

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certifies that he has read and recommends to the Midlands State University for acceptance a dissertation entitled:

CHALLENGES OF REGIONALISM IN AFRICA AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA. A CASE STUDY OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC), 1992-2014.

Submitted by: **TANAKA AGGREY CHITSA (R123978Q)** in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Social Sciences Honours Degree in Politics and Public Management.

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DECLARATION FORM

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Abstract

There has been general consensus that regional integration is the way forward for underdeveloped countries and in particular those in Southern Africa. While it is true that regional integration is the solution to some if not many of the problems being faced by these countries as seen from successful integration initiatives in Europe for example the European Union (EU), very few scholars focus on the challenges of regionalism and regional integration in Southern Africa. The study focuses on the challenges of regionalism and regional integration in Southern Africa. The challenges focused on by this study include both with achieving regionalism and regional integration in Southern Africa and those challenges which might be faced if deeper integration is eventually achieved in the region. The study also focuses on the role of SADC as far as regional integration is concerned in the region. This study also traces the formation of SADCC and its subsequent transformation to SADC so as to cater for new developments such as economic integration. The study also traces the beginning of regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa. Besides tracing the origins of regionalism and regional integration in Africa the study also gives the current position of regional integration in Southern Africa and what it intends to achieve in the future. The study also examines the current challenges being faced by SADC to achieve deeper regional integration such as the issue of rules of origin and infrastructure. Besides being guided by the integration theory and other theories the study also made use of secondary sources by comparing and analyzing data. Apart from these the study was also informed by questionnaires. The research purpose was to highlight and examine the challenges to regionalism and regional integration in Africa using SADC as a case study.

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I started working on the topic of regional integration in SADC during my time as an intern at SARDC for almost a year. During this time I started having interest on the topic and discovered that it was worth studying. I would like to thank my former colleagues at SARDC with special mention to Mr J Ngwawi, Mr K Sikuka, Mr D Majaha and Mr A Chiduzza. Without their guidance and support during my time as an intern when I started researching on this topic this work would have probably never been a success. During my time at SARDC, I learnt more on the issues concerning regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa. After the completion of this study I am much more convinced that this challenge was worth taking as the topic was interesting but also complex and challenging.

I would also like to acknowledge my family (Chitsa family) with particular mention to Mr. and Mrs. Chitsa for the assistance they gave me during the entire duration of my study from the first day I set foot at Midlands State University up to the last, a big thank you to you.

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Tanaka Aggrey Chitsa.

April 2016.

Dedication

I dedicate this study (which is my first) to my parents Kiripo Aggrey Chitsa and Elizabeth Chitsa and indeed the entire Chitsa family for their commitment towards my education. I love you and may the dear Lord continue to bless you.

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Acronyms

AfDB	African Development Bank
AU	African Union
CFTA	Continental Free Trade Area
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
COSAFA	Confederation of Southern African Football Association
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community for West African States
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free Trade Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NEPAD	New Partnership for Development
RIFF	Regional Integration Facilitation Forum
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plana
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SAPP	Southern African Power Pool
SARDC	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
SARPCCO	Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Corporation Organization

OPDS	Organ on Politics, Defense and Security
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UN	United Nations
WB	World Bank
ZIZABONA	Zimbabwe-Zambia-Botswana-Namibia

CHAPTER ONE

I.1 Introduction

Various regional blocks in Africa and Southern African Development Community (SADC) in particular have adopted regional integration as a strategy to alleviate poverty and to position the continent or rather regions to be globally competitive in both economic and political terms. As such it should be noted that these organizations have in the past years focusing on achieving deeper regional integration for the benefit of their citizens. While regional integration is a noble cause as evidenced by the European Union (EU) it should also be noted that this strategy like any other has its own challenges although the merits far outweighs the demerits. This study will mainly focus on the challenges associated with regionalism and regional integration in Africa using SADC as a case study. The study will also focus on the development of regionalism and regional integration as far as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) is concerned and also giving the background of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The challenges to be focused on in this study include both with achieving regionalism and regional integration and those challenges which might be faced if deeper regional integration is eventually achieved in the region.

1.2Background

As stated in *Regional Integration in Southern Africa Regional. A Guidebook (2011)*, Regional Integration in southern Africa goes back to colonial times, in 1910 the predecessor agreement to the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) was formed between British colonies and territories including South Africa. According to the publication other attempts in Eastern and Central Africa followed. In West Africa it is stated in the book that the French colonies cooperated in a system which was to a certain extent functionally integrated into the French economy. The guidebook further states that southern Africa is one of the few regions in the world where regional integration has always been seen equally as an economic and political venture. Starting with SACU in the early 19th century and ending with SADC, political considerations stood at the beginning of several regional integration schemes as clearly the case with SADC. This point becomes valid considering that SADC is equally focusing on both political and economic integration. This can be seen from SADC institutions such as the Organ

on Politics, Defense and Security (OPDS) and its economic initiatives such as the Maputo Development Corridor.

Regional integration is essential for Africa since it is a continent with many underdeveloped countries or poor countries so to say which are still trying to find their way globally and compete. According to a report by UNCTAD, 2007 the majority of African countries are small and least developed. Given this background it is therefore important for Africa to adopt this strategy since it will make the continent stronger and be able to compete with bigger countries such as USA and others. This will also add voice to the continent on various political, social and economic issues on the global sphere.

One can also argue that the formation of Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980 was another important phase of regional integration in Africa and southern Africa to be specific. SADCC was established in 1980 by the front line states with the aim of reducing economic dependence on apartheid South Africa which was still excluded from the African Integration Plan¹(www.wto.org). SADCC later changed to SADC in 1992 and South Africa later joined in 1994. According to the World Trade Organization, SADCC by that time was not a market integration arrangement since the front line states constituting the arrangement adopted a broad development mandate. SADCC engaged in a cross-border, sector-specific projects such as regional development corridors and the Southern African Power Pool (SAPP). SADC later adopted an explicit market integration agenda and is a good example of the linear model of integration in Africa²(www.wto.org).

The SADC Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) of 2003 clearly articulates the roadmap for SADC's integration and provides for the establishment of a free trade area, a customs union, a common market, monetary union and the introduction of a single currency in SADC³(www.sadc.int). The RISDP is recognized as the strategic plan for SADC's integration. This linear approach was also adopted by the East African Community (EAC), established in 1999 and ECOWAS in West Africa. According to SADC, the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) is a comprehensive development and implementation framework

¹https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/reser_e/ersd201114_e.pdf

²https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/reser_e/ersd201114_e.pdf

³<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/strategic-pl/regional-indicative-strategic-development-plan/>

guiding the Regional Integration agenda of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) over a period of fifteen years (2005-2020). It is designed to provide clear strategic direction with respect to SADC programmes, projects and activities in line with the SADC Common Agenda and strategic priorities, as enshrined in the SADC Treaty of 1992. More recently the SADC Extraordinary Summit which was held in Zimbabwe approved the SADC Industrialization Strategy and Roadmap 2015 - 2063 which is the first of its kind. SADC has also various bodies which work towards regional integration such Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment (TIFI) Directorate.⁴The Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment Directorate also facilitates: competitive, diversified industrial development; increased investment and the integration of SADC into the global economy; and fostering of regional integration through the SADC Free Trade Area (FTA), the creation of the Customs Union, Common Market and the Monetary Union. The aim is to contribute to the SADC ultimate objective of poverty eradication in the region. Recently the African continent moved a step towards regional integration when the African Union launched the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) negotiations in Johannesburg, South Africa 15 June 2015.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The study examines the challenges of regionalism and regional integration in Southern Africa.

1.4 Research Objectives

- To examine the challenges of regionalism and integration in Africa using SADC as a case study.
- To explain the role of SADC in the achieving regionalism and regional integration in Southern Africa.
- To assess the impact of challenges associated with regional integration in Southern Africa.

1.5 Research Questions

- What are the challenges associated with regionalism and regional integration in Southern Africa?

⁴<http://www.sadc.int/sadc-secretariat/directorates/office-deputy-executive-secretary-regional-integration/trade-industry-finance-investment/>

- What role is played by SADC in achieving regionalism and regional integration in Africa?
- What impact do these challenges have in achieving regionalism and regional integration in Southern Africa?

1.6 Justification of Study

The study seeks to fill the knowledge gap in Africa and Southern Africa in particular on the challenges of regional integration. It also seeks to explain the reasons why the strategy is slowly taking pace in the region. The information obtained through this study will be of great use to relevant stakeholders both in the region and abroad on regional integration issues. It is expected that the results of this study will be of paramount importance to the governments in the region as well as regional bodies such as SADC as the information will be the basis for decision making on issues pertaining to regional integration. It is also the hope of the researcher that the information obtained from this study will also be recognized by regional bodies such as SADC, EAC and ECOWAS and act as a catalyst on regional integration policies as well as inform on the merits and demerits of the policies for the betterment of the region.

1.7 Literature Review

The field of regional integration has a lot of literature covering a wide spectrum of issues from economic, social and political perspectives. However a few of it mentions the challenges of regionalism and regional integration and how Africa and in particular southern Africa intends to implement its own regional integration, therefore the researcher seeks to address that gap.

Regionalism in Africa has always had a strong political motives. “Pan-Africanism, as an expression of continental identity and coherence, distinguishes regional integration in Africa from other regions in the developing world” (McCarthy, 1995, p. 14). McCarthy wrote extensively on regional integration by mainly focusing on issues such as pan-Africanism as a distinguishing factor of regional integration in Africa. The researcher seeks to address the gap of challenges associated with regionalism and regional integration in Southern Africa which a few have exhausted. The study also mentions on all types or forms of regionalism and regional integration such as political integration, economic integration and social integration as a lot of

publications usually focus on one aspect of integration and ignore the others for example McCarthy mainly focuses on political integration.

Regional integration initiatives, according to Van Langenhove, should fulfill at least eight important functions and these are:

- the strengthening of trade integration in the region
- the creation of an appropriate enabling environment for private sector development
- the development of infrastructure programmes in support of economic growth and regional integration
- the development of strong public sector institutions and good governance;
- the reduction of social exclusion and the development of an inclusive civil society contribution to peace and security in the region
- the building of environment programmes at the regional level
- the strengthening of the region's interaction with other regions of the world

While many scholars like the above mentioned have done justice to the topic of regional integration by mentioning what regionalism and regional integration should fulfill a few of these scholars mention on the challenges associated with regionalism and regional integration in Southern Africa therefore the researcher seeks to address that gap by using SADC as a case study so as to extensively focus on southern Africa.

According to UNCTAD (2014), closer integration of neighboring economies has often been seen by governments as a first step in creating a larger regional market for trade and investment. For example bilateral agreements between member states, a good example of this point are MoUs between member states. This according to UNCTAD 2014 report spur greater efficiency, productivity gain and competitiveness, not just by lowering border barriers, but by reducing other costs and risks of trade and investment. Bilateral and sub-regional trading arrangements have been advocated by governments as economic development tools, as they have been designed to promote economic deregulation. Such agreements have also aimed to reduce the risk

of reversion towards protectionism, locking in reforms already made and encouraging further structural adjustment.

Reports such as the above 2014 UNCTAD focus on the benefits of integration such as productivity gain and increasing competitiveness but does not mention challenges of integration in southern Africa and how these challenges can be addressed so as to achieve deeper regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa. Using SADC as a case study this study seeks to address that knowledge gap by exploring the challenges associated regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa.

Walter Lippmann believes that, "the true constituent members of the international order of the future are communities of states." E.H. Carr shares Lippmann view about the rise of regionalism and regional arrangements and commented that, "the concept of sovereignty is likely to become in the future even more blurred and indistinct than it is at present." From these two scholars on cannot that the issue of challenges associated with regionalism and regional integration is not mentioned as they mainly concentrate with describing regional integration and predicting how it will be in the future therefore this study addresses that gap by exploring challenges currently being faced with regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa and those which might be faced in the long run if deeper regional integration is eventually achieved.

Regional Integration is necessary since it improves the standards of living of the general populace. The *Africa Competitiveness Report 2013* rightly notes that, the strides made by African economies in achieving economic growth must be accompanied by efforts to boost long-term competitiveness if the continent is to ensure sustainable improvements in living standards. The report, themed *Connecting Africa's Markets in a Sustainable Way*, which was jointly produced by the African Development Bank, the World Bank and the World Economic Forum. Regional integration is a key vehicle for helping Africa to raise competitiveness, diversify its economic base and create enough jobs for its young, fast-urbanizing population. Again it should be noticed that from these publications none of them mentions on challenges of regional integration as they focus on the merits of 'economic integration' such as improving the standards of living and the strides made in achieving regional integration. This research paper addresses that knowledge gap by extensively examining and exploring the challenges of regional integration in southern Africa.

