (Weeks, 1996; Tsie, 1996). This raises the controversial issue of how to reduce, or compensate for, the trend towards industrial and economic polarization.

Whatever the precise cause or causes of Southern Africa's inequalities, whether colonialism, capitalism or apartheid destabilization any new regional initiative will have to address the question of how best to counter the polarization trend. At the same time, interventionist policies that damage the economic well being sub- continent.

The Southern African economy is well integrated and is, according to Vale (1996), built upon the region's single dominant economy located in South Africa. The potential for conflict between those forces advocating affirmative action to assist underdeveloped areas and those advocating open competition will be considerable. In addition to the issues associated with regional inequalities, another important factor that will determine the future shape of Southern African regionalism in the trend towards economic liberalization and globalization.

The trend towards globalization, particularly, in the economic sphere, is widely accepted in geography (Daniels and Lever, 1996), international relations (Agnew and Corbridge, 1995) and throughout the social sciences more generally. It is often argued that globalization, led by the internationalization of the factors of production and consumption, is fundamentally altering the relationship between states and markets.

Agnew and Corbridge (1995) assert that 'transnational liberalism; has undermined the ability of states is losing its geographical primacy to uncontrollable market forces. Central to the globalization thesis is the contention that nation states are no longer able to manage or defend their national economies and nationally oriented economic policies in the face of overwhelming forces are the world's principal economic actors and agents of change. These agents of change, which are essentially capital driven, have no allegiance to any nation state and will locate according to comparative advantage and profit maximization.

This trend towards enhanced liberalization will have a profound impact upon the nature and shape of Southern African regionalism and represents a key-determining factor affecting the future of all integration efforts. It will do this in two principal ways; first, by reducing the ability of Southern African States to impose and maintain protective tariff barriers and, second, by eroding the preferential trading privileges granted to Southern Africa's developing countries in their principal markets.

Before proceeding to examine the institutional framework of Southern African regionalism, it is useful to emphasize a number of important issues emerging from this review of key determining factors. First, there is an unparalleled degree of support amongst the countries of Southern Africa to advance some form of regional integration (Gibb, 1997). Regional Integration is firmly on the political agenda in post-apartheid Southern Africa. Second, any new regional initiative will have to address the question of how to lessen regional inequalities in development levels. Third, Southern African regionalism is being exposed to an unprecedented level of economic liberalization.

Liberals argue that anarchy in the international relations arena is countered by greater cooperation between nations. They submit that nations agree on a whole range of issues than they fight. The liberalist theory assumption of greater or increased international cooperation in international and the plethora other non-state actors in international relations will be tested (Gibb, 1997:67).

This movement towards liberalization, which to a large degree is being imposed from outside the region, has resulted in a continental Convergence in macro- economic policy. At the same time, the liberalizing policy agenda may well reinforce the trend to pursue some form of regional integration as states try to defend their territorial integrity and ability to influence domestic markets.

Finally, the somewhat contradictory, pressures emanating from liberalization and regional inequalities will be felt by all the existing regional institutions and will, it is argued, be instrumental in determining the future shape of Southern African regionalism.

Southern Africa's regional institutions are all, therefore, in a state of transformation as they endeavor to respond to this new and rapidly changing regional environment. Faced with a multiplicity of regional organizations, the region needs to address the question of how best to rationalize the existing institutional infrastructure.

Given the complex and rather confusing structure of regional integration, the means of adopting a variable geometry or multi- speed approach to integration are appealing.

1.9 Hypothesis

This research tested the following:

- Regional Integration poses negative and positive impact on the socio- economic and political standing in the Southern African region.

- Regional Integration perpetuates problems such as political instability that causes rural and urban poverty and emigration.
- Regional Integration leads to the reduction of basic needs and services to the citizens of the SADC region.

1.10 Methodology

This was a case study of an evaluation of 25 years of regional integration and cooperation in Africa; with reference to SADC region. The case study provided the researcher with an in-depth understanding of the problem especially, taking into account, the fact that SADC is facing insurmountable crises in its existence phase. The case study method is scientifically beneficial, in its ability to open the way for discoveries (Shauguinessy and Zechemeister, 1990). In this case it has been able to identify and evaluate specific challenges and achievements of SADC since its existence from the year it was formed. Furthermore, the case study approach can easily serve as the breeding ground for insights and even hypotheses that may be pursued in subsequent studies.

The approach used was qualitative research method in order to achieve the aims and objectives of the study. According to Bless et al (1995) there are various types of collecting information and no single method can suit all problems or is adequate to provide correct answers to different problems.

The qualitative research method was used in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the research problem as it provides an in- depth and reliable information that can be validated. Descriptive design was used to analyze the political challenges and opportunities in SADC region. SADC has been selected in this study because of political crises and the need to evaluate its self since it has turned twenty-five years (from 1980 to 2005) since its existence.

1.10.1 Subjects

The Sources of information for the study were as follows:

- Different key officials such as the SADC Secretariat. The Secretariat is the regional headquarters. The significance of their input is that it is the custodian of the logbook of all bilateral and multilateral agreements in the region (The Director/ Deputy Director in the Organ on Politics, Defence and Safety).
- The Department of Foreign Affairs: SADC Desk Political Affairs. These are the officials who specifically with political matters relating to SADC region on a daily basis.
- The key Personnel in the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa.

1.10.2 Methods of Data collection

Visiting libraries such as the SADC Secretariat library: Botswana; Ministry of Foreign Affairs Library: Botswana, the National Libraries in Gaborone and Mafikeng, University of North West (Mafikeng Campus) library and University of Botswana Library.

Sources for data collection were library, Internet, journal Articles and newspapers.

1.10.3 Detailed Procedure

The researcher obtained a letter of introduction from the Supervisor at the NorthWest University (Mafikeng Campus) to the Organizations. Appointments with the key persons for interview were scheduled. The letter served the purpose of enabling the key persons to understand the purpose of the study and therefore facilitate the acquisition of information by the researcher.

1.10.4 Data Analysis

Data collected from fieldwork was evaluated through qualitative method. Data was obtained from the examination of secondary data as well as from interviews with key people and other respondents, who have a broad insight about the political challenges and opportunities in the SADC region. The data collected was evaluated on the basis of the content of the study.

1.11 Ethical Considerations

- 1) The respondents were informed a priori, that participation in the study was voluntary.
- 2) The researcher ensured confidentiality of information and anonymity of the names of respondents especially as some of the subjects are actively in government services and involved in the process of Politics in daily basis.
- 3) The position, political, ethnic and religious inclination and official views as well as opinions of the subjects regarding issues raised in the study were respected, as the research project was presented to them before hand.
- 4) The researcher provided research reports to the institutions and persons concerned for their perusal to ensure that the researcher does not misrepresent their views.

1.12 Limitations of the Study

The study was limited by the following;

- I. Owing to the contemporary nature of the study, Secondary data regarding SADC was limited to available publications during the period of study (from 1980 to 2005). Therefore data published after the completion of this study was irrelevant in judging the research.
- II. Secondly, the researcher had no plans of understaking fieldwork in all the SADC member states, therefore primary data was limited to the available sources in the countries of residence and origin, which are South Africa and Botswana.

III. Thirdly, even though the major language of SADC is English, there were some of the publications on the SADC's political challenges and opportunities presented in Portuguese as another language of communication in the region. The limitation here was that, the researcher had to rely on a lot translated material with its inherent problems.

1.13 Literature Review

It is important to review the related literature regarding this research problem. This exercise provides the researcher with an opportunity to evaluate the different theories related to the research problem in order to deepen his theoretical framework.

The researcher familiarized him-self with the different developments in the debate surrounding the evaluation of 25 years of Regional Integration and Cooperation in Africa with reference to the SADC region. This process helped the researcher to discover the extent of research done on research problem.

Literature review also enabled the researcher to identify variables that come into play when one has to do justice to the research problem. In the course of proceeding with the literature review, one thing, which came clear, is that the entire study is about an evaluation of 25 years of regional cooperation and integration in Africa with reference to the SADC region, since SADC has just turned its 25th Anniversary.

Regional Integration in Africa

The formation of SADC also contributed immensely to regional economic integration. Its founding statement did not differ much with ECOWAS's.

Its states:

'Our common cultural and social affirmatives, common Historical experiences, common problems and aspirations, remain a firm and enduring foundation for common actions to promote Regional Economic Welfare, collective self- reliance and integration, in the spirit of equity and partnership (Gibb, 1993:25).

This firm foundation is necessary for the attainment of our cherished ideals of economic well- being, the improvement of the standard and quality of life, freedom and social justice, and peace and security, for the peoples of Southern Africa'.

Since its inception, SADC committed itself to an ambitious programme of Regional Integration. The experience of SADC has shown that to be a market, your neighbors must be able to export as well as to import. Growing markets need investment and trade to be based on confidence about the economic rules of the game for SADC to proceed with Regional Integration for the direct benefits be in line with the experience of other regions (Asante, 1997:29).

For Free trades there are needs to be rules about all Policy that may affect trade. Clearly, there must be a mechanism to enforce rules and ensure that all member states comply

with Protocols as agreed from time to time. When one member dominates a trading group, as the case is likely to be in SADC about South Africa, that state can enforce its own rules. The experience in the rest of the continent confirms that integration takes place on the terms of the powerful actor. There are many lessons to be learnt from the past experience of Southern African Customs Union (SACU).

European experience supports the view that both smaller and bigger states can gain from trade relations based on rules and not powers. There is no doubt that SADC need a dispute settlement mechanism that gives agreed SADC rules the force of law in member states.

SADC has identified the key areas where cooperation has a strong potential. An inspection of the 1997 report of the SADC transport and communications sector reveals that a very high proportion of the projects are dependent on foreign funding. It is highly probable that this situation could undermine the credibility of member states. The visibility of the commitment of member states of the agreements is still lacking.

The existence of SADC itself constitutes not only a statement of intent and resolve to overcome the burden of COLONIALISM and APARTHEID, But also an acknowledgement of the immense benefits of Regional Economic Integration. The SADC treaty itself and its protocols, including the Trade Protocol constitute a deep commitment to integration and the full acceptance of the Political costs of such an undertaking. The lack of proper institutional frame- work, no clear programme of action, no commitment

in the SADC Trade Protocol, all reflect a serious weakness in SADC's Role creating sustainable economy in the region (Mayer, 1997:107).

Review of the SADC Political Situation

Since SADC Summit held in Mbabane, Swaziland, fundamental developments have continued to take place in Southern Africa, both in SADC member States and by then in apartheid South Africa. These changes augur well for the prospects of regional integration ushered by the signing of the Treaty establishing SADC by the Heads of State and Government in Windhoek, Namibia, in August 1992 (SADC Report: 1993:21).

SADC member states have continued the movement away from one party political systems towards pluralism. Swaziland held its direct elections to Parliament in October 1993. Malawi held its first multi-party elections in May 1994, resulting in a democratic and peaceful change of government.

In Tanzania, as a result of the political reforms, which began in 1990, three multi-party elections have already been held; the country also prepared for the first multi-party elections in 1995. Preparations were also afoot for the holding of democratic elections in Botswana and Zimbabwe in 1994 and 1995 respectively. The concept of democracy has gone beyond holding of multi-party elections; it now embraces good governance, transparency, accountability, and absence of corruption and observance of human rights. Namibia also had its first post-independence elections in 1995 (SADC Report: 1994:62).

The people of Namibia have taken another important step forward in the consolidation of national independence, democracy, and territorial integrity when Walvis Bay and Offshore Islands were eventually incorporated into Namibia in March 1994.

In Angola the intensification of fighting continues to delay the peace and reconciliation process. However, on the political settlement front, the UN-Sponsored Lusaka negotiations have made a break through in that the principles of national reconciliation have been agreed upon. There is also an agreement upon there was also an agreement on the mandate and role of UNIVEM 111. SADC member States have given appropriate support to the efforts of the UN, the OAU, President Mandela and the rest of the international community to achieve a peaceful resolution of the Angolan Crisis.

