

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM TO
REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION INITIATIVES: A CASE
STUDY OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT
COMMUNITY (SADC) 1992 – 2015**

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father Joseph Simbi Masimirembwa and my mother Christina Muchanyara Masimirembwa (nee Madzvamuse) who, despite having little formal education, exhibited the highest form of wisdom that the future belongs to each generation's children and that therefore each generation is duty bound to sacrifice for the proper education of its children.

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“The Lord is my shepherd: I shall not want.” Psalm 23:1

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific States
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
CEMAC	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CM	Common Market
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CU	Customs Union
EAC	East African Community
ECB	European Central Bank
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	Economic Union
EU	European Union
FLS	Front Line States
FTA	Free Trade Area
GATT	General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

IMF	International Monetary Fund
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OAU	Organisation for African Unity
PTA	Preferential Trade Agreement
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference
SPS	Sanitary and Phytosanitary
STISA	Science Technology and Innovation Strategy for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIN	United Nations Institute in Namibia
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Table of Contents

Copyright	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Acronyms and abbreviations	iv
Abstract	ix

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION..... 1

1.1 Introduction and background to the study	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	11
1.3 Objectives of the research	12
1.4 Research questions	12
1.5 Hypothesis	13
1.6 Literature review	13
1.7 Theoretical Framework	19
1.8 Justification of the study	21
1.9 Methodology	22
1.9.1 Research Design	23
1.9.2 Questionnaires	23
1.9.3 Interviews	23
1.9.4 Documentary Research	24
1.9.5 Sampling Procedure	24
1.10 Limitations	24
1.11 Delimitations	24

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALISATION OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM 25

2.1 Introduction	25
2.2 Regional economic integration: a historical perspective	25
2.3 Centrality of national production and manufacturing for export	28
2.4 The role of the state in national economic development	30

2.5 The state as a promoter of science and technology	34
2.6 The state as a promoter of values and culture	35
2.7 Importance of markets in regional economic integration	37

CHAPTER 3: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM TO REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION INITIATIVE: A CASE STUDY OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC) 1992 – 2015: AN OVERVIEW

40	40
31. Introduction	40
3.2 Africa: an identity crisis	40
3.2.1 Within the African crisis, SADC is born	42
3.2.2 The SADC Treaty	47
3.2.3 SADC: co-operation or integration	48
3.3 EU – ACP Economic Partnership Agreements	50
3.4 SADC intra-regional trade	52
3.5 SADC’s twin economic development nemesis: language and education	53

CHAPTER 4: CULTURAL IMPERIALISM DETRIMENTAL TO INDUSTRIALISATION AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN SADC

58	58
4.1 Introduction	58
4.2 Understanding regional economic integration	58
4.2.1 The idle	59
4.2.2 The reality	60
4.3 SADC: impact of cultural imperialism on education	62
4.4 SADC: impact of cultural imperialism on industrialisation	65
4.5 SADC: impact of cultural imperialism on the market	66
4.6 SADC: impact of cultural imperialism on intra-regional trade	66
4.7 SADC: unproductive nationalism	68

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND POSSIBILITIES OF FURTHER STUDY 71

5.1 Introduction 71

5.2 Conclusion 72

5.3 Recommendations 73

5.3.1 SADC must create supranational institutions 73

5.3.2 SADC must restore its identity 74

5.3.3 SADC must fund its activities 75

5.3.4 SADC must industrialise 75

5.3.5 SADC must create an enforceable legal framework 76

5.4 Possibilities of further research 76

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Book references 78

Reports and articles 81

Websites 83

ABSTRACT

This research is premised on the hypothesis that lack of industrialisation has impeded Southern African Development Community (SADC) member states' regional economic integration initiatives. It seeks to explain why this is so by zeroing in on an analysis of the impact of cultural imperialism on regional economic integration initiatives, with a case study of SADC in the period 1992 – 2015. The research hypothesis that lack of industrialisation within SADC is linked to cultural imperialism practised by former colonial masters and willingly inherited by SADC member states after the attainment of political independence. Core to the study is an examination of the response of political leaders of SADC as change agents or lack thereof to an initially imposed, but willingly inherited colonial consciousness and culture, which demeans Africans' belief in their own capabilities in science and technology, innovation and all knowledge systems which lead to development, but venerates that Europeans and Americans, and now also that of the Orient, leading to lack of industrialisation within SADC. The motivation for the research is the need to add new information to already existing literature on the reasons for lack of industrialisation within SADC member states. Qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were utilised in the process of gathering data. Questionnaires, interviews, and documentary research were used as data collection methodologies. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were utilised in selecting relevant respondents. Qualitative data analysis methods were utilised in analysing the data. Chapter 1 introduces the study by tracing the origins of political and economic integration, particularly post World War II. Thus, whilst the research focuses on SADC, the researcher uses the European Union (EU) as the baseline for the efficacy of the SADC regional economic integration initiatives not only because the EU is the most successfully integrated economic region in the world, but because of its recent imperialist ties with SADC member states. Chapter 2 focuses on a conceptualisation of regional economic integration and cultural imperialism, explaining the link between the two. Chapter 3 seeks to validate the hypothesis that cultural imperialism has a causative effect on lack of industrialisation in SADC and consequently has impeded regional economic integration initiatives in the region. Chapter 4 presents the major findings of the research. Information gathered by the researcher reveals that cultural imperialism as accepted and edified by SADC's political leadership has resulted in lack of industrialisation and consequently lack of product complementarity, leading to the

paucity of intra-regional trade within SADC, thus negatively affecting regional economic integration initiatives. Chapter 5 presents the conclusions of the study with recommendations which SADC may consider to take on board if it is to avoid remaining “the wretched of the earth”. The chapter also highlights the possibilities for further research particularly in view of the ongoing initiatives to harmonise the trade regimes of the disparate regional groupings in Africa, including SADC. How is this possible on an empty industrial and manufacturing base?

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and Background to the study

According to Fukuyama (1992) "... the roots of economic behaviour lie in the realm of consciousness and culture ...". This statement explains the birth and rise of political and economic regional integration in the world. Post World War II Western Europe is perhaps the best model to use in tracing the genesis and growth of regional political and economic integration not only because it has succeeded in establishing the most viable integrated economic region in the world so far, but also because of its prolonged imperialist ties with SADC member states. According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:352), until 1945 the European continent treasured the sovereign equality of nations doctrine based on the Westphalian State model. Inter-state wars and state rivalry were a common occurrence. France and Germany had been, until 1945, bitter enemies for over 100 years. World Wars I and II had ruined European economies. Although rivals, Europeans shared the same capitalist values and culture amongst themselves and with the United States of America (USA). In fact, in spite of their rivalry they traded with each other (ibid). They were also opposed to communism whose major proponent and practitioner was the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) (Agnew and Entrikin 2004:4).

According to Bell (2010:4-5) World War II was started by Germany, resulted in the defeat of Germany when the Red Army (USSR troops) marched into the Germany capital Berlin, and Germany surrendered. On the 1st of May 1945 the Red Army raised the Soviet flag in East Berlin. The Red Army physically controlled half of Europe -

Eastern Europe. The USA with its European allies (the Allied Forces) had fought Germany from the south and the west and at the time of Germany's surrender, occupied West Berlin. Thus the USA had influence over Western Europe, but had no meaningful physical presence as this was a war away from the USA.

According to Calvocoressi (2009:13) the alliance between the USA and Western Europe on the one hand, and the USSR on the other against Germany was a marriage of convenience as the two superpowers were ideologically opposed. This led to the division of Germany into West Germany and East Germany. According to Agnew and Entrikin (2004:8) the economic condition of Western Europe worried the USA as it feared that the USSR would march into Western Europe and annex it to the USSR. This would not be in the interest of the USA. The USA decided to rescue Western Europe. According to (ibid:xiii) on the 5th of June 1974, the USA Secretary of State George C. Marshall in a speech at Harvard University, USA, outlined a program of economic assistance to ruined Western Europe. It became known as The Marshall Plan under which the USA poured over US\$12 billion in economic assistance to West European countries. According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:326) another benefactor of Western Europe was the International Bank for Reconciliation and Development (IBRD), more commonly called the World Bank, established and funded by World War II Western winning states in 1944 at Bretton Woods, USA, as a source of loans to reconstruct Western European economies. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was also established at the same time to provide balance of international payments support. The key issue is that the winning states funded and controlled these institutions through voting mechanisms.

According to (ibid:4) the Marshall Plan was both an economic and political tool to assist Europe's economic recovery and integration, and to secure Western Europe's security from the threat of war by the USSR. The USA, being a federal state itself pushed for a united Europe as a condition for aid. In particular the USA demanded that France and West Germany should reconcile their differences and work together in a united Western Europe. West Germany was important from both an economic and political perspective. It was the most industrialised country in Europe and industrialisation was key to the economic recovery of the rest of Western Europe. On the political front, left alone, West Germany would have fallen into the USSR tentacles thus posing a security threat to the rest of Europe and compromising USA security and trade interests in Europe as well.

According to Crockart (1995:13) the Marshall Plan was not sufficient to counter Soviet threats to West European and USA security. The USSR had a military advantage over the USA in Europe because of its geographic proximity and its superiority in conventional troop strength. To counter this, the USA spearheaded the formation of a military alliance with Western Europe – the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) which was formed in 1949.

A new consciousness and culture away from the classical Westphalian state gripped Europe. According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:354 – 362) as European states co-operated more and more, other common interests came on board leading to the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC), and finally the European Union (EU). Political unity spurred economic development and industrialisation.

Industrialisation and manufacturing led to the production of complementary goods within Europe and thus enabled intra-regional trade.

According to (ibid) although there is still a struggle between nationalism and supranationalism in Europe, the vision of a united Europe has been substantially realised through the cession of some sovereign powers and authority to such institutions as the European Commission which is an autonomous body with the responsibility to represent and uphold the interests of the EU as a whole, the European Parliament which is directly elected by the citizens of the EU to represent their interests, and the Court of Justice of the European Union which ensures the uniform interpretation and application of EU law in all EU countries. The European Central Bank (ECB) is yet another supranational institution. Although the ECB does not cover the entire European Community, the euro area covers the world's second largest economy after the USA. The creation of the single currency, the euro, is a unifying factor and every citizen in the euro zone identifies with Europe. Europe is in each citizen's pocket. Community citizenship provisions stipulating that every person holding the nationality of a member state shall be a citizen of the Union bolster economic and political integration. The introduction of the weighted voting system and qualified majorities in the Council of Ministers has tapered national sovereignty.

Other regions in the world have tried to copy the European model, inadequately on paper, and dismally in performance. Third world countries, in particular African states, did not receive financial assistance from the USA as they were under colonial rule, and, according to Agnew and Entrikin (2004:251) were integrated into Europe as a source of raw materials for Europe and the USA. According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse

(2013:326) third world countries started accessing loans from the World Bank and the IMF much later than Western European countries, that is after each country attained political independence. However, according to (ibid:487 - 488) these loans were accompanied with painful conditionalities which generally required that inflation be brought under control by reducing state spending and removal of subsidies on basic goods. Other conditions would be demands to curtail corruption, practice good governance, respect for human rights, including gays and lesbians rights. African countries in particular have generally resisted the European conditionalities, but even when advanced loans in spite of failure to meet the conditionalities, have defaulted in repaying the loans. According to (ibid:477 - 481) third world countries have failed to concentrate capital on manufacturing, but instead focus on consumption. Corruption is equally endemic and affects investment inflows.

According to (ibid:490) most states in the global South have integrated their economies to the global North in the hope of raising capital from international trade. However, this route has proved unviable as third world countries mostly trade commodities whose profit margins are thin, and when they open their markets to the rest of the world in terms of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) trading regimes, they suffer from de-industrialisation as their nascent industries cannot compete with more competitive industries from the global North. Further, even the few goods they produce are shut out of the global North markets because of unfair trade practices such as sanitary and phytosanitary (SPS) measures and technical standards which are expensive to implement. Third world countries do not have the financial resources to engage experts to fight against unfair trade barriers.