It should be noted that although there is a lot of information on regional integration very few focus on why southern Africa's regional integration strategy is facing challenges, therefore the research addresses that knowledge gap. According to Siphso Buthelezi (2006), since independence, African leaders have consistently reaffirmed their commitment to regional economic and political integration. Yet regional economic communities face formidable, multidimensional challenges, both external and internal. These are logistical, institutional and linguistic, as well as being political and economic. While this scholar came close in addressing the knowledge gap that the research paper seeks to fill, the scholar didn't mention issues such as social integration and the development of regional integration in southern Africa as well as suggesting how these challenges can be mitigated and against this background the research seeks to address that gap.

Many publications also focus on simply assessing regional integration strategies in Africa but do not mention the challenges associated with regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa. For example a UN publication of 2006: *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa II: Rationalizing Regional Economic Communities*, which simply examines the effectiveness of Africa's regional economic communities in pushing forward the regional integration agenda towards the objectives of the Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. Against this background this research paper addresses that gap in literature by mentioning the challenges associated with achieving regional integration and those that can be encountered if deeper regionalism and regional integration is eventually achieved in southern Africa.

In addition other publications merely comment on regional integration and do not talk of its challenges for example a book by Anton Bösl, Willie Breytenbach, Trudi Hartzenberg, Colin McCarthy and Klaus Schade titled *Monitoring Regional Integration in Southern Africa Yearbook Volume 8 (2008)*, which clearly states that 'For many years, regional integration has been considered an important and successful tool of economic growth and development. In Southern Africa in particular, with its comparatively small economies, regional integration was meant to play a crucial role in pursuing common strategic interests for the successful economic development of the countries involved.' This book does not explain the challenges and how the regional integration strategy in southern Africa is being affected by these challenges, therefore the research seeks to address and fill those gaps as is the case with many publications on regionalism and regional integration in Africa and southern Africa in particular.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Besides using the main integration theory the researcher also used two other theories that have been used in the past to explain and explore regional integration as it is a broad concept and basing on one theory was suicidal. These theories include the one that was propounded by the father of regional integration Ernst B. Haas, called the Neo-functionalism Theory. In Neo-functionalism Haas based his initial thesis on the idea of loyalty. In this sense, political spillover would be accomplished through a process of loyalty transference from the nation state to the high authority or authorities (Haas in Rosamond, 2001). In other words Haas was saying that trust and transparency among member states is important in achieving an effective regional integration. Although initially the process of spillover was regarded as one directional, other scholars such as Lindberg and Scheingold also accepted the idea of spillback. They argued the fact that integration could stop or slow down further integration due to the pressure that it causes among member states.

Another important theory on regional integration worth mentioning was put forward by Robert Putnam. The theory is called Intergovernmentalism. Putnam, viewed integration as a two level game played by the member states – at the national level office holders build coalitions among domestic groups; at the European level they bargain in ways that enhance their position at the domestic level by satisfying demands of key interest groups. The mostly referred vision of intergovernmentalism nowadays is Moravcsik's liberal intergovernmentalism thesis. It is influenced by the works of Keohane on neoliberal institutionalism (Rosamond, 2001). Moravcsik argues that integration goes as far as member states want it to go and European institutions exist due to the deliberate will of member states to satisfy their interests and are instruments for achieving member states' objectives. The European level is the location where member states strategically bargain their interests, defined within domestic level negotiations.

1.9 Methodology

The researcher mainly relied on secondary sources that involves the survey of literature on the subject matter. These include books, speeches, newspaper reports, AU, internet sources and SADC Summits. The researcher also administered questionnaires to the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) as it works closely with SADC in regional integration issues.

1.9.1 Research Design

According to the University of Southern California, research design refers to the overall strategy that you choose to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring you will effectively address the research problem; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data. The researcher mainly used documentary review. The researcher also used a bottom up approach that is administering questionnaires to the relevant organizations which work on regional integration issues such as the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) which work closely with the SADC Secretariat. The researcher also administered questionnaires to the SADC citizens since they are the most affected by regional integration and also heard their side of the story as far as regionalism and regional integration is concerned in the region.

1.9.2 Data Analysis

According to Polit and Hungler (1991, 406) data collected by questionnaires and interviews mean very little until they are analyzed. All responses were recorded and analyzed to expose the general opinions and expressions of respondents on challenges of regionalism and regional integration. After each session of data collection the researcher noted down key issues. The process involved firstly comparing interview and other forms of data and comparison was done to theoretical approaches that were employed.

1.10 Limitations of Study

The study encountered financial challenges since the researcher did not find adequate resources to visit strategic organizations such as the SADC Secretariat in Botswana. Nevertheless the researcher managed to visit other strategic organizations which deal with regional issues which are located in Zimbabwe such as the SARDC.

1.11 Delimitations

The researcher chose to focus on SADC since the researcher has widespread knowledge of the organization. This is so since the researcher did his work related learning at SARDC, an organization which operates through a Memorandum of Understanding with the SADC Secretariat in Botswana. The researcher was also part of the team which compiled the SADC Success Stories Vol 1, for SADC Secretariat in 2015. The researcher was also privileged to have

been part of the team which crafted the SADC's Industrialization and Transformation Strategy which was subsequently approved by the SADC Extraordinary Summit in Harare in the year 2015.

1.12 Organization of the Study

Chapter 1.....Introduction

Chapter 2.....Regionalism and Integration in Africa

Chapter 3.....Integration and Southern African Development Community (SADC)

Chapter 4.....Challenges of Regionalism and Integration in Africa

Chapter 5.....Conclusion and Recommendations

CHAPTER TWO: REGIONALISM AND INTEGRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to examine regionalism and regional integration in Africa using SADC as a case study. The chapter also traces the origins of regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa and also explaining why SADC chose to focus or adopt this strategy. This chapter also explains the various forms and approaches to regional integration and lastly it notes the achievements of regionalism and regional integration in the region.

2.2 Regionalism in Africa (SADC)

In 1980, Southern African states established the then Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). The main purpose of SADCC was to reduce economic dependence on South Africa, its aim was also to spearhead regional integration (political and economic) in southern Africa.

One can argue that the acceptance of SADC's Trade Protocol in 1996 and negotiations being completed in the year 2000 provided a clear and undisputed direction for the SADC's regionalization project or rather dream. Different scholars view this as a shift towards new open market integration. The SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Plan (RISDP), which will be mentioned in detail later in this chapter tries to follow the European Union regional integration strategy. This point becomes valid if one takes a look at some of its ambitious such as; having a Free Trade Area (FTA), SADC customs union, SADC common market, SADC monetary union and eventually have a single currency in the end.

The emergence of the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security Cooperation in 1996 and the Strategic Indication Plan for the Organ (SIPO) have all helped in guiding developmental issues in the region. This point becomes valid considering that the foreword of the SIPO clearly states that, "The SIPO is not an end in itself...it is an enabling instrument for the implementation of the SADC developmental agenda embodied in the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan." (Van Nieuwkerk 2007: 1)

Regional integration has obvious advantages in Africa. African markets are not strong to compete globally with other developed countries therefore the idea of regional integration makes sense so as to promote competitiveness. For example African markets cannot compete with

countries such as Germany and USA. Politically regional integration makes sense to African states as it helps in reducing marginalization of the developing states by the developed. Developing countries also need to integrate their social and economic conditions in a similar way.

Davies (1996; 2) is of the view that "...the real question [is] not whether there should be co-operation or integration, but rather to identify that combination of co-operation, coordination and integration, that [is] realistic and feasible under prevailing conditions, and that could thus best advance the goals of contributing to growth and development."

The idea behind regional integration is that bordering states have similar problems and may greatly benefit from regional integration since it creates a scenario of mutual inter-dependence and development. Another reason is that states may need regional integration even if they do not have the same problems. This strategy creates larger economic opportunities and also allows economies of scale which in turn increases competitiveness, efficiency, faster growth and diversification.

A number of regional organizations SADC included, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), African Development Bank (AfDB) and many others all came to similar conclusion that the entire Southern African Region (SAR) will benefit from different forms regional integration if it is done properly.

A study conducted by the AfDB in 1993 clearly outlines that gains that can be achieved from regional integration as cost saving that could be achieved through substantial infrastructure integration, increases competitiveness that will also result in diversification and improved production technology which will ultimately result in the increase in outputs or products from the region to the world or other markets.

In an effort to increase or accelerate regional integration so to say the Southern African Development Community (SADC) has adopted various integration strategies chief among them the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP). The RISDP acts as both a blueprint and a catalyst for regional integration. The RISDP has also paved a way for security integration by creating the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security (OPDS) and the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO) as well as various institutions such as the Southern African

Development Community Regional Peace Training Centre (SADC RPTC) which play a pivotal role in promoting peace and security in the region and the entire African continent by contributing to various initiatives such as Amani and Operation Mahombekombe.

The major rationale behind regional integration is that there is power in numbers as clearly seen from successful regional bodies such as the European Union (EU). This can also be seen from SADC policies and initiatives such as the SADC Mutual Defense Pact which operates on the doctrine of injure one, injure all and has been successful safeguarding the region from external forces.

It should be noted that apart from the benefits which many scholars choose to talk about, regional integration has costs and challenges which will be mentioned in detail in chapter four of this study. Some of the challenges include the payment of membership fees, pressure to comply with protocols, interference in domestic issues as well as policies and many others. However, in general the merits of this strategy far outweighs its demerits.

Regionalism in southern Africa today can be viewed as the cooperation of states within the region and the open market regional cooperation for greater integration through free trade areas following the European Union strategy or rather path. However it should also be noted that the issue of regionalism within SADC face some obstacles such as the issue of rules of origin, low levels of intraregional trade, issue of trade liberalization, multiple membership of countries to different regional organizations, lack of commitment by other states, high levels of poverty, issue of tariff and non-tariff barriers and many other challenges which will be focused on in Chapter Four of this research paper.

2.3 Integration in Africa (SADC)

Through the years SADCC transformed itself to ⁵Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992, as it is known these days. The idea behind was that the organization was transforming itself from a mere conference based to a community organization which would pursue regional integration strategies and strive for a “common future” among its member states. SADC also went beyond its traditional geographical area and included countries such as; Democratic Republic of Congo, Mauritius, Madagascar and Seychelles.

⁵<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/history-and-treaty/>

2.3.1 Conceptualizing Regional Integration

Regional integration has become a topic of interest in the modern day world. Various organizations have been created to pursue regional integration, these organizations include; SADC, EAC, COMESA, EU and the African Union itself among other different organizations in the world in different parts of the globe. Regional integration has also emerged as a solution to alleviate poverty and increase completion especially in the third world countries, but what is this Regional Integration which many organizations are talking about.

In general regional integration is when a group of countries come together and agree to be governed by similar rules and regulation in terms of social, economic and political issues so as to achieve a common future or goal for their citizens. A good example of this is SADC. A prominent scholar on regional integration by the name of Ernst Haas, defined RI as follows;

‘The process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. The end result of a process of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the preexisting ones.’ As quoted by Thomas Risse (2004) in *Neo Functionalism, European Identity, and the Puzzles of European Integration*.

This definition can be used to explain what regional integration is, however, one must take note that the definition is limited to political issues. Nowadays regional integration include social and economic issues as seen from organizations such as SADC which have crafted economic policies for its members such as, regional industrialization roadmap, free trade areas and many other issues. On the social front the organization is trying to develop a single visa for its citizens as seen through the KAZA UNIVISA system and removing travel barriers for example between countries such as Zimbabwe and South Africa and also Zimbabwe and Zambia through the Beit bridge boarder post initiative and Chirundu boarder post respectively.

It should also be noted that regional integration can be defined as a process by which countries enter into an agreement so as to cooperate (socially, economically and politically). Regional integration as noted by Leon Lindberg can also take place in other spheres of influence and these include security and environmental issues.

Regional integration has also been seen as a way of eradicating poverty worldwide. This point becomes plausible when one takes a look at the fact that regional integration encourages the removal of trade barriers among states, improves economic policies, and creates opportunities for cross border trade among other issues. A good example of this is the trade among SADC member states which has improved over the years although a lot has to be done.

2.3.2 Approaches to Regional Integration

Regional integration is a multifaceted topic which can take up different forms. In some cases it can be ‘functional cooperation’ in inter-state relations. It can also be broader especially when countries involved incorporate their policies under a single framework. This broader type can also be known as regionalization. This is the common type of regional integration which is dominant in the world. Nowadays regional integration involves several factors such as political, social, economic and environmental.