Progress in the implementation of the Peace Accord has been achieved in Mozambique. The demobilization of armed forces, the integration and the training of a new National Army, albeit behind schedule, was on track. Registration of voters has begun and over 15 political parties prepared to participate in the elections scheduled for 27 and 28 October 1994 (SADC Summit, 1994:09).

In the aftermath of the fighting among the factions of Lesotho Army, the Chairmen of SADC and FLS visited Lesotho in February 1994, after which they prepared a report with specific recommendations to Lesotho Government on the resolution of the political-military- crisis in the country. However, there has been a recurrence of instability in Lesotho involving the army and the police. In April 1994, the Deputy Prime Minister was

killed and Ministers were abducted. In May 1994, the Lesotho Police went on strike. The General instability in Lesotho, which was a source of grave concern to the Region, has been under constant scrutiny by the leaders of Frontline States who have agreed to the reactivation of the Task Force on Lesotho.

Developments of historic implications for the Region and wider Africa have taken place in South Africa. The first non-racial democratic elections were held in South Africa from the 26- 28 April 1994. Despite a pre-election right wing bombing-campaign, the elections were relatively peaceful and were declared by the international observers, the independent Electoral Commission as substantially free and fair.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution Government of National Unity (GNU) has been installed under the leadership of Mr Nelson Mandela who was sworn as South Africa's state President on the 10th May 1994. The Government of National Unity is pursuing a policy of national reconciliation and nation-building. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which has been put together at 'people's Forums' in order to ensure a better life for the people has been accepted by all parties in Parliament, and it has become the plan of the Gnu. Since the elections, the inauguration of the first democratically-elected President and the installation of the GNU, the level of political-motivated violence in South Africa has decreased (SADC Summit, 1994:16).

The demise of apartheid and the emergence of democracy in South Africa is an event of historic importance for the Region, Africa and the entire World. It marks the formal end

of colonial- type rule on the African continent; the era of destabilization has passed and a new era of regional peace, stability and cooperation in Southern Africa has been ushered. Democratic South Africa has been accepted back into the community of Nations, having joined the OAU, the Commonwealth and regained its seat on the United Nations General Assembly.

The SADC congratulated the people of South Africa for the successful conduct of the first ever non- racial, democratic elections and urge all member States of SADC to support the people of South Africa to consolidate their fledging democracy. SADC has invited democratic South Africa to join the Organization on the occasion of the SADC Summit held in Gaborone, in August 1994.

SADCC has emerged from twenty- five years of evolution of regional cooperation and coordination efforts. As set out by President Mugabe in 1981;

'We... view the evolution of SADCC as part and parcel of our own history. Though formally launched only last year, SADCC, to us is but a part of the unfolding manifestation of the historic spirit of Pan- Africanism. More immediately, SADCC represents the expression in more sharply focused and telescoped form, of the ideas of the Pan- African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA), 1958-1963), the Conference of East and Central African States.' (SADC Summit: 1981:09).

This study adopts a political economy perspective regionalism and (New) regionalism. Special emphasis is placed on the evaluation of the political challenges and opportunities in the SADC region since 1980. The political economy approach adopted for this study includes world- system theory, dependence theory, and theories of imperialism.

According to theories such as Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, Andre Gunder Frank, and Immanuel Wallerstein, 'there is a social whole that may be called a capitalist world-economy,' whose genesis dates back to around the sixteenth century (Axline: 1979). By the nineteenth century, it had expanded historically from its European origins to cover the globe. The World economy is considered to be capitalist. In that accumulation is its motor force and that 'appropriation by the world bourgeoisie of the surplus value created by the world producers have involved not merely direct appropriation at the market place, but also unequal exchange, transferring surplus from peripheral to core Zones (Axline: 1979:213).

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) celebrated 25 years of its existence on the 1st April 2005.

The regional grouping is arguably the most successful in Africa. SADC prides itself in a history of unparalleled expansion in socio- economic and political integration. The Southern African Development Co- ordination Conference (SADCC) was formally constituted in Lusaka, Zambia, in April 1980 with the principal objective of reducing economic independence on apartheid South Africa. Focusing on project development in

transport and communication, security, energy, industry and trade, the co-ordinating conference was largely successful in promoting self-reliance among member states.

In response to changing regional and global trends, SADCC transformed to the Southern African Development Community through the 1992 Windhoek Declaration and Treaty. This far-reaching transformation advanced regional agenda from one of loose operation to deeper regional integration buttressed on legally binding sector protocols. Speaking at the occasion marking 25th anniversary, Mauritian Prime Minister and SADC chairman Paul Berenger said for the past 25 years, SADC has endeavored to create a dynamism, which has resulted in a sense of regional belonging and unity among the people of the region (Botswana Daily News, 01 April 2005).

He said that the organization had implemented a number of successful projects adding that when SADC was established in 1980, member states were pursuing different socio-economic policies. But on the 1st April 2005, they have adopted more or less same outlook and are implementing market-oriented policies, he said.

Berenger said that the SADC Trade Protocol, which is under implementation, at the heart of regional implementation, would pave the way for the creation of a SADC Free Trade Area in 2008 and a customs union by 2012. In today's world of globalization and stiff competition, SADC region had been able to keep pace with the digital revolution.

He added that the expansion of the Internet services, the increasing number fixed and cellular phones as well as inter-regional telecommunication links had a positive impact

on the furtherance of regional development agenda. Berenger said agriculture remained a major source of livelihood for many SADC citizens, involving between 70 to 80 per cent of the regions labour force, adding that over the years, the region has experienced food shortages, mainly because of the drought and floods that beset the region from time to time.

A number of stakeholders, he said, had formed regional associations such as the SADC Parliamentary Forum, the SADC Electoral Commissions Forum, the SADC Lawyers Association, the SADC Council of Non- Governmental Organizations, the Association of SADC National Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the SADC Business Forum and the Southern Africa Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization.

He applauded that the non- governmental organizations (NGOs) and other stakeholders assisting governments to deal with the unprecedented HIV/AIDS pandemic that is threatening to reverse developmental gains in the SADC region (<http://www.gov.bw>).

CHAPTER TWO

REGIONAL COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

This Chapter gives an understanding of Southern African Development Community's (SADC) framework for cooperation and integration, vision and mission, and how international and regional issues are relevant in the SADC Region.

Regional economic integration has evolved over time and has many forms. Regional integration has become increasingly popular after decades of failures and successes. The European Union is largely seen as a success.

SADC, MERCOSUR, ASEAS and APEC are new at regional integration, building on the lessons of others. The new integration schemes aim to complement not to detract from the process of multilateral free trade. Even in a global world economy, it is natural for countries to trade significantly more with their regional partners than with more distant ones of equal size (www.sadc.int).

Every country's political and economic stability depends on their neighbours forming a flourishing market, rather than a depressed source of potential migrants and unemployed people without purchasing power. To be a market, your neighbours must be able to export as well as to import. Growing markets need investment and trade to be based on confidence about the economic rules of the game.

Successful regional integration will depend on the extent to which there exist regional institutions with adequate competence and capacity to stimulate and manage efficiency and effectively, the complex process of integration.

Integration requires mechanisms capable of achieving the high level of political commitment necessary to shape the scope and scale of the regional integration process. This implies strengthening the powers and capacity of regional decision-making, coordinating and executing bodies.

Integration implies that some decisions, which were previously taken by Individual States, are taken regionally, and those decisions taken nationally give due consideration to regional positions and circumstances. Regional decision-making also implies elements of change in the locus and context of exercising sovereignty, rather than a loss of sovereignty (www.sadc.int).

2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

2.1.1 THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT CO-ORDINATION CONFERENCE (SADCC).

Regional co-operation and integration in Southern Africa owes its origin to historical, economic, political, social and cultural factors that have created strong bonds of solidarity and unity among the peoples of Southern Africa. These factors have contributed to the formation of a distinct Southern African personality and identity that underpins political and economic co-operation.

The formal establishment of structures to promote regional co-operation and integration started as an initiative of the Frontline States, the original members of which were Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia. This initiative was directed initially towards the political liberation of the region (Balaam and Veseth, 1996:298).

From 1975 when they were formally constituted, the Frontline States met regularly to co-ordinate efforts, resources and strategies, with regard to the National Liberation Movements of Southern Africa that were fighting against colonialism, racism and white minority- rule. Later, this initiative was extended to address military attacks and destabilization of majority- ruled States by apartheid South Africa. The intensification of the struggle on both fronts strengthened bonds of solidarity and the need for collective action.

Most of the countries of Southern Africa ultimately achieved political independence, but against a background of mass poverty, economic backwardness and the treat of powerful and hostile white minority- ruled neighbours. Thus, the leaders saw the promotion of economic and social development through co- operation and integration as the next logical step after political independence.

Accordingly, based on the outcome of the July 1979 Arusha Conference which agreed on a strategy to launch the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), the then nine majority- ruled states of Southern Africa- Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe- met at Summit level in April 1980 in Lusaka, Zambia and declared their commitment to

pursue policies aimed at economic liberation on the basis of a sustainable integration development of their economies.

The Summit adopted the Lusaka Declaration entitled 'Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation', as well as a Programme of Action covering areas of Transport and Communications, Food and Agriculture, Industry, Manpower Development and Energy (Herbst, 1998:299).

The aims of SADCC were to reduce economic dependence particularly, but not only, on South Africa; to forge links to create genuine and equitable regional integration; to mobilize resources for implementing national and interstate policies; and to take concerted action to secure international co-operation within the framework of the strategy of economic liberation. In pursuance of these objectives, the organization focused on functional co-operation in key sectors through a Programme of Action known as the SADCC Programme of Action (SPA).

Above all, SADCC reflected the spirit of Pan Africanism and the latter's preoccupation with the need for regional integration as the means towards African continental unity and the recovery of African dignity and status in global affairs. These principles were enshrined in both the OAU Treaty of 1963 and the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 and the Final Act of Lagos.

At the regional level, the main SADCC institutions were the Summit of Heads of States or Government which had responsibility for overall policy direction and control of the functions of the Conference; the council of Ministers, which reported to the

Summit, oversaw the work and development of SADCC and approved SADCC policies; the Standing Committee of Officials which was a technical advisory committee and advised the Council; and the Secretariat which was responsible for the coordination and management of SADCC programmes.

For the purpose of coordinating the SPA and enhancing ownership, a decentralized structure was adopted under which different sectors were allocated to each Member State. This approach underscored the need to build collective self-reliance, mutual trust and confidence and it was on this basis that the organization evolved over the years. The number of areas of co-operation increased, as the number of Member States rose, since each was allocated at least one sector to co-ordinate, but also in response to new challenges like HIV and AIDS. As the areas of co-operation increased, the SPA expanded (Balaam and Veseth, 1996: 302-303).

2.1.2 SADCC Policies

The dependence of SADCC Member States on apartheid South Africa was most obvious in the Sectors of transport and communications (six out of the 10 SADCC Member states are landlocked). General trade (South Africa was the source of manufactured consumer goods for several of the countries) and employment (migrant workers from all over the region worked in South Africa). But their dependence was not only on South Africa.

The historical pattern of the region's development, as a source of raw materials for the world powers ensured that the region was dependent on agricultural and mineral

primary products for up to 90 percent of export earnings. Meanwhile, the region relied heavily on imported consumer, intermediate and capital goods. Hence, the initial focus of the SPA was on coordination in these sectors. The SPA was intended to address the immediate needs of the Member States while reflecting the common interest (SADC Sectoral Reports 1996: 17).

The SADCC approach to regional cooperation, which was based on discrete projects, was to be balanced so as to offer mutual benefits. The project-based approach was to address national concerns through regional action. A decentralized structure was adopted under which different sectors were allocated to each Member State.

The projects remained property of the Member State(s) and regional projects were defined in terms of the common benefit they yielded to more than one country. Through the presentation of a continuing series of forward looking themes to its Annual Consultative Conferences with its International Cooperating Partners, SADCC was able to stimulate a region-wide discussion and on occasion a broader international debate on major policy and strategic issues.