What is disturbing though is that the above narrative appears to only affect mostly African countries. According to (ibid:469 – 470) some countries in the global South are industrialising and have moved from the periphery to the semi-periphery stage. Examples are China, India, Brazil, Turkey, Mexico, Iran, Thailand, Malaysia and Vietnam. In fact African countries are flocking to these countries in search of aid. The Africa – India summit of 26 – 29 October 2015 and the Africa – China summit held of 4 – 5 December 2015 are examples of such gatherings where African leaders were promised aid of US\$10 billion and US\$60 billion respectively. This annual phenomenon has not transformed Africa’s economic development for the better, particularly coupled with Africa’s failure to commit a percentage of its own Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to fund development.

In Africa regional blocs like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Eastern African Community (EAC), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) were formed. According to Evans et al (1999:21) “SADC was born and bred in the context of immense political solidarity – Pan Africanism”. According to Mandaza and Tostensen (1994:2-3) the unique Southern African identity arose from geographic location, the history of a Bantu people who lived and mingled together since time immemorial, a social-cultural tradition which bears common features, a common colonial experience at the hands of the British and Portuguese, and a common struggle for independence. However, this solidarity with its roots in the fight against white settler colonialism and apartheid rested on the co-operation of nation states which were and are still obsessed with sovereignty. The common thread which runs through economic and political integration efforts in Africa from the Lagos Plan of Action

(LPA) (1980 – 1991), the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, and finally to the establishment of regional economic blocs, is co-operation rather than integration, consensus rather than acceding to the will of the majority, with the result that there is no single supranational institution in each of the African regional blocs with sufficient autonomous power and authority to drive the integration process.

What Africa, and in particular SADC, has not copied from the European model is the significant migration from the Westphalian state model to the creation of supranational institutions with sufficient authority to drive the integration process. Equally it is crucial that citizens of a regional bloc be involved in advancing the integration process through practical steps such as common citizenship, a directly elected parliament, a common currency (SADC in a citizen's pocket), and a compulsory judicial process which ensures that member states abide with the provisions of treaties and protocols. This is non-existent in SADC with the latest blow to the creation of supranational institutions being the adoption of a new Protocol on the SADC Tribunal at the December 2015 summit held in Zimbabwe reducing it from having compulsory jurisdiction over the SADC Treaty and protocols including individuals, to presiding over inter-state disputes only. It can be argued that the SADC Tribunal was a victim of abuse from white citizens of the former colonial states who lodged numerous applications to the Tribunal challenging the land reform programme particularly in Zimbabwe, but the Tribunal itself failed to recognise the red line which should not be crossed when it comes sovereignty of nations. For Zimbabwe, the land issue was the basis of the liberation struggle and failure to recognise this fact proved fatal to the Tribunal. Zimbabwe saw itself as being under attack from the Tribunal as eleven out of the fourteen applications it handled during its lifetime were from whites alleging

human rights violations on the land issue by Zimbabwe. However, the researcher argues that SADC should have found asymmetry measures of dealing with the Zimbabwean issue than completely stripping the Tribunal of compulsory jurisdiction. The SADC Parliamentary Forum comprising of members of parliament from SADC member states is not directly elected by SADC citizens and has no legislative power whatsoever. It has no reporting relationship to the Summit and other SADC institutions.

But it was because of white settler colonialism that Africa adopted the Westphalian state model. According to Palley (1966:3-5) the colonial states were created out of spheres of influence carved out by colonial powers such as France, Britain, Portugal, Belgium and Germany following the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885. The current state structure in Africa is a colonial relic. Riding on identity, SADC states should therefore have found it easier to abandon state-centricism and moved on to supranationalism in order to drive the industrialisation and productivity agenda. According to Mapaire (2011) the celebrated African concept of *ubuntu* (Zulu) which generally means “humanity towards others” is a moral, cultural and philosophical compass which emphasises the commonality and interdependence of African peoples. SADC member states should depend on this value to ensure regional integration. To the contrary, SADC seems to have embraced individualism and the colonial state model and uses them to frustrate integration.

According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:451 – 454) Africa suffers from lack of industrialisation and consequently from incapacity to add value to its raw materials. There is therefore no product complementarity. This leads to a paucity of intra-regional trade. The historical basis of Africa’s failure to add value to its raw materials is

colonialism. According to Calvocoressi (2009:526) “Europeans took possession of Africa at the height of the Industrial Revolution. The technical disparity between the Europeans and Africans was enormous. The cultural gap was no less great”. Europe needed raw materials from Africa to feed into its manufacturing industries. According to Agnew and Entrikin (2004:251) “The Third World was expected to supply raw materials and primary commodities to the USA and Europe, while Europe and USA would engage in production and export of manufactured goods to one another and to the developing world. In so far as Third World countries were encouraged to build up industries of their own, this was within a national economy framework”. According to Rodney (1973), Europe and America not only took raw materials from Africa, but also enslaved its best human resource capital, imposed their culture on Africans particularly by destroying African languages and imposing their own, and provided an education system which glorifies Europe and America, producing graduates who are literate in English, Portuguese or French, but illiterate in cognition, sciences, technology and innovation. The education system distanced Africans from their own culture and cultured them to despise themselves and look up to Europe for leadership in the arts, humanities and sciences. As a result the African psyche is that technology and innovation and consequently the ability to innovate and manufacture is for Europe, not Africa. This probably explains why African countries continue to enter into lopsided Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with Europe. The history of EPAs can be traced back to the Yaoundé agreements (1963), the Lome Convention (1975) and finally to the Cotonou Agreement (2000) with Europe’s primary objective being to secure raw materials from Africa, Caribbean and Pacific nations, whilst gradually prying open African, Caribbean and Pacific nations’ markets for Europe’s finished goods but denying the few African manufactured goods entry into its markets through SPSs. One

other such initiative to open African markets for Western finished goods is the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) adopted by the USA on the 18th of May 2000 which emphasises trade as the panacea for Africa's underdevelopment, whereas the real issue is lack of industrialisation.

On paper, SADC documents like the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP), the SADC Industrial Development Strategy, and the SADC Development Fund blueprint read well, but in reality these documents are not legally binding, there is no budgetary support, and no resources allocated for these critical initiatives. They are just a wish list. According to the Science, Technology and Innovation Strategy for Africa 2024 (STISA 2024) it is not that Africa has no capacity to fund these initiatives. It simply has no political will to do so. Out of its combined GDP of over US\$3 trillion annually Africa has failed to sacrifice 1% or US\$30 billion annually to research and development.

According to Phillipson (1985) Africans have exhibited a colonised consciousness and have failed to make a cultural re-birth in respect of another key component of development: languages and education. Despite empirical evidence that education is best delivered and absorbed in one's language, that cognition is at its best in the medium of one's language, African leaders have failed to replace colonial languages with indigenous languages. According to Phillipson (2012:291) a typical example of Africans embracing colonial culture is that of Namibia where after independence, a choice had to be made between using a local language and a foreign language to replace the official language which then was Afrikaans. The Namibian political leaders resisted its own languages and chose English. Tanzania seemed on a progressive path to ensure

that Swahili was the medium of instruction in schools and of communication in parliament and government. However, in 1984 the Tanzanian government, whilst confirming that Swahili was to remain the language of instruction at primary school, rejected recommendations that it be the medium of instruction in secondary and tertiary levels, but instead reaffirmed that English be the medium of instruction at those higher levels of learning to ensure that English does not die in Tanzania.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The historical, economic and political factors that have created positive strong bonds of solidarity and unity of the peoples of SADC are easy to identify and narrate. These include *ubuntu*, geographic location, the common struggle against white settler colonialism and apartheid, and areas of common functional economic activities which lead to neo-functionalism. These should have been a precursor to building an integrated SADC unshackled by the colonially imposed Westphalian state model of state sovereignty. These should also have spurred SADC to pool resources to fund research and development in the sciences, technology, and innovation to advance knowledge-based economic development. These should have ignited a cultural re-birth within SADC for the use of indigenous languages in the entire education system so as to ensure graduation from literacy to cognition.

Without SADC member states delegating some sovereign powers to supranational institutions to spearhead the integration process, without industrialisation to increase production and complementarity of goods and hence enhance intra-regional trade, without pooling resources to fund technical and vocational education, without restoring African languages to the correct pedestal so as to improve cognition, without a cultural

re-birth wherein Africans have confidence in their capacities in the sciences, technology and innovation, SADC member states seem to labour in vain in their efforts to achieve regional economic integration. According to Fukuyana (1992) it is leadership which plays a decisive role in altering or maintaining the course of a people's history. This research seeks to analyse the reasons for SADC's lack of industrialisation and consequently its meagre intra-regional trade rendering SADC integration mere paper integration.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

The research objectives are:

- i. To critically examine culture and human development as a component of regional economic integration;
- ii. To critically examine the meaning of regional economic integration as a concept;
- iii. To investigate SADC member states' understanding of cultural imperialism and its impact on human capital development;
- iv. To define cultural imperialism and its effects on regional economic development;
- v. To investigate why cultural imperialism is an impediment to SADC member states regional economic integration initiatives;
- vi. To propose measures that must be taken to counter cultural imperialism in order to enhance regional economic integration initiatives.

1.4 Research questions

The research seeks to answer the following questions:-

- a) What is regional economic integration and SADC member states' understanding of the same?

- b) What is culture and cultural imperialism and SADC member states' understanding of the same?
- c) What is the link between cultural imperialism and regional economic integration?
- d) What is the impact of cultural imperialism to regional economic integration?
- e) What measures can be taken to ensure that SADC member states promote self-esteem, individual and social confidence in self-efficacy in its leadership and citizenry in order to attain economic integration?

1.5 Hypothesis

Lack of industrialisation has impeded SADC member states regional economic integration initiatives.

1.6 Literature review

According to Haas (1958:30), there are three factors which influence economic integration. These are common functional activities, the environment, and the creation of common institutions to which the states cede part of their sovereignty. Common functional activities would be for example managing common waterways, managing the production and distribution of raw materials which affect economic development in the different states, whilst the environment refers to the social and political relations between and amongst states. Institutions are created to manage and drive the integration process. According to Haas (ibid) "integration is the process whereby political actors in distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations, and political activities towards a new and larger centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states."

To the contrary, Carr (1946:108) asserts that the starting point in analysing relations between and amongst states is that states are selfish, acquisitive and always seek to control others for their own benefit. States operate in an anarchical environment in that they are not answerable to any other government or institution. They are sovereign. Consequently, they only participate in integration efforts in pursuit of furthering their self-interests.

According to Keohane (1984:32) states seek to have control over raw materials, sources of capital, markets, and competitive advantages in the production of goods and services. This is the real world governed by the power theory. According to Gilpin (1975:43) the world economy is not driven by idealist theories of interdependence and the common good, but by the pursuit of wealth and the pursuit of power. If integration occurs, it is because it serves each member state's selfish interests which would otherwise not be achieved in the absence of co-operation with other states. Groups of states can thus integrate as posited by Haas (1958:30) if this serves firstly each individual state's interests and secondly the collective.

Integration creates regional blocs. Regional blocs in themselves are therefore constructed by states which inherently have characteristics of selfishness and rent-seeking behaviour. This characteristic will be transferred to the regional bloc's institutions, which will in turn construct frameworks, rules and practices which enable them to secure wealth and power for the regional bloc, and by implication for the member states comprising the regional bloc.

Thus according to the World Systems theory developed by Wallerstein (1974) the world economic order is characterised by inter-regional and transnational division of labour

which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries, and periphery countries. Core countries focus on higher skill, capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world focuses on low-skill, labour intensive production and extraction of raw materials. The core countries have greater wealth and dominate the semi-periphery and periphery countries. These are the international economic relations obtaining in the world today.