Due to its various forms, regional integration can be explained from several and different directions. For example there are different theories which try to explain political, social, economic or environmental integration.

The state is closely linked to integration especially political integration. This point becomes cogent if one takes a look at the fact that regional integration involves handing over sovereignty which is another challenge involved with regional integration. Since regional integration is a complex issue, the nature of regional integration itself depends on several issues on different levels in the international system.

First and foremost regional happens in an international system and the global village. In other words the international system affects regional integration. This can also differ from time to time, and therefore changes in the international system have a direct bearing on regional integration.

2.4 The International System and Changes in Regionalization in Southern Africa (SADC)

Regional integration is affected by different factors on various levels in the international system. This means that the level of international system affects regional integration in every part of the world, Africa included and SADC to be specific.

According to Hannu Heinonen (2006), globally regional integration in the past has gone through two distinct waves after World War Two. The first one was back in 1950s and 1960s when many regional organizations were formed for example the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which developed through the European Economic Community (EEC) to the European Union (EU). Heinonen (2006) further states that previously the record of regional integration had mixed feelings but usually outcomes were far from the anticipated results. In the early 1970s, the interest in regional cooperation faded away, but was later revived in the 1980s and the early 1990s.

Heinonen (2006) also states that integration in Europe was marked through the signing of the treaty known as the Single European Act (SEA) in 1986 and in southern Africa through the subsequent transformation of the Southern African Coordination Conference (SADCC) to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992.

It should also be noted that the outcome of regional integration depends on conditions prevailing in a specific part of the region, since regional integration does not happen in isolation and is greatly affected by the international system.

2.5 The Historical Development of Integration in Southern Africa

In Africa and southern Africa in particular the idea of regional integration started centuries ago during the era of Kingdoms such Munhumutapa/Mutapa around 1440 AD and Tshaka Kingdom. According to Chingono and Nakana (2008) it dates back to ancient empires and kingdoms such as the Munhumutapa and Tshaka Zulu. Although based on force, these kingdoms recognized the importance of larger markets and a huge population in promoting economic development, wealth and consolidation of power. According to Chingono and Nakana (2008) The Munhumutapa Kingdom covered much of the present day Zimbabwe, significant parts of Mozambique as well as South Africa until its demise around 1917. Tshaka's Kingdom also expanded through conquering of weaker Kingdoms. Other scholars are of the view that regional integration in Africa goes back to colonial times. According to Chingono and Nakana (2008) in 1910 the predecessor agreement to the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) was formed between British colonies and territories including South Africa. Other attempts in Eastern and Central Africa followed. According to Berries C (2010) in West Africa the French colonies cooperated in a system which was to a certain extent functionally integrated into the French economy.

According to Chingono and Nakana (2008) in contemporary times regional integration in the region was motivated by the region's history of anti-colonial fight that caused economic destruction and displacement. These colonial battles led to the formation of Frontline States (FLS) which had members committed to fighting injustices in the region. The first original members of the FLS included Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia. These group of FLS supported all liberation movements within the region and beyond. After the independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia these group of countries formed the SADCC.

SADCC objectives were first outlined at a conference in Lusaka, Zambia in 1980 where the independent states of southern Africa clearly declared their commitment to economic independence on the basis of sustainable development. Twelve years later leaders of the SADCC signed a treaty in Namibia transforming the SADCC to SADC and redefined the cooperation to a legally binding agreement ⁶(www.sadc.int). According to Chingono and Nakana (2008), SADC transformed itself from a mere institution seeking to promote cooperation to a much broader concept of interaction with the aim of achieving political, economic and social integration. In the year 2001, the organization adopted another common agenda that saw the restructuring of SADC institutions and subsequently embraced market integration.

2.6 Power Dynamics in Southern Africa.

The expansion of Southern Africa eventually made South Africa a powerhouse in the region which many states are regretting presently because of its extreme economic dominance. This was necessitated by the fact that many countries in the region such as Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe mainly offered labor to the South African's mining industry thereby supporting and strengthening it. Countries such as Swaziland and Lesotho merely functioned as extensions of the South African economy.

The South African elections of 1994 which saw President Mandela winning made a turning point not only in South African but the entire southern African region. This was so since South Africa joined SADC just four months after elections. As rightly noted by Chingono (2008), when South Africa entered the SADC there were expectations that the government would speed up the process of cooperation and integration in the region as well as trying to end its dominance. Other

⁶http://www.sadc.int/files/5713/5292/8372/Regional_Indicative_Strategic_Development_Plan.pdf

notable scholars such as Davies (1996; 1) argued that the South African government would be preoccupied with domestic issues which would lead it to eventually ignore some regional issues and commitments.

Since South Africa became a member of SADC in 1994, it has become explicitly clear that the expectations were far-fetched. In turn there has been limited improvement by the signing of treaties and agreements that in most cases not implemented. Just like other member states of the organization South Africa has many domestic issues which the country is grappling with, among them issues of poverty, the huge gap between the poor and the rich, the issue of land distribution, corruption, xenophobia, recently the weak rand and many other issues. It should be noted that if all these issues are if not dealt with effectively they will lead into chaos as seen from the Marikana Crisis and also the increasing number of student strikes (Rhodes must fall).

2.7 Political Integration

Political integration is a very broad and in most cases a contested issue. According to UNI/CRIS and Allied Consultants (2012) it refers to a fundamental transformation of political architecture such as the formation of new political entities or simply the development of existing ones. In its deeper sense political integration involves the constitution of political entities that are independent and sovereign as rightly noted by Groom (2000). Membership of a regional integration preparation is therefore fundamentally a political choice that is based on political, social and geographical as well as economic reflections ⁷(<http://www.sarpn.org>).

The primary objective of SADC in promoting political integration is to strengthen democracy as well as peace in the region and beyond as clearly outlined by the SADC Protocol on Politics, Defense and Security Co-operation ⁸(www.sadc.int). It also seeks to promote political values, strengthening legitimacy of democratic institutions. Another important reason is that the region if it purses the political integration properly it will be a force to reckon on the international arena since their voices will be heard unlike the current situation where African voices are not considered in political decision in organizations such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and influential monetary institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

⁷<http://www.sarpn.org/rpp/trade.php>

⁸http://www.sadc.int/files/3613/5292/8367/Protocol_on_Politics_Defence_and_Security20001.pdf

In the region political integration involves the establishment of shared norms and values that guide the goals of development and cooperation (IDASA Report; 2004) as cited by Chingono (2008). These values and norms are derived from the treaties and protocols that are signed by SADC member states a good example of this is the SADC Mutual Defense Pact and more recently the SADC's protocol on elections and democracy and SADC Electoral Observer Mission (SEOM).

In terms of the institution, political integration should be seen strengthening political systems and also increasing their capacity and scope for proper decision making. Normative institutions as rightly noted by IDASA (2004), involves the creation of supranational institutions that is the values and norms. In its bid to increase the capacity for decision making SADC has set different important committees to look into various cross sectorial issues. These committee include Integrated Committee of Ministers (ICM) and SADC National Committee. These committees according to Chingono and Nakana (2008) play pivotal role in policy formulation, coordination and implementation for various regional issues. This point becomes valid if one takes a look at the fact that the SADC National Committee in the past years established the Strategic Plan of Action (SPA), which oversees the implementation of SADC programmes and policies at national level.

Reports on the Angolan website ⁹(www.angolaemb.com) that in 2001, the Strategic Plan of Action had around 407 projects, with a cost of approximately US\$8.09 billion. These projects were designed to help SADC realize its overall goals. The SPA has also in the past helped in developing SADC protocols in different areas which include but not limited to ; watercourse systems, transport, mining, education, health, legal affairs, law enforcement and many others.

2.8Economic Integration.

This type of integration can also be known as market integration. Economic integration involves the removal of trade barriers. In other words it is a process by which economic barriers against exchange of goods, services, capital and people between two or more countries are eliminated or reduced (UNU/CRIS and Consultants, 2002; Mutai, 2003; p. 16) in the case of SADC it involves 15 member states. According to UNU and Consultants (2002), economic integration starts with a

⁹<http://www.angolaemb.com/Actualidades/sobre.htm>

Preferential Trade Area (PTA), moves to a Free Trade Area (FTA), to a customs union and common markets ¹⁰(www.sadc.int) and ends with an economic and political union in some cases where a single currency will be used for example the European Union (EU).

According to SADC¹¹(www.sadc.int) the COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite Free Trade Area which was officially was launched in the Egyptian resort city of Sharm El Sheik by 26 Member States on Wednesday 10th June, 2015, will stretch from Cape Town to Cairo. It will create an integrated market with a combined population of almost 600 million people and a total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of about US\$1 trillion.

According to Landsberg (2002), economic integration in SADC is expected to reduce poverty, unemployment, increase competitiveness and contribute towards structural change and generally improve the economies of SADC member states. This point becomes cogent when one considers the fact that economic integration will create larger markets which in turn create more jobs and improve the standards of living which in turn play a significant role in reducing poverty. This can be seen from the Maputo Development Corridor initiative which created jobs and boosted trade among the land locked countries such as Zambia and Zimbabwe.

According to Grugel and Hout (1999) regional integration allows domestic production to be substituted by intra-regional imports, economic integration which in turn encourages specialization, improves distribution of resources and also enhances industrialization through cooperative production of goods and services, as well as guard against developments on the international markets. The point that regional integration improves or enhances industrialization is cogent given the fact that countries will be forced to industrialize taking advantage of their comparative advantage so as not to be left out in the integration drive. SADC taking note of the importance of industrialization in achieving regional integration approved the ***SADC Industrialization Strategy and Roadmap*** in 2015 which was done by the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) Harare, Zimbabwe.

With the aim of providing direction towards the regional integration SADC crafted the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) in 2003 which was also revised in the year 2015.

¹⁰<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/integration-milestones/common-market/>

¹¹<https://www.sadc.int/news-events/news/comesa-eac-sadc-tripartite-free-trade-area-launched/>

RISDP is a 15 year strategy which will be implemented in phases of three years. Apart from RISDP (2003-2015), SADC recently in 2015 crafted a ***SADC Regional Industrialization Strategy*** meant to guide member states in industrialization since industrialization is a key component of regional integration. In a summit in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe the SADC Head of States also considered the draft Revised Regional Indicative Strategic Development (RISDP) 2015-2020¹²(www.sadc.int).Industrialization which is a key component of the RISDP is the engine for economic and social transformation of any country or region. However, the main challenge has been lack of clear sector specific strategies to move towards the set target (SARDC; 2015)hence the development of the regional industrialization strategy¹³(www.sardc.net).

According to Chingono (2009), informal economic integration although not officially recognized in the RISDP, it has moved at a faster pace than the formal economic integration. Chingono (2009) further states that informal traders have increased in the region and are moving freely from one country to another. These traders sell different items which range from sculpture, clothes, drums, woodcarvings and many others.



Right; Picture of an Informal Trader selling her goods. –Picture credit – littlegatepublishing

Left; Picture of Informal Traders at Chirundu border post. – Picture credit - observer.org.sz

The unrecorded cross border trade in southern Africa is quite substantial and should beat that of ECOWAS region, which range between 20% and 25% as noted by (Economic Commission for Africa, ECA, 2003, 40); similarly, the unrecorded trade between Mozambique and Zimbabwe,

¹²http://www.sadc.int/files/2714/3037/3905/Communique_of_the_Extraordinary_Meeting_of_the_SADC_Summit_of_Heads_of_State_Government.pdf

¹³http://www.sardc.net/books/industrial_policy_briefs/Industrialisation_report.pdf

like that between Ghana and Togo, should be significantly higher than the official trade. These traders, some of them economic refugees, are on the frontier of economic and cultural integration, but do not receive the recognition they deserve in facilitating economic, social and cultural integration instead they are looked down upon by authorities and in most cases they are treated unfairly when trying to sell their goods in foreign countries. A large part of the unrecorded regional trade in Africa is due to informal sector which in the view of the researcher they are playing a pivotal role in regional integration and must be given their due recognition.

2.8.1 Maputo Development Corridor

The Maputo Development Corridor (MDC) has been seen as a successful example of regional economic integration in southern Africa which was initiated by SADC. According to internet website ¹⁴(www.ecdpm.org) in 1996, the government of Mozambique and South Africa signed an agreement which established the Maputo Development Corridor which is a network of roads, railway transport and logistics facilities connecting the port Maputo to South Africa and Swaziland. According to the *SADC Success Stories Vol 1, 2015*, the Maputo Development Corridor provides more than just a trading route since it drives business growth¹⁵(www.sardc.net). The development corridors is in line with SADC's Spatial Development Initiatives which is a deliberate strategy to connect landlocked countries to seaports and allow them to develop. The publication further states that, Maputo Development Corridor is one of the most successful corridors in the region which has managed to attract more than US\$5 billion in investment since its inception ¹⁶(*SADC Success Stories Vol 1, 2015*).