Several of SADCC's theme documents had a direct bearing on SADCC's subsequent approach to the formulation, expansion and implementation of sectoral programmes. For instance on the role of the business community as the engine of growth and development; on enterprise, skills and productivity, and human resources as the primary factor in development; and on the need for balanced economic development and integration.

SADCC coordinated regional positions on major issues of concern to its Member States and its international partners, for example its publication in the mid- 1980s of 'The cost of destabilization'. Regional consultations on contingency planning issues played an important role in alerting Member States and International Cooperating Partners to the potential difficulties and dangers to the region (Mayer, 1997:33).

2.1.3 SADCC Strategies and Planning

As progress was being made, it had become clear that for SADCC to achieve its objectives, the project- based coordination needed to be situated within sector-specific policy frameworks and strategies linking the objectives of the Lusaka Declaration with specific activities at regional and national levels. Such an approach would provide a basis for prioritization of programmes and projects and the criteria for evaluation of progress.

The sector coordination approach underscored the need to build collective self-reliance, mutual trust and confidence and it was on this basis that the organization evolved over the years. The number of areas of cooperation increased, as the number of Member States rose, since each was allocated in response to new challenges like HIV and AIDS. As the area cooperation increased, the SPA expanded.

In the planning processes of the organization, the operational basis remained the projects and it proved its limitations in the form of overlap, conflicting priorities and doubtful regional relevance. Difficulties were also encountered in coordinating national and regional sector policies and plans. There were divergencies between

national and regional perceptions of sectoral objectives, data and capacity constraints in terms of qualified personnel and adequate management structures to undertake regional sector planning became obvious (SADC Summit, 1996:17).

2.1.4 Regional, Continental and Global Changes

The attainment of independence and sovereign nationhood by Namibia in 1990 formally ended the struggle against colonialism in the region. In some of the other countries, concerted efforts to end internal conflicts and civil strife were bearing positive results. In South Africa, the process was underway to end the inhuman system of apartheid, and to bring about a constitutional dispensation acceptable to all the people of South Africa. These developments took the region out of an era of conflict and confrontation, to one of peace, security and stability, which remain prerequisites for cooperation and development.

On the African continent, efforts continued, mainly under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to promote closer economic relations. In 1991, some of the OAU Heads of State or Government signed the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. Like the 1981 Lagos Plan of Action, the Treaty made Regional Economic Communities (RECs) the building blocks for the continental community. In light of this development, the SADC Heads of State or Government viewed their efforts at regional integration in Southern Africa as part of this continental effort.

On the global scene, fundamental and far-reaching political and economic changes were taking place. The Cold War had ended, and world affairs were increasingly being managed on the basis of consultation and consensus, rather than confrontation and competition. Integration was fast becoming a global trend. Countries in different regions of the globe were organizing themselves into closer economic and political entities.

These movements towards stronger regional blocks were expected to transform the world, both economically and politically, as firms within these economic blocks would benefit from economies of scale provided by large markets, to become competitive both internally and internationally. For firms in Southern Africa not to remain behind, it became imperative for a large regional market to be established so that they too could benefit from economies of scale (Ibbo Mandaza & Arne Tostensen, 1999:36).

By the late 1980s, it became apparent that SADCC needed strengthening. The challenges presented by the profound socio- economic changes taking place in the region and globally necessitated a review of the organization's mandate and priorities.

SADCC had existed as a defacto international organization without a treaty of locally binding instrument, consistent with the founding father's pragmatic approach, which sought to demonstrate practical benefits of regional cooperation without placing heavy demands on Member States.

After four years of preparatory work and consultations, a strong consensus evolved indicating that Member States wanted the mandate and mission of SADCC to focus on concerted efforts towards deeper regional cooperation beyond mere coordination of development projects to equitable integration of their economies.

2.1.5 From SADCC to SADC

By the late 1980, it became apparent that SADCC needed strengthening. The attainment of independence and sovereign nationhood by Namibia in 1990 formally ended the struggle against colonialism in the region. In some of the other countries, concerted efforts to end internal conflicts and civil strife were bearing positive results.

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In light of this development, the SADC Heads of State or Government viewed their efforts at regional integration in Southern Africa as part of this continent effort. More recently, the African Union, the successor to the OAU, has reaffirmed its commitment to the African Economic Community. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has designated RECs as implementing agencies for its programme (Guenther, 1989:97).

On the global scene, fundamental and far-reaching political and economic changes were taking place. The cold war had ended, and world affairs were increasingly being managed on the basis of consultation and consensus, rather than confrontation and competition. Integration was fast becoming a global trend. Countries in different regions of the globe were organizing themselves into closer economic and political entities. This movement towards stronger regional blocs was expected to transform the World, both economically and politically, as firms within these economic blocs would benefit from economies of scale provided by large markets, to become competitive both internally and internationally (www.sadc.int).

For firms in Southern Africa not to remain behind, it became imperative for a large regional market to be established so that they too could benefit from economies of scale. At their meeting in Windhoek in August 1992, the Heads of State and Government signed a Treaty transforming the 'SADCC' from a Coordination Conference into SADC, the Community, and redefined the basis of cooperation among Member States from a loose association into a legally binding arrangement.

The purpose of transforming SADCC into SADC once more was to promote deeper economic cooperation and integration to help address many of the factors that make it difficult to sustain economic growth and socio- economic development, such as continued dependence on the exports of a few primary commodities. It had become an urgent necessity for SADC governments to urgently transform and restructure their economies. The small size of their individual markets, the inadequate socio- economic infrastructure as well as their low- income base made it difficult for them individually to attract or maintain the necessary investments for their sustained development (Clapham, 1998:61).

Accordingly, SADC opted for a development integration approach which recognizes the political and economic diversities of regional integrating countries including their diverse production structures, trade patterns, resource endowments, development priorities, institutional affiliations and resource allocation mechanisms. It addresses many of the production, infrastructure and efficiency barriers arising from the under- development of the region.

This approach also has the advantage of complementing trade liberalization with sustainable corrective measures; designed to cushion the least developed member countries against shocks arising from the removal of trade barriers. It further allows Member States to define the scope and sectors of cooperation and to identify appropriate strategies and mechanisms to overcome impediments to integration and to address regional imbalances between Member States.

In the 1990s, the membership of the organization increased to 14 with the accession of Namibia in 1990, South Africa in 1994, Mauritius in 1995, and Seychelles (no longer a member) and the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1997. Since its inception, SADC has inculcated a sense of regional belonging as well as a tradition of consultation among the peoples and governments of Southern Africa, which among other things has improved regional security. It has also formulated the SPA, which covers cooperation in several economic and social sectors; and implemented several infrastructure and other projects. Furthermore, SADC has developed protocols in a number of areas of co- operation, which provide the legal framework for co- operation among Member States (Asante, 1997:111).

2.2 The SADC Vision and Mission

2.2.1 Vision

The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) is underpinned by the SADC vision, which charts the direction for the development of the region. The Declaration 'Towards the Southern African Development Community', adopted in Windhoek, Namibia on 17 August 1992, by Heads of State or Government of Southern African States, calls upon all countries and people of Southern Africa to develop a vision of a shared future, a future within a regional community.

The SADC vision is one of a common future, a future in a regional community that will ensure economic well- being, improvement of the standards of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice and peace and security for the peoples of Southern Africa. This shared vision is anchored on the common values and

principles and the historical and cultural affinities that exist between the peoples of Southern Africa.

2.2.2 Mission

The SADC mission statement also underpins the RISDP. From the 1992 Declaration and the Report on the Review of the Operations of SADC Institutions, particularly from the objectives and strategies spelt out in Article 5 of the Treaty, the SADC Mission statement is: *'To promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio- economic development through efficient productive systems, deeper cooperation and integration, good governance, and durable peace and security, so that the region emerges as a competitive and effective player in international relations and the world economy'*.

The pursuit of this mission is guided by the following principles, which are stated in Article 4 of the SADC Treaty:

- a) Sovereign equality of all Member States;
- b) Solidarity, peace and security;
- c) Human rights, democracy, and the rule of law;
- d) Equity, balance and mutual benefit;
- e) Peaceful settlement of disputes (SADC Today).

2.3 Regional and Global Contexts

The restructuring of SADC Institutions occurs at a time when important transformations are also taking place both at the continental and global levels. In the African context the most significant steps affecting SADC, relate to the transformation of the Organization of African States (OAU) into the African Union (AU) and the launching of NEPAD.

The AU intends to build on and accelerate the aims of the OAU and the Abuja Treaty. The NEPAD as a programme of the OAU is a holistic and multidimensional development framework undertaken by African Leaders, which encompasses economic, political, security, social and cultural dimensions of development. As with African Economic Integration under the Abuja Treaty, the Regional Economic Communities such as SADC are expected to act as building blocks in the implementation of the African Agenda under the frame works of the AU and NEPAD (SADC Today, 2005:09).

2.4 Key Integration and Development Enablers

2.4.1 Peace, Security, Democracy and Good Political Governance

SADC Member States are committed to 'promote political values, systems and other shared values which are transmitted through institutions that are democratic, legitimate, and effective' (SADC Treaty Article 5). In line with this, SADC firmly acknowledges that economic growth and development will not be realized in conditions of political intolerance, the absence of the rule of law, corruption, civil

strife and war. SADC Member States are cognizant of the fact that poverty thrives under such conditions, nurturing further political instability and conflict, creating a destructive repetitive cycle, which perpetuates under- development and extreme deprivation (SADC Protocols, 2005:24).

SADC Member States are also committed to the ideals of the AU and the NEPAD programme which identifies democracy and political governance, including peace and security, conflict management, post- conflict reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction, and the combating of illicit trafficking in arms and related materials, as essential prerequisites for achieving sustainable development. This is consistent with the approach in the RISDP, which has, however, added trafficking in drugs and human beings to this list.

In the SADC context, NEPAD is embraced as a credible and relevant continental framework, and this RISDP as a regional expression and vehicle towards the ideals contained therein. Therefore, in view of the fact the NEPAD has already set out the required actions, and that SADC is in the process of elaborating strategies and programmes through the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security, these will not be repeated in this RISDP.

2.4.2 Economic and Corporate Governance

Good economic and corporate governance is another set of enablers that are essential for the realization of deeper integration and poverty eradication in the SADC Region. There is some shared under- standing that the unification of the Region's economies

through the SADC FTA and the quest to achieve deeper levels of integration will not be realized in the absence of good economic and corporate governance.

In the context of this RISDP, good economic and corporate governance should be understood to include: sound macroeconomic management; transparent public financial management and accountability; first- class banking supervision and financial regulation; and rigorous, best practice corporate governance. SADC identifies closely with the NEPAD programme which lays emphasis on inclusive participatory national economic policy process, good corporate ethics underpinned by the principles of openness, integrity and accountability, as well as enforcement of internationally accepted relevant codes and standards (Herbst, 1998:42).

In line with the 1992 Windhoek Declaration, SADC is also committed to promoting the participation of civil society, including local government structures, in community building at both regional and national levels. In this context, efforts are underway towards developing a framework for enhancing civil society participation in SADC.

2.4.3 Other Prerequisites for Deeper Integration and Poverty Eradication

Good political and economic governance, entrenched in a culture of democracy, transparency and respect for the rule of law, represent the bedrock upon which this RISDP is premised. These kernels are, as indicated in previous sections, embodied in the Windhoek Declaration and the Treaty establishing SADC (both original and amended versions).

There are several other prerequisites that will facilitate the move towards deeper integration poverty eradication. These are as follows:

- Intensifying the fight against HIV and AIDS;
- Gender mainstreaming and the empowerment of women;
- Rapid adoption and internalization of information communication technologies;
- Diversification of regional economies through, inter alia, industrial development and value addition;
- Trade liberalization and development;
- Liberalization in the movement of factors of production;
- Research, science and technology innovation, development and diffusion;
- The creation of an enabling institutional environment; Productivity and competitiveness improvements;
- Private sector development and involvement; and
- Development of a balanced and socially equitable information and knowledge based society.

