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ABSTRACT

This paper briefly describes the historical development of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) from its roots in 1980 and examines the work of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) today. The objectives of the SADCC are listed from the 1980 declaration and the achievement of those objectives are assessed. The implications of those objectives for education are analyzed, although the objectives make no direct reference to education. As the human rights agenda formally emerged, education came into the formula. Discussion of problems related to the emergence of educational policies include: (1) the lack of some highly qualified personnel needed for educational development in some areas; (2) the possibility of poaching of qualified personnel from member states; (3) the dissatisfaction with conditions of service by some personnel in some states; (4) weak currencies in some countries which could be exploited to attract the best and most experienced staff from institutions; and (5) the incoming of free South Africa seemingly in dire need for experienced academics. Implications of this "brain drain" are explored. (EH)

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**POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY AGENDA
ON EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE REGION**

A Paper Presented at

Indiana University's African Studies Center

March 31 to April 1, 1995

by

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Introduction

We, the majority-ruled States of Southern Africa, do not envisage the regional economic coordination as exclusive.

(SADCC Declaration, 1980)

The attainment of political independence by the majority-ruled countries in the Southern African region ushered a new war theatre that needed no guns but economic barrels. The new war proved to the political Fathers of the Liberation Struggles that political liberty without meaningful economic independence was, to say the least, fragile and perhaps void; that external, internal and intra-state trade was vital for economic survival. It was within this framework of reality that the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and now Southern African Development Community (SADC) was born in 1980.

The regional political and economic factors of the time, and perhaps the present, indicated that South Africa had a relentless grip on Botswana's development and trade routes. For instance, in 1986 alone, Botswana exported P87 million (P = pula) worth of goods to and via South Africa and imported South African goods worth P943 million, all to the favour of South Africa which was then waging economic and destabilization wars against all the majority-ruled nations of Southern Africa. Some coordinated strategies to eradicate or at least minimize this threat into their development and security was imminent.

Harvey, Charles et. al (1990:316) asserts that in 1984 alone, the SADCC countries accounted for fifty per cent (50%) of South Africa's trade surplus--their political enemy then. Certainly such heavy trade dependence of nine nations on one country was not only dangerous but disastrous in the long run. Some reliable and economic independence from the then apartheid South Africa was necessary and urgent. So, the SADCC was formed on the ideology of regional economic integration as Betty Harris argues (1993). Harris contends that regional economic integration was the main

reason for the creation of the SADC and that South Africa's destabilization threats, though real, were a catalyst at the opportune times, during the heat for the liberation of the whole of Africa.

From an ethnological vantage point, there are certainly too many similarities and historical links among the peoples of Southern Africa to warrant an integrated economic community but not a political partnership or integration. All the member-states have plenty of natural resources, though in varying quantities. Many of them have a common colonial heritage. For instance the former British colonies on the one hand, and the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique on the other had a unifying colonial language. In a very real sense, peoples of these states have many social, cultural and ethnic commonalities many of which are only divided by the artificial colonial boundaries that would facilitate both political and economic integration--but not an economic union.

Admittedly, there are substantial politico-economic gradations among the SADC nations which militate against symbiotic educational development within the Community. The educational infra-structures are so very divergent from South Africa to Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia, Angola, Malawi, Mozambique and Tanzania that the differences raise the question of how the SADC political agenda would redress those differences for effective cooperation and achievement of its goals even with South Africa as a member.

SADCC Goals

This short paper now timely catalogues the original objectives of the SADCC in order to see the place of educational development in the whole political program. The preamble to the Declaration of the SADCC (1980) states,

We, the undersigned, as the Heads of Governments of the majority-ruled states in Southern Africa, offer this declaration to our own people, to the peoples and Governments of the many countries who are interested in promoting popular welfare, justice, and peace in Southern Africa---. In it we state our commitment to pursue policies aimed at the economic liberation and integrated development of our national economies---.

It is significant to note the emphasis on "integrated development of our national economies" as opposed to the unification of those economies. There was, as still may be the case today, the reluctance to form a *zolverein* of Southern Africa obviously because of the widely different states of economic development in these nations. In the spirit of the declaration, the objectives of SADCC would be:

- ◆ Political stability and peace.
- ◆ Economic liberation and independence.
- ◆ Food security and sustainable agriculture.
- ◆ Regional development.
- ◆ Regional solution to transport and communication "blues."
- ◆ The forging of links to create a genuine and equitable regional cooperation.
- ◆ Mobilization of resources to promote the implementation of national, inter-state and regional policies.
- ◆ Provision of concerted action to secure international cooperation within the framework of SADCC strategy for economic liberation.