Development corridors such as the MDC play an important role in supporting economic integration, anchor spatial development, also help opening up markets and promote increased investment and trade. The Maputo Development Corridor has stand out as effective and promoting trade since it also offer alternative routes to landlocked countries such as Zimbabwe and Zambia.

¹⁴<http://ecdpm.org/great-insights/africa-turning-point-mozambique-case/maputo-corridor/>

¹⁵http://www.sardc.net/sadc_pub/SADC_Success_Stories_eng.pdf

¹⁶http://www.sardc.net/sadc_pub/SADC_Success_Stories_eng.pdf

According SADC website ¹⁷(www.sadc.int), to date southern Africa has 11 Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI), the Maputo Development Corridor has greatly succeeded when comparing it with others. The MDC brings back the historic trade route between the landlocked provinces of Gauteng and Mpumalanga in South Africa to the port of Maputo in Mozambique. The corridor according to SADC has attracted investment into the region. Preliminary upgrades to basic infrastructure proved profitable, which in turn encouraged public and private investment into transport and communications infrastructure. In addition, industrial infrastructure projects such as the BHP Billiton Mozal aluminium smelter have set up in Maputo, creating jobs and fostering further economic Development.

Apart from the Maputo Development Corridor, SADC has various other Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI) and Transport Corridors as it calls them. These include the North-South Corridor and Dar-es-alam Corridor. Along with other priority corridors in the region, such as the Beira and Nacala Multimodal Corridor, these corridors offer the greatest potential for growth as key hubs for development in the future¹⁸(www.sadc.int).

The Maputo Development Corridor has been an important vehicle for regional integration in the sense that it has managed to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to the region. Apart from this the corridor has also brought on board the private sector such as the BHP Billiton Mozal aluminium which is important as far as funding is concerned since these corporates pump in money or fund these kind of initiatives. As earlier stated the Maputo Development Corridor (MDC) has also helped a lot in facilitating trade among landlocked countries such as Zimbabwe and Zambia. This corridor has also played an important role in eradicating poverty in the region by creating employment for the local people. In addition, SADC must also promote initiatives such as the Maputo Development Corridors in other various parts of the region so as to accelerate economic integration and in the end reduce poverty in southern Africa.

<http://www.sadc.int/themes/infrastructure/transport/transport-corridors-spatial-development-initiatives/>¹⁷

¹⁸<http://www.sadc.int/themes/infrastructure/transport/transport-corridors-spatial-development-initiatives/>



Picture; Containers at a Port Maputo within Maputo Development Corridor.

Picture Credit; littlegatepublishing.

2.8.2 Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP)

The Regional Indicative Strategic Plan (RISDP) is a fifteen year plan for achieving SADC's goals both social and economic. This strategy provide the SADC Secretariat which is located in Botswana with clear guidelines on SADC priority issues since it focuses on economic and social priorities and at the end of the day it promotes efficiency and effectiveness at the institutions. The RISDP was approved at a SADC Summit in the year 2003 but its effective implementation was in the year 2005 ¹⁹(www.sadc.int). It should be understood that the goal of the RISDP is to eradicate poverty by accelerating or rather deepening the SADC's regional integration strategy. The strategy also seeks to achieve SADC's non-economic goals.

¹⁹<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/strategic-pl/regional-indicative-strategic-development-plan/>

The SADC's RISDP focuses on 12 key areas identified by the SADC council (to be mentioned in detail in Chapter Three). These twelve areas according to SADC are important in achieving the region's integration strategy. This strategy clearly outlines the milestones and targets of each area of priority. According to SADC ²⁰(www.sadc.int) the RISDP also analyzes SADC's framework for integration in terms of all facets that is economic, social and human issues identifying areas that need to be relooked on as well policies currently in place and challenges being faced within the region. Issues of mobilization of resources are also mentioned in the strategy, there is also specific plan for evaluating and monitoring the RISDP in line with SADC Goals

2.8.3 Important Integration Enablers

Peace is pre-requisite for development and as such the SADC recognizes Peace, Democracy, Security and Good Political Governance as key integration and development enablers and without these it will be very difficult for any region in the world to achieve their goals be it social or economic goals.

According to the SADC Treaty Article 5, SADC states are committed to, "promote common political values, systems and other shared values, which are transmitted through institutions which are democratic, legitimate and effective." SADC is also part of the global village and as such it subscribes to other values of the United Nation (UN), African Union (AU) and New Partnership for Development (NEPAD) to mention just a few. SADC is committed to the ideals such as democracy and political governance and this include tenets such as peace and security, post conflict reconciliation and many others. All these were mentioned earlier on and are consistent with the RISDP only that RISDP has added cross cutting issues such as drug trafficking and human trafficking on the list.

As stated by Chingono and Nakana (2009) good corporate and economic governance is also seen as an important area in achieving integration in the region. This point becomes cogent if one takes a look at the fact these issues are essential for deeper integration and poverty eradication within the region. Another valid point which the researcher is glad that it is also shared by SADC is the fact that the integration of SADC economies through the Free Trade Area (FTA) and other

²⁰<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/strategic-pl/regional-indicative-strategic-development-plan/>

related initiatives will be difficult to achieve unless there is sound and good corporate governance in the region as well as proper economic governance. Corporate and economic governance include financial regulation, transparency, accountability, banking supervision and many other important issues. There should also be inclusive in decision making at both national and regional level so as to accommodate various backgrounds and of course issues. SADC is also committed to the 1992 Windhoek declaration which encourages the participation of civil society organizations²¹(www.sadc.int).

Rule of law is another important enabler of deeper regional integration. According to Wright (1995), rule of law is ‘an authoritative legal doctrine, principle, or precept applied to the facts of an appropriate case < adopting the rule of law that is most persuasive in light of precedent, reason and policy.’ Other important enablers to regional integration include; adoption of Information Communication Technologies (ICT), liberalization of trade, science and technology research, diversifying regional markets, empowering women, developing the private sector and many other cross cutting issues such as increasing the fight against HIV/AIDS.

2.9 Peace, Security and Regional Integration.

It should be noted that peace is a pre-requisite for development and without it there is no development to talk about and in this context regional integration. Conflicts in the region have been another hindering factor to regional integration in the past. During colonial times neighboring countries such as Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and apartheid South Africa always clashed against each other involving the black majority and the minority whites.

After the formation of SADC in 1992, to its credit the organization cognizant of the fact that peace and security issues play a pivotal role in regional integration came up with the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security (OPDS) in 2003. The main function of this organ is according to SADC website ²²(www.sadc.int) is to prevent conflicts among member states by promoting peace in the region through promoting dialogue. The organization recently came up with the SADC Regional Peace Training Centre (RPTC) which is an important institution in promoting peace in the region and beyond as it contributes a lot to African initiatives such as peace keeping

²¹http://www.sadc.int/files/8613/5292/8378/Declaration__Treaty_of_SADC.pdf

²²<http://www.sadc.int/sadc-secretariat/directorates/office-executive-secretary/organ-politics-defense-and-security/>

missions, African Standby Force, Amani and Operation Mahombekombe recently held in Kariba to mention just a few.

The Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ (SIPO) was specifically developed to help in issues of conflict resolution as it has clear stipulated guidelines. The SADC Mutual Defense Pact has been another milestone in peace, political and security integration in the region as it ensures peace and assured defense at any given time by fellow SADC member states. This pact operates on the doctrine of “injure one, injure all” or “an attack to one, is an attack to all”.

After the adoption of OPDS, the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Corporation Organization (SARPCCO) was created in 1995. This is an important institution in peace and security integration as it focuses on fighting cross-border crime as well as trafficking of weapons from one country to another. SARPCCO today has become an important institution to International Criminal Police (Interpol) as it has become effective in combating cross border crime. However, Nathan (2013) argues that the security challenges in the region are mainly at national level and it is difficult to solve them regionally. This point becomes less valid if one takes a look at the peace prevailing in the region due to the efforts of SARPCCO and other SADC institutions such as the SADC RPTC in some cases forces in the region are called to various peace keeping missions by the United Nations (UN) such as in East Timor, this is a clearly indication of their ability to resolve conflicts.

Besides the efforts by SADC in peace and security integration issues xenophobia cases are raising especially in countries such as South Africa with the latest wave being in 2015. What is concerning about this xenophobia in South Africa is that it is mainly targeting fellow African citizens and leaving those from western countries who by the way supported apartheid to the extent that some analysts have called it Afro-phobia and not xenophobia. In this regard SADC still has a lot to do in educating its citizens on the importance of integration and what exactly it mean by regional integration as its efforts might be derailed. Regional integration at face value can be simply described as the free movement of goods and people within the same region in this context and issues of xenophobia are totally against economic, social, political, cultural, peace and security integration.

2.10 Socio-Cultural Integration.

As previously stated some if not many southern African countries share a similar culture or history but were later divided due to fake borders during the colonial times. A good example of this is that of Tonga people in Zambezi who were later divided as some are in Zimbabwe and Zambia but all speak the same language and share similar cultures and history. After recognizing that the people in the region share a common culture, history and indeed destiny SADC came up with a Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport in the year 2001 so as to promote regional identity ²³(www.sadc.int). The main objective behind the formation of this sector is to facilitate the people's involvement in regional integration issues. This institution if it succeeds will be important in curbing menaces such as xenophobia and also it will instill a sense of unity and identity among SADC citizens.

Important areas in cultural integration are usually through music and intermarriage. In countries such as Zimbabwe regional artists from countries such as South Africa are popular. For example Cassper Nyovest is a good example of a South African artist who is currently popular amongst the youths in Zimbabwe because of his tracks such Phumakim and Shebeleza. To the elders artists such as Yvonne Chaka Chaka are still popular and tracks such as Africa are still popular and should also be noted that this song encourages integration in a way as it focuses on African Unity. In South Africa artists from Zimbabwe such as Oliver Mtukudzi are also popular. This is another good example of the role played by music in social and cultural integration. The same can also be said in sport through initiatives such as the Confederation of Southern African Football Association (COSAFA) which brings all SADC countries together and its hosts rotates every event. These initiatives are important as they unite people and eventually promote peace and stability in the region which is a pre-requisite for development.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter explained regionalism and regional integration in SADC as well as giving specific examples to approaches in regional integration. The chapter also touched on the important enablers of regionalism and regional integration in the region. Furthermore the chapter traced and gave definitions of regionalism and regional integration in the African context.

²³<http://www.sadc.int/documents-publications/show/Protocol%20on%20Culture,%20Information%20and%20Sport%202001>

CHAPTER THREE: INTEGRATION AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC)

3.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter seeks to analyze the SADC organization by explaining its mandate, how it was formed and its vision. It also seeks to explain the role of the organization as far as regionalism and regional integration issues are concerned. This chapter also in a way compares SADC with other regional organizations such as EAC and COMESA. This chapter also gives an overview on the SADC region which is southern Africa.

3.2 SADC Organization

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is a regional organization (intergovernmental) in southern Africa currently with fifteen member states and its secretariat offices are located in Botswana²⁴(www.sadc.int). Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was formed in 1980 in Lusaka, Zambia with Frontline member states and later transformed itself to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in the year 1992. The Frontline States included Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia.



Picture; SADC Founding Fathers. Picture Credit: ²⁵www.sadc.int

SADCC was created for a number of reasons but one can argue that in general it was formed to fight colonialism. Some of the reasons include; to reduce dependence on South Africa which by that time was being governed by an apartheid government and to pursue the national political liberation cause in the region.

²⁴<http://www.sadc.int/media-centre/frequently-asked-questions>

²⁵<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/history-and-treaty/>

Currently the 15 SADC member states are Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Swaziland, Seychelles, Mauritius, Tanzania, Madagascar, Mozambique, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe

3.3 SADCC to SADC (Transformation)

SADCC transformed itself due to the effects of the changing world²⁶(www.sadc.int). Chingono (2009) states that initially SADCC was basically formed to fight colonization and political independence. After it succeeded there was need to refocus and include new global trends such as economic independence, rule of law, issues of human rights and many others which will be mentioned in detail in this chapter.

