

Subsisting in the subsahara

means that the transition will be intensely conflictual. The Second Independence, like the first, will require its own generation of "prison graduates." But Ayi Kwei Armah is wrong: the "beautiful ones" are *already* alive, though not well. Their names are recorded in the Amnesty International reports on prisoners of conscience and political tor-

Managing interdependence in southern Africa *The Republic tries*

Economic cooperation in southern Africa

by Gordon Boreham

It is conventional wisdom that international cooperation is a precondition for the progress of mankind. Indeed, the idea advanced in international circles nowadays is that the interrelationships that bind the world together are so extensive that the entire community of nations will face disaster if the concept of interdependence is ignored. What has tended to be pushed from sight in most international meetings about the co-development of North and South, however, is the need for greater South-South cooperation. Since developing nations have a sympathetic, intuitive knowledge of the underdeveloped world, they can and should play an important role in the economic development of depressed areas.

One of the few efforts to stimulate development in the southern African region is the Constellation of Southern African States, envisaged by South Africa's Prime Minister P.W. Botha and his government. Another is the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, a grouping of nine Black southern African countries. Both of these regional ventures appear to hold considerable promise, not so much because of the extent of the aid they provide, but because they seek to create models for cooperation and development among Third World countries. It is with these two models that this article is concerned.

How it started

Addressing a conference of leading businessmen at the

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ture in African countries — unforgotten victims of struggle to create more just and democratic societies.

Self-reliant and basic-needs-oriented development strategies. Is this a utopian dream? Perhaps. But for African people it is a matter, as René Dumont has observed in a somewhat different context, of "L'utopie ou la mort

Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg in November 1979, South African Prime Minister Botha referred to the potential emergence of "a peaceful constellation of southern African states with respect for each others cultures, traditions and ideals." "In a constellation of states the countries concerned," he explained, "derive from their fixed proximity to each other a common interest whilst maintaining their individual sovereign status. This concept thus specifically excludes a satellite relationship among any of the constituents." In essence, the main objective of the proposed constellation plan concerned the narrowing of the welfare gap between the different races and population groups in South Africa and also between South Africa and neighbouring countries.

The constellation concept as set forth at the Carlton Conference has not materialized. Originally it was hoped to include at least the Republic of South Africa and neighbouring national states within its boundaries (the republics of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, as they are now known, became independent states in the late 1970s; Ciskei gained its independence in 1981); and from outside these borders Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (the former British High Commission Territories became independent states in the 1960s), Zimbabwe (which attained independence from Britain in 1980) and the former mandated territory of South West Africa (Namibia, which is currently administered by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a South African-backed multiracial movement). Unlike South Africa's Black national states, the BLS countries (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) and Zimbabwe are members of the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Nations, and the Organization of African Unity. While the structural framework of this "association of southern African states" was left undefined, it was thought that in d