According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:451), African states, including SADC member states, have, after attaining political independence, failed to reverse the world economic order of the core/centre (the global North), the periphery (the global South), and the semi-peripheral nations, in terms of which the global North representing the industrialised nations manufacture goods and exports finished products to the South, whereas the global South, representing the Third World extract and export raw materials, including agricultural produce to the North. Semi-peripheral nations are those between the core and the periphery. They have relatively developed economies, but are not yet dominant in international trade. The BRICS member states, that is, Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa are examples of semi-periphery states. According to (ibid), African states, including SADC member states, but excluding South Africa “seem to be going backwards, with little new capital accumulating to replace the old colonial infrastructure.” South Africa has a relatively developed and diversified economy exporting finished products to virtually all the periphery economies of the rest of SADC member states, but exporting mostly raw materials to the core.

According to *ibid* (463) no economic development seems to be taking place in African states. The states have continued to occupy the same peripheral position in the world system after independence as they did before independence. There is no process of capital accumulation, no rising per capita incomes, and no increasing skills in the population and no adoption of new technological styles.

However the division of labour thesis belies the fact that it is neither organised nor consensual. It is a fact brought about by unequal development, imperialism, and hegemony, motivated by the quest of powerful nations to preserve self-interests. There are therefore continuing struggles for dominance amongst the groupings. It is a class struggle at state, regional and transnational level.

Barnett and Duvall (2005:3) identify four forms of power, namely compulsory power, institutional power, structural power, and productive power. Compulsory power refers to military power. Institutional power refers to power that reposes in international institutions which is used to the long-term advantage of member states represented by the institutions and to the disadvantage of non-member states. Structural power refers to social capacities and interests of states or regions in relation to one another. This is particularly important in addressing the so-called division of labour thesis of the World Systems theory. Productive power refers to socialisation processes which shape actors' self-understanding and perceived interests. According to (*ibid*) "it addresses such issues as the definition of knowledge, and whose knowledge matters, what is worthy of being taught and who leads in research in science and technology, innovation, collection of data in the form of deposits, sediments, flora and fauna, archaeological

findings, attitudes, opinions, behavioural patterns for data processing, data analysis and theory formation”.

The current power dynamics in the world are in favour of the core in respect of each of the four forms of power. However, power relations are not fixed. They are contingent. They are capable of change. What then is it that the periphery regional economic blocs should do in order to alter their circumstances? According to the SADC Regional Human Development Report (2000:16), it is human development. According to the report (ibid), human development is measured through a measure of development called the Human Development Index (HDI). HDI is composed of three components, namely, longevity, education and standard of living. Longevity measures life expectancy at birth, education measures the transmission of knowledge at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, whilst standard of living is measured by real per capita income.

Education is the key component of HDI because it influences development, which in turn influences longevity and standard of living. According to Phillipson (2012:68) education serves the state by fulfilling three functions namely economic – reproductive, ideological, and repressive. Economic – reproductive means that education must produce people with relevant knowledge, innovative and creative capacity to work in the economy. The ideological function of education is to inculcate values and attitudes consistent with the ideological belief of the society. Repression means that the content of education is determined by the State. No education can be allowed outside what the State prescribes.

According to Phillipson (ibid) language plays a critical role in education. Language is at the core of development. Literacy and cognition are encapsulated in language. Yet according to Phillipson (ibid:125), education offered to Africans during and after colonisation was and remains unsuitable. It is unsuitable firstly because of its de-culturising effect. Its emphasis is on literacy in the English language or the French language or the Portuguese language for the interests of the global North. It produces “millions of culturally displaced persons in Africa” (ibid:129).

This is consistent with the fourth form of power that is productive power. Productive power was and continues to be used by the core in the education sector for the periphery to despise itself and venerate the culture of the core. According to Chishimba (1981:171), “the key to success in secondary education in colonial times was the ability to transpose one’s mind from the immediate environment to the European one.” According to Phillipson (ibid:128), “the continued dominance of the French and English in independent African countries indicates that these countries have inherited the same type of legacy.” Thus, whilst SADC member countries appear to have conquered the British, the French and the Portuguese, the respective cultures of the global North dominate the mindset of these states. According to Phillipson (ibid), “a foreign language as a medium of instruction at primary level could be a hindrance to concept formation.” According to United Nations Institute for Namibia UNIN (1981:41) “Africans have been psychologically conditioned to believe that only European languages are structured to aid development.” This, according to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:451) is cultural imperialism. The question is how does it affect regional integration initiatives and how can this circumstance be altered?

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The concept of cultural imperialism can best be understood from the realist school of thought that sees world relations as being based on the principle of dominance. According to Thucydides (1972:402) “the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept”. A people militarily defeated has no choice but to do what the victor wants. The victor uses his power to influence the behaviour of the defeated. A master and servant relationship is established. Imperialism, white settler colonialism, and apartheid were anchored on the power and identity principle.

The Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885 was of powerful nations of the global North united by the identity principle of racial, cultural, military, and industrial superiority, determined to dominate the world through military conquest and cultural subjugation and determine the course of world politics and economic development. But the colonial states had their own contradictions over dominance between and amongst themselves which led to serious bloodletting in the form of World Wars I and II. In the aftermath of those wars they found each other in order to survive and consolidate their dominance. Driven by the hegemonic power of the time (the USA), they created a detour away from the Westphalian state model and started creating international institutions. They established financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF to pool their resources in order to facilitate the reconstruction of Western Europe, capital accumulation amongst themselves and avail international balance of payments support to the distressed nations amongst themselves. They also used their power to set lopsided trade rules through the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) and

the WTO. At the regional level Western Europeans took on a new trajectory of co-operation and integration with member states partially ceding sovereign power to regional institutions.

According to the world system theory (Wallerstein:1974) the direct result of the dominance and identity principle was the division of the world into core states, semi-periphery states, and periphery states. The core states are the industrialised and rich, militarily powerful countries of the global North. They specialise in manufacturing and trading finished goods. They consider the global South as a source of raw materials. The semi-periphery countries are those states which have been fighting to change their circumstances and have achieved a modicum of success by being able to manufacture, but are still mainly traders of commodities. The periphery states are the proverbial “wretched of the earth” primarily reliant on the extractive and agricultural industries and involved in the bad trade of exporting raw materials.

Whilst the realist theory explains imperialism, white settler colonialism and apartheid, it is clear from the struggles for independence that ensued that nothing is permanent. International relations are always in a state of flux as the oppressed seek to change their circumstances and the oppressors seek to maintain their dominance. According to Waltz (1979:63) and Marx (1852/1972:437) “an existing world order represents the constraints and the incentives of the specific time”. The constraints and incentives represent history which has been created by man. It is therefore possible to alter the constraints and in the process alter the power matrix in international power relations. Thus the constraints of colonial subjugation and apartheid were altered by the struggle

for independence, leading to independence. But how were the constraints of cultural imperialism altered? Or were they altered? Are they still existent? Were the constraints embraced by the victors, making the victors perpetrators of the economic relations established by the former colonial state? Are new cultural constraints not being created as SADC leaders scramble to the rising stars of the global South, with calls that Mandarin be made an official language?

This study will therefore use four theories namely Realism, Idealism, Complex Interdependence, and the World Systems Theory in order to unravel and understand consciousness, culture, and cultural imperialism and its impact on regional economic integration with particular attention to the case study of the SADC.

1.8 Justification of the study

SADC member states have been independent for periods varying from fifty-five (55) years up to 2015 in the case of Madagascar and at least twenty-one (21) years in the case of South Africa. For all these years economic development in each of the SADC member states has been very slow. In fact, the majority of the countries have experienced negative growth. The countries remain extremely poor with a significant peasantry, a crumbling middle class, and an impoverished urban population. There are enclaves of plenty which house the petit bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie whose lifestyles are fuelled by consumption financed by corruption and links to the global North and/or the rising stars of the global South. Each of the member states' economic development pattern is resource-based. No value addition is taking place. There is no industrialisation. There is no significant commerce. Investors are mainly from the core

and semi-periphery and they target the extractive industries and agriculture. According to China TV on a programme co-anchored by Mr Mwakutuya of ZiFM Stereo of Zimbabwe before the historic visit of the Chinese Premier Xi Ping to Zimbabwe in December 2015, the Chinese are being allocated vast tracts of land to teach Zimbabweans how to farm. How ironic!

SADC has been in existence since 1992, a total of twenty-three years (1992 – 2015). Despite political rhetoric and abundant literature in support of knowledge-based, innovation led economic development, individual member states and the SADC region (except enclaves mainly in South Africa) remain firmly anchored in the periphery and poverty stricken. Abundant resources have not been a panacea for poverty. They are exported to the core for very little. This study seeks to explore the impact of cultural imperialism on industrialisation. This study is unique in that whilst it accepts the effects of imperialism and white minority rule on economic development in the periphery, it notes that despite independence the periphery remains without hope of ascending to the semi-periphery, let alone to the core, because of lack of leadership with the correct consciousness to alter SADC's course of history.

1.9 Methodology

According to Babbie (2008:6) methodology “is a subfield of epistemology (the science of knowing)”. It is the science of finding out.” These are the methods, procedures, processes and techniques that were used in data collection, synthesis, analysis and interpretation to answer the research questions identified.

1.9.1 Research Design

According to Berg (2001:6) “the purpose of research is to discover answers to questions through the application of systematic procedures”. Qualitative systematic procedures or data collection methods were used in this research. Qualitative data collection methods are exploratory methods seeking to understand the values, beliefs, attitudes and perceptions of the population it involves. The aim, under qualitative research, is to understand the behaviour and reasons that govern such behaviour of the population under study. In-depth interviews with key informants, and secondary data were used in this research. This data includes published research, unpublished research, internet materials, media reports, academic research, agency or sector specific monitoring reports.

1.9.2 Questionnaires

According to Babbie (2008:521) “a questionnaire is a document containing questions and other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate for analysis”. Close ended questions in questionnaire format were utilised. These are of critical importance in cases where the respondents are, for various reasons, not available for face to face interviews.

1.9.3 Interviews

According to Berg (2001:66) interviewing is a conversation with the purpose to gather information. A set of pre-determined questions and interview guides were used to solicit the thoughts, opinions and attitudes of interviewees on the impact of cultural imperialism on SADC economic integration

1.9.4 Documentary Research

Primary and secondary documents were utilised. These included textbooks, articles, journals, online information such as publications from scholars, news agencies, e-journals and websites.

1.9.5 Sampling Procedure

According to Neuman (2007:141) a sample is a small collection of cases, units or activities from a larger population used to generalise the population. Purposive sampling were utilised. This is a non-probability sampling technique in which the researcher is at liberty to choose any element that he or she deems suitable for a study. The key informants referred to in the case study were targeted.

1.10 Limitations

Accessibility, particularly to critical informants like ambassadors and ministers was impossible.

1.11 Delimitations

The scope of the study is limited to SADC. The period of study is 1992 to 2015.

CHAPTER 2:

CONCEPTUALISATION OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

2.1 Introduction:

This chapter defines regional economic integration, examines its origins, particularly the political and economic impetus it received in the aftermath of World War II. It identifies the motives for political and economic integration, the ingredients for successful regional economic integration, in particular political considerations including ideological interests, peace and security, delegation of sovereign powers, industrialisation, geographic location, size of markets, and culture. It highlights the centrality of capital accumulation, improvement of human skills, acquisition of new knowledge particularly in science and technology, the role of culture, shared beliefs, and identity issues in national economic development and regional economic integration. It highlights the critical role of the state in national economic development, which feeds into regional economic integration, and the importance of leadership as a cultural change agent in national and regional economic development and regional economic integration.

2.2 Regional economic integration: a historical perspective

According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:352) “international integration refers to the process by which supranational institutions replace national ones ...” in driving political unification and economic development. Haas (1958:130) identified common functional interests between potential partner states as the precursor to what he termed functional integration. Potential partner states would for example co-operate in

managing common waterways, common road linkages and energy infrastructure. An example would be the Zambezi River Authority which manages the Kariba Dam on behalf of Zambia and Zimbabwe. According to (ibid) these common functional activities would lead to the creation of more common interests, what he termed spill overs, leading to more co-operation and the establishment of supranational institutions to which potential partner states delegated some sovereign powers leading to the eventual fading away of the State. Haas (ibid) called this a neo-functional state of affairs where more and more common functional activities emerge, requiring more and more of non-state, but supranational implementers.