According to the SADC website²⁷(www.sadc.int) from the year 1977, serious consultations took place among the then Frontline countries, which eventually led to a meeting of Foreign Ministers of these countries. The meeting was eventually held in Arusha, Tanzania in July 1979. This Arusha meeting led to the formation of SADCC in 1980. After this meeting the SADCC was officially formed in April 1980 and by then it comprised of eight states which had gained independence from colonial rule in the region. These states are; Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The leaders of the Frontline states of Malawi, Swaziland and Lesotho signed the Lusaka declaration which was written, ‘Towards Economic Liberation’ and that is when SADCC was born. After the declaration the SADCC was then formalized through a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 1981.

The SADC website²⁸(www.sadc.int) further states that, in 1989 the leaders of SADCC met in Harare, Zimbabwe and decided to give the organization a legal status and replace the MoU with an agreement, charter or treaty. Three years later the SADCC leaders met in Namibia at a Summit and they again signed a Treaty that changed the SADCC to SADC. This charter is called The SADC DECLARATION AND TREATY, and was signed on 17 August 1992, in Windhoek, Namibia. SADC was eventually created by Article 2 of the SADC Treaty by the leaders of the countries which were present at the summit. It should also be noted that from this summit the SADC main objective shifted to economic integration since all SADC member states had gained

²⁶http://www.sadc.int/files/5713/5292/8372/Regional_Indicative_Strategic_Development_Plan.pdf

²⁷<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/history-and-treaty/#Transformation>

²⁸<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/history-and-treaty/#Transformation>

independence from their oppressors. Nine years down the line in 2001 the SADC member states met in Malawi and amended the 1992 SADC Treaty, so as to establish the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP).

3.4 SADC Region (Southern Africa)

Southern Africa is the southern part of Africa. This region was negatively affected by colonialism with countries such as South Africa gaining independence as late as 1994. The region today faces economic impediments due to issues such as poverty, corruption and diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Besides these problems SADC is in deep pursuit of economic and political stability as demonstrated by some of its initiatives such as RISDP and peace training facility in Harare, Zimbabwe known as the SADC RPTC. Economically South Africa is by far the dominant country. According to Chingono and Nakana (2009) the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of South Africa alone is greater than that of other countries in this region combined.

This region has people of different cultures and beliefs but it should also be noted that other countries within this region share the same beliefs and culture for example Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In terms of food security and agriculture only a few countries in this region such as South Africa produce enough food for its citizens, this means that the rest of the countries depend on importing. Recently in 2016 the region was negatively affected by El Nino which means that many countries in this region are facing drought or they have already been affected a good example of countries affected by this El Nino in 2016 are Malawi and Zimbabwe. Other factors affecting drought in southern Africa include poor planning and governance, lack of agricultural support input schemes, low economic growth, poor agricultural policies and resource degradation.

The SADC region is different from other regions in Africa in the sense that it is vastly endowed with natural resources such as: platinum, gold, diamonds, coal, chrome, uranium and many others. South Africa has the largest platinum reserves followed by Zimbabwe. Botswana also has the largest diamonds reserves in southern Africa. However besides being endowed with such resources it should be noted that the region faces similar problems with its African counterparts

although it is relatively better. These problems include poverty, unemployment, diseases, electricity shortages and many others.

Southern Africa is also considered the most peaceful region in Africa due to various efforts such as most countries share similar cultures for example Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi which were combined together during the years of the Federation (1951-1961). Another factor is that SADC has tried to instill the sense of togetherness among countries and citizens in particular through initiatives such as regional integration policies. A good example of this is that of the VISA whereby SADC citizens do not need visas to enter a country within southern Africa. The issue of bringing people through sport has also helped a lot on the social front for example the Confederation of Southern African Football Associations (COSAFA) as well as the issue of one stop border post such as the one at Chirundu and many other reasons.

3.5 SADC Treaty

Basically the SADC Treaty was established so as to transform the SADCC to SADC as earlier highlighted in the previous sub-topic. The SADC Treaty clearly outlines and explains the objectives of SADC. This point becomes cogent if one takes a look at its objectives which are enshrined *Article 5 of the SADC Treaty of 1992*²⁹(www.sadc.int) which clearly states that; to strengthen and consolidate the long-standing historical, social and cultural affinities and links among the people of the region, evolve common political values, systems and institutions, also to protect and defend peace and security among others. These objectives are clearly explained as they are to be achieved through accelerating regional integration efforts, promoting democracy and sustainable development. The SADC Treaty established institutional meetings such as the Council of Ministers, Tribunal, Secretariat, Standing Committee of Officials and of course the popular Summit of Heads of State or Government.

After the SADC Treaty was signed it was later amended so as to deal with a number of challenges which the institution encountered when it transformed from SADCC to SADC. This amendment brought birth to eight SADC institutions under article 9 of the Treaty. These eight key institutions are; Summit of Heads of State or Government, Council of Ministers, SADC

²⁹<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-objectiv/>

National Committees, Organ on Politics, Defense and Security Cooperation, Secretariat, Troika, Tribunal and lastly the Standing Committee of Officials.

3.6 Vision of the Southern African Development Community (SADC)

The vision of the SADC is pretty clear and smart although it requires a lot of hard work and sacrifice for it to be achieved in the foreseeable future. The vision of the organization is that of a shared future as is clearly stated in its motto – “Towards a Common Future.” It calls for a common future within the regional community which means that no one will be left behind as the region seeks to move together, but is this achievable? One can argue that indeed this can be achieved although it requires hard work and adequate resources as well as to educate the SADC citizens on the benefits of regional integration as many of them do not even know of this strategy apart from those that deal with the institution on a daily basis. To its credit, SADC published a deliberate booklet known as the *SADC Success Stories*, the first of its kind so as to make citizens aware of its initiatives. For instance some citizens of both Zimbabwe and Zambia are not aware that the Chirundu One Stop Boarder Post is a result of SADC initiatives although many of them use the port frequently. The same can also be said about the reduced power cuts for example in Zimbabwe are a result of SADC initiatives through its key institutions such as the Southern African Power Pool (SAPP) which allows SADC members to sell electricity to each other during off peak hours or when they have excess electricity and many other various initiatives.

The SADC Vision is also to have a region that is self-reliant so as to eradicate poverty and eventually have better living standards for its citizens. This can be noticed from the various initiatives which SADC has put in place so as to better its citizens for example the SADC RPTC which is located in Harare, Zimbabwe and the success of the Maputo Development Corridor as noted by *SADC Success Stories Vol 1, 2015*. The corridor is vital in promoting the lives of its citizens especially those in landlocked countries such as Zambia and Zimbabwe. SADC’s vision of “**Towards a Common Future**” is also vital as it will improve the economic wellbeing of its citizens, improve the standards of living, freedom and social justice and also peace and security and many others highlighted above.

It should also be noted that the mission of the SADC is to provide sustainable development through deeper integration, good governance and maintaining peace and security in the region so as to enable the region to be recognized at the world stage and be competitive just like other regions

such as the European Union (EU) which is now a force to reckon in the world after successfully pursuing the regional integration strategy.

According to Article 4 of the SADC Treaty this mission will be fulfilled through; sovereign and equality of all member states, peaceful settlement of disputes; solidarity, peace and security, equality, balance and mutual benefit and of course human rights, democracy and rule of law³⁰(www.sadc.int). This is effective since equality guarantees that no country is bigger than the other and also ensures that all SADC member states are treated equally and fairly. Mutual benefit also ensures that the regional integration drive becomes a success as all members must benefit equally. However it should also be noted that the issue of equal benefits can be a challenge to regional integration as other members tend to benefit more than the others. This issue is clearly explained in Chapter 4 of the study which focuses on challenges of regional integration.

From the above vision of SADC, one must take note that although the organization faces some challenges here and there it has not diverged from its core vision such as the one for creating a common and shared future as it is working hard on regional integration which is a vehicle for poverty eradication. SADC also accelerated its integration drive through the formation of SAPP and other important institutions such as the SADC RPTC. All this is a testimony that those at the helm of the organizations are determined to achieve the objectives of the organization and as such are operating within the envisaged SADC Vision.

3.7SADC Key Organs

The transformation of SADCC to SADC brought about new developments as well as challenges. These challenges in order for them to be addressed it was necessary for some institutions to be formed as a result new institutions were formed in 2002. These institutions are Council of Ministers, Tribunal, Secretariat, SADC Parliamentary Forum, Standing Committee of Officials and of course the popular Summit of Heads of State or Government.

3.7.1 Council of Ministers

The council has ministers of each member states and it usually meets twice a year. Its main function is to see that the organization is functioning properly and that it develops. The other

³⁰http://www.sadc.int/files/9113/5292/9434/SADC_Treaty.pdf

main function is to make sure that policies are being implemented correctly by SADC member states.

3.7.2 Tribunal

This Tribunal came after the establishment of the SADC Treaty. Its main function according to SADC ³¹(www.sadc.int) is to adjudicate over disputes brought to it. It also makes sure that there proper interpretations and adherence to the provisions of the SADC Treaty. It should also be noted this Tribunal was once suspended in 2010 after several ruling against the government of Zimbabwe which later raised eyebrows on the independence of this institution to carry out its duties without interference from member states.

3.7.3 Secretariat

The Secretariat is responsible for coordinating and planning of programmes of the organization. The secretariat is also responsible for the implementation of SADC policies and decisions that come out from SADC Summits, Conferences and any other important meetings. The secretariat is headed is by an Executive Secretary and its offices are located in Botswana. Currently the SADC Executive Secretary is Dr Lawrence Stergomana Tax.

3.7.4 Standing Committee of Senior Officials

This an advisory to the Council of Ministers and it meets twice a year.

3.7.5 Summit of Heads of State of Government

This popular SADC Summit is responsible for directing policies and controlling the institutions as well as decision making. It is basically made up of SADC Heads of State or Government. The SADC summit usually meets once in a year and that is when the Chairperson is elected for one year tenure since it rotates among all member states. The current chairperson of SADC is President Ian Khama of Botswana who took over from President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

3.7.6 Troika

This is the institution which manages SADC Organ on Politics, Defense and Security. This organ is responsible for maintaining and promoting peace in SADC. This is evidenced by the organ's

³¹<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/sadc-institutions/tribun/>

efforts to restore peace and order in the Kingdom of Lesotho as it did before with countries such as Zimbabwe, Madagascar and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

3.7.7 Parliamentary Forums

This parliamentary forum an inter parliamentary as it consists of members of parliament of each member states. According to SADC ³²(www.sadc.int) it represents over 3 500 parliamentarians from the region which is quite a significant and important number as far as inclusivity is concerned.

3.7.8 National Committees

The SADC National Committees were formed so as to provide input at national level at each member states regarding SADC issues such as policies. It also responsible for the implementation of SADC policies at national levels. This committee is perhaps the most inclusive as it include members from the government, private sector and also civil society organizations.

3.8 Powers of SADC

SADC is a governing body as such it has certain legal instruments in which it operates on considering that its works with sovereign states. Based on this fact powers of SADC are going to be explained as well as limitations or some challenges.

3.8.1 Legislative Powers

Legal powers give the institution the right to make laws that are binding or should be followed by member states. These include issues such as treaties and protocols that should be followed by member states.

The SADC Treaty clearly states that the SADC Summit is the institution which makes laws. Basically the SADC Summit is concerned with making new or approving new policies as well as treaties for the institution. It uses a majority vote so as to amend or bring about a new policy or protocol. Three quarter votes are needed so as to amend or make a policy through consensus.

³²<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/sadc-institutions/sadc-parliamentarian-forum/>

The SADC Council of Ministers is another institution which makes decisions based on consensus. This institution is concerned with making sure that SADC policies are properly being implemented and that the organization is functioning properly.

In the interest of upholding state sovereignty and unity among members the SADC making of decisions considers the interest of member states. In other words it is very difficult to make decisions without the consent of all member states involved. This simply means that a member state is free to vote against a decision which it thinks are violating its interest. This is another challenge as key important decisions might not be implemented simply because a member state does not agree with that decisions. A good example is that of the SADC Tribunal which was once suspended in 2010 simply because Zimbabwe did not agree with some of its judgements which it considered were violating its sovereignty. Another interesting example is that a country within SADC might delay some of its goals by simply delaying or refusing to ratify protocols.

3.8.2 Executive Power.

Based on the SADC Treaty the SADC Secretariat which is located in Botswana and headed by an Executive Secretary is at the helm of the institution. It should be noted that the executive powers of the secretariat came after the organization was transformed from SADCC to SADC since before the organization operated on the basis of decentralized cooperation.

After the restructuring process the secretariat was given more powers to oversee over the implementation of decisions and policies by SADC on regional level. On national each country has to come up with a national committee so as to make sure that SADC policies are properly implemented as earlier explained in the previous sub topic on SADC National Committees.