All the above are interrelated and supportive of each other and none can meaningfully impact on the integration and poverty eradication agenda if implemented in isolation. All are crucial for moving towards sustainable development and require careful sequencing and timing if they are to be effective as catalysts for deeper integration and poverty eradication (Salomao, 2005:27).

2.5 Scope and Purpose of the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP)

According to the Agreement Amending the SADC Treaty, based on the strategic priorities of SADC and its common Agenda, the RISDP aligns the strategic objectives and priorities with the policies and strategies to be pursued towards a diversity of those goals over a period of fifteen years. It is designed to provide strategic direction with respect to SADC programmes, projects and activities.

The RISDP is indicative in nature and outlines the necessary conditions that should be realized towards the attainment of SADC's regional integration and development goals. In other words, it is not a prescriptive or a command type of plan. In view of the need to monitor and measure progress; the RISDP sets targets that indicate major milestones towards the attainment of agreed goals. In this connection, the RISDP sets up a logical and coherent implementation programme of the main activities necessary for the achievement of the region's broader goals with a reasonable, feasible and resource constraints (SADC Today, 2005:22).

While maintaining a 'development integration' strategy, the RISDP, in view of the significant discrepancies existing among ADC Member States, recognizes the need for a flexible approach towards deeper integration and the implementation of various policy reforms and recommendations.

Most of the policies, strategies and programmes of SADC were designed independently by individual Sector Coordinating Units before they were grouped into

clusters managed through Directorates. For this reason, the various policies, strategies and programmes were not properly coordinated leading to weak intersectoral linkages. The RISDP identifies and strengthens the linkages, programmes and the policies of the various sectors with a view to improving efficiency and delivery of the SADC Programme of Action.

The RISDP provides SADC Member States, with a coherent and comprehensive development agenda on social and economic policies over the next fifteen years. It also provides the Secretariat and other SADC institutions with clear guidelines on SADC's approved social and economic priorities and policies, and, therefore, enhances their effectiveness in discharging their facilitating and coordinating role.

In the light of the SADC vision of a common future within a regional community and its mission to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development, the ultimate objective of the RISDP is to deepen the integration agenda of SADC with a view to accelerating poverty eradication and the attainment of other economic and non-economic development goals. To attain this objective, the RISDP takes stock of the current political, social and economic situation in the region with a view to providing a way forward for SADC to attain its objectives (Balaam and Veseth, 1996: 307).

2.6 Understanding International and Regional Issues and Their Relevance to SADC

International and Regional issues are important to States because they operate within international and regional environments. Thus, states are influenced and conditioned by international and regional environments. As no state is self-sufficient, a state, therefore, needs others to develop in all aspects of life. Although it is agreed that states live in an interdependent world, in reality, economic, political, military-security and environmental interests of the most powerful states determine global relations, the United States of America (USA). Similarly, with increased globalization of production and markets of capital and technology, most states have lost the power to determine their own destiny (Cammack et al 1993:63).

The extent to which a state's efforts at development are influenced and conditioned by international and regional environments are largely dependent upon its resource endowment, type of government and geographical locality which are its bargaining chips with other states. As Cammack et al (1993:248) succinctly argue, 'a state's international bargaining position depends upon its strategic importance, the character of the regime in control of the state, the personality and international standing of the leader, its economic resources and extent of external control over them, and the alliances which the state makes with its neighbours and within the intergovernmental organizations to which it belong.'

The chapter therefore discusses international and regional issues, which impact, on a state's development. International and regional issues can be categorized into

economic, political, military- security and environmental. However, regional issues and environments mirror those at the international level. In contemporary situations, economic and environmental issues have gained prominence over political and military/ security issues at both international and regional levels. The debate dealing with economic development and environmental protection has highlighted the important issue of sustainable development, which has become of paramount importance in international political economy (Cammack et al 1993:64).

Economic issues include economic development in general, trade, foreign investment and assistance, technology and international debt. Political concerns cover good governance and stability, and military/ security issues focus on order. The issue of environmental conservation involves a proper balance between economic growth and environment protection.

While these issues are discussed separately, in reality, economic, political, military-security and environmental issues are interrelated and subsumed under the 'new approach to national security.' This has entailed redefinition of the conception of national security in the 1990s, primarily due to 'global developments', to include resource use, and environmental and demographic issues (Mathews, 1991). Similarly, the new approach to security is concerned with the pursuit of democracy, sustainable developments, defence, social justice and protection of the environment (Nathan, quoted in Swatak and Omari, 1997:87).

2.6.1 Economic Issues

Economic issues at the international level can best be understood in terms of the North- South gap in socio- economic and political development. There are basically two economic classes of states, the North and the South. The North is the rich industrialized countries of the west and the south is the poor unindustrialized countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The south is also called developing, underdeveloped or Third World. SADC member states form part of the South. The North- South gap is the basis of the 'development dilemma' (Balaam and Veseth, 1996:311).

All states operate in 'a capitalist international economic system dominated by institutions and mechanisms tilted in favour of the developed countries' (Balaam and Veseth, 1996:316). Thus, although the global economy is governed by the principle of a free market mechanism, the northern states and their Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and international institutions (IFIs) like the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) largely control it. It is the North, MNCs, and IFIs who control international commodity, capital and technology markets (Leftwich, 1995,43).

Similarly, the North, through their MNCs, controls economies of the developing world. Extractive or processing activities of Third World economies are either wholly or partially owned by MNCs from the west, which makes it difficult for governments to direct their economies to realize national goals. Botswana's diamond sector, for

example, is apportioned on the 50- 50 percent share ownership between the government and De Beers Diamond Company.

The MNCs have been blamed for repatriation of economic surplus from the Third World, which deprives them of investment capital for development, which in essence means that they contribute relatively little to the development of host countries (Papp, 1994). The question of whether or not the MNCs exploitation of the South accounts for its underdevelopment or the countries of the South are responsible for their own underdevelopment is an important part of the debate on MNCs- South relations and North- South economic relations. Additionally, it is the political power of the MNCs, which bothers the South. The MNCs, with the help of their home governments, have also been known to destabilize Third world governments to protect their assets. The US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), for example, assisted in the military overthrow of President Allende of Chile in 1973 to protect International Telephone and Telegraph's (ITT) assets threatened by nationalization (Papp, 1994:119).



International trade, involving the North and the South, promotes the development of the former while retarding that of the latter. The most controversial aspect of international trade is the unequal terms of trade determined by division of labour based on comparative advantage, which makes the South producers of raw materials and the North manufacturers of processed goods.

Unequal exchange and asymmetrical benefits accruing to trading partners stem from relatively low and fluctuating prices for exports of raw materials of the South to the

North and high prices of manufactures exported by the North to the South. Such unequal exchange can be traced to colonialism and continued up to the present day.

Relatively low and fluctuating demand and revenues of exports mean that developing countries have inadequate resources for development, and face difficulties with economic planning. Hence, they blame their underdevelopment on the North, especially trade patterns. Related to this, is the fact that the developing world, except the newly industrialized countries (NICs), find it hard to access markets in the West for their processed goods due to 'new protectionism' practiced by the US, European Community (EC) and Japan since the 1970s (Papp, 1994:21).

The new protectionism utilizes Non Tariff Barriers (NTBs) and bilateralism. The commonly used NTBs include 'quotas, Voluntary Export Restraints (VERs) customs valuation procedures, administrative authorizations to import, subsidies and wealth (Williams, 1994: 154). The NBs further constrain greater liberalization of global economy, by protecting national interests of the developed North.

The issue of foreign investment and foreign economic assistance is of great importance to SADC member states whose economies cannot generate enough investment capital locally and are dependent on export revenues as sources of capital for socio-economic development. As a result of relatively low levels of export prices, export revenues are unreliable sources of development capital. This makes developing countries dependent on two alternative sources of development funds, foreign investment and loans; and foreign assistance.

Here again, SADC countries face enormous problems. Since most of the states of SADC specialize in producing very few agricultural and mineral products, with relatively little industrial sectors, they are not very attractive to foreign investors. Similarly, through the control of international financial markets, the North, MNCs and IFIs limit developing countries, access to funds for economic development (Balaam and Veseth, 1996:317).

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund stipulate political and economic conditionalities for the developing world to qualify for loans. Since most developing countries find it hard to repay existing loans and shoulder heavy debt burdens, they are not attractive borrowers, which further limit their chances of borrowing from the international financial market. This denies them investment capital for development, and hence, they lag behind the west in economic development. Of particular importance, is the Trade- Related Investment measures (TRIMs) of the Uruguay Round of GATT of 1995, which has opened up previously, closed financial markets to external competition. 'A Third World country will no longer be able to keep powerful Western banks out of its financial markets. Good news for banks but bad news for developing countries which want to control their investment in more self-reliant directions' (Lang and Hines, 1993:55).

Foreign economic assistance, which is official government-to-government assistance, takes the form of grants, heavily subsidized loans or technical assistance (Bauer, 1992:184). Although there is a consensus that 'foreign aid is indispensable for reasonable progress in the less developed countries' (Bauer, 1992:184), the North has transferred relatively little to the developing countries to effectively deal with the

pervasive poverty there. The North has not fulfilled its pledge of one percent of its gross national product (GNP) to finance development in the South to alleviate poverty.

The question which the North is still considering is whether or not it should increase aid to the South as there are proponents (Head, 1992) and opponents (Bauer, 1992) of an increase in aid to the South. The taxpayers in the North might not feel obligated to help the poor South as some argue that the 'needy' do not necessarily benefit (Bauer, 1992). Corruption in the South dampens enthusiasm in the North to help the poor South.

The dependence of the SADC member states on western technology and know-how presents another aspect of neocolonialism. Western technology is important for economic development in general but more important for industrialization and to compete effectively in the world market. Here again, developing countries find that their efforts to access western technology are severely restricted through legal controls, copyrights and licensing. This explains why the south strongly opposes Trade- Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) in the Uruguay Round of GATT of 1995. part of the objection is based on the argument that it prevents the transfer of new technology to the Third World while allowing MNCs monopoly control on technology with the internationalization and harmonization of patent laws (Lang and Hines, 1993:55).

In particular, the desires of the South to develop their economies, especially through industrialization, are greatly hampered by the MNCs protected by TRIPs, whatever

technology the South has been able to obtain from the West in the past has been inappropriate and obsolete. The capital-intensive technologies acquired by the South are not suitable to their labour abundant economies, and are usually outdated which makes maintenance difficult due to problems of obtaining supplies of spare parts.

The issue of international indebtedness became more pronounced in the 1970s with the debt crisis. The debt problem of some of the SADC member countries has been attributed to a combination of poor economic performance due to misconceived domestic policies, decline in export prices of the 1970s and 1980s and globalization of finance (Balaam and Veseth, 1996). As a result, the Third World experiences balance of payment problems as they import more than they do export or more money flows out than into these economies.

To overcome financial shortcomings, the south turns to external borrowing. Consequently, it is caught in a cycle of falling revenue- external borrowing debt- structural adjustment programmes- more borrowing- more debt- reduced levels of output and development, from which it is unable to disentangle itself. Although external borrowing, which leads to debt accumulation, is a short-term solution to resource- deficient countries, it is, in the long run, a major and overriding constraint on economic reform and recovery because of inability to repay debts (Lang and Hides, 1993:156).

Due to shortfalls in export earnings, most SADC member states borrow heavily from global financial markets to finance their development. They are heavily indebted to multilateral (e.g. IMF and WB), bilateral (western governments) and private

commercial (bankers) creditors. As a result, the SADC member states cannot meet debt payments and finance development simultaneously as large portions of export revenue go to debt payment. This means that they are caught in a debt trap, a catch 22 situation: 'they cannot pay their debts unless they expand their economies; they cannot expand if they pay their debts' (Rourke, 1989:203).

While there is general agreement that debt retards economic development and threatens democracy in the southern as people tend to protest austerity measures associated with SAPs, there is no agreement as to the appropriate response to the international debt crisis. The debate by academics and policy-makers on the debt-crisis is on two main issues: On one hand, there are those who support non payment of debt by the Third World or cancellation of debt by the North (Colmenares, 1989), and those against cancellation (Guenther, 1989), on the other hand.