The agenda is certainly a tall order for the SADC member-states. It is a political agenda which was not specific about the social services sector of their states. The question arises: Were education and health ever considered in the coordination and integration program? Were they to be assumed to naturally flow from the politico-economic considerations? It is true that education and politics are inseparable phenomena of all modern societies. The framers of the SADCC Declaration may have been aware of that but internal evidence in the Declaration suggests that this was not

considered important until four years later when the Community was confronted with the need for qualified manpower in all its areas of emphasis.

In its 1984 Report (pp. 30-31) on Sub-Saharan Africa, the World Bank recommended a seven-point program for Sub-Saharan nations to meet their human resources development needs to maintain sustainability. The Bank recommended, among other things:

- (a) That Sub-Saharan African nations should set their objectives and priorities right.

The Bank assumed and expected that there would be differences of interest in these areas and so bring about division and discord on human resources development.

- (b) That there be better resources allocation by each member-state of the region.

Again, the Bank did not assess the question of whether there would be competition and conflict over the meagre human resources available in the region.

- (c) Appropriate coordination of the donor funds.

- (d) Stabilization of current spending.

- (e) That SADCC states should resort to lower-cost programs such as reducing sizes of civil services, eliminating parastatals, cutting down on free education at primary levels.

- (f) That individual nations resort to decentralization of educational services to minimize costs (ESAP). This measure did not consider how uniform or not it was likely to be in the member-states or what salaries, facilities, benefits, resources and local conditions would impinge upon the development of education in the region in general and in each nation in particular.

These World Bank stipulations went across each of the programs of SADC and persuaded member-states to adopt the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP), a move which resulted in the devaluation of national currencies in the SADC, dissolution of some economic institutions such as parastatals and trimming of civil services thereby laying off thousands of workers on short notice. How could Political

Stability exist? How could the SADC association ensure Economic Independence? Could the Community solve its regional transport and communication problems? Would it ever be possible to collaboratively develop natural resources and human resources without diving into local and regional jealousies and border disputes on emigration and migration of job-seekers and fortune-mongers? Would the education sector not be affected?

Implications on Education

The objectives of the SADC examined above did not directly refer to education as one of its main concerns. However, the 20th July, 1981 Memorandum of Understanding on the Institutions of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, and its subsequent amendment of July 22, 1982, Article IV, entitled Sectoral Commissions, sanctioned the establishment of "other commissions for programs in functional areas." It was later under this clause that "Human Resources Development" was added to the agenda encompassing all social sectors including education.

It is significant to point out that education in the member-states was based on closely the same legal bases and policies. For instance, education was legislated as a human right in all the states. There was a strong emphasis on primary and secondary education and an urgent development of technical education for school leavers. There was also a greater emphasis on teacher preparation resulting from the universalization and democratization of education.

However, the launching of the SADC aroused a frantic excitement in education circles. Before the introduction of the human resources development sector, educators in tertiary education institutions in Southern Africa, who had read the writing on the wall, began to investigate the possibilities of their own coordination and collaboration.

Curriculum designers began calling for a common curriculum in the region's education systems. Before their results were published politicians already made utterances to the effect that a unitary system of education in the region should be facilitated to the benefit of the Community. Neither had they anticipated the impending consequences of their proclamations in the context of uncertainties in the economies and human considerations in developing nations.

As pointed out above, the economic, political and educational development in the member-states were very varied and subject to bring about unpalatable results. There are complex language differences among the peoples of the region that would affect the primary education sector; standards and levels of education differed widely between say, Zimbabwe and Botswana, or Zambia and Swaziland. There was no way basic education was to be equally coordinated in the region. However, efforts were made successfully to make primary school curricula be as similar as possible. For instance, Social Studies curricula for Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe are structurally the same with differences in content that reflect local needs.

