DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF SUSTAINABILITY

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1. INTRODUCTION

It is well known that the world has become globalised due to growing economic, political, social and cultural integration and interdependence among states. Several kinds of cultural diffusions have contributed to this situation and to the five-fold expansion of the global economy in the last four decades. It could therefore be expected that the quality of life of especially the least industrialised nations in the world would have been improved. However, economic forces of globalisation are moving toward greater inequality among states. This has become at least one of the reasons why many people in Africa are experiencing severe poverty and live on less than one US dollar a day. In addition to poverty, various other negative factors contribute to the lack of sustainable development in Africa: a lack of competitiveness and democracy, high population growth, HIV/AIDS, deficient leadership and war.

Using a functionalist conceptual model, the purpose of this article is to analyse the said issues that inhibit sustainable development in primarily South Africa. Sustainable development means the fulfilment of the functions of adaptation, goal attainment, integration as well as pattern maintenance and tension management. The role that South Africa could play in the sustainable development of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region will also be discussed.

2. CONCEPTUALISATION

2.1 Sustainable development

In the world system the concept sustainability refers to the ability of a nation to endure in dynamic equilibrium with other nations and to exist over generations

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The SADC consists of the following states: South Africa, Angola, Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique, Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Seychelles, Mauritius and Malawi.

without the resource base becoming depleted (Pelser and Heunis 1997:413). The Brundtland Commission (Treurnicht 1998:31) defines sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". In other words, sustainable development refers to the capacity of people to endure in the globalised world system by making a living and improve their quality of life without jeopardising the options of others - both now and in the future (NRF 2000:1; Marais et al. 2001:vi). This definition implies reasonable access to basic resources, especially for the least industrialised (periphery) and industrialising (semi-periphery) countries.

In order to achieve this goal, development must be sustainable and it is sustainable only "if it ensures that the stock of overall capital assets remains constant or increases over time. These assets include manufactured capital (machines and roads), human capital (knowledge and skills), social capital (relationships and institutions), and environmental capital (forests and coral reefs)" (World Bank 2000:28). Against the backdrop of Africa's poor record in development, major pressure is being exercised on the governments and peoples of the continent to start performing in the right direction. Should this not materialise, Africa will stay a continent on the periphery.

Many scholars believe that the complexity, importance and necessity of sustainable social development in Africa are generally not appreciated enough. All parties have to realise that sustainable development is a multidimensional process involving changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions. It also implies that economic growth and employment have to be accelerated and that inequality must be reduced and poverty eradicated (World Bank 1997:4).

Good governance is a prerequisite for achieving these objectives. The purpose of governance, an authoritative system in states, is to draw on the energies and resources of civil society in pursuit of sustainable development. In order to make sustainable development a reality, good governance must demonstrate a high quality of leadership and a policy of participatory democracy where decentralisation, cooperation, joint decision-making, accountability and transparency are the order of the day.

2.2 Globalisation: meaning and impact on sustainable development

Over more than two centuries capitalist economic relationships have been spreading globally, involving processes of increasing interregional and international interdependence, imperialism and dependency. In its most simplified meaning, the concept globalisation could be referred to as a selling the same product world-

wide. It implies a growing economic, political, social and cultural integration and interdependency that takes place across state boundaries in the world (Beinart 1997:20). Such integration and interdependency are caused by at least six kinds of cultural flows, namely ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes, ideoscapes, and socioscapes between nations. These cultural diffusions contribute to the establishment of a global village (Appadurai in Segers 1997:3; Eade et al. in Albrow 1998:1412).

Ethnoscapes are created by flows of people such as (illegal) immigrants, refugees and tourists. This affords a convergence in world tastes, which leads to growing standardisation and market homogenisation (Saayman 1998:2). There are also significant cultural elements, leading to the homogenisation of social values through mass advertising and consumption. Resulting from this is a world-wide trend towards similar customer preferences (Stilwell 1999:2). Globalisation in this sense can be seen as a process that is shrinking the world.

Technoscapes involve the machinery flows produced by transnational and national corporations and government agencies. Advances in modern transport and communication technologies, together with the development of computer-assisted manufacturing and design, dramatically extend the capacity for global information dissemination and the production of goods and services (Stilwell 1999:2).