Countries, generally, support cancellation of all debt, and some countries like Mexico, attempted to default in the 1980s while Brazil successfully negotiated payments of its debt (Balaam and Veseth, 1996; Sachs, 1991). The North and other creditors prefer renegotiations or rescheduling of payments. The only relief provided by bilateral donors is rescheduling of payment and some cancellation of debt of the most severely affected economies through the conversion of loans into grants. Although multilateral creditors have the financial capability, they resist cancellation encouraging instead, debt buying (the WB) and rights to loans through the IMF's Rights Accumulation Program. The IMF, for example, has refused to cancel Mozambique's debt in the face of recent severe destruction from torrential rains and flooding. It has offered, instead, postponed of payments, and more loans.

In view of the difficulties in securing concessions and assistance from the developed countries, developing countries have resorted to collective action to articulate their needs. For example, the South established the United National Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Group of 77 to put pressure on the west to create a New International Economic Order (NIEO). The NIEO was directed at reforming the international trade relations and financial system to make it more responsible to Third World's needs. Specifically, the NIEO had emphasized negotiating new trade agreements as an alternative to GATT, new financial system to replace the current Bretton Wood System and parity in prices of goods exchange between the North and South to allow the South to earn profits from exports of raw materials (Balaam and Veseth, 1996; Sachs, 1991).

Unfortunately, neither UNCTAD nor the Group of 77 had managed to secure substantial concessions from the North, primarily because of the South's feeble negotiating position and international divisions within the South between the rich OPEC and poor producers of raw materials. UNCTAD managed to negotiate for preferential treatment on tariffs for exports of the South to the North, the Generalized System of Preferences (GSPs) (Balaam and Veseth, 1996). Their efforts, therefore, have been largely unsuccessful because it is not in the North's interest to create a NIEO as they benefit greatly from the current economic system.

Similarly, North-South efforts at trade negotiations at the World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle, USA, in 1999 proved futile as the North refuse to grant concessions to the poor South. However, the Beef Protocol of the Lome IV Convention of 1989 boosted production of Botswana's beef because its exports

enjoyed preferential treatment in the European Community (EC) market. The Beef Protocol allowed Botswana beef to earn substantial revenue because prices are above world market levels.

The EC granted a 90 percent rebate of the variable levy to all African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) beef exports and buys 75 percent of their meat handled by the Botswana Meat Commission (BMC) (Hubbard, 1986). Such preferential treatment of Botswana beef is likely to change within the implementation of the Uruguay GATT Agreement which recommended abolition of preferential access to markets, artificial prices, non tariff barriers, and reduction in tariffs and export subsidies in favour of a more liberalized, free international trade (Balaam an Veseth, 1996), renegotiations of the Lome Convention.

At the regional level, regional organizations have taken up the challenge of economic development through promotion of regionalism. Since the 1980s, regional cooperation has been seen as an effective means to global economic development through promotion of trade between members and an enlarged market to stimulate production, and to pool resources for joint projects of common interest. Consequently, regional organizations have become the norm in various parts of the world. SADC is a good example of a 'flexible regional cooperation, which allows for regional projects while allowing members to pursue their individual national interests' (Cammack et al, 1993:256).

However, controversy arises as a result of unequal distribution of benefits of regional cooperation making some members 'peripheries' (e.g. the rest of SADC) and others

center (e.g. South Africa in SADC). South Africa, with a highly developed industrial sector, exports more to other SADC members, and its capital finds easy access to markets in the region, a situation resented by other members who fear continued dependence, and dominance of South Africa.

Similarly, regional cooperation has been in terms of allowing members to use their collective strength to negotiate with international actors to secure concessions which individual states would not otherwise obtain. SADC, for example, has been able to negotiate technical assistance and capital investments from the West for regional projects (Cammack et al, 1993:257).

In the context of President Clinton's foreign policy, Southern Africa is seen as a 'strategically important region' whose economic growth is not only essential as 'untapped market for US products' (Black and Adibe, 1998:58), but also as a 'stabilizing effect in Africa' (Swatuk, 1998:64). Southern Africa could become a model region for the rest of the African continent. Thus, the US hopes to assist in developing a 'prosperous future for Southern Africa' through the twin approach of promotion of liberal democracy and capitalist economic development (Swatuk, 1998:64).

Indeed, Clinton's visit to Botswana, a state based on liberal democracy and capitalist economy, was indicative of the type of state America prefers in Africa as a whole (Swatuk, 1998:65). Indeed, Botswana's liberalized economy and its reputation of a stable democracy in a region characterized by instability allowed for a greater role by

private foreign capital in both mining and manufacturing, and helped to attract foreign investment into the country (Laishley, 1992/93:23).

2.6.2 Political Issues

Good government, defined as a democratic government, is a key political issue in the international system because it is assumed that global peace and development could be achieved through liberal democracy and capitalist economy. It is also assumed that since the twin institutions of democracy and free market economy brought political stability and economic prosperity to the West, it would also translate into global peace and development.

With the demise of communism and the spread of democracy to the former communist countries and the Third World, there have been predictions of the 'end of history or ideology'. It has been argued that with the collapse of communism, there would be no ideology to challenge capitalist democracy and that there would be eventual universalization of democracy and free market economies, making them a way of life (Fukuyama, 1992; Roskin et al, 1994:17).

While Huntington (1992) presents a counter argument to 'the end of history' thesis, what generates debate, however, is whether or not democracy and free enterprise economy can lead to international peace and prosperity. The East Asian NICs have demonstrated that Capitalist economic development is possible without democracy.

Similarly, problems of consolidation and ‘reversal’ of democracy in the ‘Third Wave’ democracies, especially Africa (Gambia, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of the Congo), Asia (Pakistan) and Eastern Europe (former communist nations, e.g. USSR) challenge assumptions that democracy and capitalist economies promote peace, stability and prosperity.

Prior to the end of the Cold War in 1989, the US government’s foreign policy of intervention in the Third World countries, was in part, premised on the containment and domino theories designed to prevent the spread of Soviet Communism in the Third World (Rourke, 1989:35). The US has used respect for human rights as the condition for distribution of assistance to recipients to ensure promotion of democratic governance and stability in the world. The debate, however, has centered on whether human rights or moral considerations should be the determinant of foreign policy formulation (Vance, 1989; Shultz, 1989:16).

This is particularly poignant topic since human rights conditions in most developing countries are unsatisfactory to enable them to qualify for western support. Consequently, most of them are denied resources crucial for development. Similarly, American foreign assistance has been extended to governments with appalling human rights records (Asian NICs, Zaire), either because of their strategic importance or because they are allies. This signifies the importance of national interests of the USA, economic, ideological or security, rather than needs of recipients.

In the post- Cold War era, the US government, and the IMF and WB have facilitated the spread and consolidation of democracy in the South and the former communist

bloc through political and economic conditionalities attached to their financial assistance. Other Western aid donors have also linked economic assistance to political and economic liberalization. These conditionalities are resented and are seen by the South as imposition of Western political values and institutions, another manifestation of neocolonialism (Vance, 1989:891).

Regional organizations supplement efforts at international level towards the promotion of democratic governance and free market economies. As pointed out above, President Clinton's foreign policy is designed for this purpose. The SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security has been mandated to promote democratic institutions and practices within member states and to encourage observance of universal human rights in accordance with the Charters and Conventions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations (UN) (Malan and Cilliers, 1997:96).

Democracy is seen as critical to sustainable political stability, a necessary condition for economic development, regional cooperation and eventual integration. What is not clear is how the Organ is expected to accomplish this noble goal.

2.6.3 Military- Security Issues

On the global agenda is the promotion of international order and stability. The basic assumption rests on the fact that since we are alive on the same earth, catastrophic occurrence in one part of the globe would engulf other parts as well. This is the basic

argument of those who champion equality in global development Threats to international order emanate from different sources.

Poverty level in the SADC member states is seen as a threat to international peace and security due to the possibility of a mass revolution. Civil wars, commonplace in the Third World, compound the problem as conflicts spill over across borders, and possibly draw in major Western powers. Similarly, armaments and nuclear weapons, especially proliferation of nuclear weapons to Third World countries, are said to have increased the possibility of a Third World War (Shultz, 1989:53).

International terrorism, a weapon that has been increasingly used in the past decade by those opposed to the west, especially the USA, is currently the most important threat to the international order. The USA, the self-appointed World's policeman and the only superpower, has taken up the task of fostering world stability and order through military means.

The role of the USA has become paramount in view of the inability of the UN and international law to regulate states' behaviour and maintain world order. World order is expected to be realized through disarmament, arms control, and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to the Third World and strict security checks. Similarly, the US has utilized intervention in other states to create or maintain order, e.g. during the Gulf War of 1990, or containment of conflicts to regions to prevent internationalization of war. But more important are the long-term solutions of elimination of poverty through economic prosperity, and political dissatisfaction through encouragement of democratic governance (Malan and Cilliers, 1997:217).

Regional organizations like SADC have taken up the challenge to promote regional peace, stability and security. This ties in well with President Clinton's hopes of achieving world peace through regions. Similarly, partly due to reference to manage their affairs and partly due to desire to supplement continental (OAU) and international (UN) organization's effort, regional institutions have increasingly become prominent in the maintenance of peace and security within their respective regions.

The SADC members, through the Organ, are to cooperate on regional security and defence through conflict prevention, management and resolution, and to mediate in interstate and interstate disputes and conflicts; to coordinate the participation of member states in international and regional peacekeeping operations; and to encourage and monitor ratification of UN and OAU and other international conventions and treaties on arms control and disarmament, human rights and peaceful human relations between states (Malan and Cilliers, 1997:221).

Contemporary regional organizations, unlike the old, traditional ones, are responsible for both external threats, including international criminal activities, and internal ones in the form of rebellions, insurgents, coup d'etat and civil strife. However, efforts by SADC have been marred by members' pursuance of national interest and personal ambitions as in the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (Osei-Hwedie, 1999:57).

2.6.4 Environmental Issues

Economic development has contributed to global prosperity and has also created environmental problems. The discussion has been directed at whether economic development is in-compatible with environmental protection (Rees, 1992; Mackenzie, 1992). This has led to the call for sustainable development, which is defined as economic progress, which is achieved without further damage to the ecosystem (Rourke, 1992:109).

This is essential to safeguard capacity for development in the future. Sustainable development calls for 're- introduction of equality and moral considerations into global economic development' (Rees, 1992:370). Similarly, proponents of the 'New Protectionism', conceptualized as 'encouragement of economic activity which protects the environment', blames rules regulating free international and regional trade which worsen environmental degradation; and prevent effective national, regional and international efforts to environmental protection (Lang and Hines, 1993:127).

Environmental problems, which transcend national borders, include pollution, climatic changes, deforestation and flooding. The primary causes of environmental degradation stem from economic growth, especially industrialization, spurred on the free international trade, and population growth. This means that governments in both the North and South should change how they utilize their resources, types of technologies used to produce goods and services and population policies in order to have healthy ecosystems (Mathews, 1991:167).

The controversy, however, relates to the fact that while the industrialized countries have tried to adopt policies and technologies which are environmentally- friendly and have a small population, governments in the SADC region which lag behind in economic development including industrialization and are poor, cannot afford the costly replacement of production technologies and changes in resource use.

Sustainable development would mean diverting resources away from development to safe technologies. The alternative is for the west to transfer environmentally friendly technology and financial assistance to developing countries in order to redistribute global wealth. Whether or not the western states can and are willing to undertake such massive transfer of resources and technology to the Third World is highly debatable. The New Protectionism proposes regional and international agreements, which are directed at environmental protection, economic development and equity as the most realist solutions.

At a regional level, SADC, for example, has to walk a tight line, governments have to encourage conservation measures such as controlled grazing in Botswana, while turning a 'blind eye' to environmental degradation, caused by cutting down of trees for fire wood and charcoal for household uses, farming practices, overgrazing, and industrial pollution, among others, due to non provision of alternatives. Similarly, governments of SADC, dependent on foreign assistance, are limited in attempts to stop donors engaging in activities detrimental to environmental health.

