

Managing interdependence in southern Africa

been classified by the World Bank's International Development Association as "very poor." It is also apparent that large differences exist among the states of the region in growth rates, inflation rates, literacy rates, food production and total international monetary reserves. Per capita food

course it would provide the basis for expansion of cooperation in the whole of the subcontinent. As it happened, the proposed "inner" constellation never gained momentum as a new international economic order because it was viewed by the potential member states as a strategem for economic dominance by South Africa, while retaining its internal policy of separate development. For this reason, the constellation concept has been scaled down to what is now essentially a device to restructure economic relations between the present and former parts of the South African state. Thus, a form of confederation is in the making for South Africa, the four independent Black national states and the six self-governing Black homelands.

SADCC

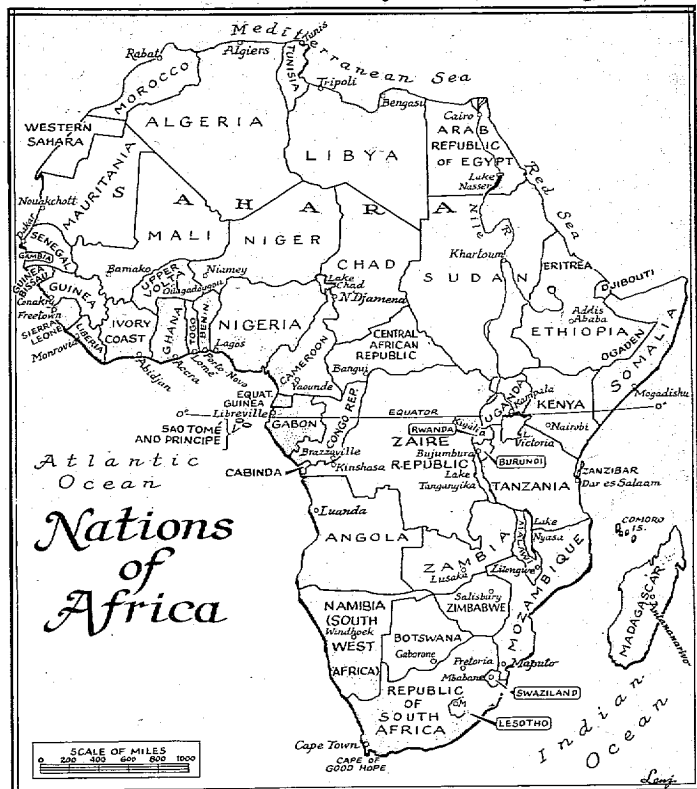
The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC, but pronounced Sadec) was initiated by the so-called Frontline States — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia — in July 1979 when they met in Arusha, Tanzania. At this conference, which was also attended by invited guests from the international community (including Canada), it was made clear that no formal economic integration was contemplated. Rather, the emphasis was on the formulation and implementation of specific projects — most notably in the transport and communications areas — and on the coordination of foreign aid and the promotion of industry and trade.

These five states, as well as Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and Zimbabwe, assembled again in Lusaka, Zambia, in April 1980 and issued a declaration titled "Southern Africa — Toward Economic Liberation." The objectives were to reduce economic dependence on South Africa and, as a corollary, to increase economic interdependence among themselves; to attain greater control over their own economic destinies; and to establish an economically powerful bloc of nations stretching from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean.

The Lusaka Declaration also contained a "Programme of Action." Thus Mozambique was asked to design a transportation and communications strategy; Zimbabwe, a food security plan; Zambia, a development fund scheme; Swaziland, a manpower development and training program; Tanzania, a regional plan for industrialization; Angola (the only oil-producing member), a regional energy program; Botswana, a project for regional control of animal diseases, and for the growing of crops in semi-arid areas. New activities are now being allocated to Malawi (fisheries, forestry, and wildlife), Lesotho (soil conservation and land utilization) and Zambia (mining) for coordination.

Before reviewing current efforts to create "a community of nations" in southern Africa, it is important to emphasize that the individual countries in the region differ fairly significantly in economic size, industrial diversification, technological capacity, colonial background and present ideologies. The SADCC states also differ in the degree of their economic links with South Africa.

As can be seen from the following table, Angola is almost seventy-four times larger than Swaziland. The population of South Africa is thirty-two times larger than Botswana. The annual per capita income of South Africa is about ten times higher than those of Malawi, Mozambique and Tanzania. Out of the nine SADCC countries, six have



production actually declined in seven of the countries between 1971 and 1980. It rose only in South Africa.

Varied relationships

Apart from South Africa, which is industrially far more advanced than the other countries of the southern African region, Zimbabwe is the only one that has a manufacturing sector of some consequence. No fewer than seven of the nine SADCC states have close economic ties with South Africa. At one extreme the BLS countries are joined with South Africa in the Southern Africa Customs Union, while Lesotho and Swaziland are also members, together with South Africa (including its four independent national states), of the Rand Monetary Area. South Africa, Swaziland and Malawi are members of the Southern African Regional Tourism Conference. These same countries, plus Botswana and Lesotho, are also members of the Southern African Regional Commission for the Conservation and Utilization of the Soil. At the other extreme, Tanzania and Angola have no close economic relations with South Africa. Their participation in a bloc of countries explicitly seeking to reduce their reliance on South Africa is therefore a peculiarity, except insofar as they can offer the other countries alternative harbor and rail facilities. In the case of Zambia, for example, nearly two-thirds of its foreign trade is now passing along the "southern route" to South African ports. Contacts between South Africa and its neighboring states are also being maintained in telecommunications, air traffic, power supplies, migrant labor, foreign trade and capital investment.

So far as their colonial background and their current ideologies are concerned, Angola and Mozambique are