

preneurs among all sections of the population in southern Africa through the provision of share and loan capital. The newly created Manpower Foundation plans to train 700,000 management, professional men and women and skilled workers over the next five years. A multiregional development bank will be launched early in 1981. These institutions are intended to play a key role in the building of a constellation of states.

A brief overview of existing forms of economic and technical cooperation between South Africa and other states in the region is essential in order to assess the chances for wider regional cooperation. To start with, a free interchange of goods exists between the RSA and the BLS countries. The four countries together form a customs union and apportion the revenue from the common pool. The Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda are associate members. All these countries, with Namibia, (but excluding Botswana since 1974) fall within the Rand Monetary area. Among other things, the monetary agreement between these seven countries provides for free access to the South African money and capital markets.

South African mines as well as agriculture and construction services have attracted hundreds of thousands of unskilled Black workers from all over southern Africa for many decades. In June 1978, 327,051 foreign workers were registered as employed in South Africa; the true figure is estimated to have been at least half a million. The remitted earnings of these migrant workers represent a sizeable addition to the incomes and foreign exchange reserves of the countries concerned (especially Lesotho and Mozambique).

No less than seven of the 11 countries of southern Africa are land-locked. Consequently, they are heavily dependent for their imports and exports on South African rail, road and shipping facilities. Conversely, the Mozambique harbour of Maputo handles about 17 per cent of the total volume of South Africa's imports and exports. Air transportation links between the Republic and other states in the region are also expanding.

### Regional ties

Close regional ties are being maintained in respect of water and power supplies. Designed to supply power in bulk to the RSA, the huge hydroelectric project at Cabora Bassa on the Zambezi River provides cheap power and water for industrial and agricultural purposes in Mozambique. Similar multipurpose hydroelectric schemes are located on the borders between Angola and Namibia (i.e. the Ruacana and Calueque projects on the Kunene River) and between Zambia and Zimbabwe (i.e. the Kariba project on the Zambezi River). Though widely vilified as bastions of colonialism, these projects could prove of inestimable value in promoting industry and agriculture throughout the entire region.

Other examples of cooperation between South Af-

rica and her neighbours are the Southern African Regional Commission for the Conservation and Utilization of the Soil and the Southern African Regional Tourism Council. Bilateral forms of technical cooperation include: the Onderstepoort Veterinary Research Institute which produces vaccines for the combating of many fatal animal diseases in Africa; the South African Bureau of Standards; the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research; and the various agricultural marketing boards.

Notwithstanding repeated demands for international trade sanctions and boycotts against the regime in Pretoria, established trade links exist between South Africa and at least 20 African countries. In fact, there is hardly any country in Africa to which RSA does not send goods from time to time. Moreover, the steady increase in South Africa's trade with Africa during the past decade has increased dramatically in 1980. In October, *Business Week* reported:

"Last year, South African exports to black African areas outside the Rand currency bloc... grew by 39 per cent. So far this year they are running 75 per cent ahead of 1979 and will reach 1.3 billion U.S. dollars by the year end, accounting for 10 per cent of South African exports." (That figure compares with only seven percent a year ago)... "Further intensifying the impact of these statistics is the fact that black Africa — labelled the 'hungry continent' by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) — now gets much of its grain from South Africa."

In regards to food production, Kenya, Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zaire, Malawi and Mauritius purchased hundreds of thousands of tonnes of maize (corn) and wheat from South Africa in 1980.

Parenthetically, published figures on trade between South Africa and the rest of the continent do not reflect the actual situation since much of the RSA's trade with Africa is channelled through third countries (using double invoicing and false certificates of origin). Some observers claim that the real trade figures may be twice as high as the official ones. Be that as it may, it is clear that the RSA exports much more to Africa than it imports. As *Business Week* remarked: "Black African states find incentives to buy in quicker delivery, a quicker return on scarce foreign exchange, lower freight costs, and often in products designed for specific African conditions."

### Constellation structure

The superstructure for a constellation of southern African states (including the ten national communities in RSA) is already in place: an interlinked road, rail and air system; joint participation in water and power projects; established financial ties; a modest Customs Union Agreement; increasing labour mobility; substantial two-way trade; border straddling big businesses; and technological assistance, especially in mining and agriculture. Yet, the independent Black states out-