However, the IUCN (The World Conservation Union) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), among other things, have been 'urging IFIs, like

the World Bank and interested donors, like CIDA and USAID, to adopt more nuanced and progressive perspectives in their approaches to resource use in the SADC region' (Swatuk, 1997:32).

CHAPTER THREE

CHALLENGES TO REGIONAL INTEGRATION: THE CASE OF SADC

In the light of rapid changes taking place, the current forces affecting regional integration adversely require continued assessment to possibly readjust and truly supportive role in regional schemes.

Not only matters related to the global economic exchange, but also recent political developments and their treatment in multinational bodies might require new assessments of the state of regional collaboration in various African settings. One example to illustrate this case is the controversy over Zimbabwe. It escalated into a sharp division of views within the Commonwealth group of states over the continued suspension at the end of 2005 and as a result of these debates showed the divisions over the policy towards Zimbabwe also within SADC.

It is hardly an exaggeration to state that the inability for SADC to agree on a common denominator concerning the policy *Vis-à-Vis* Zimbabwe has an almost paralyzing effect. The current dilemma is in actual fact a good example to illustrate the political obstacle within SADC and the limits towards further regional cooperation with the aim of enhanced integration (Laakso, 2002:02)

The same can be concluded from the current trends within NEPAD. It seems to emerge increasingly as a type of mega- NGO to channel aid- funds into developmental projects,

which at best claim to be driven by a desire towards enhanced regional collaboration. The programmes and policies funded under NEPAD are implemented mainly by countries and not by regional bodies. Hence NEPAD in effect more undermines than strengthens an agency such as SADC (or any other regional institution). This is a trend notwithstanding the fact that NEPAD attributed substantial relevance to regional bodies when identifying ways and means to achieve the defined socio- economic goals (Ramsamy, 2001:39).

NEPAD claims that its agenda is 'based on national and regional priorities and development plans', which ought to be prepared 'through participatory processes involving the people; So far, however, no visible signs in the SADC would indicate that the collective (multilateral) efforts aim at a united approach of the region in its relations with the outside world.

Such recent trends indicate towards less than more regional cooperation and integration, at least in macro- economic terms along the official membership in such bodies like SADC. The political and security interests might provide with increased support by the G8 the strengthening of initiatives towards closer regional collaboration in reducing armed conflicts and securing more stability. Such stability continues however to be perceived as regime security, in contrast to a concept of human security.

The latter would give primary to human rights in favour of the citizens and not preference to the governments in power. It therefore remains a task to at least fit human rights into the trade matrix, as Thoko Kaime (2004) demanded for SADC.

3.1 SADC the Toothless Lion in Action

3.1.1 Trade Protocol and Trade Liberalization

Regional integration and co- operation in the politics and economies can be the only way of developing the SADC member states. But there are still problems on trade liberalization brought about by the legislation of some member states. A good example is the duty imposed on goods crossing the boarders. Countries take this action trying to protect their own goods from competing with imported products. But this marginalizes the economies of member states and is totally against the spirit of integration. The trade protocol was signed in Lesotho in 1998, but so far only Botswana, Mauritius, Tanzania and Zimbabwe have ratified it (Meyns, 2001:41).

The major obstacle facing the SADC in this regard is the current state of member states economies. Almost all continents now have regional groupings and they all compete in the global market, the same playground where the SADC should compete. If we take the example of the European Union, the SADC GDP for all member states combined is equal to that of only one member of the Union, namely Belgium.

This poses a challenge to the SADC. To overcome this challenge the member states should first adhere to one of the principles stated under the organ on politics, defence and security, which is to develop a common foreign policy in areas of mutual concern and interest and to lobby collectively on issues of common interest at international level.

The region is still divided by mistrust. States are not open to each other. In some countries there is widespread corruption that suppresses the economies of member states. Foreign involvement has led to the proliferation of arms and the emergence of armed opposition groups. This has led to the neglect of economic development (Lippmann, 1999:27).

Academics argue that if four countries can be so successful in a regional grouping it shows that a large membership, with countries of diverse and different interests. This reasoning appeals because there is nothing common in the values of the SADC member states. Some countries in the organization are currently contributing nothing to the region's development.

The acceptance of the DRC for example has brought more problems than gain to the SADC. Three member states of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe are now fighting a war in the DRC that is draining their economies, a war that they did not have to fight if it was not for their national interests.

Those interests are not shared by the other ten member states. It is evident that all the countries fighting, including the DRC is paying all their attention to the war effort at the expense of development projects. Zimbabwe has lost the chance to host the 2000 African Football Competition, which was going to earn the country millions in foreign currency because they could not give the development of sports infrastructure priority due to the

war effort. Angola is busy with a civil war and major economic development cannot be expected there (Meysn, 2001:43).

These problems could have been avoided by options for a small membership of countries free from internal problems, committed to the rule of law and full economic development, such as with MERCOSUL.

3.1.2 Freedom of Movements in the Region

The theme document produced in Maputo, Mozambique (1992) observed that ‘promoting the free movement of labour and people generally across borders will be an essential component of a strategy of regional integration’. The movement of the citizens of the SADC member states is still curtailed by legislation such as use of passports.

Although this issue was tabled for discussion under the ‘freedom of movement’ protocol, it has never been signed as many countries experience stiff opposition from their citizens. Those that are for the protocol argues that labour will be readily available for professional jobs hence bringing about an economic boost to the region. Those against argue that foreigners will come and take up their jobs under the pretext that they are more qualified. Some countries including Botswana and Mozambique have asked for more time to consult with their governments (Lippmann, 1999:29).

It is worth noting that the catastrophe that befell Zimbabwe when eighteen of their citizens suffocated to death in Botswana in a closed container in an attempt to gain illegal entry into South Africa was blamed on the restriction of movement in the region. Be that as it may, those countries with experience a lot of foreign nationals' entry to trade and to seek jobs. This may become a source of insecurity and instability (Meyns, 2001:46).

3.1.3 Transport and Communication as a Pre Requisite for Development

Criticism has been leveled against some member states for making use of the communication network difficult. They include, amongst others, the delay at border posts caused by government officials, police activities like speed traps and other checks resulting in charges, and strict customs regulations.

The truth is that all member states have laws that must be respected. These laws take time to amend and ratify, and the signing of a protocol will not change the laws of a country overnight. It is therefore wrong to negatively portray a big project because of some minor problems that will be addressed with time. Protocols address specific areas and it would be wrong to presume that a protocol on trade will address the question on Free Movement of people. However the two, and other, many are complimentary. The membership of the organization is too big, and some countries are not committed to development (Hammerstad, 2003:29).

The SADC is definitely not equipped to deal with security issues. They lack the authority to deal with situations that exist in the DRC and Angola. To the people who are suffering as a result of these wars, they will never understand what the SADC is for. Although the Organization gets early warning from the OAU, they fail to prevent crisis. This could be attributed to the wide difference in national versus international interests, and in differing foreign policies.

The military intervention in the DRC by Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe was not at all a SADC operation. It was not intervention carried out following a request by the DRC leadership under OAU Charters and the respective states participated to promote their national interests and not those of the SADC. Angola was certainly concerned with the security of its eastern border should a hostile government be in power in the DRC (Cilliers, 1995:31).

The military intervention in Lesotho was also not a SADC intervention, but was under the spirit of the OAU Charter as the two intervening countries, (and Zimbabwe) were invited to act as guarantors of democracy in Lesotho in the 1994 agreement between the four countries. South Africa was more concerned with the security of the water supply, which is of vital national interest to her.

It will be safe to state that in security issues, the SADC is toothless. It is however, strongly felt that the organization can unite the people of the region and improve their basic needs by providing good communications, freedom of movement and improving

the trade between countries in the region and globally. Development in this regard is in the right direction (Hammerstad, 2003:34).

4. Is SADC towards a Security Community?

The Southern African sub- region has had a long history of conflict as well as efforts to create some sort of inter- state institutional arrangements designed to mitigate conflicts and enhance collaboration on a wide range of socio- political and economic dimensions. Although this road has been long and hard, indications thus far show a concerted effort to create a viable collaborative security arrangement (Naison Ngoma, 2003:24).

The establishment of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security represents an ambition effort on the part of the Southern African sub- region to integrate national political institutions, and to harmonize their values and practices at political level. Peace, Security and development are terms that have been associated with every state in the world- developed and developing – since time immemorial. The significance of these terms to the Southern Africa Development Community is not only a given, but historical too.

It is has been argued that the states in the sub- region do not share threat perceptions and that the states’ structural relationship is essentially characterized by inequality. Furthermore, Baregn stipulates that mutual confidence is very low, especially ‘between the could- be hegemony and the rest of the region’.

Russet et al quote Karl Deutsch (the person most associated with the concept of security community):

A security community is a group of people, which has become 'integrated', by integration we mean the attainment, within a territory, of a 'sense of security' and of institutions and practices strong and wide- spread enough to assure... dependable expectations of 'peaceful change' among its population. By sense of community we mean a belief... that common social problems must and can be resolved by processes of 'peaceful change' (Naison Ngoma, 2003:27).

4.1 Setting the Stage

The major challenge facing the sub- region is the restructuring of SADC and all its structures, including the OPDS (Organ for Peace Defence and Security), to 'operationalise protocols and harmonize policies'. The exercise is expected to lead to a better functioning sub- regional body capable of delivering the economic, social, political and security goals of the sub- region. While the value of the SIPO (Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ) to the development of peace and security in the sub- region may be deducted from its repeated re- evaluation. The extent to which the SIPO provides an understanding of development in terms of a security community approach is more important (Isaken, 2002:244).

4.2 The Political Sector

The political sector indicates the SIPO's bias towards a security community. For instances, the document's acceptance of democratic elections and consultations designed to improve democratic culture and the acknowledgement of 'good political cooperation' sits well with early phases of security community development. What may be contested is the degree to which elections in the sub- region have been democratic. Holding regular elections in the sub- region, holding former political leaders accountable, and participation by sub- regional institutions in these processes are all indicative of efforts to improve governance (Huntington, 1998:226).

Further solidifying this position is the Gaborone Draft's assertion that the Sub region has established institutions designed to 'deepen co- operation and mutual trust among member states, one such institution [being] in Inter- state Politics and Diplomacy Committee'. This relates to the first and second tiers of the emergence of security communities.

Central to the political section of the Gaborone Draft is the heightening of current common values and culture, which is expected to lead to the transcending of boundaries. Acknowledgement that the peoples in the sub- region share a common past, present and future. The process of building the nation- state is taking place in tandem with the process of building the SADC Community.

4.3 The Defence Sector

The Defence sector reflects similar aspects; namely the need for people to be protected from interstate and intrastate conflicts and aggression, and need to harmonize policies.

Acknowledgement of 'regional co- ordination and co- operation on matters related to security and defence and [the] establish [ment] [of] appropriate mechanisms to this end' and the need to take this further to 'the development of a collective security capacity and conclude a mutual defence pact to respond to external military threats' shows the sub-region's evolution of a security community from the nascent through the ascendant to the mature phase (Gultung, 1996:121).

Utilization of some of the state forces in the sub- regional standby arrangement, irrespective of the size or quality of their forces, reduces the problems that would arise from feelings of exclusion that might ignite the sensitivity of state sovereignty. Since the standby arrangement project would imply forces that may not necessarily have had identical training and operational experience working together (Isaksen, 2002:24).

One difficulty may arise from allowing states to contribute according to their capacity. Since this would imply that South Africa, and other economically advanced and military superior states, would play a dominant role in the activities of the RPTC (Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre). It would not be unrealistic to deduce that this would reopen the old fear and hostility, which characterized the pre- 1994 era.

The other difficulty with foreign partners is that this may be regarded as ‘surrendering’ some sovereignty to states outside the sub- region. The sensitivity with which the states in the sub- region handle matters of the SADC Organ would suggest an unwillingness to surrender regional sovereignty. The sensitivity has been extended to local non- state institutions, possibly indicative of the their closeness to foreign institutions.

