

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the European Union (EU)

Johannes Muntschick

The Southern
African Development
Community (SADC)
and the European
Union (EU)

Regionalism and External Influence

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PREFACE

To a great extent, this study has its roots in Southern Africa. It was during a semester abroad at the University of Namibia when my interest in African politics, the state in Africa and regionalism in sub-Saharan Africa began to take shape. In the course of my studies, I understood that there certainly existed several deep-rooted social and political characteristics on national and regional levels that distinguished the state and political context in Africa from other regions such as Europe. The legacy of colonialism and post-colonial patterns of interdependence to powerful actors overseas—and to South Africa as the dominant regional power—appeared in many respects to have an effect on countries, governments and peoples in Southern Africa. But there was also enthusiasm about African renaissance and a spirit of optimism towards regional integration within the framework of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) which seemed to be a genuine regional solution to regional challenges and a beacon of hope for socio-economic development. Interestingly, I first came across the organisation when I registered as a student at the University of Namibia and was surprised by the fact that a substantial discount on study fees applied for students from SADC countries. Since then, the SADC became my constant companion and I became increasingly aware of the organisation's high political relevance, media presence, activities and dynamics.

For decades, the major part of political science research on regionalism has focussed on the integration process in Europe. This has led to an implicit Euro-centrism in most regional integration theories which weakened their

explanatory power with regard to regionalisms outside Europe. It is therefore not surprising that there exists only very little academic literature on the SADC—at least in bookshelves in the Northern Hemisphere—which goes beyond describing the characteristics of the organisation. As a result, prejudged and rather hasty estimates concluded in most cases and with reference to the shining “European example” that regionalism in the SADC has failed or is little more than a paper tiger. This not only confused but challenged me and ultimately sparked the research project.

Being aware of the research gap, I realised that there was a need to analyse and explain regionalism in the SADC from a non-Euro-centric perspective but with a focus on the countries and political situation within the region. Adopting cooperation theory became a viable solution. Besides that, a comprehensive analysis of regionalism had to include additional policy areas besides the economy in order to capture empirical evidence about the organisation’s wide range of activities. Finally, I deemed it necessary to provide an assessment of the performance of regionalism in the SADC in order to come increasingly on par with the literature and state of research on Europe. Once the project was under way, I realised that strong patterns of interdependence existed between regional and extra-regional actors in many policy areas. This implied external influence. As a consequence, this work adopts a modified situation-structural approach as a guiding theory for the study of regionalism which takes this particular structural aspect explicitly into account. This allowed me to highlight the role of the European Union and its ambivalent influence on regional integration in the SADC.

Before delving into the analysis and findings on regionalism in the SADC, I would like to thank the people who have made this research a pleasant and fruitful endeavour. The completion of this book could not have been accomplished without the support I received from many colleagues and experts from academia, friends and family. While being very grateful to everyone who has been involved in this process, I would like to express my special thanks to the following individuals.

First of all, I would like to sincerely thank Thomas Gehring for providing me with every guidance and expertise that I needed during the past years. His constant support helped me a lot during the time of research and writing of this book. I am very grateful that I had the opportunity to develop and discuss this research project as a fellow of the DFG-funded Graduate School “Markets and Social Systems” at the Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg. My research has greatly benefited

from its interdisciplinary and inspiring academic environment and the feedback of many colleagues. I am especially thankful to Reimut Zohlnhöfer and Richard Münch, who encouraged and supported me throughout these years.

A range of scholars contributed to this book by giving inspiring comments on this and earlier works on various occasions throughout the past years. Among others, Tanja Börzel, Fredrik Söderbaum and Michael Zürn offered fruitful suggestions and constructive criticism, particularly on the theoretical approach and argument of this work. My appreciation applies as well to several colleagues from the Chair for International Relations at the Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, especially those who have been involved in research on global regionalism. Their comments became very fruitful for deciding where to position myself and the book's argument in the academic debate on theorising and analysing regionalism. I am especially grateful to Benjamin Faude, whose sound comments I always appreciate, for providing valuable feedback and input.

This research project would not have been possible without field research in Southern Africa and the generous support of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) as funding institution. I especially thank Peter Draper and the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) as well as Jonathan M. Kaunda and the Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis (BIDPA) for welcoming me to their organisations and for giving me the chance to combine my research with active participation in everyday business. I also would like to thank the friendly staff at the SADC Headquarters, who supported my research by giving me access to official documents and recommending interview partners. Moreover, I would like to express my gratitude to Dennis T. Othapile and his family for their hospitality and much practical advice throughout my research stays in Botswana.

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Lastly, I wish to thank my family, especially my parents Armin and Ina, and all of my friends who encouraged and supported me in many different ways during the work on this book and beyond.

GLOSSARY

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific
AEF	ACP-EU Energy Facility
APF	African Peace Facility
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
BLNS	Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland
CAN	Andean Community
CEMAC	Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CET	Common External Tariff
CMA	Common Monetary Area
COM	SADC Council of Ministers
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CONSAS	Constellation of Southern African States
DAM	Day Ahead Market
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EAC	East African Community
EBA	Everything-But-Arms
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
ESA	Eastern and Southern Africa
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy

EU	European Union
FANR	Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
FLS	Front Line States
FOPRISA	Formative Process Research on Regional Integration in Southern Africa
FTA	Free Trade Area
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GWh	Gigawatt Hour
HDI	Human Development Index
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMoU	Intergovernmental Memorandum of Understanding
IOC	Indian Ocean Community
IS	Infrastructure and Services
ISDSC	Inter-State Defence and Security Committee
ISPDC	Inter-State Politics and Diplomacy Committee
kV	Kilovolt
LDC	Least Developed Country
Mercosur	Common Market of the South
MMA	Multilateral Monetary Agreement
MMTZ	Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MW	Megawatt
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NTB	Non-Tariff Barriers to trade
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPDS	Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation
PLANELM	Planning Element (of the SADC Standby Force)
PPRM	Policy, Planning and Resource Mobilisation
RIKS	Regional Integration Knowledge System
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
RoO	Rules of Origin
RPTC	Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference
SADC-CD	Single Customs Administrative Document

SADC-CU	SADC Customs Union
SADC-FTA	SADC Free Trade Area
SAIIA	South African Institute for International Affairs
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAPP	Southern African Power Pool
SAPP-IMoU	Southern African Power Pool Inter-Utility Memorandum of Understanding
SCMC	Standing Committee of Senior Officials, the Sectoral and Cluster Ministerial Committees
SHDSP	Social and Human Development and Special Programmes
SIPO	Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SNC	SADC National Committees
SSF	SADC Standby Force
STEM	Short-Term Energy Market
TAU	Technical and Administrative Unit
TDCA	Trade, Development and Cooperation Agreement
TIFI	Trade, Industry, Finance and Investment
TIPS	Trade & Industrial Policy Strategies
TNF	Trade Negotiation Forum
Tralac	Trade Law Centre for Southern Africa
UMA	Arab Maghreb Union
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WITS	World Integrated Trade Solutions
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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