Haas (1975) abandoned his neo-functionalist theory after in 1967 the French government vetoed Britain's efforts to join the European Community for political rather than economic reasons. It became clear to Haas (ibid) that the state would not fade away despite the apparent dictates of spill overs driven by economic and technological forces. The state can be a facilitator or stumbling block to the establishment of supranational institutions, indeed to advancing international integration. Thus Moravcsik (1998) saw the relative strength of potential state partners as an important additional factor in international integration. Powerful governments have greater bargaining power and will get other states to accede to their demands even if this may not be in the interest of international integration. Moravcsik (ibid) still viewed the commercial interest, not political motives, as being the most important driver of international integration. However, according to the Westphalian state model even weak governments can impede international integration because in spite of their weakness they are sovereign and are not answerable to other states.

According to Gilpin (2001:355), Moravcsik's failure to acknowledge the central role of political motives in international integration was a serious weakness in his argument. According to (ibid) international integration is as much a political issue as it is an economic one. According to (ibid) "the historical experience in national development reveals that despite neo-functionalist assertions, economic unification has followed rather than preceded political unification. According to Keohane (1984:22-23), whilst commercial interests are important and wealth is an essential means to power and can therefore explain the co-operation of states, the state will make economic sacrifices and forego commercial interests if its security is threatened.

According to Monnet and Schuman (2006), the ingredients for successful international integration are political, legal and economic. "Political commitment to integration is a basic pre-condition which must be fulfilled in order for integration schemes to achieve the positive effects identified by the economic integration theory". Political commitment is demonstrated by the willingness of member states to delegate some of their sovereign powers to supranational institutions created and endowed with management and decision making powers. Member states must also be willing to move away from consensus decision making to a certain level of majoritarian decision making to enable the integration process to move forward. A member state's voting power may, for example, depend on the size of its population. Primacy of community law on community issues dealing with the enforcement of provisions of treaties, protocols and individuals is critical. Community supranational legal institutions must have compulsory jurisdiction over member states and their decisions must be binding and enforceable. Community law must also be fully and uniformly applicable within the community. On the economic front supranational institutions must be funded to

enable them to pursue clearly identified regional interests. This entails member states funding the institutions on a joint basis and granting them some autonomy and budget independence. Thus, regional economic integration is a complex system of advancing the welfare of a community through positive political action on the part of member states of partially subordinating some of their sovereign powers to supranational institutions they create to manage the integration process. A pre-condition for the delegation of some sovereign powers is that member states must be satisfied that their security and political issues are sufficiently secured. Without political unity first there can hardly be sustainable economic unity. This is a movement away from realism to complex interdependence.

2.3 Centrality of National Production and Manufacturing for Export

According to De Melo, *et al* (1993:252) economic unity and consequently regional economic integration hinges on the production of tradable goods and services between or amongst the partner nations. Without tradable goods or demand for each other's exports, there can be no regional economic integration. Thus, if prospective partner nations all produce the same commodities without the capacity to turn them into diversified manufactured goods, there can only be limited trade between and amongst them. Manufacturing leads to product differentiation and hence generates tradeable goods between and amongst partner nations. The words of Botero (1590) "Nature gives the material, but the object ... is the work of Man. Wool is a simple, coarse material of nature. How many beautiful objects, varied in form and shape, the Arts can produce from this ..." were as true then as they are today. Once political unification has been

achieved the success of regional economic integration is measured by the level of industrialisation and intra-group trade between and amongst the partner nations.

With productivity and industrialisation in place, or the import of raw materials to manufacture finished products, the issue of terms of trade between and amongst partner nations arises. Technical terms which describe different terms of trade and consequently different levels of regional economic integration are as follows:

1. Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA)
2. Free Trade Area (FTA)
3. Customs Union (CU)
4. Common Market (CM)
5. Economic Union (EU)

According to De Melo, *et al* (1993:160) “A PTA refers to an arrangement under which partner countries impose lower tariffs on imports from each other than on imports from the outside world”. According to El-Agraa (1994), an FTA is when “members eliminate trade restrictions against each other’s goods”. In a CU, in addition to being an FTA, partner countries “adopt uniform tariffs and other trade restrictions *vis-à-vis* countries outside the union; a CM extends a customs union to include the free movement of the factors of production (goods, services, people, capital); and an EU is the highest form of integration incorporating all the aspects of a PTA, FTA, CU and CM and adds monetary and fiscal policy harmonisation”.

The different levels of economic integration described above are dependent on a solid industrial and manufacturing base, in other words, on productivity. Faezeh Forountan

in De Melo, *et al* (1993:252) bluntly put it as follows: “It should be obvious that simply signing a treaty to remove barriers to trade does not have any effect on the intra-group trade if the prospective partners do not demand each other’s exports”.

2.4 The Role of the State in National Economic Development:

According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:464), the requirements for economic development are primarily capital accumulation, increasing skills in the population, and adoption of new technologies, particularly in manufacturing and value addition. Capital refers to buildings, roads, railroads, and factories. Factories and buildings are places of production and storage, roads and railroads facilitate movement of goods. Energy is also a critical input in production. Increasing skills in the population refers to education, particularly in science and technology. Polytechnics, institutions of higher learning in science and technology, research and development play a crucial role in improving and increasing the skills of the population. Adoption of new technologies is a consequence of acquiring new knowledge. A combination of capital accumulation, increasing skills in the population, acquisition of new technical knowledge, and other social factors such as a culture of hard work, honesty and patriotism contribute to high productivity. High productivity, particularly in manufacturing raises per capita incomes thereby increasing the population’s disposable incomes. This will in turn lead to increased demand for goods and services. Industrialisation and manufacturing are central to economic development. Trade in goods coming out of the factories and the terms of trade are also at the heart of economic integration. If nations fail to develop their individual economies they labour in vain to achieve regional economic integration. The enormity and importance of economic development cannot be left in the hands of

private entrepreneurs alone who will balk at the possibility of making losses, or may not have the necessary funds to finance capital projects, particularly infrastructure, or the coercive power required to drive education in the “right” direction.

According to Reinert (1999) the state has since the 1400s played a pivotal role in national economic development. The state was responsible for the establishment of scientific academies, encouragement and assistance to inventors by erecting statues and rewarding them, diffusion of new knowledge and education through publication of inventions, establishing an apprentice system, patent protection of new inventions, establishing state enterprises, subsidising new firms, granting tax breaks to firms bringing in new technology, imposing travel restrictions on skilled labour, prohibiting the export of machinery in order to ensure internal national growth without competition from other nations, prohibition against the use of machinery in the colonies to ensure that colonies did not manufacture but only supplied raw materials to the colonial state, imposed export duties on raw materials to encourage beneficiation, and imposed duties on imported manufactured goods to protect local firms. According to (ibid:281) the state gets the nation into “the right business”, creates a comparative advantage in “the right business”, (supplies) infrastructure, and sets standards for manufactured products. It is also an entrepreneur of last resort.

In 1485 King Henry VII established textile industries in England after realising the futility of exporting raw cotton to the French (ibid:289). This marked the beginning of the industrial revolution in England (ibid: 291). Fast forward to five hundred years later, the phenomenal growth of the South Korean economy was catapulted by such

state involvement in the development of the steel and automobile industries that export globally (Goldstein and Pevenhouse 2013:465). According to (ibid:299) the Japanese and Chinese states are heavily involved in industrial development as they direct investment into the “right” business.

According to the 1997 World Bank Report titled “The State in a Changing World”, economic development is dependent on society getting its political as well as its economic fundamentals “right”. According to (ibid) societal norms, institutions and customs determine the path a nation will take. But what the World Bank Report said has always been in existence. From the Renaissance starting in the sixteenth century to today, states tread this path (Reinert 1999). The importance of this path is that national economic development is inexorably linked to regional economic integration. Successful regional economic integration is dependent on the successful national economic development of participating member states.

According to Agnew and Entrikin (2004:127) the 1947 Marshall Plan conceived by the American government to assist the post-war recovery of Western Europe was a deliberate act of state directed at West European states to embark on a collective West European recovery path. This state driven multilateral approach to economic recovery was a precursor to European integration. According to (ibid:132) “The Marshall Plan had two aims, the recovery of post-war Europe, but also the defence of a kind of civilisation held by Western Europe and the United States in common”. The United States insisted on the inclusion of Germany in the recovery process from both a political and economic standpoint. Germany was important in the security and power

contestation matrix between the USA and the USSR. Germany was also the industrial hub of Europe. It contained the ingredients for industrialisation and knowledge-based economic growth. European states welcomed the plan “on the basis of threefold unity: western anti-Soviet unity; a great economic union, and a regional customs union” (ibid:132).

But a regional customs union is a trading framework. It is production of tradeable goods in partner states which underpins a regional customs union, and indeed the different forms of terms of trade like PTA, FTA, CM and EU. According to the General Report of the Committee of the European Economic Co-operation (1947:26), the success of European co-operation depended on each participating country’s ability to develop its individual economy by expanding production and maintaining internal financial and monetary stability. The European experience teaches two critical lessons. First, the state is a promoter of economic growth. Economic development cannot be left to market forces alone. Second, regional economic integration is driven by the collective effort of partner states underpinned by shared beliefs, cultural values and a common identity, all focused on fostering peace and security, and expanding production in their respective nations for their own benefit and for the benefit of the collective. According to Gilpin (2004:319) there must be shared beliefs and values in patriotism, industriousness, diligence and ingenuity in building up industries, and identifying and taking up trade opportunities.

2.5 The State as a Promoter of Science and Technology:

According to Reinert (1999) one of the key “causes of increased economic welfare are: ... Technology (the techno-part (referring) to new hardware/tools). Technology (the –logy part (referring) to new human skills and knowledge”. According to (ibid) new hardware/tools and new human skills and new knowledge are the driving forces of economic development. According to Gilpin (2004:146) “the availability of human capital and the ability to use knowledge are the most important determinants of economic development”. According to (ibid:146-147) the state support for science and technology, research and development “can produce large economic payoffs”. Crucially, Gilpin (ibid) says “the crucial role of skilled labour makes it imperative that governments actively promote education and worker training. As they respond to the process of uneven growth, governments do have choices”. According to Moses Abramovitz (1989) “social capacity must converge in societies if disparities in knowledge are to be avoided”. Social capacity here refers to the capacity to set up institutions for scientific and technological education.

According to Gilpin (2004:146-147), less developed countries suffer from low capacity to absorb knowledge required for economic development, more particularly because they do not have skilled human capital and appropriate technology. They are not able to walk the social capacity path *vis-à-vis* the developed countries. This results in the few goods they manufacture being uncompetitive on the international market. New technologies generally reduce costs of production through new and more efficient production methods. The impact of these inefficiencies on regional economic integration is clear. It will be cheaper for members of the regional bloc to import from

outside the regional bloc than from a partner state. This kills the whole basis of regional economic integration.

2.6 The State as a Promoter of Values and Culture:

According to Reinert (1999) the state is also a provider (or non-provider) of institutions (a Culture State) providing institutions for education, science, charity, sanitation, peace, order, security, culture ...” in furtherance of economic development, or in destruction of it. According to Walter Rodney (1973) values and culture refer to a people’s way of life. Do they believe in themselves? Are they patriotic? Are they diligent? According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:289) “a country’s culture ... (may) discourage imports”. Citizens may follow a philosophy of economic nationalism. This has been found in the USA and Japan. Conversely, a people who do not have a philosophy of economic nationalism yearn for imports rather than develop their own economies and consume their own products. A regional economic bloc with a culture of economic nationalism is likely to industrialise and achieve economic integration as opposed to one with a culture of exporting raw materials and importing finished products. According to (ibid:444) “imperialism depends on the identity principle to unite the global North around a common racial identity that defines non-white people as an out-group”. According to (ibid) imperialism also structured the world order around the dominance principle with the global North dominating the global South. According to Reinert (1999) colonial powers enacted laws prohibiting the use of machinery in the colonies. Skills development in the colonies was thereby adversely affected.