4.4 The Security Sector

The challenges, which include the transnational nature of crime, terrorism, HIV/ AIDS Limited resources, food security and the protection of maritime resources-, would best be faced in a co- operative arrangement. Therefore, strategies of the security sector include the need for an ‘exchange of information of common interest... [and] harmoniz [ation] [of] intelligence systems.

If any of the sectors could be regarded as critical (without which the entire collaborative enterprise would be at risk) then it would be the security sector. Sharing of information and intelligence, generally considered to be closely guarded because of the pivotal role of security in the survival of the state itself, are activities that can only be viewed as a maturing of the relationship among states (Kadima, 2000:29-30).

4.5 The Public Security Sector

Co-operation in immigration, customs, and policing is said to be comprehensive but nevertheless challenged by a number of issues such as 'transnational criminal activities and organized criminal syndicates, the negative effects of globalization such as the growing vulnerability of national borders [and] scarcity of resources'. SARPCCO; the development of protocols on firearms, ammunition and other related materials; extradition; corruption; and mutual legal assistance are evidence of the depth of this co-operation. The challenges facing the Southern African sub-region are indeed enormous (Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation, 2002,p.4).

CHAPTER FOUR

MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS OF SADC

When considering the magnitude of tasks SADC set for itself, it is clear that regional integration is at the best of times a complex and difficult process. However, in 25 years, SADC has recorded outstanding achievements in different areas of co-operation. SADC has endeavoured to create a dynamism, which has resulted in a regional identity and a SADC brand name.

Ordinary people have been establishing regional organisations as a spontaneous response to the Lusaka Declaration and the SADC Treaty. The enterprise sector has been encouraged to get involved and invest in the region to bring the SADC economies together. The support of International Co-operating Partners for SADC's endeavours has been successfully negotiated (SADC Annual Reports, 1995-2004).

On the economic front, the SADC region has made significant progress in terms of policy harmonization. In 1980, SADC countries had many socio-economic policies but now all countries in the region believe in market-oriented economic policies. Most SADC Member States have liberalized their economies, brought down budget deficits, liberalized exchange controls and considerably improved overall macro-economic fundamentals.

On the political front, the region has enjoyed unparalleled peace, political stability and security for the past few years following the signing of the Angolan Peace Accord in April 2002 and the installation in the Democratic Republic of Congo of a transitional government on 30 June 2003. The principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections have boosted the image of the region as a common investment area and mitigated the risk perception. This should increase investment flows into the region in future.

The organization has managed to formulate a programme of action spanning all the areas of a sectoral and cross- sectoral nature that are critical for the achievement of SADC's objectives, in particular in promoting deeper regional integration, integrating SADC into the world economy, promoting balanced and equitable development, eradicating poverty and promoting gender equality (Salomao, 2005:17).

The SADC Programme of Action now only includes projects, which are regional in nature and benefit more than one Member State, having spilling over effects. The powers and capacity of regional decision- making, co-ordinating and executing bodies have been strengthened and legally binding instruments, the SADC Protocols have been developed.

The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) and the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (SIPO), launched in 2004, align SADC objectives and priorities with the policies and strategies to be used to achieve those goals over a period of 15 years. These roadmaps have been unbundled into short to

medium- term business plans, which were approved by Council in February 2005, ensuring that the implementation of RISDP and SIPO rolls into motion (The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan).

4.1 Protocols

SADC sectoral Protocols are crucial in the organization's community building and integration process. They provide the legal framework for Member States to cooperate and work together towards the attainment of common objectives, aimed at cementing the social, economic and political fabrics of the Member States.

The institutionalization of the Protocols in the SADC legal framework corresponded to the organization's recognition that a sustained implementation of its policies required, over and above endeavour and political commitment by Member States to the regional integration agenda, legally binding instruments and enforcement mechanisms.

During the past decade, more than two- thirds of SADC Protocols have entered into force and most substantive provisions of the integration policy are, to various degrees, under implementation. The moment Protocols have entered into force it is required that Member States take steps to domesticate them, turning them into national laws. The Protocols are meant to create specific legal regimes in all the areas they regulate, i.e. legal regime on tourism, health, education, mining, etc.

SADC is developing a programme to assist Member States to take the Protocols through their national parliaments. A SADC policy document to be used by Member States as a blue print for Protocol incorporation is being compiled. The Protocol Implementation Programme will seek resources to enable all member states to domesticate the Protocols so that all will be moving ahead together as one region. International Co-operating Partners have agreed to support public education campaigns and assist Parliaments with the incorporation of Protocols into national laws.

The impact of the incorporation of Protocols into national law on achieving deeper integration and community development is expected to be immense. Once Protocols are domesticated, Member States will be working with legislation that is geared towards the development of SADC. Member States' legislation will then deepen integration, as it will stem from regional laws. The domestication of Protocols will also result in the development of a regional jurisprudence based on harmonized laws of Member States (SADC Protocols).

4.2 Politics, Defence and Security

The achievements in the areas of Politics, Defence and Security co-operation should be divided into two phases, namely achievements under SADCC and achievements under SADC. Under SADCC (1980-1992) the region achieved its most remarkable political landmarks, namely, containing the aggressions of apartheid South Africa against neighbouring countries especially Angola and Mozambique; accelerating the fall of

apartheid by providing political and military support to ANC and PAC; ensuring that the United Nations assumed its responsibilities to grant full independence to Namibia; building and consolidating a culture of mutual trust and political interdependence among Member States by promoting joint training and operations of defence and security forces as well as diplomatic cadres; entrenching the culture of solidarity and mutual assistance; and ensuring home growth political transformations through sharing best practices on democracy, good governance and transparency (Rothschild, 1997:66).

It was during the time of SADCC that member states built a sense of community in which the stability of one was the stability of another and the tragedy in one was the tragedy of all. The latter was amply demonstrated when spontaneous demonstrations were held in all Member States including apartheid South Africa after the tragic death of President Samora Moises Machel in October 1986.

The consolidation of the Inter- State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC), set up in 1977 was a tangible achievement of SADCC. ISDSC played a crucial role in the liberation struggles against colonial and racist regimes and in the maintenance of national sovereignty and territorial integrity of SADCC Member States.

The SADCC economic programmes had strong political importance for they were economic weapons against apartheid. SADCC also mounted a diplomatic campaign to denounce the atrocities by the apartheid regime against innocent civilians and deplored double standards of Western countries.

4.2.1 The Hashim Mbita Project

SADC has decided to document the liberation struggles of the countries in the region in mini- autobiographies and radio broadcasts. The project has been named after Hashim Mbita, the former Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity Liberation Committee. Summit approved the project in Grand Baie, Mauritius in 2004 and it is expected to be completed by 2008. Participants of the liberation struggle will be featured regardless of their political affiliation, status or position through testimonies or personal archives about what happened during the liberation struggle. The project is being funded by Member States (Meyns, 2001:43).

A team of selected scholars based in Member States is documenting the project under the guidance of the project Patron Mr. Hashim Mbita. The team comprises of Project Director Professor Arnold Temu from the United Republic of Tanzania and Deputy Director Professor Joel Tembe from Mozambique. The project has its main office in Dar es Salaam and a sub- office in Maputo.

Under SADC (1992-2005) the region witnessed remarkable achievements in the political, defence and security spheres. The signing of the Treaty itself was a demonstration of high- level political maturity and trust among the Member States. The Treaty opened the doors for deeper political integration without which all other areas would move at a slow pace.

Four years after the Treaty, SADC decided to create the Organ on Politics, Defence Security Co-operation replacing the Frontline States, which had achieved its ultimate goal, a free Southern Africa. New challenges had emerged and the Organ was the right framework within which Member States would enhance their political co-operation.

The integration in the Treaty of the Organ as one of SADC's institutions was a significant milestone towards the achievement of SADC's objectives. The transformation from elusive political co-operation into a more binding framework through the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation marked an important step in regional political integration. The conclusion of the mutual Defence Pact was unthinkable in the 1990s let alone in the 1980s (Hammerstad, 2003:51).

However, today SADC has a collectively agreed legal instrument for collective self-defence and for intervention in each other's territories in case of a threat to a Member State's legally and legitimately established government's national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (SIPO) seeks to further consolidate peace, security and political stability in the region.

The SIPO is divided into four main sectors:

- The political sector;
- The defence sector;
- The state security sector; and

- The public security sector.

The objectives of SIPO are those provided for in the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation. SIPO aims to create a peaceful and stable political and secure environment through which the region will endeavour to realize its socio-economic objectives and it is thus an enabling instrument for the implementation of the SADC developmental agenda embodied in the RISDP (Hammerstad, 2003:53).

The general objective of the Organ is to promote peace and security in the region. The specific objectives of the Organ are to:

- Protect the people and safe guard the development of the region against instability arising from the breakdown of law and order, intra- state conflict, inter- state conflict and aggression;
- Promote political co-operation among state parties and the evolution of common political values and institutions;
- Develop common foreign policy approaches on issues of mutual concern and such policies collectively in international fora;
- Promote regional co-ordination and co-operation on matters related to security and defence and establish appropriate mechanisms to this end;
- Prevent, contain and resolve inter- and intra- state conflict by peaceful means;
- Consider enforcement action in accordance with international law and as a matter of last resort where peaceful means have failed;

- Promote the development of democratic institutions and practices within the territories of State Parties and encourage the observance of universal human rights as provided for in the Charters and Conventions of the Organization of African Unity and United Nations respectively;
- Consider the development of a collective security capacity and conclude a mutual Defence Pact to respond to external military threats;
- Develop close co-operation between the police and state security services of state Parties in order to address:
 - ✓ Cross- border crime, and
 - ✓ Promote a community based approach to domestic security;
- Observe, and encourage State Parties to implement United Nations, African Union and other international conventions and treaties on arms control, disarmament and peaceful relations between states;
- Develop peacekeeping capacity of national defence forces and co-ordinate the participation of State Parties in international and regional peacekeeping; and
- Enhance regional capacity in respect of disaster management and co-ordination of international humanitarian assistance (Davies, 1997:69).

SADC aims to align its political, peace and security agenda with that of the African Union. Particular emphasis is in the areas of standby force, democracy, human rights, good governance and the fight against corruption. Any dispute arising between two or more State Parties from the interpretation or application of this Protocol, which cannot be settled amicably, shall be referred to the Tribunal (Hansen, 1987:53-4).

During the 1990s, most SADC Member States adopted multi-party systems of government. Accordingly the region witnessed the holding of regular elections. The Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections in the region, which were issued in a declaration by SADC leaders in 2004, now guide the democratic elections taking place in SADC.

This chapter serves as a benchmark against which Member States conduct mutual peer reviews in the promotion and practice of democracy and consolidation of democratic practice and institutions. The guidelines facilitate official SADC observer missions as they provide a code of conduct for elections observation and aim to ensure that election processes are inclusive, results are accepted and the relevant laws are adhered to. The Organ has successfully organized Missions to Member States to monitor their elections. SADC is also in the process of establishing Electoral Advisory Council to be responsible for co-ordination and capacity building of Independent Electoral Commissions in the region (SADC Today, 2005:19).

In the diplomatic sphere, Member States undertake regular consultations on matters of mutual interest. One of the regional institutions that have been created to deepen co-operation and mutual trust among Member States is the Inter-State Politics and Diplomacy Committee (ISPDC). Statespersons and eminent persons of the region have assisted in the mediation of conflicts within the region and beyond. A number of public and private research institutions are involved in the analysis of politics, international relations, security and human rights issues.

The Southern African region has for decades been developing and strengthening regional co-operation in the defence sector. The focus of military co-operation under SADC includes peace support operations, humanitarian assistance and support to civil authority. For example, during the floods induced disaster of 2000/2001 in Mozambique, the SADC Defence Forces played a critical role in saving lives and in the restoration of the communication links before civilian authorities could resume reconstruction activities.