The rapid monetary flow in the currency markets and stock exchanges, trade and capital flows, produce *finanscapes*, the standardisation of production and consumption, investment and the spatial and institutional integration of markets, and the growing similarity of economic regulations.

Mediascapes refer to flows that are caused and distributed by information technology. Telecommunication systems, such as the Internet, benefit periphery and semi-periphery nations by providing telemedicine and health-care education, and skills development, thus improving rural access to global markets and mobilising people to engage in protests (General Development News 1998b:3). Telecommunication systems and networks not only facilitate economic trade in goods but also promote service-providing sectors (General Development News 1998b:1-2).

Ideoscapes are linked to flows of ideas and images that are associated with state or counterstate movement ideologies, which comprise elements of the Western enlightened world-view. The latter embraces neoliberal ideas and images such as democracy, freedom, welfare, human rights and human dignity. In this respect globalisation becomes an ideological construct, designed to legitimise particular

policies promoting structural economic change. Related to this are *socioscapes*, produced by forms of interaction and exchanges of ideas, images and commodities.

A critical question has to be answered due to the influence of these factors in the world system: Is globalisation an obstacle to sustainable development in Southern Africa and Africa or is it merely a challenge that must be utilised positively and pro-actively?

Officially, South Africa accepts the process of globalisation as a fundamental post-Cold War reality (Stremlau 1999:62). Globalisation has forced South Africa to adjust politically, which means that the government of South Africa, together with its neighbours in the SADC region, also accepts the (new) realities of a globalised world (Human Development Report 1999:1). Fact is that the future development of Southern Africa will have to proceed within this framework of a globalising world and of expanding markets. This is not so much an obstacle to development as it is a problem for underdeveloped states and communities to integrate themselves into international growth opportunities. For instance, increased trade, new technologies, foreign investments, expanding media and Internet connections are fuelling economic growth and human development.

Southern Africa and Africa are presently not well positioned to reap the benefits of globalisation and the opportunities it presents. With about 13% of the world population, sub-Saharan Africa accounts for only about 1,5% of world trade. It receives less than 0,6% of foreign direct investment, while portfolio investment is essentially non-existent, except for South Africa (Ottaway 1999:20).

Furthermore, sub-Saharan Africa has only 20 telephone mainlines for every 1000 people, compared with a world-wide average of 133 for every 1000 people. Information is also poorly distributed and access to the news media is the lowest in the world. To summarise, the continent is economically, socially, and culturally marginalised. Even South Africa falls below world averages on most indicators of global integration (Ottaway 1999:21). Clearly, that is the reason why the former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela (1998:199), is justified when he tells his countrymen that they will have to ensure that their country integrates itself within a world community that is evolving under the impact of a process of globalisation. Disaster is the alternative.

Gelb and Floyd (1999:2) highlight the other side of the coin by stating that many developing countries are viewing globalisaton with apprehension because integrating into the increasingly globalised economy poses huge problems for Africa. To start rectifying the situation, trade links will have to be expanded and

diversified, foreign investment will have to be increased and private capital attracted in huge amounts. Participation in the world economy must furthermore take place by making use of available knowledge and information. At the same time, Africa's role in important forums of the international economy must be strengthened (Gelb and Floyd 1999:6). Depending on the policies implemented in Africa, together with the will of the people to improve their quality of life, these and other challenges could be met.

3. A CONCEPTUAL MODEL

From a functionalistic point of view, the globalised world system is composed of states that play roles and fulfil functions to ensure sustainable development and harmony in the system. In the analysis of the phenomenon of globalisation and its consequences for these states, it is assumed that in order to develop sustainably, they have to fulfil the four functions of adaptation, goal attainment, integration, pattern maintenance and tension management. However, one has to keep in mind that any conceptual model and approach could be used for different purposes - from the construction of "new" theories to correcting errors in theories made with its aid. It can also be used as an analytic tool where necessary (Mills 1969:38).

4. APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL

4.1 Adaptation as prerequisite for sustainable development

The need for sustainable development compels African states to adapt economically, politically, and socially. Sometimes economic sanctions by industrialised countries, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank force Africa to make these changes. Hence, adaptation assumes that nations must cope with external situational exigencies (Ritzer 1992:102) and secure and distribute sufficient resources from the environment (Wallace and Wolf 1999:39).