According to Agnew and Entrikin (2004:251) the global North designated the global South suppliers of commodities and unprocessed agricultural products. This resulted in monoculture, no industrialisation and manufacturing in the global South. According to Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981:3) cultural domination annihilates people's belief in their languages, in their capabilities, nay, in themselves. It makes them scorn their past, but admire their exploiter's culture. "Possibilities of triumph or victory are seen as remote, ridiculous dreams". Insubordination to the cultural values, beliefs, and customs of other nations outside the partner nations is not promotive of innovativeness and focus on increased productivity. Walter Rodney (1973) identifies this culture, deliberately inculcated through an education system, as a scheme "which sought to instil a sense of deference towards all that was European and capitalist". According to (ibid) this culture of subordination creates mental confusion "and the development of underdevelopment". According to Reinert (1999) the culture of the industrialised countries is that it is "bad trade" to export raw materials. Yet this is precisely what they prescribed to Third World countries. According to (ibid) what was, and remains "good trade", was, and still is to export manufactured goods.

The "right" culture is one in which the people of a nation or a regional bloc consciously embrace economic development centred on science and technology, industrialisation, manufacturing, and free trade. A culture which yearns for new knowledge, innovation and creativity. A culture which embraces skill-intensive high quality production methods. The "wrong" culture is the one in which the people of a nation or a regional bloc despise themselves, produce and export commodities and generally believe that they have no capacity to industrialise, acquire new knowledge in science and technology and use it to grow their economies through beneficiation and value addition.

Just as colonial states imposed the culture of insubordination on certain groups of people, it is possible for post-colonial states to correct the situation through embarking on what Reinert (1999) calls “its most important historical function – to establish the nation (and by implication, the region) solidly in economic activities subject to increasing returns, and to set up a dynamic national (regional) system where innovations are an essential by-product of the way its national (regional) industry competes”. Cultural imperialism which is the domination of one culture by another and in this case the domination of the culture of the global South by that of the global North is not permanent. It is contingent and subject to change depending on a people’s consciousness. According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:452) one major problem faced by post-colonial independent states is that generally state leaders do not want to restructure their economies away from the export of a few raw commodities. Their reluctance is attributed to self-interest and corruption. Arguably most of them still suffer from cultural insubordination as they have resisted to be agents of cultural change in their education systems, clinging to the former colonial masters’ languages, mainly English, French and Portuguese, and continuing to trade in commodities.

2.7 Importance of Markets in Regional Economic Integration:

Increased productivity without markets does not aid regional economic integration, for the purpose of integration is to boost intra-regional trade. Large populations with buying power constitute large markets for goods and services produced by partner states. According to Botero (1590) “The power of a State is not the result of its territorial extension, but of its number of people, and its good government”. This statement has stood the test of time. States with large population density and good

government have prospered. Good government refers to a state's deliberate support for acquisition of new knowledge and technology by its citizenry in order to increase productivity through industrialisation and manufacturing. Industrialisation and manufacturing creates employment thus increasing rural to urban migration and consequently reduces the large peasantry which characterises underdeveloped countries. Peasants are poor and do not constitute a good market for manufactured goods. The same applies to unemployed youths in city slums (Goldstein and Pevenhouse 2013:478). "Poor" governments fear overpopulation because they exclude knowledge and technology from their economic development agenda. As a result their economies rely on the export of raw materials. This has been the misfortune of African countries and their counterparts in the global South. Countries like Zimbabwe with a population density of thirty persons per square kilometre fear overpopulation, are poor and desperate, but countries like Holland with a population density of four hundred persons per square kilometre do not fear overpopulation, are prosperous and comfortable. Large populations are therefore important for intra-regional trade to flourish. According to the European Productivity Agency and Transatlantic Relations, 1953-61 (2003:10) one of the reasons the USA pushed for European integration was to create a single Western European market. Europe's population was at that time a total of 250 million people. Apart from European intra-group trade, American goods were also assured of access to this huge market.

Conclusion:

Successful economic regionalism is based on political unity, delegation of sovereign power to regional institutions, a binding and enforceable legal framework, cultural astuteness, and industrialisation. Political unity addresses regional peace and security issues. Economic regionalism facilitates the following:

- a) The pooling of economic resources to achieve economies of scale and hence make regional goods competitive on the world market;
- b) Facilitates joint financing of research and development into new technologies to improve production and in the process facilitate expansion of production;
- c) Fosters oneness within the regional block, a common citizenship, a common culture, a common path to travel in shaping the economic fortunes of the regional economic bloc.

The apparent international division of labour into core, semi-periphery and periphery states is not permanent. It is contingent. States in the semi-periphery and periphery can, through the promotion of science and technology industrialise and manufacture diversified goods to form the nucleus for regional economic integration. The state, through a leadership passionate for economic development, promotes the international competitiveness of goods produced by its industries through support for research and development, technology and innovation policies.

CHAPTER 3:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM TO REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION INITIATIVES: A CASE STUDY OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC) 1992 – 2015: AN OVERVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter, based on secondary data, examines the impact of cultural imperialism on regional economic integration activities in SADC, particularly intra-regional trade flows. It examines the status of the key ingredients to regional economic integration, namely cession of some sovereign powers to transnational institutions, an enforceable legal framework, industrialisation, the advancement of science and technology, a regional psyche for knowledge based production, and a cultural re-birth, and how these have been negatively impacted by cultural imperialism.

3.2 Africa: An Identity Crisis

There is a blame game in independent Africa. It has been played since 1963. There seems to be no end in sight. That imperialism is to blame for Africa's colonisation and attendant evils of exploitation, discrimination and cultural subjugation is indisputable. That condition was to be changed as each African state became independent, for according to Waltz (1979:63) and Marx (1852/1972:437) everything is contingent, and is capable of change. People can change their circumstances. At least the fundamentals of the African's philosophical world outlook should have been the first to be re-booted after centuries of hibernation because of imperialism or is it centuries of destruction by imperialism? The African *ubuntu* philosophical world outlook resonates with oneness,

unity and interdependence (Mapaure 2011). “I am because we are. Without you I cannot be”. It is the exact opposite of individualism. Thus, as a united front “we” face adversity. It is easier to overcome adversity if “we are” than if “I am”. Nkrumah (1963, 1958:xvii) was alive to this imperative of African unity and identity to counter the dominance of the global North when he wrote:-

“Our essential bulwark against such sinister threats and the other multifarious designs of neo-colonialists is in our political union. If we are to remain free, if we are to enjoy the full benefits of Africa’s resources, we must unite to plan for our total defence and the full exploitation of our material and human means, in the full interests of all our peoples. To go it alone will limit our horizons, curtail our expectations, and threaten our liberty”.

Yet half a century later, with the last country in Africa to attain independence having done so some twenty-two years ago in 1994, Africa is not united and is still blaming imperialism for its current circumstances. Is it that Africa has not been able to “unite to plan” (ibid) for its political and economic integration? Is it that Africa’s philosophical world outlook of *ubuntu* was not in hibernation, but was destroyed, and therefore cannot re-boot? The blame game makes sense up to a point, but eventually begs its own integrity if it persists. Is it that Africa, or is it African leaders have become embedded in the neo-imperialist agenda and use the blame game to disguise their cultural deprivation and quest to benefit from the “benevolence” of the global North and rising stars of the global South like China, India and Brazil?

African leaders have tended to conflate issues. Africa is at times viewed as one unit – African Union (AU) and at other times as regional blocs which then find commonality in the AU. There is an identity crisis. The result is that countries have overlapping membership of the different regional political and economic groupings within Africa. This results in divided loyalty, disunity and contradictions in policies, strategies, and different terms of trade. Africa seems to be forever trying to reconcile these differences, which, the researcher argues, should be blamed on African leaders so preoccupied with defending the colonial relic – the sovereign state as against creating viable supranational institutions to which they delegate some sovereign powers to drive the African or the regional economic integration agenda of promoting and consolidating political unity, peace and stability, knowledge-based economic development and trade.

3.2.1 Within the African Crisis, SADC is born

SADC was formed through the SADC Treaty on the 17th of August 1992. At inception it comprised of ten members; namely Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland Malawi and Namibia. It now has 15 (fifteen) member states, the original ten plus South Africa which joined in 1994, Mauritius in 1995, Democratic Republic of Congo which joined in 1997, Seychelles in 1998, and Madagascar in 2005, with a total land size of 9 862 498 square kilometres. The population of the region as at 31 December 2015 was estimated to be 260 million people.

The official language of each of the SADC member states is that of their respective former colonial masters as shown below:

Country	Official Language
Angola	Portuguese
Botswana	English
Democratic Republic of Congo	French
Lesotho	English
Madagascar	French
Malawi	English
Mauritius	English and French
Mozambique	Portuguese
Namibia	English (by choice after attaining independence)
Seychelles	English and French
South Africa	English and Afrikaans
Swaziland	English
Tanzania	English
Zambia	English
Zimbabwe	English

SADC's birth and growth is directly linked to the political struggles in Southern Africa in pursuit of independence from white settler regimes. The region grew (in space) as more member states in the region attained political independence and joined the SADC region. It was the regionalism, that is "(the) complex of attitudes, loyalties and ideas which concentrates the minds of people/s upon what they perceive to be "their" region" (Evans, *et al* 1998:472 – 473), which gave birth to the first segment of the region, then as other countries (segments) within the total physical region called Southern Africa attained the regionalism characteristics of the first segment, that is by gaining independence, they joined the initial segment, until the totality of the physical territory called Southern Africa became the SADC region.

According to Mandaza and Tostensen (1994:4-5) the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (which comprised of independent African states), through its Liberation Committee constituted Tanzania and Zambia as the first Front Line States (FLS) to act as a “vital base for the struggle in Southern Africa”. It was to assist liberation movements in their fight for political independence. According to the former President of Zambia Dr Kenneth D. Kaunda quoted in (ibid:131) the FLS became active from 1974. Botswana became part of the group in 1975, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia on their respective independence dates between 1975 and 1990. But as the FLS and liberation movements scored victory after victory, with more and more Southern African states attaining political independence, it became clear to the political leadership that independence would be incomplete without economic independence. According to the first President of Mozambique, the now late Samora Moses Machel, quoted in (ibid:11) “the first day of our political independence is the first day of the larger and harder struggle for economic independence”. Thus according to (ibid) “the experience of political co-operation under the Frontline States made economic co-operation and the establishment of SADCC in 1980 a logical next step”. However, SADCC was not established just for economic co-operation. South Africa and Namibia were not yet independent and in addition South Africa had a stranglehold on the economies of Southern African states. According to (ibid) SADCC was founded primarily to co-ordinate the completion of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and to reduce economic dependence on South Africa through economic co-operation, particularly on infrastructural security and key sectoral development in each state, for example food security for Zimbabwe, energy for Angola, transport for Mozambique, and human resources development for Swaziland. Although the FLS existed, no formal states agreements underpinned it. It was ad hoc, not institutionalised. Equally, there

was no SADCC Treaty. A Memorandum of Understanding was eventually signed on 20th July 1981. The Memorandum of Understanding emphasised on sovereignty and individual leadership initiatives. Seeds of political and economic integration were sown, but the thirst to taste total sovereignty was and is still too pronounced to allow for cession of sovereignty to regional institutions. Regional co-operation rather than integration characterised SADCC.

On the 25th of August 1989 the Heads of State and Government at a summit held in Harare, Zimbabwe decided that SADCC should be formalised to “give it an appropriate legal status – to replace the Memorandum of Understanding with an agreement, charter or treaty”. Namibia became independent on the 21st of March 1990. Only South Africa remained under the shackles of apartheid. Southern African states appeared increasingly concerned about economic issues and concluded that whilst the independence of South Africa remained top priority, their objectives should shift to economic integration. This was not a new thinking as the OAU had, in July 1979 at a meeting held in Monrovia, Liberia, came up with the Monrovia Declaration in which African states agreed to adopt “measures for national and collective self-reliance in economic and social development for the establishment of a new international economic order”. Thereafter, in April 1980, through the Economic Commission for Africa, the LPA was launched. The LPA (ibid:8) exhorted independent African states to demonstrate “the same determination that has virtually rid our continent of political domination ... for our economic liberation”. It went on to urge African states to industrialise, “Africa’s almost total reliance on the export of raw materials must change”. Africa committed itself “to put science and technology in the service of development by reinforcing the autonomous capacity of our countries in this field; to

develop indigenous entrepreneurship, technical manpower and technological abilities to enable our peoples to assume greater responsibility for the achievement of our individual and collective development goals”.