Article 33 of the SADC Treaty clearly states that the organization has the powers to impose sanctions on member states of the organization. These sanctions can be imposed if a member state fails to fulfill its obligations as stated by the SADC Treaty and which in turn can undermine the values and principles of the organizations.

3.8.3 Judicial Power

The SADC Treaty states that the organization must establish a supranational court to deal with disputes among countries in the region. This court was formed and is known as the SADC Tribunal but it should be noted that this court was suspended in the year 2010 after a series of

judgements against the Zimbabwean Government, which is another challenge as far as SADC is concerned as earlier explained.

3.9 Role of SADC in Regionalism and Integration (Continental and Inter-regional)

Africa's efforts for cooperation can be traced back to the formation of the Organization of the African Unity (OAU) now known as the African Union (AU). OAU was formed in 1963 with sole intention of bringing the continent together both economically and socially. To use its terms it was formed for sense of "achieving greater unity and peace within the region." Therefore the SADC region was brought up with the aim of promoting regionalism and integration based on the sense that in order to achieve integration member states within the same region will have to cooperate and work together.

Regional integration have been going on for quite a long period now and it has become crystal clear that it plays a very important role in poverty eradication hence SADC has become that vehicle for promoting regional integration in southern Africa and ultimately on the Sub Continent with other regional organizations such as ECOWAS and EAC to mention just a few.

3.9.1 SADC and the African Union

The objectives of SADC and that of the African Union (AU), New Partnership for Development (NEPAD) are almost similar or aim to achieve the same goals. As a result of pursuing the same goal these three organizations work closely with each other so as to achieve them.

It should also be taken into consideration that NEPAD is a direct initiative of the African Union (AU). At a meeting of SADC foreign ministers in 2001 it was decided that SADC should be considered as part of NEPAD for the simple reason that NEPAD is part of AU and SADC is recognized as an organization by AU. Because of this SADC projects such as the RISDP are now harmonized under NEPAD priorities. These two organizations work closely with each other in areas such as peace and security in regional peace keeping and the African Standby Force.

3.9.2 SADC, EAC and COMESA

In June 2011 members of the East African Community (EAC), SADC and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) signed a declaration which established the COMESA-EAC-SADC free trade area.

This tripartite agreement according to SADC ³³(www.sadc.int) has 26 countries with a population of nearly 600 million. The GDP of all these countries combined is estimated to be US\$1.0 trillion. The main goal of this tripartite agreement is to strengthen and enhance integration efforts between the Eastern and Southern Region. This according to SADC is going to be achieved through the harmonization of policies of these three organizations or Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in areas of infrastructure, trade and customs.

The three main areas to be focused by this agreement vary from the areas of industrial development, market integration and industrial development. The aim of this agreement is to improve the lives of its citizens by promoting regional growth and promoting a friendly environment for regional trade.

3.10 SADC Economy

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>Information</u>	<u>Indicator</u>	<u>Data</u>
Member States	15	Trade	Total Import – USD \$91,608.15 (million) Total Export – USD \$89,151.33 (million)
Year Established	<u>1992</u>	Average Gvt Debt (2011,% of GDP)	40,4%
Land Area	554 919 km ²	Average Life Expectancy (2009)	55.1
Total Population	277 million	Average HIV Prevalence Rate (2009)	12.6%
GDP Annual Growth	5.14%	Gender (proportion of seats held by women)	34%

³³<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/continental-interregional-integration/tripartite-cooperation/>

Rate (2011)		in parliament) – 2011	
GDP (2010)	USD \$575.5 Billion	GDP Contribution Services	51%
Inflation (2010)	7.7%	GDP Contribution Industry	32%
Fiscal Balance (2012)	_3.6%	GDP Contribution Agriculture	17%

Source; FAO 2003.State of Forest and Tree Genetic Resources in Dry Zone Southern Africa Development Community Countries.

For the region, service sectors contributed half of the GDP between 2000 and 2010 period and it is the main driver to regional growth according to SADC statistics.

According to the SADC website ³⁴(www.sadc.int) the tax revenue for the region vary greatly in the region according to country by country. For instance as noted by SADC ³⁵(www.sadc.int) between the period 2005 and 2010, Angola had less than 0.5% in tax revenue whereas countries such as Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho had the highest tax revenue in 2010. In the same year the highest percentage tax revenue was 36% (Lesotho) and the lowest was Angola with 0,041% when the average in SADC was 20%.

3.10.1 Inflation

In general the inflation rates in the region picked up in 2010 after falling in the year 2009 as noted by the website ³⁶(www.sad.int). Currently in 2016 South Africa is grappling with its all-time high inflation rate.

3.10.2 Trade

The SADC total in trade almost quadrupled during the 2000 and 2011 years. According to the SADC website³⁷(www.sadc.int)trade went from US\$91089.52 million in the year 2000 to

³⁴<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/>

³⁵<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/>

³⁶<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/>

³⁷<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/>

US\$353536.4 million in 2011. However it should also be noted besides the upwards trend there was also a sharp decline of +/- 25% in the year 2009 due to the effects of the global economic crisis as noted by SADC ³⁸(www.sadc.int).

3.10.3 Exports and Imports

Trade among SADC member states is generally low however SADC is working tirelessly hard in order to address the gap. For instance it is working on the issue of infrastructure as it is a great barrier to trade for example the Maputo Development Corridor which is meant to increase trade between SADC member states especially the landlocked countries such as Zimbabwe and Zambia.

The exports between the SADC countries include oils, agricultural products, clothing, textile products and electricity³⁹(www.sadc.int). Exports outside the region and to the rest of the world usually include raw resources such as coal, platinum, diamonds. Manufactured goods which are mostly exported included some clothing, textiles and tobacco⁴⁰(www.sadc.int). SADC should speed up its industrialization so as to value add its resources such as diamonds as the region loses a lot of money by exporting products in their raw form. Resources such as diamonds, gold and many others.

According to SADC all time SADC exports have been to the Asian Pacific Market followed by the European Union Market. Trade within Africa and SADC region has remained low over the years however it has showed signs of improvement ⁴¹(www.sadc.int).

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the role of the SADC organization by explaining its mandate and formation. The chapter also gave a brief history of how SADC transformed itself from SADCC. This chapter also explained the role played by SADC and its key institutions as far as regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa is concerned. The chapter also in a way compared SADC with other regional organizations such as EAC and COMESA in terms of regional integration and how these institutions are cooperating so as to achieve deeper

³⁸<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/>

³⁹<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/>

⁴⁰<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/>

⁴¹<http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/>

integration. The chapter also gave statistics in the region such as inflation, trade and also explaining the nature of Southern Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR: CHALLENGES OF REGIONALISM AND INTEGRATION IN AFRICA. A CASE STUDY OF SADC

4.1 Chapter Introduction

The Chapter explains the challenges associated with regionalism and regional integration in Africa using SADC as a case study. The chapter also gives specific example to these challenges in the SADC region. The Chapter also mentions achievements in the area of regionalism and regional integration as far as SADC is concerned.

4.2 Challenges to regionalism and integration in Southern Africa.

While regionalism and integration has many benefits such as boosting competition on the international arena which in turn may speed up development and reduce poverty it should also be noted that regional integration has costs and challenges associated with it. This chapter is going to focus on the challenges associated with regionalism and regional integration in Africa focusing on SADC as a case study. The challenges which are going to be focused on include both with achieving regional integration and the challenges which might be faced if deeper regionalism and integration is achieved.

4.2.1 Issue of multiple membership

Multiple membership of some countries to different RECs with the same objective has been a big challenge to regionalism and regional integration in Africa and in SADC to be specific. According to Chingono and Nakana (2008), the main challenge of multiple membership is that of overlapping and lack of will to one organization which in turn might negatively affect the objectives of an organization. A good example is that of Tanzania which is both a member of SADC and EAC is. It should be noted that these organizations share similar objectives and has left Tanzania in a situation dilemma since it is very difficult for it to choose one organization because of its location and past experiences with both organization. According to Chingono and Nakana (2008) overlapping of membership has in turn created competition (negative) and confusion which at the end of the day affects the taxpayers who are already facing a lot of challenges especially in developing and underdeveloped countries of southern Africa. It should also be noted that besides Tanzania countries such as Swaziland, Botswana and South Africa are all part of three other organizations which in one way or the other share similar end goals. These

organizations are Common Monetary Area (CMA), COMESA and Regional Integration Facilitation Forum (RIFF).

In addition to the above point it should also be noted that a majority of the southern African countries are also members of COMESA. This may cause confusion and problems in the long run if another block decides to have a customs union as these countries belong to more than one regional organization with the same objectives. Another challenge which might be faced is that of different ways to regional integration. These organization might have different approaches to it which in the end will lead to confusion and inconsistency policies. A good example is that of SADC and COMESA. Multiple membership are costly since they lead to inefficiency which in turn will lead to one organization if not both fail to succeed as they would like in their quest for regional integration.

According to Ahmedand Ghani (2006), the existence of multiple RECs can negatively affect regional integration. This point becomes tangible if one takes a look at the issue of SADC and SACU. Some countries have gone out of their organizations to look for economic initiatives in other regional organizations. This issue of overlapping as earlier explained is a challenge since countries might negotiate policies with other RECs which might be irrelevant and of harm to the organizations which they belong. An example is of South Africa which is a member of SACU together with other SADC member states. South Africahas in the past years negotiated a Development Cooperation with the European Union and SACU. It should also be noted that any development initiative which involves South Africa also eventually includes other SACU members which are also part of SADC. From this point it can be noted that overlapping with no doubt affects regional integration in one way or the other. It should also be noted that if regional integration deepens in southern Africa and blocks decide to have a monetary union these states must choose one and in the end this may hinder deeper integration.

Overlapping and multiple membership has also created trade problems among regional organizations especially between SADC and COMESA. A number of SADC member states are also part of the COMESA. The organization has 15 member states while nine of them are part of COMESA. A good example of a country which was caught in between is that of Zambia. Zambia is both a member of SADC and COMESA. Under SADC, Zambia had agreed to remove tariffs for its fellow SADC members and in this case South Africa. However, on the other side Zambia

being a member of COMESA had also agreed to put tariffs to countries that are not members of the organization. It should be noted in this case that South Africa is not a member of COMESA. From this point one can note this created confusion and dilemma on the part of Zambia as it difficult for it to implement such inconsistent policies due to the simple fact that it belongs to two regional organizations with conflicting policies. The same can also be said about other SACU members which are part of SADC and had discussed some development programmes with the EU.

Multiple membership has created problems for SADC and COMESA because of different economic interests and policies. Besides these problems it should also be noted that there have been efforts which can eventually solve them for example the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) and the tripartite agreement between SADC, COMESA and the EAC.

4.2.2 Difference in Economic Development

The different levels of economic development in SADC is another challenge to regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa. It is a well-known fact that SADC member states have different resources as well as economic advantages and disadvantages which leads to different levels of economic growth which can negatively affect regional integration if not handled properly and carefully.

South Africa is by far the biggest economy in SADC and in the process the majority of countries in this region economically depend on it and it has virtually reduced some SADC countries such as Botswana and Namibia as its supermarkets with the only difference of goods found in these countries being price tags as they come from South Africa. According Mupuva (2011), South Africa contributes about 70% alone of SADC GDP and about 60% of trade within the region. From these figures one can clearly note that trade is not balanced in southern Africa as South Africa is a dominant force and this is not sustainable since the country has also developed that big brother mentality to the extent of not following some SADC trade policies without protest or being questioned by other “small countries” in the region as they depend on it for economic survival. As stated by Mupuva (2011), this can be seen from South Africa engaging other development partners such as the EU to the disadvantage of other fellow states and SADC’s regional integration process.

Another major challenge which has affected SADC is that of creating equitable trade which benefits all countries equally and not one or just a few. This if achieved would go a long way promoting regional integration. In this regard it should also be noted that a number of SADC countries are facing economic problems with countries such as Zimbabwe on the brink of deindustrialization, as such these countries have low GDPs which means that the economic development of the region has not been even or equally spread out a scenario which is against the very essence of regional integration and as such this challenge must be addressed by encouraging other SADC countries to industrialize and add value to their products taking note of their competitive advantages. One should also note the other reason why SADCC was formed in 1980 was to end the dominance of South Africa and many years down the line SADCC is grappling with the same objective.

4.2.3 Issue of Rules of Origin

The issue of rules of origin if regionalism and regional integration is achieved in southern Africa has been a major impediment to SADC regional integration. This issue and its application has been a subject of inconsistencies in southern Africa. According to SADC report⁴²(www.sadc.int), the issue of rules of origin is an important issue in intraregional trade and it should be noted that this issue hinders non-SADC goods to benefit from issues such as preferential tariff treatment under the system. The issue of rules of origin is important in the sense that it helps in determining if the goods being trade should benefit from SADC's Free Trade Area (FTA).

