

## Table of Contents

Abbreviations	19
Foreword by Rainer Tetzlaff	22
Introduction	24

### Part A: Concepts and Theories of Regional Integration

<b>Chapter 1: Regional Integration and Development: The Conceptual Rationale for Regional Integration</b>	<b>32</b>
1.1. The Rationale for Regional Integration in Africa	33
1.1.1. The Economic Rationale for Regional Integration	33
1.1.2. The Political Rationale for Regional Integration	39
1.1.3. Summary	41
 <b>Chapter 2: Regional Integration in the Global Context</b>	 <b>43</b>
2.1. The European Integration Process After Six Decades	43
2.2. Regional Integration in Asia: ASEAN	47
2.3. Regional Integration in Latin America: Mercosur	49

<b>Chapter 3:</b>	<b>The Neo-Classical Model of Regional Integration</b>	52
3.1.	Stage 1: The Free Trade Area (FTA)	52
3.2.	Stage 2: The Customs Union (CU)	54
3.3.	Stages 3 & 4: The Common Market/ The Economic Union	56
3.4.	Stage 5: The Political or Supranational Union	58
3.5.	Summary: The Limitations of the Neo- Classical Concept for Promoting Regional Integration in the African Context	59
<b>Part B:</b>	<b>The Historical Dimension of Regional Integration in Africa</b>	
<b>Chapter 4:</b>	<b>Regional Integration Attempts in Africa - An Overview</b>	62
<b>Chapter 5:</b>	<b>Regional Integration in Colonial Times</b>	67
5.1.	The Southern African Customs Union (SACU)	67
5.2.	The Central African Federation (CAF)	76
5.3.	Conclusion	77

<b>Chapter 6:</b>	<b>Pan-African Integration Attempts</b>	79
6.1.	Pan-African (Pipe-)Dream of Integration: The Organisation of African Unity (OAU)	79
6.2.	The African Union (AU): A Genuinely New Approach?	84
6.3.	The Latest Attempt: The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)	90
<b>Chapter 7:</b>	<b>Post-Colonial Attempts of Regional Integration in Africa</b>	93
7.1.	The First ‘Wave’ of Regional Integration in Post-Colonial Africa	94
7.1.1.	The East African Community (EAC) 1967-1977	95
7.1.2.	The Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS)	97
7.1.3.	The Southern African Development and Coordination Conference (SADCC)	98
7.1.4.	Conclusion	102
7.2.	The Second ‘Wave’ of Regional Integration in Post-Colonial Africa	104
7.2.1.	The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)	107
7.2.2.	The New East African Community (EAC)	113
7.2.3.	The Renewed Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	120
7.2.4.	Conclusion	127

## **Part C: Regional Integration in Southern Africa: SADC**

<b>Chapter 8: The Southern African Development Community (SADC) – History and Organisational Setup</b>	129
8.1. Origins, Objectives and Organisational Development	130
8.2 The Organisational Structure	134
8.2.1. The Main SADC Institutions	134
8.2.2. The Organ on Politics, Defense & Security (OPDS)	141
8.3. Integration Mechanisms	145
8.3.1. The SADC Treaty	145
8.3.2. The Common Agenda	146
8.3.3. The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP)	148
8.3.4. The Sector Protocols	153
8.3.4.1. The Ratification Process	159
8.3.4.2. The Trade Protocol	160
8.3.4.3. The Protocol on Transport, Communications and Meteorology	165
8.3.4.4. The Protocol on Energy	170
8.3.4.5. The Protocol on the Facilitation of the Free Movement of Persons	177
8.3.4.3.6. The Protocol on Finance and Investment	179

8.3.5. The Consultative Conference	185
8.3.6. The SADC Tribunal	187
8.3.7. Challenges Ahead	190
<b>Chapter 9: The Socio-Economic Dimension of Regional Integration in SADC</b>	192
9.1. The Physical Preconditions for Regional Integration	192
9.1.1. Integration in the Transport Sector	192
9.1.2. Integration in the Energy Sector	194
9.1.3. Integration in the Communication Sector	197
9.1.4. Conclusion	199
9.2. Social and Cultural Preconditions for Regional Integration in SADC	199
9.3. Production Structures and the Potential for Regional Integration through Trade	209
9.3.1. Production Structures in the SADC Region	210
9.3.2. Intra-SADC Trade Development	214
9.3.3. Intra-Regional Investment Patterns in SADC	225
9.4. Potential Areas for Further Regional Integration	232
9.5. Approaching Macro-Economic Convergence	235
9.6. The Economic Reality: Limited Scope for Regional Integration	246

<b>Chapter 10: The Political Dimension of Regional Integration in SADC</b>	253
10.1. Political Interests Shaping Regional Integration in SADC	253
10.2. Political Development Conditions for SADC	256
10.2.1. Historical Factors	256
10.2.2. Membership Composition	258
10.2.3. Autocratic Political Culture	262
10.2.4. Is South Africa Dominating SADC Politically?	265
10.2.5. Slow Democratic Convergence in SADC	267
10.2.6. Conflict Areas	273
<b>Chapter 11: The Zimbabwe Crisis and Regional Integration in SADC</b>	276
11.1. Anatomy of the Crisis in Zimbabwe	276
11.2. SADC's Response	286
11.3. Conclusion	291
<b>Chapter 12: SADC in Comparison</b>	293
12.1. SADC Compared with Other African Attempts at Regional Integration	293
12.1.1. Comparative Assessment of Regional Integration in Africa	293

12.1.2. Comparing Macro-Economic Convergence in COMESA, EAC, ECOWAS and SADC	297
12.2. SADC Compared with the EU	307
<b>Chapter 13: Outlook: Challenges and Prospects for Further Regional Integration in Africa</b>	<b>309</b>

#### **Part D: Annex**

Timetable of Regional Integration in Southern Africa	313
Socio-Economic Information on SADC	316
Bibliography	320
Periodicals, Newspapers and Newsletters Consulted	331
Glossary	335