However, according to Nabudere (2002), the LPA was countered by the World Bank through its Berg Report which emphasises globalisation and multilateral free trade as the panacea to underdevelopment. According to (ibid) African Finance Ministers supported the Berg Report not the LPA. Nkrumah’s dream articulated at the first summit of the OAU in Addis Ababa on 24 May 1963 in the following words,

“We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of our continent with communication; we shall astound the world with our hydroelectric power; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the undernourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease. It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Sahara bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments”

has remained a dream. The objectives of the LPA also remain a dream some thirty-three years after the adoption of the LPA.

Thus, whilst African leaders recognised that the establishment of successful PTAs, FTAs and other forms of trade arrangements was dependant on industrialisation, the Berg report was recommending the opening of African markets to free trade as the route to industrialisation. The LPA bemoaned the loss of twenty years as Africa was not able to point to any significant growth rate or improvement in the general well-being of its

people. African leaders further identified one of the reasons for the underdevelopment of their countries as past colonial exploitation and now neo-colonialism which they blamed for seeking to influence the economic policies and directions of African states. However, African leaders do not explain exactly what it is they have done to resist neo-colonisation. Thus, by the time SADC was formed independent African states had, for thirty years failed to industrialise.

At the sub-regional level (that is at the level such as SADC), African leaders resolved to give concrete expression to intra-African industrial co-operation, in particular the creation of major sub-regional industrial complexes, “sub-regional institutions to make an inventory of and exploit shared natural resources”, the collective establishment of key multinational industries which are central to industrialisation, that is metallurgy, foundry, chemicals, to enable the sharing of high establishment costs under the LPA. However, they expected the global North to fund the industrial development! They were not prepared to make sacrifices through their own budgets. Thus the SADCC Memorandum of Understanding was signed some ten years after African Heads of State had identified the reasons for the debilitated state of African economies. SADC came into being on the 17th of August 1992, some twelve years after the adoption of the LPA. To date, neither Africa nor the regional bloc SADC are industrialised.

3.2.2 The SADC Treaty

On the 17th of August 1992, at a summit in Windhoek, Namibia, the Heads of State and Government signed the SADC Declaration and Treaty transforming SADCC into SADC. The Treaty set out SADC’s main objectives as to achieve development and

economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the peoples of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration. No clear cut and time bound internal funding provisions were put in place. Again the expectation, against clear resistance, was that the West would provide funding. Institutional mechanisms to manage and superintend over the various SADC activities were established. These are: Summit of Heads of State or Government, Council of Ministers, Standing Committee of Officials, a Secretariat and a Tribunal. Only the Tribunal was endowed with compulsory power and authority to pass judgement which would bind SADC member states. But this was to be changed as the real test of what it means to delegate some sovereign power was experienced when the Tribunal ruled against the Zimbabwean land reform programme. The Tribunal was stripped of its compulsory jurisdiction when a new Protocol on the Tribunal was adopted at the SADC Summit held in December 2015.

To achieve its objectives, SADC in 2001 crafted and adopted a new Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) as its main socio-economic development plan. The RISDP has been reviewed from time to time, but it is not binding on any member state, and remains a wish with no funding

3.2.3 SADC: Co-operation or Integration?

According to Evans *et al* (1999:22) the sovereign equality principle is highly entrenched in SADC's political culture. Article 10 paragraph 9 of the amended treaty provides that the "decisions of the Summit (which is the supreme policy-making institution in SADC – Article 10 paragraph 1) shall be taken by consensus ..." Article

10 (A) paragraph 7 of the amended Treaty provides that the decisions of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation “shall be taken by consensus”. Article 11 paragraph 6 of the amended Treaty provides that the decisions of the Council of Ministers “shall be taken by consensus”. Article 12 paragraph 7 of the amended Treaty provides that the decisions of the Integrated Committee of Ministers “shall be by consensus”. Article 13 paragraph 6 of the amended Treaty provides that the decisions of the Standing Committee of Officials “shall be taken by consensus”. The Secretariat has no decision making powers. It is an implementation, research, co-ordination and monitoring tool. The Tribunal’s jurisdiction was, by the decision of the SADC Summit of 2015, whittled down to “interpreting the SADC Treaty and Protocols relating to disputes between Member States”.

The above is reminiscent of the classical Westphalian State. According to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), a state must have a bounded geographic location, with a population, a government and able to interact with other states. According to Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2013:60) the Westphalian State took shape in Europe in the sixteenth century. Key to this system was to protect smaller units of identifiable communities which were at risk of being swallowed by bigger communities to create a universal empire. According to Burchill, *et al* (2001:150), the Westphalian state is based on individualist ontologies which emphasise possessiveness. The modern African state was, and remains a colonial creation. It was not there prior to the partition of Africa. According to Palley (1966:3-5) colonial powers like France, England, Germany and Portugal carved out spheres of influence in Africa after the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885 which partitioned Africa. A colonial power that was first to conclude an agreement with a local chief “acquired exclusive control over that area and an eventual

right of annexation”. This was how the modern African state was born. But Africans did not fight to dismantle the colonial African state. They embraced and consolidated it. This explains the existence of the fifteen SADC member states. They are a colonial relic. The embrace they got from Africans is the epitome of cultural imperialism – the imposition of the Westphalian state model on Africa through the creation of states based on colonial spheres of influence. According to Evans *et al* (1999:22), for SADC to progress to deep integration it “must grow out of the regional co-operation of the past” to supranationalism. SADC must “sacrifice the principle of sovereignty in pursuit of regional economic reciprocity”. However, according to (ibid) SADC leaders are suspicious of the consequences of supranationalism. However, as already noted, the issue of total sovereignty is difficult to understand particularly viewed from the context of *ubuntu*, an African philosophical world outlook which emphasises the commonality and interdependence of African peoples (Mapaure 2011). African leaders are failing to shake off the inferiority complex in terms of which they have no confidence in their own philosophical world outlook. The result is that SADC does not have a single supranational institution to articulate its goals, policies, strategies and timeframes, and make decisions in the interest of SADC as a whole.

3.3 EU – ACP Economic Partnership Agreements

The sequel to the partial abandonment of the classical Westphalian state by Europe and its embrace by Africa are the Economic Partnership Agreements. Europe negotiates as a single entity through the European Commission. The African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries do not. Whilst ACP countries appear to be an entity, in reality they are divided into groups and each ACP member state, unlike EU countries, is free to sign

any individual country deal agreed with the EU as part of a customs union that applies to it alone.

From Yaoundé Agreements (1963) to Lome Convention (1975) to Cotonou Agreement (2000), Europe has primarily been seeking markets for its products and to secure raw materials supply from ACP countries. It has not been interested in the economic development of ACP countries, arguing instead that free trade will lead to economic development, when the truth is that economic development is brought about by industrialisation. SADC member states negotiate as a fractured group. Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland and Tanzania belong to the SADC group, whilst Mauritius, Madagascar, Malawi, Seychelles, Zambia and Zimbabwe belong to the Eastern and Southern Africa (ESA) group. Democratic Republic of Congo belongs to the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC). South Africa has maintained observer status in the SADC group because it has a separate trade agreement with the EU. According to Bilal and Rampa (2006) ACP governments and negotiators have differences within and between regional groups. The effects of this fragmented approach on trade and development issues means that SADC does not have a single voice on the development dimension of EPAs. EPAs distract SADC member states from focusing on industrialising their economies. But what is the attraction to Europe, except perhaps an African deference to Europe as a superior region. For over half a century the EPAs have not resulted in increased productivity in African economies. According to (ibid) the biggest concern over EPAs is their failure to address development issues in African economies and their focus on deep integration in the context of opening up African markets to EU goods. This has resulted in de-industrialisation in Africa. Europe is the primary beneficiary as it imports

raw materials from Africa, beneficiate, then export back finished goods to SADC member states.

3.4 SADC Intra-regional Trade

According to McCarthy (2002:71) intra-regional trade within SADC member states is less than 10 % of the group's total trade. The reason for this is that "African countries do not produce what other African countries want to buy". There is no meaningful complementarity of products. There is no product differentiation because of lack of industrialisation and manufacturing. The paucity of intra-regional trade is despite the fact that the SADC Trade Protocol reducing tariffs came into operation as from September 2000. According to Kalaba and Tsedu (2008:5) intra-regional SADC trade as a percentage of its exports stood at 9.5% as at the end of 2006. A greater percentage of the exports went to the EU (27.29%), East Asia (24.73%), MERCOSUR (11.82%) and NAFTA (11.11%). According to (ibid:7), SADC's top ten exports were "minerals, fuels and oils (20.3%), pearls and precious metals (19.2%), iron and steel (7.1%), vehicles (3.7%), machinery (3.5%), ores, slag and ash (2.4%), aluminium products (1.9%), clothing apparels and accessories (1.8%), tobacco products (1.7%), others (36.8%)". The concentration of raw materials/commodities in SADC's basket of exports and the insignificant intra-regional trade confirms underdevelopment as being the hallmark of the region.

According to the Bank of Tanzania Report (2012:7) the bulk of exports by SADC member states were of raw materials to the EU, China, USA, India, Japan, Yemen and Singapore. According to (ibid:viii) the most important reason "for the small trade flows

between SADC member states ... is low degree of complementarity among SADC economies. Most SADC member states have similar export profiles, based mainly on primary commodities, which limits the potential for growth within the region”. Amongst a number of recommendations, (ibid:ix) recommended that:

- i. “SADC member states need to pursue industrialisation in order to transform their economies, which are predominantly agrarian and/or natural resource based to economies that are largely driven by manufacturing of goods and services. Industrialisation upgrades and expands existing manufacturing capacities, hence creating value addition products in the economy;
- ii. SADC central banks play a critical role in creating conditions “which will sustain high growth and development;
- iii. The SADC Regional Infrastructure Development Master Plan be urgently and quickly implemented to “connect landlocked SADC member states with major centres of population and economic activity to ports”. Infrastructure also needs to be improved both in quantity and quality.

The Bank of Tanzania’s 2012 report has trodden a familiar path – of SADC member states knowing what to do, but failing to do what is expected of them.

3.5 SADC’s twin economic development nemesis: language and education

Apart from the absence of effective transnational institutions and funding, SADC member states have to address two twin development issues which were deeply affected by colonisation namely: language and education. According to the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) 2015 report the standard and quality of education in Africa is adversely affected by the use of foreign languages.

According to (ibid) it is easier for children to grasp concepts in their mother tongues. Yet despite this issue being raised by UNESCO since the early 1950s African countries have ignored the scientific findings that “the quality of education and the level of learning depend on the synergy of the curriculum with the social and cultural environment”.

According to the Hansard (2015) on the 28th of October 2015 Mr Chinotimba, a member of the Zimbabwean Parliament asked the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education “My question is when are we going to respect our local languages such as Shona and Ndebele so that we are able to work mathematical problems either in Shona or Ndebele? When are we ever going to reach that stage? Our people are failing examinations because they are using a foreign language. The Chinese come here speaking their own language yet are building structures here and they are good at what they do. When are we going to change our mind-set so that our education is administered to our children in our own language?” These are profound questions which go to the foundation of our culture, our entire education system, and our political and economic development.

According to the Report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (1999:324) the factors which influence the study of mathematics in Zimbabwe include the medium of instruction, that is the language of instruction. According to (ibid:327 – 328) the Education Act (1987) provides that “mathematics, like other subjects should be taught in the mother tongue up to Grade 3”. This was never done and is not being done. English is the medium of instruction in Zimbabwe. According to (ibid:343) the mother tongue must be used as the medium of instruction. The

government of Zimbabwe never implemented this recommendation, let alone enforced the existing law as the starting point.