Accordingly, the following driving forces of globalisation are reflected in the behaviour of states in order to adapt and survive in the world system: efficiency (productivity), calculability (the mass production of commodities), predictability (that products and services will be the same over time) and control (mechanisation and automatisation) (Ritzer 1996:9-11). As capitalism globalises, the world's nations are being divided into three primary trading blocks in which core states play a dominant role (Henslin 1999:389): North and South America, dominated by the United States; Europe, dominated by Germany; and Asia, dominated by Japan and the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC).

In recent years, China, which is regarded as a non-capitalist periphery state, has received a full third of all direct foreign investment for developing countries. More than a third went to only nine other countries, including Indonesia, which is also regarded as a periphery state (Henslin 1999:241). The remaining 140 developing countries benefited little from these flows of money. This illustrates that core countries inhibit sustainable development in the vast majority of periphery nations.

The reason is that the latter are economically reaped disproportionately by the handful of countries and companies that set rules and shape markets. The vast majority of trade and investment takes place between core nations, dominated by transnational corporations controlling a third of world exports. Of the hundred largest economies in the world, 51 are transnational corporations. Private financial flows have long since surpassed public development aid and remain remarkably concentrated. Hence, it is not unexpected that 80% of foreign direct investment in periphery and semi-periphery countries in the 1990s was earmarked for only twenty countries, with China as the main beneficiary (Anon 2000a:79-93).

The benefits of the present global capitalist system can be sustained only by deliberate efforts to rectify the system's deficiencies. These deficiencies involve the creation of unemployment, the uneven distribution of benefits, the instability of the financial system, global monopolies, the ambiguous role of the state, and the question of values and social cohesion. Such deficiencies also create micro-level problems like feelings of powerlessness, lack of control, and isolation (Seeman 1959:784-90). Moreover, international institutions for the protection of individual liberties and rights are simply inadequate. To fill this void, the creation of a global open society, ready to accommodate improvements and democratic codes of conduct, is required (Soros 1998:20). Countries can only compete successfully in the global market if they have effective and democratic state institutions, uphold transparency and accountability in the management of public affairs, and rigidly respect human rights (Annan 2000:12).

4.1.1 Poverty as an obstacle to adaptation

Poverty centres on the problem of not "always having sufficient resources that people can utilize to meet their essential needs" (Max-Neef 1996:63; Simmel 1978:477). In South Africa, for example, the realities of prosperity and poverty specifically present themselves as stark extremes. White people living in Gauteng (Statistics South Africa 2000), still enjoy a standard of living comparable to that of the most developed countries. At the same time, rural Africans living in the Eastern Cape, presently the poorest province (Statistics South Africa 2000), endure a

standard of living common in countries that are far less developed than South Africa (May et al. 2000:48).

Approximately 50% of all South Africans can be categorised as poor (Statistics South Africa 1999:6), irrespective of what measuring instrument is used in determining this (May et al. 2000:48). Most poverty-stricken South Africans, some 11 million of the 18,8 million poor, live in rural areas (Statistics South Africa 1999:6). In Botswana, for example, 43% of the population live in poverty, 55,5% in Lesotho, 82% in Malawi, 45,7% in South Africa, 50,2% in Swaziland, 57,6% in Tanzania, 64,3% in Zambia, 11% in Mauritius, and 26% in Zimbabwe (UN Development Programme 1997). Poverty² is therefore a major challenge facing the Southern African region, exacerbated by relatively high rates of population growth.

The poor performance of the Southern African economies is another contributing factor to poverty. Possibly the best indication of this is the Human Development Index (HDI)³ of each of the countries in the region. On this index Southern Africa figures as follows (Peters 1999:25-59): Angola (1995) - 0,344; Botswana (1995) - 0,678; Lesotho (1998) - 0,469; Malawi (1998) - 0,334; Mozambique (1998) - 0,281; Namibia (1998) - 0,644; South Africa (1998) - 0,717; Swaziland (1998) - 0,597; Tanzania (1998) - 0,358; Zambia (1998) - 0,378; Zimbabwe (1998) - 0,507.

Clearly, the HDI results are directly related to the general Gross Domestic Product (GDP) average annual growth of the mentioned countries. In the case of Southern Africa, the HDI statistics reflect struggling economies, less than average public expenditure on education, descending GNP per capita and a shrinking life expectancy.