At the teacher education level, the curricula and training strategies were realigned even though the ideological bases differed very widely. Each member-state was prepared to enrol students from other regional states even though cross-border numbers remained strictly controlled and heavy extra-territorial tuition and boarding fees charged. Between 1982 and 1987, staff exchanges were encouraged but on a limited scale and shorter periods. There were very few takers since economies of member-states were still reasonably sound and strong. All this went behind the scenes and without the politicians' open knowledge. Neither was it envisaged then that the professionals exchange would result in a massive movement in less than a decade. The education sector then became heavily affected during the Economic Structural Adjustment Program era. First, during the early efforts of cooperation and integration,

institutions of higher learning in the member-states, i.e. universities, teachers' colleges, and polytechnics/technical colleges, became aware of:

- (a) the fact that some countries did not/did have highly qualified personnel needed for their educational development;
- (b) the possibility of poaching for highly qualified and experienced personnel from member-states;
- (c) the fact that highly qualified and experienced staff in other member-states are dissatisfied with their conditions of service;
- (d) the weak currencies in some countries due to ESAP which they could exploit to attract the best and most experienced staff from long established institutions;
- (e) the in-coming of free South Africa on the political and educational scene *seemingly* in dire need for experienced academics from majority-ruled nations.

The realizations listed above ushered a worrying situation to some states such as Zimbabwe and Zambia. A massive migration of highly qualified and experienced personnel was experienced in some countries causing unacceptable shortages at short notice. Typical recipients of the "brain drain" were Botswana, South Africa, Swaziland, and Namibia from Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe which had the heaviest emigration of academics, medical doctors and college and secondary school teachers. Universities lost professors and senior lecturers; teachers' colleges lost administrators and lecturers; and the secondary school sectors lost science and mathematics professionally trained teachers. In some nations it became difficult to replace these professionals. Recipient countries were very pleased to have them in their budding institutions as they helped not only to train their youths but also to develop their young professionals who would take over in the future.

Conclusion

What this short paper has done is give a very brief sketch of the development of SADC, its goals and objects and how the political agenda affected regional educational development in the areas of:

- ◆ basic education for the masses;
- ◆ teacher education manpower distribution;
- ◆ higher education curricula, personnel and resources;
- ◆ technical/vocational education;
- ◆ the intelligentsia diaspora.

The mass exodus that has taken place within the last five to six years remains to be seen whether it shall be reversed. It appears (my own conjecture) that the situation will be short lived especially in South Africa as more and more qualified and experienced South African refugees return home and demand their rightful place in the economic development of their country. The events also have positive implications as this has allowed professionals to exchange experiences in normal working environments thereby forging the regional ties and relationships envisaged by the framers of the SADC program. Whether educational development will take a pivotal role over economic forces in bringing about politico-economic and social unification of the sub-region remains to be seen.

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TABLE I.

TRADE	1980	1985	1991	1992	1993
<i>(millions US\$)</i>					
Total exports (fob)	1,445	1,124	1,785	1,514	1,543
Cotton	192	223	433	..	..
Gold	180	121	226	..	..
Manufactures	..	..	385	..	..
Total imports (cif)	1,641	1,040	2,229	2,295	1,836
Food	49	35	26	..	..
Fuel and energy	271	192	240	..	..
Capital goods	706	402	991	..	1,836
Export price index (1987=100)	166	102	113	99	90
Import price index (1987=100)	139	86	127	130	107
Terms of trade (1987=100)	119	118	89	77	85
Openness of economy (trade/GDP,%)	64	56	67	75	70
BALANCE of PAYMENTS					
<i>(millions US\$)</i>					
Exports of goods and nfs	1,612	1,229	2,056	1,819	1,903
Imports of goods and nfs	1,721	1,211	2,315	2,438	1,973
Resource balance	-109	18	-259	-619	-70
Net factor income	-72	-126	-290	-280	-254
Net current transfers	0	-45	2	40	48
Current account balance					
Before official transfers	-302	-153	-547	-859	-276
After official transfers	-244	-98	-452	-617	-95
Long-term capital inflow	-54	82	295	482	260
Total other items (net)	211	103	243	-83	76
Changes in net reserves	87	-86	-86	218	-241
Memo:					
Reserves excluding gold (mill. US\$)	214	93	150	222	432
Reserves including gold (mill. US\$)	419	345	295	404	611
Official exchange rate (local/US\$)	0.6	1.6	3.4	5.1	6.6

TABLE II.