The use of foreign languages in SADC member states' education system epitomises embracing cultural imperialism at its worst. Article 27 of the amended SADC Treaty provides that "the working language of SADC shall be English, French and Portuguese ...". The same applies to each of the fifteen SADC member states. Each member state's working language is the former colonial master's language. The exception, for the worse, is Namibia which at independence rejected Afrikaans which was the working language then, and opted for English ahead of Oshiwambo, a Namibian language spoken by the majority of Namibians (Phillipson 2012:292). According to (ibid:293) no foreign language is able to convey the authentic cultural heritage of a people than the mother tongue. According to (ibid) "the most widely spoken languages of South Africa are not Afrikaans and English, but Nguni (isiZulu, isiXhosa and siSwati) and Sotho (Sesotho, Setswana and Sepedi), spoken as mother tongues by two thirds of the total population of South Africa, as well as by almost the entire populations of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and almost a third of the population of Zimbabwe".

According to Dr Temba Dlodlo (a Zimbabwean physicist who studied at a Finnish university) quoted by Mushava (2015) "Africa is so far behind in sciences because we are taught in languages that we do not speak at home. It simply means we cannot internalise science because we view it as an English subject. Unless we translate the concepts into local languages we will never understand science itself". Compare this with the EU. There are twenty-seven languages which are working languages.

Simultaneous interpretation is done at all meetings. Each country uses its mother tongue as the language of instruction in its education system. The use of foreign languages impacts negatively on science and technology education and hence on manpower development and industrialisation. Thus as observed by Dr Temba Dlodlo Africa, cannot hope to industrialise or innovate until the fundamental issue of the medium of instruction is resolved. “The important point though, is that African leaders are to blame for the state of affairs in SADC’s education system. They have demonstrated that they are not capable or not willing to abandon the language of the former colonial master for their own. They have, since becoming independent, embraced the language and education cultural hegemony of the global North to the detriment of the development of their own countries”.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the relationship between cultural imperialism as embraced by SADC member states post-independence and regional economic integration. It examined the challenges posed to regional economic integration by the adoption of the Westphalian state model by SADC member states, integration into the economies of the global North as suppliers of raw materials and providers of markets for goods manufactured in the global North, lack of industrialisation, and the nemesis of the twin issues of language and education, in particular the medium of instruction of science and technology as a means to propel scientific development and industrialisation. Although historically, colonisers imposed the unfettered doctrine of sovereignty and arbitrarily carved out the current SADC member states, imposed their languages as the working languages, it was within SADC member states’ power to change their circumstances

after dislodging colonialism. But they failed to do so. The current impediments to regional economic integration are a result of SADC member states' failure to deal with cultural imperialism which adversely affects industrialisation, product complementarity, and consequently regional economic integration.

CHAPTER 4:

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM DETRIMENTAL TO INDUSTRIALISATION AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN SADC

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the findings on how cultural imperialism has affected national economies of SADC member states, education in general, science and technology education, industrialisation, the market, intra-regional trade and consequently regional economic integration initiatives in SADC. The chapter is based on first-hand information and secondary data gathered by the researcher from Zimbabwe government officials, ZimTrade, Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI), Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce (ZNCC), diplomats, individuals and academia. The researcher managed to conduct ten in-depth interviews on the research topic. The researcher utilised the thematic data analysis method of social science research to analyse the research findings.

4.2 Understanding regional economic integration

All respondents are agreed on the meaning and purpose of regional economic integration. They agree that it is the coming together of countries in the same geographic location to achieve economic development.

4.2.1 The idle

One respondent from ZimTrade went further to say:

“The major objective of coming together is to coordinate and harmonise their policies on industrialisation and trade liberalisation in order to increase productivity and trade amongst themselves. The aim is to increase the production of what the other country wants, and breakdown of trade barriers between and amongst member states - this is the major objective of the SADC Industrialisation and Beneficiation Strategy and the SADC Trade Protocol.”

The respondents all agree on the removal of restrictions on the free movement of SADC citizens, labour, capital, trade barriers, reduction of dependency on donor funding for SADC activities and reduction of too much dependency on customs revenue. They agreed on the need for the establishment of a SADC common currency, and SADC passport. They further agreed on the urgent need to establish autonomous institutions with sufficient authority to drive the SADC regional economic integration agenda. This, they said necessitated member states making sacrifices on nationalism and sovereignty. They agreed on the need for a common policy in agriculture, standardisation of educational qualifications, industrial and manufacturing standards. The totality of the above constitute the essential ingredients for regional economic integration from the current Free Trade Area regime, to a Customs Union, then to a Common Market, and finally to an Economic Community.

4.2.2 The reality

The respondent from ZimTrade and Dr Ibbo Mandaza (Mandaza) of SAPES Trust agreed that SADC has all the conceivable protocols needed to achieve regional economic integration, but lacks the political will to establish “an enforcer of implementing agreed programmes of action.” This is the major drawback to SADC regional economic integration. The researcher sought to establish the underlying causes for the lack of “an enforcer” for implementing agreed SADC programmes of action.

The recurrent answer from most respondents is that there is lack of commitment on the part of SADC’s political leadership to make regional economic integration succeed. SADC political leaders have no confidence that they have the capacity to go beyond rhetoric and be change agents in the economic fortunes of their national economies, let alone the regional economy. They argued that from Kwame Nkrumah in 1963 to Robert Mugabe in 2015, Africa, despite denials, has not made any serious attempts to extricate itself from the colonial entanglement of vertical integration to the economies of the global North in which African economies are suppliers of raw materials to the industries of the global North, and the global North is the supplier of value added manufactured products to Africa. Instead, matters are getting worse as Africa gets entangled in yet another asymmetrical economic relationship with the East wherein it is again the supplier of commodities and importer of finished products.

Thus, whilst the colonial vertical integration of African economies to the global North was as a result of conquest and domination, its continuance and expansion to the East

after independence is a voluntary act by African political leaders. The respondents' views are that this is not accidental. It is the result of cultural domination wherein Africans under colonisation were conditioned into believing that they are inferior to whites. One of the respondents Mr Christopher Takunda Mugaga (Mugaga), the Chief Executive Officer of the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce, an economist by training, captured the effect of cultural imperialism in rather dramatic fashion when he said "... most Africans believe minerals are for whites. When an African finds what he/she thinks is a mineral, his/her first port of call for verification is a white person. This thinking at the micro level is in fact replicated at the macro level. That is how our political leaders think, hence their failure to empower African scientists, industrialists, innovators and entrepreneurs to enter into beneficiation of our minerals and manufacturing. Point to me one person or group of persons who have been empowered by a SADC government to go into beneficiation of minerals." Thus, despite the rhetoric about the urgent need for industrialisation and value addition of SADC's vast mineral resources, SADC member states export over 99% of their raw minerals to the global North, and of late also to the East.

Most of the respondents agree that cultural imperialism negatively impacted the way Africans view themselves *vis-à-vis* whites. Most respondents pointed to the fact that most consultants and experts consulted by the AU and SADC are whites. If African professionals and experts want to have a chance they have to piggyback ride on whites whose advantage is the colour of their skin and access to funding from Western governments which seek to influence the policies of African governments. African governments are notorious for not funding their institutions' programmes, but are always looking for donations and hand-outs from the West. Most respondents agree

that cultural imperialism negatively affected SADC member states' education systems, with the spill over effects being lack of industrialisation with the attendant paucity of intra-regional trade.

4.3 SADC: impact of cultural imperialism on education

According to Phillipson (2012:68) education is the key to development. It must produce people with relevant knowledge, innovative and creative capacity to work in the economy. It must inculcate values and attitudes consistent with the ideological belief of the society. The content of education is determined by the State.

All the respondents agree that the content of education inherited by SADC member states was largely designed by former colonial masters and is still being delivered to students through the language of former colonial masters. Apart from a rendition of national anthems and a study of the history of the liberation struggles, the content is largely the same. According to most of the respondents the continued use of the former colonial masters' languages as the medium of instruction in SADC member states institutions of learning is, in the minds of the students and general populace by itself a continuation of the inferiority of indigenous languages, and by extension the learners themselves. There is competition to speak foreign languages like the former colonial masters. There is competition to know and emulate the environment of the former colonial masters. The legacy of cultural domination continues.

According to Mandaza the only SADC country which appeared to be serious about replacing English with an indigenous language was Tanzania. At independence, Tanzania promoted the use of Swahili and made it the language of instruction at primary school level. In 1982 recommendations were made by a commission set up by the government to extend this to secondary schools and tertiary education. Swahili was on course to become the first African language to replace a foreign language in the entire Tanzanian education system. However, the Tanzanian government rejected the commission's recommendations arguing that it was not in Tanzania's interest to abandon English. So English maintained its foothold on Tanzania's education system from secondary school to tertiary education with the inevitable destabilising effect it has on students graduating from a mother tongue tuition based environment to a foreign language tuition based environment, in their own country. However, according to Mr Makamba Dahari (Dahari), the First Secretary at the Tanzanian embassy in Zimbabwe, whilst there are still contradictions on the language policy of Tanzania, the majority view is that Swahili should replace English as the language of instruction in tertiary institutions. According to him, "language is a tool of culture. Innovation and creativity comes from language. Do you dream in English, French or Portuguese?" he asked. He argued that Tanzania made the first step of coalescing over 120 ethnic languages into one popular language Swahili by developing an inclusive vocabulary which borrows words from minor languages, with the result that all Tanzanians own Swahili. He further argued that all science education, including mathematics at primary level is taught in Swahili. He sees no problem in extending this to tertiary education. He argued strongly for the return of African languages and said Tanzania is doing its part with its Presidents now using Swahili at both the AU and SADC and providing translators to English, Arabic, French, and Portuguese languages used by the rest of AU and SADC

member states. He argued that African governments must invest in indigenous language development so that vocabulary increases in tandem with developments in science and technology.

According to Mandaza SADC member states remain beholden to their former colonial masters on language policy. Yet, according to him it is not impossible to systematically replace foreign languages with dominant or widely spoken local languages. He cited the example of China which invests heavily in translating science books into their language so as to ensure that cognition of concepts in learners is developed through the mother tongue. In any event, Mandaza proceeded, it is an issue of national pride to use one's own language in the education system and on the international fora.

According to an anonymous respondent Africans see the world through the eyes of an Englishman, Frenchman or Portuguese man, depending on which language they use in their respective countries. So science, technology, innovation, the fine arts, industrialisation and high-tech manufacturing are viewed as foreign languages and concepts only capable to be fully understood by the owners of the language.

According to another anonymous respondent the spill over effect of an unsuitable educational system delivered through an inappropriate language of instruction produces technicians instead of innovators. He said "We do not have innovators. Our scientists, engineers and artisans are only productive in an environment created by others. They have never made their own scientific discovery, created their own equipment and

machinery production space. They are good at servicing and maintaining what others have invented and produced. This is because of our education system.”

4.4 SADC: impact of cultural imperialism on industrialisation

According to Dahari SADC member states fear losing customs revenues instead of focusing on industrialisation. They seek to protect revenue from non-productive sources. According to most respondents, except for South Africa, SADC member states are not industrialised and are not industrialising. The industries which are operating are from the colonial times. Even in South Africa the industrialised part of it is an enclave of whites. Industrialisation and value addition bring about higher productivity and complementarity of goods. Without it there can be no hope for increased intra-regional trade as there will be no goods to trade. Most respondents’ perspective on this issue is that the spill over effects of cultural imperialism on education have negative consequences on industrialisation. For a nation to industrialise it must invest in science and technology education. No such investment is taking place in SADC. Secondly, the education must be suitable resulting in the production of innovators. The education system in SADC is unsuitable and produces Eurocentric graduates. According to an anonymous respondent SADC graduates in whatever discipline are popular in the global North because the content and philosophy of their education was and is meant to support the industrial and commercial enterprises of the West.

Mugaga drew the researcher’s attention to the state of industry at independence and now. According to him most SADC states are de-industrialising. The industrial infrastructure inherited at independence is experiencing its last death throes. According to him what remains of that industrial base is what he termed “the last supper of our

colonial legacy”. There is nothing new SADC member states have added. Since independence SADC has nothing to show that this is what it has done independent of the past.