The preceding facts leave no doubt at all that the SADC region is in arrears regarding sustainable development. Presently, only the successful implementation of drastic measures will prevent future generations in the subcontinent from being worse off than the generations preceding them.

4.2 Goal attainment as a prerequisite for sustainable development

The goal of globalisation is that nations in the world must develop economically and politically in a sustainable manner. Therefore, resources and energies have to

Indications of poverty here are simply an estimate of the percentage of people living below the poverty line which is set by the World Bank at US\$1 a day per person for international comparison.

The HDI, an alternative for the Gross National Product (GNP), measures human development in a country in terms of longevity (measured by life expectancy), knowledge (measured by a combination of adult literacy and years of schooling) and standard of living (measured by purchasing power) (UNDP 1994:129-31).

be mobilised and priorities established by means of joint decision-making and efficient leadership (Wallace and Wolf 1999:39). However, due to certain historical factors and the expansion of capitalism, the industrialised nations dominate periphery and semi-periphery countries in the world. Hence the intended benefits of globalisation are unequally distributed because the global market has not yet been underpinned by rules based on shared social objectives.

For the sake of achieving the goal of economic and political sustainable development, countries have to compete for resources. However, such competition has to be based on democratic principles and efficient leadership.

4.2.1 Competition as an obstacle to goal attainment

A competitive situation in the world system occurs where countries with different interests seek to maximise their own advantages. In this sense, competition is goal-directed. However, competition as well as the positive consequences of globalisation extend to a minority of people, most of them living in core countries in North America, Europe (including Great Britain) and Japan.

One reason why periphery and even semi-periphery countries are struggling to enter the global marketplace, is their initial low level of international competitiveness. Among the economies of 47 industrialised and emerging states, grouped into eight competitiveness input factors, namely management, domestic economy, science and technology, people, government, internationalisation, infrastructure and finance, South Africa occupies the 38th and the 10th last position among industrialised and emerging economies (The World Competitive Yearbook 2000:13). Of the countries classified by the International Human Suffering Index (Camp and Speidel 2000:1), 24 are in Africa, 6 in Asia, and none in the Western Hemisphere. According to Camp and Speidel (2000:1) "(t)he Human Suffering Index vividly shows that the majority of the world's people must endure lives of poverty and human misery".

Jankowitsch (1996:4) points out that global economic integration and competition specifically diminish the degree of diversity existing in a society. Indeed, extreme competition contributes to social exclusion. Social exclusion primarily manifests itself in the marginalisation and elimination of those who are not competitive. In this regard, a single example will suffice: the incomes of the top 10% to 20% people in the world system are rising significantly, whereas the bottom 20% to 40% are watching their earnings decline. It is thus an open question how much stability and security is really needed to preserve civil society (Jankowitsch 1996:4; Emmerij 1996:8).

The perception could exist that competition is in the process of becoming the only solution to economic, political, social and cultural problems in Africa. However, the most important weak point of competition is that it is incapable of reconciling social justice, economic efficiency, environmental sustainability, political democracy and cultural diversity. The result is that societies are increasingly engaged in an economic battle without mercy.

The lack of economic growth and productivity in Africa is reflected by the following data: although Africa contains 13% of the world's population, it produces only 1,7% of the world's wealth (General Development News 1998a:1-16). The GDP per capita in Africa was only US\$620 in 1995 compared to a world average of US\$4880. From 1985 to 1995 the GDP per capita declined at a rate of 1,1% per year (Anon 1999:157). In Southern Africa, including South Africa, the GDP for 1996 was US\$159 billion, for Africa US\$485 billion and for the world US\$29 500 billion (Anon 1999:156-7).

The cost of globalisation among nations is much greater than had been earlier acknowledged. Notwithstanding the World Bank's support for the Global Coalition for Africa and its manifestation in the Road Maintenance Initiative (RMI) (World Bank Annual Report 1997:45-6), the perception is that some countries have gained enormously from globalisation while others have not. Emmerij (1996:6-7) unequivocally states that "competition (in the world system) has become an arm to wipe out the adversary. It has become an ideology, an imperative...".

4.2.2 The lack of democratisation as an obstacle to goal attainment

Globalisation not only encourages competitiveness, but also imposes democratisation and human rights on the world system. Democracy offers the most powerful means for civil society to prosper and to get them involved in policymaking (Bell et al. 2000:54). At the same time economic development tends to help change political institutions, as people increasingly demand political participation and other civil liberties (Falk 1999:29-34; Fukuyama 2000:3).