Zimbabwe

Population mid-1992 (millions)	10.4
GNP per capita 1992 (US\$)	570

KEY RATIOS

	1980	1985	1991	1992	1993
Gross domestic investment/GDP	18.8	19.8	25.0	24.3	22.5
Exports of goods and nfs/GDP	30.3	28.8	31.6	32.0	34.2
Gross domestic savings/GDP	15.8	21.0	21.0	13.4	21.3
Gross national savings/GDP	12.2	17.2	16.6	9.2	17.6
Current account balance/GDP	-5.6	-3.4	-8.4	-15.1	-5.0
Interest payments/GDP	0.2	2.8	3.9	2.7	3.0
Total deb/GDP	14.7	53.4	52.7	70.4	77.3
Total deb/exports	45.4	186.9	165.0	217.2	221.7

GDP: PRODUCTION

	1980	1985	1991	1992	1993
(% of GDP)					
Agriculture	14.0	20.2	18.9	22.1	18.3
Industry	33.7	28.0	33.3	35.0	35.3
Manufacturing	24.9	22.9	28.5	30.2	30.6
Services	52.3	51.8	47.8	42.9	46.4
(average annual growth)	1980-85	1985-93	1991	1992	1993
Agriculture	3.7	-2.6	3.1	-24.4	..
Industry	-1.2	2.7	3.2	-8.4	..
Manufacturing	0.9	3.1	2.6	-9.3	..
Services	4.9	3.8	6.3	-3.6	..
GDP	3.3	2.0	4.9	-7.9	2.0

GDP: EXPENDITURE

	1980	1985	1991	1992	1993
(% of GDP)					
Private consumption	64.5	57.5	58.2	66.5	59.9
General government consumption	19.7	21.5	20.8	20.1	18.8
Gross domestic investment	18.8	19.8	25.0	24.3	22.5
Exports of goods and nfs	30.3	28.8	31.6	32.0	34.2
Imports of goods and nfs	33.3	27.6	35.5	42.8	35.4
(average annual growth)	1980-85	1985-93	1991	1992	1993
Private consumption	1.1	2.9	10.9	8.2	-6.6
General government consumption	9.1	4.7	3.6	-11.0	-3.8
Gross domestic investment	-1.7	2.8	17.2	-16.3	-6.1
Exports of goods and nfs	3.7	0.4	-0.2	-15.9	4.6
Imports of goods and nfs	-1.0	4.7	16.4	1.8	-19.1
Gross national product	2.8	1.9	4.2	-8.4	2.1
Gross national income	2.8	2.0	5.1	-8.1	2.2

TABLE III: PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATIOS

Country	1980	1985	1988
Angola	158	93	---
Botswana	92	108	116
Lesotho	103	113	112
Malawi	60	62	72
Mozambique	75	86	68
Namibia	---	---	---
Swaziland	103	107	105
Tanzania	93	72	66
Zambia	90	99	---
Zimbabwe	85	135	128
South Africa	---	---	---

Source: *World Bank United Nations Development Programs*, (1994), pp. 326-332.

TABLE IV: ILLITERACY RATE -- PERCENTAGE OF 15+ AGE POPULATION

Country	1980	1985	1989
Angola	---	64	58
Botswana	---	30	26
Lesotho	---	26	---
Malawi	---	59	---
Mozambique	67	72	67
Namibia	---	28	---
Swaziland	---	32	---
Tanzania	---	---	---
Zambia	---	33	27
Zimbabwe	31	38	33
South Africa	---	---	---

Source: *World Bank United Nations Development Programs*, (1994), pp. 326-332.

TABLE V: NUMBER OF SCHOOL TEACHERS

Country	<i>Primary</i>			<i>Secondary</i>		
	1980	1985	1988	1980	1985	1988
Angola	40,027	---	---	---	---	---
Botswana	5,316	6,980	8,104	1,137	1,675	2,573
Lesotho	5,097	5,663	5,880	1,299	1,897	2,074
Malawi	12,540	15,440	---	878	1,192	---
Mozambique	17,030	20,286	---	3,388	4,688	---
Namibia	---	---	---	---	---	---
Swaziland	3,278	4,107	4,665	---	---	---
Tanzania	81,153	92,586	95,503	3,837	5,267	6,678
Zambia	21,455	27,302	---	4,882	---	---
Zimbabwe	28,118	56,067	57,566	3,782	19,507	17,796
South Africa	---	---	---	---	---	---

Source: *World Bank United Nations Development Programs*, (1994), pp. 326-332.