4.5 SADC: impact of cultural imperialism on the market

According to an anonymous respondent SADC’s population is in excess of two hundred and fifty million people. However, this is a largely impoverished population dominated by peasants, subsistence farmers, urban unemployed slum dwellers and a disappearing formal economy. Lack of industrialisation explains this phenomenon. A respondent who preferred anonymity and Mandaza attributed the existence of peasantry and subsistence farmers to political expediency. According to them peasants are content with their lot and as long as governments intervene with some form of benevolence in times of drought and other disasters. Most importantly the respondents proffered the explanation that because SADC governments lack the cultural inclination to grow their national economies they defend the rights of peasants to remain peasants, convince peasants that they are better off than their unemployed counterparts who are urban slum dwellers. This enables them and their fellow comprador bourgeois to feast on the “last supper” of colonial business enterprises, revenue from commodities, customs duties and tariffs.

4.6 SADC: impact of cultural imperialism on intra-regional trade

According to a ZimTrade official intra-regional trade is the glue that cements regional economic integration. Each member state must produce goods and/or services which

the other member(s) need. Industrialisation is the engine that drives product diversification and complementarity. Without it there will be no intra-regional trade. SADC member states have very little intra-regional trade because of lack of industrialisation. However, according to a Ministry of Industry and Commerce official there are many other barriers to intra-regional trade. There are trade barriers related to customs duties and tariffs. There are also non-tariff barriers like access to borders, trade facilitation procedures, and PSP procedures which involve many government departments like the Ministry of Agriculture, the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) which all levy tariffs. SADC is supposed to be operating as a Free Trade Area, meaning that duties and quotas amongst member states no longer apply. However, because of uneven development, some SADC member states still want to protect their industries. They thus resort to permits, embargoes, customs duties and tariffs. There is also the problem of some SADC member states which have multiple membership of regional organisations which have different rules to those of SADC. Tanzania is a member of SADC as well as of the East African Community, whilst Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe are members of COMESA. South Africa, Namibia, Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho are members of both Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and SADC.

The respondent said that there are efforts to harmonise the operational framework of these regional economic bodies with the ultimate objective being to establish a continental economic community. The respondent however, expressed reservations on the prospects of success because the different economic groupings tend to take positions based on their colonial history. Are they Franco-phone, Portuguese, or English? There is also the apparent exclusion of SACU from this harmonisation process. Most

importantly, it is the divide driven by the colonial history of Franco-phone, Portuguese or English which is worrying. It demonstrates the deep rooted effects of cultural imperialism on the African consciousness.

According to Dahari, as long as there is no industrialisation SADC intra-regional will remain marginal. Even trade facilitation is a problem. He argued that even the Zambia/Zimbabwe one stop border post is fraught with problems as the technology platforms meant to speed up movement are not harmonised. He also gave the example of the SADC univisa which is not being implemented because of its impact on individual member states. Air connectivity and other infrastructure are lacking. So the majority of tourists connect in South Africa.

4.7 SADC: unproductive nationalism

Mandaza, believes that SADC member states suffer from unproductive nationalism. He explains the basis of this nationalism as being nation states created by colonialism, and yet African leaders have taken it on board hook, line and sinker to the detriment of *ubuntu*. He says there is a serious dislike of supranationalism by SADC member states. The result is that every decision by SADC has to be by consensus. There is no traction on anything as each country is suspicious of the other country's motives. Nationalism informs the lethargic and non-uniform manner of handling issues such as visas, work permits, free movement of labour, capital and the establishment of a common currency and a SADC passport. According to Dahari SADC still has the problem of Pan Africanism (United States of Africa) versus Nationalism. Member states are still

nationalistic in outlook and this retards the implementation of projects because of lack of consensus. However, he argued that the irony of this nationalism is that when it comes to funding projects SADC depends on donors.

4.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, cultural imperialism has continued to affect the leadership of SADC member states and has resulted in lack of industrialisation in the region. Regional economic integration has failed to thrive because the building blocks are not right. Shared values and shared beliefs within SADC which find expression in the education system prevalent in the region, has failed to produce the desired results of industrialisation and increased intra-regional trade. There are no autonomous institutions driving the SADC regional economic integration agenda, because the Westphalia state model imposed on Africa by colonisers replaced true African brotherhood (*ubuntu*). After independence African leaders inherited this colonial relic and are now using it to defeat the noble objectives of regional economic integration.

Leadership in SADC is also at the centre of protecting relics of cultural imperialism like the content of education and the medium of instruction therein. The result has been the production of graduates not steeped in their environment desirous of finding solutions suitable for the industrialisation of their countries, but graduates brainwashed into believing that the most they can do is to maintain and service what the white man produces.

Cultural imperialism has been accepted and edified by SADC's political leadership resulted in unemployment, the continued existence of a peasantry and subsistence farmers, whilst the political leaders and a few privileged citizens of SADC feast on the remains of a shrinking industrial base established by the former colonial masters, revenues from commodities, customs duties and tariffs to the detriment of SADC regional economic integration.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND POSSIBILITIES OF FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the concluding chapter on the findings that the researcher obtained on the research topic **“An analysis of the impact of cultural imperialism to regional economic integration initiatives: A Case Study of the Southern African Development Community (SADC): 1992 – 2015”**. Cultural imperialism was used by former colonisers of SADC member states to destroy the value system of the indigenous people of Southern Africa. As each SADC member state became independent it inherited this colonial legacy resulting in this negatively affecting industrialisation in SADC, thus compromising regional economic integration initiatives in the region. The chapter also proffers recommendations on how SADC should deal with cultural imperialism at the national and regional level.

There are possibilities of further research, particularly as the African Union seeks to harmonise the operational framework of the disparate regional economic groupings in Africa, that is SADC, COMESA, ECOWAS, EAC and the West African Economic Community. It would appear that the oldest customs union in Africa, SACU, is not party to the harmonisation agenda. Without a paradigm shift in Africa’s consciousness and culture, what are the prospects for industrialisation in Africa, and consequently an increase across the width and breadth of Africa?

5.2 Conclusion

SADC is in an identity crisis. It is in a cultural quagmire. Who are the inhabitants of these fifteen countries? They speak English better than the English. They speak French better than the French. They speak Portuguese better than the Portuguese. Now they want to speak Mandarin better than the Chinese. They mimic the former colonial master in the way they dress, eat, and in all their mannerisms. They characteristically struggle to speak their mother tongue. They admire everything Western and despise everything of their own. The West destroyed African culture over the years of colonial domination. As each African state fought for independence and won, it needed as part of the independence package, a cultural rebirth. Culture is a way of life. It informs the content of education, the philosophy of education, the relationship of man with the environment, a world outlook, science and technology, the arts, in fact the totality of life. However, at independence culture was relegated to dances, music, drama and the arts. These were and still are the areas where indigenous languages are accommodated. But even these are under siege as Africans are now playing them out in the former colonial masters' languages.

The above is the background under which SADC was formed. The objectives were and are noble. It is the coming together of nations bound by a common brotherhood (*ubuntu*) to achieve development for the benefit of the region. The spirit driving the process is the challenge. It is the antithesis of the objectives. It encourages nationalism where compromise is required. It discourages cognition and innovations where its existence inspires industrialisation and product differentiation. It shrinks the market where market growth through entrepreneurship and employment create conditions for

further growth to a customs union, a common market, and ultimately an economic community. SADC member states, with shrinking economies primarily because of their own cultural shortcomings, are struggling to fulfil the conditions of a Free Trade Area. The philosophy of regional economic integration is industrial growth and product differentiation leading to increased intra-regional trade. The psyche needed to inspire this growth – a cultural rebirth, is sorely missing in SADC.

5.3 Recommendations

These are the recommendations arising out of the research findings. The formation of SADC was a critical first step towards regional economic integration. However, the deficiencies of the consciousness and culture that informs the operational framework of SADC needs serious self-introspection by SADC Heads of State and Government if SADC is to attain its objectives.

5.3.1 SADC must create supranational institutions

Creating supranational institutions is the responsibility of SADC heads of state and government. Autonomous supranational institutions will be able to drive the regional economic integration agenda because they will have the capacity to make decisions which are binding on members of the region. Supranational institutions such as a general commission with a diversified mandate to represent and uphold the interests of SADC as a whole. Transforming the current unelected SADC parliamentary forum into a directly elected parliament

by SADC citizens will not only ignite SADC citizens' direct interest in the affairs of SADC, but will engender a sense of ownership and belonging. This must be followed without delay by the establishment of a common currency and a common passport. SADC must be for the citizens of the region, not some abstract grouping, as it currently stands, of heads of state and government, ministers and state officials divorced from its citizens.

5.3.2 SADC must restore its identity

SADC's indigenous languages must be its pride. The SADC heads of state and government must take bold decisions in favour of the region and introduce the major indigenous languages of each member state as the medium of instruction in schools and tertiary institutions. Tanzania was on the way to achieving this until the then President J. K. Nyerere stopped the process. The Tanzanian language policy of replacing English with Swahili did not fail, the political leadership failed it. The use of Oshiwambo as the official language of Namibia and the language of instruction in educational institutions did not fail, it was failed by the Namibian political leadership beholden to Western values. It was heartening to see the then president of Tanzania, Kikwete, address the AU Summit of 2015 held in Sandton, South Africa, in Swahili. If all heads of state and government of SADC would do the same, with simultaneous translations taking place, the SADC would be on a sure course to self-actualisation.

5.3.3 SADC must fund its activities

SADC member states must make the necessary sacrifices to fund its programmes in place of the current scenario of always extending a begging bowl to the West and now concurrently to the East. SADC is endowed with sufficient resources that if it acted as a united group, which it must if it is to prosper, it will raise significant sums of money by taking a joint position on how it trades with the rest of the world, even in commodities. A practical demonstration of unity will send a message to those countries outside SADC which need its minerals and agricultural products, that terms of trade must be fair, failing which SADC commodities will not be availed for trade.

5.3.4 SADC must industrialise

If SADC member states do not industrialise they may not perish, but will forever remain the “wretched of the earth”. Industrialisation requires the funding of research and development, prioritising and funding education in science, technology and innovation. It means harmonising education, production, trade and other standards in the region. Industrialisation is a precursor to product differentiation and increased intra-regional trade. Industrialisation will create employment and lead to the welcome disappearance of peasantry. Industrialisation will change the complexion of EPAs as Europe will begin to take SADC as a serious contender for European and other world markets for finished products. Industrialisation will most probably kill AGOA and usher in fairer trade relations between SADC and the USA. In fact industrialisation not

only improves the quality of life of SADC citizens, it makes them master of their destiny.

5.3.5 SADC must create an enforceable legal framework

Apart from conferring limited jurisdiction on the SADC Tribunal on disputes between and amongst member states SADC does not have an enforceable legal framework. The SADC Tribunal was stripped of compulsory jurisdiction over member states and individuals in respect of community law dealing with the SADC Treaty and protocols. This allows member states to do as they please, to flout protocols and treaties in the full knowledge that there will be no consequences. The decisions of the adjudicating authority must be binding and enforceable against member states and individuals if the regional economic agenda is to be taken seriously.

5.4 Possibilities of further research

For centuries, Africa, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa suffered from the slave trade and colonisation from the West. Despite this, Africans fought for independence and are now politically independent. Africa is not a lone continent in having suffered misfortune in its long history. Asia and Latin America also went through the same tragic experiences. It does appear that other continents regained their culture. But Sub-Saharan Africa seems to have inherited the demons of cultural imperialism and because of this is failing to industrialise, to advance in the sciences and technology, and thus is a net exporter of commodities and a net importer of manufactured goods. SADC's

cultural problem opens possibilities of further research in so far as there are dreams of a continental African economic community. How will this be achieved if SADC and other African regional economic groupings which seek harmonisation are failing to implement the basic requirements for successful regional economic integration? What are the prospects of successful harmonisation when there is a common thread of cultural inferiority running through the entire African psyche?

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