The problem arises in since some member states are part of more than one regional body therefore the issue rules of origin becomes difficult for these members to implement due to different policies of different RECs. Again another issue which member states failed to reach a common ground is the determination of rules of origin meaning that the criteria used. For example if Botswana manufactures clothes using cotton from Zimbabwe, which country possess the right to call the clothes its own and who should benefit more from the goods, Zimbabwe or Botswana? These are some of the challenges which will be faced when deeper economic integration is achieved in the region.

⁴²https://www.sadc.int/files/9613/5413/6410/3._Rules_of_Origin__Exporters_Guide_Manual.pdf

Another challenge is that rules of origin within SADC has not responded to tariff reduction of countries within SACU. Other countries within these RECs have blamed rules of origin as insufficient to determine the origin of goods as stated by Mupuva (2011). Other scholars such as Draper and Kalaba, are also of the view that this issues of rules of origin is a barrier to competitiveness on the international market and also has inconsistency. This point becomes tangible if one takes closer look at the criteria which will be used for determination and the fact that in one way or the other profits of these goods will have to be shared if they include more than one country. From the above one can deduce that issue of rules of origin is a major challenge to regional integration as it is seen by the majority of countries within SADC as prohibitive and also others argue that they reduce their chances to compete globally as well as hinders profit maximization of their goods.

4.2.4 Ineffectiveness of SADC Judicial System.

As previously noted in the previous chapters that, peace is important for development and in this case regional integration. In this context it should be noted that a collective judiciary system in the region plays an undisputed role in maintaining peace and security thereby being a very important vehicle as far as regionalism and regional integration is concerned in the region. Against this backdrop, it should be noted the SADC Tribunal, which is supposed to play its role toward cooperation has failed since it showed signs of fissures in the organization which led to its suspension in 2010. The issue of the Zimbabwean white farmers and other series of judgements against Zimbabwean government led to its suspension ending hopes that this institution was going to promote peace and unity in the region through fairness. While others can blame the hypocrisy and double standards of some member states it should be noted that the SADC Judiciary must stamp their authority and even impose sanctions if necessary in order discourage other member states from doing the same.

According to Mupuva (2011), the refusal of Zimbabwe to comply with the judgement of the SADC Tribunal over the issue of white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe, showed some weaknesses on the part of SADC to implement its decisions. From this point one can conclude that it will be very difficult to achieve regional integration if certain member states fail to adhere to the terms and policies of SADC.

4.2.5 Overambitious Targets and Poor Implementation.

Unrealistic and overambitious targets by SADC has been another challenge to regional integration in the region. Again on this point the issue of multiple membership come into play. It is a fact that many African countries have signed quite a number regional integration strategies with unrealistic targets and poor implementation.

Many SADC targets which had been set over the past years have yet not been met and some being readjusted due to poor implementation. The SADC Trade Protocol which was signed in 2000 by 11 countries stated that by 2008 countries should liberalize 85% of their trade but today in 2016 some countries are yet to meet this requirement.

SADC also had targeted to have a monetary union by 2016 but it has not been achieved and likely not to be achieved in the year 2016 as a lot has to be done paving way for the monetary union. From this one can note that failure to meet targets is a hindrance to deeper regional integration in the region.

4.2.6 Economic Dominance of South Africa

According to Mupuva (2011), the economic dominance of South Africa is a major impediment as far as deeper economic integration is concerned. South Africa account for the majority of a trade in the region and almost every country in the region has South Africa as its largest trading partner a situation which is against the very essence of regional integration. As earlier stated this has reduced other member states in southern Africa as mere subordinates of the South African economy for example Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia to mention just a few. This situation is not fair as South African tend to benefit more from the dire economic situation of its neighbors. A good example is that of Zimbabwe in 2008-2009 period. South Africa gained and still continues to gain as it gets cheap labor from Zimbabwe and the unfair trade which continue to characterize these two neighboring countries as South Africa has a readily available market for some of its goods in Zimbabwe, the same can also be said for countries with poor manufacturing industries such as Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana and Namibia.

This prevailing scenario is major challenge to economic regional integration in the sense that countries such as South Africa might and can delay regional integration efforts by not signing

certain protocols as it is benefitting a lot from the current economic situation in the region which is not fair to other countries in the region.

4.2.7 Payment of Membership Fees

The issue of payment of membership fees to RECs and in this case SADC can be another hindrance to regional integration. According to Chingono and Nakana (2008) membership can be a huge difficulty to other countries in the region. It can be a burden on the tax payers since they are the ones who suffer in the end and thereby affecting their standards of living.

4.2.8 Selfish Interests among Member States

Selfish interests among SADC member states have another challenge in achieving deeper regional integration in the region. National interest at the expense of interest of regional issues has been an obstacle to regional integration. This alone contradicts to the values and objectives of SADC in its quest to unite the people of the region through regional integration. According to Nathan (2003), there is absence of common values and beliefs among member states. This point becomes cogent if one takes a look at the issue of xenophobia attacks in South Africa and Botswana over the years. This further confirms that the citizens of these countries do not see fellow Africans as brothers and sisters in their country but as foreigners contributing to their poverty and unemployment. This alone is a major challenge towards regional integration in SADC.

4.2.9 Incompatible Political and Economic Systems

According to Chingono and Nakana (2009), regional integration simply entails that countries within a specific region must trade with each other more before they export whatever they have as a block. Sadly this has been not the case in southern Africa where intra-trade is very low and where it is easy to trade with a western country than a neighboring country. Majority of countries in southern Africa all compete to trade with countries outside their region and as far as Europe, this alone is a hindrance to regional integration. A good example is that of countries such as DRC which has diamonds but does not have the technology to value add, instead it exports them in their raw form to other countries outside the region.

Differences in political systems which were adopted soon after independence of each country is another challenge to political integration and eventually economic integration. A good example

is that of Zambia which adopted humanism and Tanzania adopting what is called African socialism. These differences in political path already means that there were different levels of thinking as well as ideologies which in turn can negatively affect regional integration. A good example is that of Botswana and Zimbabwe. Botswana chose to align itself to the West and in the process being a favorite or ally so to say of countries such Britain and the same cannot be said about Zimbabwe, this has created fissures and divisions within countries in the same region thereby negatively affecting regional integration.

4.2.10 Nature of SADC Economies

Many SADC economies except for South Africa mainly depend on agriculture and exporting raw materials which is not sustainable in a way since a few of them value add their products. This has been a negative effect of colonization since most countries in the region were made to supply and support South Africa with goods and even labor, a good example of this is Swaziland and Lesotho. Again it should be noted that these economies are not diversified and this means that producing or exporting the same goods is not sustainable as far as regional integration is concerned. This means that the nature of many SADC economies poses a great challenge to SADC's regional integration as they are not diversified and regional integration requires diversification.

4.2.11 Debt and Dependency

According to Chingono and Nakana (2008), the issue of debt and dependence remains the biggest challenge to regional integration. This point becomes valid if one takes a look at the fact that borrowing cannot be avoided if the region wants resources to promote regional integration but again the same borrowing comes with consequences such as high interest rate and interference in the domestic politics of a country which is a huge burden to small underdeveloped countries such as the one in SADC region. According to Chingono and Nakana (2008), South Africa alone has a foreign debt of around US\$25 billion and Angola has about US\$10 billion. Many of these debts for example in the case of South Africa are said to have been inherited from the apartheid government. Again from this point one can also note that the effects of colonization has also negatively affected regional integration in one way or the other. From the figures stated above one can note that it is a big challenge for the region to integrate when it has countries in debt such as the ones stated above.

Another important factor as far as dependence is the issue of the economic system. A lot if not all SADC countries depend on capitalism as an economic system which is in itself a western ideology and as if not enough is selfish in nature. This ideology puts the interest of the country first before those of the region. From this point it becomes clear that dependency on western ideologies such as capitalism is a major challenge to regional integration as seen in southern Africa. It should also be noted that the very same nature of capitalism encourages negative competition which is clearly against the doctrine of SADC as it encourages cooperation as to achieve the same desired goals for poverty eradication and improving the lives of all SADC citizens without leaving any country or citizen behind (common future).

4.2.12 Unfair International Practices

Unfair international practices by the strong especially those in western countries towards the poor is another major challenge to regionalism and integration in SADC. Cooperation is major component of regional integration but the international economic system encourages unfair competition and at the end of the day international organizations such as IMF, WB and WTO which are supposed to protect the weak against the strong and help poor countries to develop diverge from the objective as they are manipulated by the strong which at the end of the day affects regional integration in Africa and SADC in particular.

Another good example of unfair international system is the relationship between the North and South. According to Giri (2001), the North rely on the South for raw materials. Besides relying on the South the North dictates the buying price and again after manufacturing finished products they have markets for their goods in which they again dictate the selling price which is not fair in every sense as they leave the South and in this case SADC countries at the mercy of the North. This alone is a challenge to regional integration as SADC member states will be depending on the North for development and finished products.

In addition institution such as the Bretton Woods twins play an important role in making sure that poor countries do not develop and at the end of the day fail achieve regional integration due to its unfair and unjust systems such as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) and its unfair lending system. SAPs ensure countries in the regions such as southern Africa remain poor being indebted and made to devalue their currencies a good example is that of Zimbabwe soon after independence and Malawi in southern Africa. Policies such SAPs decrease the rate of economic

development, leave these small countries at the mercy of international companies which in turn abuse workers and increase poverty which is a big challenge and works against every efforts of regionalism and regional integration.

The Bretton Woods institutions lending system poses a great challenge to regional integration as it is conditional and some of the conditions are not fair on southern African countries considering their financial positions and also their quest to achieve regional integration and improve the standards of living of their citizens. Some of the conditions stipulated by these international system before borrowing include but not limited to; higher taxes and lower spending, SAPs, exchange rate reforms, devaluation of local currency and many others (www.globalexchange.org). Against these international practices one can clearly note it is and will continue to be a challenge for countries in SADC to achieve regional integration as these policies are not fair and leave member states poor.

4.2.13 Uneven/Unfair Benefits

Against the backdrop that SADC economies are different since others are small and others big for example South Africa this virtually means that if regional integration is to be achieved other countries tend to benefit more than others which today remains a big challenge to achieving regional integration as other member states are skeptical. According to Chingono and Nakana (2009), these huge differences in economies obviously mean that other countries will benefit more and others less. A good example is that of South Africa which is the biggest economy in the region and Zimbabwe which is on the brink of deindustrialization. This means that South Africa will likely benefit more and Zimbabwe will lose a lot due to regional integration.

According to FAO ⁴³(www.fao.org) equal distribution of resources is very important if regional integration is to be achieved. Unfair benefits negatively affect prospects for deeper regional integration in the region. To curb against this challenge SADC must encourage its member states to industrialize taking into consideration their comparative advantage as countries in the region have different resources and advantages over each other. SADC must also deliberately protect its member states against the dominance force of countries such as South Africa and others which are considered strong if deeper economic regional integration is to be achieved.

⁴³<http://www.fao.org/docrep/004/y4793e/y4793e05.htm>

4.2.14 Poor Governance

According to Chingono (2009), poor governance in both political and economic issues is another major challenge to regional integration. The SADC region it should be noted that it faces quite a lot of challenges some of them which have been fueled by lack of proper governance. These problems range from diseases such as HIV/AIDS, political instability in the case of Lesotho and also conflicts in its largest country the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

Judging by the fact that SADC intends to reduce poverty one can be forgiven to say that the organization has failed in that area as a lot still needs to be done so as to eradicate poverty in the region since the rate of unemployment is still increasing in the region with countries such as Zimbabwe on the brink of deindustrialization. It should also be noted that the gap between the poor in some countries in the region such as South Africa is still too high and unsustainable. It should also be noted that the issue of land is a burning issue and South Africa is sitting on a ticking time bomb if this issue is not properly addressed in that country and indeed in the greater part of the region with countries such as Namibia still to address that particular issue.

Poor political governance which eventually lead to political instability is another issue which affects regional integration. A good example of this point is that of Lesotho which is always characterized by conflicts due to political instability.

It should be noted that unless good governance is achieved in the region and participation of citizens as well as civil society groups is encouraged in the region it is going to be difficult and take long for the region to achieve deeper integration.

4.2.15 Globalization

While globalization is important it should also be noted that it can be a challenge to regional integration. According to Chingono and Nakana (2008), market fundamentalism and the pursuit of profit is a major challenge to regional integration. This point becomes clear considering the fact that it encouraged countries to compete with each other and discredits cooperation which is against the interest regionalism and integration. This negative completion leads to the underperformances of small economies such as the ones in southern Africa due to the existence of Multinational Companies (MNCs) some of them which are by the way richer than small countries in the SADC region.