Within the framework of the SIPO and in synchrony with the AU Peace and Security Agenda, SADC is at an advanced stage to establish a SADC standby Force and a Regional Early Warning Centre. These two efforts are intertwined; while the Early Warning Centre prepares the region to predict, the standby Force (SADCBRIG and SADCCIVPOL) represents an early response capacity. In order to ensure effective conduct of peace support operations the ISDSC established a Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre in Zimbabwe. To enhance effectiveness in the conduct of peace support operations SADC Defence Forces have held a series of joint peace support exercises such as Blue Hungwe, Blue Crane, Tanzania and Airborne Africa (Ho Won- Jeong, 2000:161).

Political co-operation has created a conducive environment for enhanced security co-operation. Regular exchange of intelligence information among the services and mutual assistance is some of the important factors defining the current state of co-operation in the state security sector. In the public security sector there has been increased co-operation between services responsible for law enforcement and public security. Law

enforcement agencies have been conducting joint cross- boarder operations, which resulted in reduction of crime and recovery of stolen property.

Transnational organized crime and incidents of terrorism constitute some of the serious concerns to law enforcement agencies such as immigration, police, customs, border guards, coast guards and fiscal inspectors. The immigration services of SADC are engaged in collective planning aimed at strengthening the control and facilitation of the movement of people in the region.

The public security sector has also been engaged in the prevention of poaching and illegal trade in wildlife products. Member States have furthermore been working together to curb incidents of transit fraud and under- valuation of imported second hand goods from Asia as well as cross- border smuggling. SADC through the Southern African Regional Police Chief Co-operation Organization (SARPCCO) prepared the Protocol on Firearms, Ammunition and other Related Materials, which was adopted and signed at the Blantyre Summit on 14 August 2001.

SADC has also adopted and signed the Protocols on Extradition, Against Corruption and on Mutual Legal Assistance in Matters of Crime. Most of these Protocols entered into force in record time as a result of a high level of political will and in recognition of mutual benefits. Technical committees have been set up to oversee and implement the above Protocols (Garcia, 2000:23).

At the continental level, the SADC Member States were instrumental in the development and adoption in 2000 of the Bamako Declaration on Small Arms and Light Weapons. At the international level, SADC actively participated at the UN Conference on illicit Trade in Small Arms and in the adoption of the respective Programme of Action held in July 2001 in New York. SADC countries were also instruments in the adoption of the UN Convention on Transnational Crime.

The level of confidence and mutual trust within SADC is unprecedented. While in the late 1980s and early 1990s bilateral activities were looked at with suspicion, of late, they are regarded as important steps towards community building under the principle of variable geometry. At the 2005 Summit, SADC adopted a Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons. The overall objective of this Protocol is to develop policies aimed at the progressive elimination of obstacles to the movement of persons of the region generally into and within the territories of State Parties. This Protocol will make SADC a true peoples oriented organization. This is a tremendous achievement in the region with such high levels of economic and social asymmetries.

4.2.2 Community Building

One of the visible and tangible achievements of SADC has been its enormous contribution to the creation of a regional awareness in the thinking of a growing segment of the population. Participation in SADC affairs has been extended to include all key

stakeholders. To this end, the SADC National Committees have been established and a number of stakeholders have formed regional associations.

4.2.3 Co-operation with International Partners

SADC's International Co-operating Partners (ICPs) have always played an important role in the success of the organization. ICPs' diplomatic and political support continues to assist SADC in marketing itself across the world.

The founding fathers of SADCC held the view that the organization's objectives could be achieved faster if development were to take place within the context of global co-operation. International bodies and countries outside Southern Africa were invited to cooperate and implement programmes towards economic liberation and development in the region. Annual meetings of Southern African States and invited participants were being organized to evaluate performance and discuss future plans for the organization. The annual meetings took the form of the SADC Annual Consultative Conferences (ACC) with International Co-operating Partners (Davies, 1997:103).

One of the principal objectives of SADC, however, was to make sure that the organization itself established its development priorities and placed primary responsibility for decision-making on the Member States. Although, there were on occasion, sharp differences over policies, strategies and projects to be supported because the interest of SADC and its Co-operating partners was not always the same, the annual

conferences provided a forum for constructive discussion and for reaching an understanding, making co-operation stronger.

At the initial consultative conferences held in Arusha in 1979 and Maputo in 1980, the most active co-operating partners were those countries, organizations and agencies which had worked most closely with the Frontline States, in dealing with the liberation struggles and the post- independence problems. The commonwealth Secretariat, the Nordic group of countries, the Commission of the European Union and the United Nations were among those early partners who also encouraged their members and associates to participate in the Arusha, Maputo and subsequent consultative conferences.

During the apartheid years, some of the co-operating partners who had significant investment in South Africa and balance of trade advantages found themselves in a dilemma, between taking a principled stand in support of the peoples of Southern Africa and their own economic interests. Funding of projects was on occasion made conditional, for instance in attempting to exclude SADC countries that followed socialist policies or that failed to pay their debt from the funding. SADC appealed to the donor government and agencies not to use their aid programmes to divide SADC and undermine cooperation (Barash, 2002:94).

Among other regular participants at consultative conferences were countries from the South, the multilateral finance agencies World Bank and ADB, and OAU. To this day

SADC is receiving substantial assistance from ICPs although the consultative conferences are now being held less frequently (The framework, 1993).

Prior to the RISDP, donor assistance was not always co-ordinated in the best possible way. However, in line with the RISDP development process, the SADC Secretariat sought to ensure the buy-in of the ICPs to acquire their support in funding the implementation of the RISDP, ICPs have agreed with SADC on the organization's blue print for the next 15 years. All funding that SADC now requests is done within the context of the RISDP.

SADC is relatively well funded by its Member States but has several capital projects in the pipeline for which they need financial support from the ICPs. A joint SADC/ ICP Task Force has been established to ensure continued coordination between ICPs and SADC in order to facilitate efficient and effective delivery of development assistance that contributes towards the achievement of SADC's socio-economic development agenda. The Task Force will also contribute to an enhanced socio-economic and political dialogue within the framework of SADC- ICP co-operation (SADC Today, 2005:12).

As SADC moves into higher levels of integration such as the Customs Union, the issue of overlapping membership of SADC countries in a number of other regional bodies and the conflicting obligations arising thereof need to be addressed urgently. A resolution on these issues would strengthen SADC's position as a building bloc of the African Union (AU). Harmonizing activities and positions by the different organizations in the AU will be necessary in order to avoid wasteful duplication of efforts.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) was formed in 1980, although at that stage in the time it was called the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Its aims were primarily, to break down economic dependence on South Africa. These aims shifted when South Africa was liberated from apartheid in 1994. SADC now focused its energy on maintaining peace and economic stability in the region as well as developing the region. The fourteen member states would achieve this through cooperation on economic, transport and communications matters. These goals have not been fully met and there are still some countries in the region that are ravaged by political instability, while others are experiencing economic turmoil.

In order for SADC to have peace, progress and prosperity in the region in the next 25 years, it is critical that SADC turns to its founding principles and reasserts them. It has to make sure that all member states work together for one common goal. An example of this is how the member states worked together during apartheid to coordinate support for liberation movements wanting to overthrow the regime. SADC should also play a greater mediatory role in conflicts occurring in the region that are hindering growth as well as giving the region a bad image, such as well as giving the region a bad image, such conflicts are not consistent with the very name of SADC must follow in the footsteps of the European Community (EU) in dropping economic barriers within member states and work towards a dominant Southern African economy.

The RISDP is indicative in nature, and merely outlines the necessary conditions that should be realized towards attainment of SADC's regional integration and a prescriptive or a command type of plan, therefore the need to develop a clear intervention framework is necessary.

There is a need to support the strengthening of institutional mechanisms that are charged with the responsibility of coordination and monitoring of the implementation of the gender equality commitments at all levels of the society.

At the implementation level, human and financial resources must be availed in order to make sure that policies and commitments are translated into action. We must continue to build on a strengthen advocacy and lobbying efforts by the civil society.

We also have to nurture and inculcate a culture of monitoring and evaluation that is practical and effective.

SADC need to continue to strengthen the values on increased involvement and participation of stakeholders at all levels of planning, policy and programme development/ review processes.

To achieve some goals mentioned above in reasonable time in the next 25 years, SADC might have to restructure. I sincerely believe that for there to be rapid progress, a full time legislative body that represents citizens of member states should be setup by the year 2010. This body should have a working staff.

Various members would be expected to make contributions based on the amount be responsible through its staff for proposing development plans and making sure that these projects are apparent to the people of Southern Africa so that they do not loss faith. Projects such as building schools and health facilities for member states in crisis would go a long way towards attaining progress.

The legislative body could also help bring about progress and prosperity by making sure that all economic barriers between member states are removed, to allow for free movement of goods within the region without having to pay customs duty as it is currently. The legislative body through its staff should make sure that member states are as capitalist as they can be by lobbying states to denationalize the majority of government owned industries. Member states should also be encouraged to cooperate economically and help fix prices of imports that are common between member states, instead of competing with each other.

The legislative body should also thorough its staff set standards for economic reform that all member states must abide by. Perhaps further when the region has achieved economic as well as political stability a single currency could be introduced, that would further bring member states together.

For there to be continual peace in the region, citizens of member states must have basic rights protected by SADC. All member states must sign a memorandum pledging to recognize universal human rights and Gender equality of member staes.

A Court of Justice should be setup immediately to prosecute individuals whom in fringe on the rights of others. Should states fail to recognize rights of individuals, collective action should be taken against them following recommendation from the courts of justice. The court should also be responsible for mediating in conflicts involving member states or conflicts involving member states or internal conflicts that may lead to war.

Peace could also be maintained in the next 25 years by minimizing military expenditure of member states so that it could be just enough for the country to protect itself, this would also mean that more money is spent on development. The minimizing of military expenditure will go along way towards maintaining a balance of power. History has clearly showed that military growth leads to an imbalance in power, which eventually leads to war. E.g. Germany's rapid military growth led to World War I and II.

To achieve progress in the next twenty-five years there must also be cooperation in the realms of education. Knowledge is power and without knowledge there is no progress. It is very vital that member states share knowledge and information in order to eradicate the flows that stop them from attaining progress. The sharing of information would also help member states to fully exploit their strengths and achieve maximum progress.

According to the World Bank the region holds enormous potential for advances for advances in biotechnology as well as labour intensive service industries. Sharing intelligence between states should help the region explore these fields and ensure that the region keeps at pace with the global economy in the next years. SADC should also

provide scholarships to institutes of higher learning abroad so those scholars can learn about approaching problems that face SADC.

Cultural and educational exchanges should be made for students to learn more about the region as well as a greater appreciation and understanding of other cultures. Disease is another factor hindering progress in the region. The region stands to lose a large proportion of its labour force due to disease such as AIDS and Cholera.

The World Health Organization estimates that in order to finance for the treatment of AIDS in Africa, more health budgets would have to increase by at least 240% by the year 2010. The precise impact of AIDS in the region cannot be predicted, but the urgent need for its control is clear. The SADC can help by providing information and education campaigns on how to prevent the spread of AIDS in member states that are not affluent enough to finance their own campaigns. It is of paramount importance that the region wins its battle against AIDS in the next 25 years.

In conclusion the Southern African Development Community has come a long way from early beginnings despite certain hurdles that came its way. Economic issues have increasingly become predominant in shaping state relations, especially the North-South conflict, over the structure of the international political economy, which remains impervious to resolution.

By logical extension, political, military- security and environmental issues, which are intricately linked to economic issues, shall remain unresolved, with the deepening of globalization, to which the South are vulnerable and in which they remain marginalized, and the obsolescence of the state, regionalism has assumed ascendancy as the appropriate tool for regional development and stability, and by logical extension, attainment of global prosperity and stability. However, as long as the South remains poor and the North engages in rhetoric, these issues will remain at the level of debate without realistic appraisal and efforts geared at global development and stability, a challenge, which is yet to be taken seriously.

It has held strong and proved its worthiness as an organization that promotes peace, progress and prosperity. By further improving, i hope that it will continue to do so well in the next 25 years. Hopefully it will be better structured to deal with dilemmas.



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