A few countries in the West control the media and institutions such as IMF and this create dependency to the West in the name of globalization. This poses divisions within countries in the same region as some particular countries are always negatively portrayed and others are always praised the case of Zimbabwe and Botswana. These divisions perpetrated in the name of globalization poses are great challenge to regional integration in SADC.

Other critics view globalization as an extension of American cultures or simply Americanization. This point becomes tangible if one considers that the so called globalization is on terms of rich countries and the ones always talking about it and willing to impose it on small and weak southern African countries. Against this background one can conclude that it is another form of cultural imperialism perpetrated by the West and such it must be resisted in Africa and southern Africa in particular. From these points mentioned above one can note that globalization has a bad side which can affect deeper regional integration since it has a tendency of marginalizing the weak such as countries in the region.

4.2.16Lack of Support

Lack of support as noted by Mackie (2010) and in particular grass root support is a major challenge to achieving deeper regional integration. A major weakness which a lot of RECs make is that they do not recognize citizens, private sector and civil society organizations as partners in regional integration as such these groups tend not support integration initiatives if not derail them.

The private sector, civil society and the general populace play a critical role in integration efforts as they are the ones who work with the citizens on a daily basis and are the most affected and such they play a critical role in regional integration and as such their support is crucial. It should also be noted that the private sector play an important role in financing regional integration initiatives, a good example is that of the Maputo Development Corridor which was partly financed by the private sector and today it is one of the SADC success stories (*SADC Success Stories Vol 1, 2015*).

4.2.17Lack of Funding

Regional integration is an effective strategy in promoting development, ending poverty and positioning the region on the international market for it to compete globally, it should be noted

that this strategy has costs, expensive and require a large pool of funds to be accomplished. It should be noted that for countries in the region which are grappling with their own problems the issue of funding becomes a major hindrance to regional integration. Funds are important so that that SADC can be able to pursue its initiatives without problems.

4.2.18 Poor Infrastructure

Poor infrastructure as noted by Jouanjean (2010), is a major challenge to regionalism and integration. It should be noted that regionalism and regional integration entails that there should be free movement of goods and people within the region and without proper infrastructures such as roads and airports linking countries it becomes very difficult for the region to achieve this strategy. A good example is that of airports and airlines in the region for example the issue of Air Zimbabwe which is facing viability challenges and that of National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) which has literally collapsed. Without these key institutions it is very difficult to achieve regional integration as they are important enablers to regionalism and regional integration since they facilitate free and uninterrupted movement of goods and services which is an important key issue in regional integration.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter explained challenges associated with regionalism and regional integration in SADC. It gave challenges associated with both achieving regionalism and regional integration and those which might be encountered if deeper integration is eventually achieved in the region. The chapter also gave recommendations and suggestions to some of the challenges.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Chapter Introduction

The chapter seeks to sum up the whole study by giving its recommendations on the challenges associated with regionalism and regional integration in Africa, focusing on southern Africa.

5.2 Conclusion and Recommendations

While regionalism and regional integration is a noble cause in Africa and southern Africa in particular it should be noted that this strategy faces a lot of challenges and they must be addressed if the region is going to successfully reap the fruits of deeper economic, political and social integration.

The major challenges which are negatively affecting regionalism and integration in SADC were clearly highlighted in Chapter Four of this study and these challenges include but not limited to : issue of multiple membership RECs, lack of funding, lack of diversified economies in the region, globalization, unjust international system and many others mentioned in Chapter Four.

Against the background of these challenges it must be noted that issues such as multiple membership to RECs must be addressed as a matter of urgency. SADC or any other similar organization must make it clear to their members that belonging to many RECs is unacceptable and selfish as it affects regional integration to the issue of conflicting policies. A good example of this is the case of SADC, COMESA and Zambia which was explained earlier in this study.

SADC must also address the issue of funding seriously so as to adequately fund its policies and achieve its intended goals in the stipulated time frame. SADC must form partnerships with the private sector and other relevant stakeholders to raise the funds for regional integration. The regional body must also spread initiatives such as the Maputo Development Corridor to other parts of the region and lure the private sector as it did on this initiative. Furthermore the mother body must develop a “regional integration fund” to cater for specific regional integration initiatives as they play an important role in achieving deeper regional integration in SADC.

However, when analyzing regionalism and regional integration in SADC besides the mentioned challenges to this wonderful strategy one can also conclude that the region has made considerable achievements towards regional organizations taking into account the fact that

countries in this region are experiencing their own difficulties, for instance Zimbabwe is on the verge deindustrialization and also DRC is experiencing its own internal conflicts not leaving behind Lesotho.

Some of the SADC achievements since its formation up to the year 2015 include; strong political base, SADC has been the most peaceful region in the continent, established SAPP, established the Spatial Development Corridors which include Maputo Development Corridor, facilitated the free movement of goods and people in the region through initiatives such as the Chirundu One Stop Border Post, introduced SIRESS, developed an energy policy and many others.

When one compares SADC with other RECs in the continent, it can be easily deduced that the body has achieved a lot and is leading the way as far as regional integration efforts are concerned. However, SADC Secretariat must also be strengthened and adequately funded so that it carries out its duties efficiently and effectively for the benefit of the region.

It should also be noted that the main challenges which might affect SADC are ahead. For example if deeper regional integration is achieved issues such as the rules of origin will pose a major threat to regional integration. Another potential issue is the issue of the unpredictable international economy since a lot of SADC countries depend on raw materials and the prices are set internationally for example diamonds, gold and platinum prices and also how to amicably deal with South Africa's economic dominance in the region which is against the very objectives of regional integration in SADC.

Against this background it should also be noted the regional integration in SADC depend on the state of the international economy. A good example of this can be seen from the 2008 global crisis whereby SADC economies were deeply affected for example Zimbabwe and South Africa to mention just a few.

5.3 Recommendations

It should be noted that if the region is to achieve deeper regionalism and regional integration the SADC organization must effectively involve the ultimate beneficiaries – citizens. The current situation is that the organization is not interacting properly as it must do with its citizens. Other citizens in the region are not even aware of the organizations and those who are aware of it do not even know its initiatives in achieving regional integration. To its credit SADC in 2015

developed the SADC Success Stories Vol.1, which is meant to educate the citizens on the various initiatives of this regional body.

In addition if the organization is to overcome its challenges member states must be united and strive towards a common future. In other words strong political will by SADC member states is vital in achieving deeper regional integration. Member states must make sure that all SADC policies which they agree on are implemented in their various countries as this is the first and important stage in achieving deeper regional integration. SADC National Committees must function properly as it is an important vehicle in achieving regional integration.

Industrialization is another key factor which can help in overcoming some of the challenges in achieving regional integration. Many SADC economies are not industrialized and depend on exporting raw materials which is itself not sustainable as far as regional integration is concerned. Member states must value add their goods taking advantage of their competitive advantage be it in agriculture or mining. In 2015 the organization adopted a roadmap on industrialization in the region. There is hope that this will help the region in its quest to achieve integration since regional integration cannot be achieved without industrializing first.

Sourcing adequate funding is another way which can ease some challenges which affect regional integration in southern Africa. Many SADC initiatives are lacking funding as a result this will ultimately affect the targets of regional integration in southern Africa. SADC must develop a clear funding strategy of its initiatives and as well it must be able to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) for some of its initiatives such as the ZIZABONA powerline.

As stated in the previous chapter, globalization if not handled properly is a great hindrance to regional integration and as such the region must position itself globally so as to take advantage. The region must heavily invest in technology and other important machinery so as to achieve regional integration. It should be noted that technology play an important role in any economy and as such the region must embrace globalization so that it will not be negatively affected by it.

Since peace is a pre-requisite for development the region must make sure that peace prevails at any given time. This can be achieved through responding swiftly to conflicts in the region and delaying means that these conflict can spill into wars in some instances and this can negatively

affect regional integration for example the current scenario in DRC is a major hindrance to achieving integration.

5.4 Summary

Since the formation of SADCC in 1980 and its transformation to SADC in the year 1992, the organization has been aiming to achieve deeper integration. This objective has been facing different challenges as highlighted in the previous chapter. Despite these challenges it should also be acknowledged that the organization has achieved quite a lot to the extent of being the most successful REC in Africa and also southern Africa being the most peaceful region in the whole African continent.

It should also be noted that for these challenges to be addressed the SADC must take corrective measures swiftly and must not allow its member states to behave all they want when they are part of this important organization. For example the issue of multiple membership of RECs must be dealt with accordingly as it is a major threat to regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa.

In addition for regional integration to succeed without facing major challenges SADC member states must heed the call for industrialization as it is a major step towards regional integration. SADC member states must also industrialize taking particular attention to their comparative advantages, this will also make sure that the SADC economies are diversified.

Cooperation and unity is important in overcoming some of the challenges facing regional integration in the region. SADC countries must cooperate and harmonization of policies so as to avoid unnecessary confusion between and among states. Uniting, cooperating as well as harmonizing policies is important in achieving deeper integration in southern Africa which is at the end of the day important in poverty eradication and improving the standards of living for the people in the region.

5.5 Overall Conclusion

The study explained regionalism and integration in southern Africa paying specific attention to its challenges and also gave recommendations on what needs to be done so that the region achieve its quest towards for deeper integration. The deep analysis of this study also provides relevant information to stakeholders involved in this regional integration drive in southern Africa

on what needs to be done. The paper also takes note of some of the key SADC achievements over the past years as far as regionalism and regional integration is concerned. The study also recognizes the efforts put in place by SADC to overcome some of the difficult challenges associated with regional integration which has seen it being one the most effective RECs in Africa.

Besides numerous challenges mentioned in chapter four, SADC has been successful in different areas such as peace and security and economic areas by developing the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security, RISDP, the SADC Industrialization Strategy, SAPP and many others. SADC has also been successful by signing the FTA and the Tripartite Agreement with COMESA and EAC.

In conclusion although the SADC organization faced many challenges to regionalism and regional integration the organization has not diverted from its objectives and is determined to achieve deeper integration for the benefit of its citizens.

Some of the challenges being faced in achieving regionalism and regional integration in SADC need to be addressed as a matter of urgency so that the region reap the full benefits of regionalism and regional integration. Some of these challenges identified and examined by this study include but not limited to; issue of multiple memberships to RECs, rules of origin, lack of support, lack of diversified economies in the region and many others as outlined in chapter four of this study.

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Appendix

Questionnaire on the challenges of regionalism and regional integration in Africa: A Case Study of the Southern African Development Community, SADC, 1992 – 2014.

My name is Tanaka Aggrey Chitsa (R123978Q). I am a final year student at Midlands State University studying (Hons) Science in Politics and Public Management. I am carrying out a research on: The challenges of regionalism and regional integration in Africa: A case study of the SADC, 1992-2014. You have been selected to participate in the research. All information will be private and confidential and do not write your name on any part of this form. Please be honest.

1. What is regionalism and regional integration in the African context?

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2. What is the position of SADC regarding regionalism and regional integration in southern Africa?

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3. From your experience/understanding what are some of the challenges affecting regionalism and regional integration in Africa/SADC?

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4. How can these challenges be minimized or solved?

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5. Does regional integration benefit everyone involved in SADC equally?

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6. What is the essence behind regionalism and regional integration in Africa and SADC in particular?

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7. What has SADC done to achieve regional integration (mechanisms put in place to achieve regional integration)?

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Other comments

THANK YOU

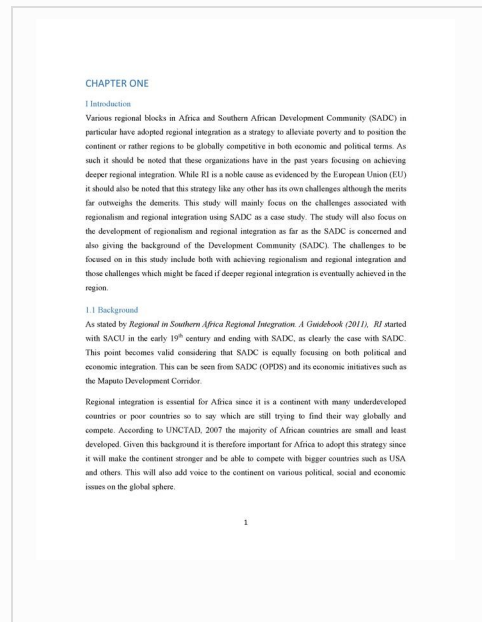


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