In recent decades, the collapse of communism has spurred on efforts by people to have democratic governance in many states. Of course, globalisation and capital development do not automatically produce democracies, but the level of economic development resulting from globalisation is conducive to the creation of societies with a powerful middle class, which facilitates democracy. To be an advanced society, a country has to be a democracy and has to be connected to the global marketplace. In this respect, there is a greater homogenisation of institutions and ideologies (Fukuyama 2000:1-2).

4.2.3 Deficient leadership in Africa as an obstacle to goal attainment

The leadership factor as a variable in the African development crisis is often overlooked in spite of the fact that there is little doubt that the lack of development and goal attainment in the majority of African states could to a large extent be ascribed to a failure of leadership. Houngnikpo (2000:7) indicates that a lack of effective leadership in Africa is responsible for a whole range of problems. He points out that this reality must specifically be ascribed to the second generation of African politicians who choose the path of destruction by using absolute power. This destroys the continent which is now left with most Africans caught in a net of poverty, ignorance and disease.

One could argue that sustainable development has never really been on the agenda of African leaders because in many cases not even the most elementary aspirations of Africa's peoples have been realised. Over the last two to three decades Africa's leaders have demonstrated that they are unable to resolve human-made disasters like the civil wars in the Sudan, Angola and die Democratic Republic of the Congo. They are also not capable of effectively managing Africa's ailing economies in a changing international environment (Houngnikpo 2000:8).

Africans have to take note of the fact that their continent is currently more marginalised within the globalised world economy than at any time in the past half century. No amount of foreign aid can bring the kind of change needed on the continent. This means that the solution lies with Africans themselves.

4.3 Integration as a prerequisite for sustainable development

In order to execute the adaptation and goal attainment functions, the integration function is to co-ordinate and regulate relations and co-operation between core, semi-periphery and periphery states in the world, with agreed-upon accords (Wallace and Wolf 1999:39-40). Should this not be institutionalised, dynamic co-existence is threatened, which could result in the destabilisation of states. Technically, globalisation describes the integration of economic systems, capital movements and opportunities for different nations through improved information and communication technologies. Locally, however, it has come to mean the increased insecurity that people feel in the face of global processes (Stephens 2000:2).

In the case of Southern Africa, it is well known that poor development policies and their ineffective implementation inhibited integration and sustainable development in the past (Hope and Kayira 1996:881-94). In many SADC countries, the State

intervened directly in the development process, which undermined the role of markets. This contributed to corruption and the failure of policies, leading eventually to the introduction of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs)⁴ as an attempt to rectify the poor economic situation in this region (Ahwireng-Obeng 1999:264).

Sadly, however, the impact of SAPs has also been disastrous (Cheru 1995:236). Because of this and criticism against SAPs, the World Bank has shifted its stance and now emphasises "adjustment with a human face" and "poverty-reducing" growth.

Of course, these policies alone will have little impact on long-term sustainable development unless accompanied by fundamental transformation of unjust and corrupt economic and political structures. Economies wrecked by years of war, famine and dictatorships, lacking infrastructure and management skills, need time and capable leadership to achieve reconstruction and sustainable development. It is with this reality in mind that the South African Government seeks to contribute to the fostering of a process of democratisation in Africa. Part of this objective is the economic recovery of Africa and the mobilisation of the general population to take their future into their own hands (Stremlau 1999:62-3).

When the objectives of the economic recovery of Africa and the political democratisation of the continent are considered, it has by now become obvious that South Africa's contribution in this regard can only be a rather small one as will hence be indicated. In the final analysis, all these political and economic development objectives seem to be mere ideals without substance. However, we need to be idealistically involved in the continent because we are part of Africa and our destiny is intertwined with it.

4.4 Pattern maintenance and tension management as prerequisites for sustainable development

The function of pattern maintenance is to ensure that cultural traditions are maintained or changed through the process of socialisation via technological aids and social movements. It also implies that people and nations in the world are sufficiently motivated to play their roles in order to satisfy needs (Wallace and Wolf

A typical SAP includes measures to maximise reliance on market forces and a reduction of the role of the state. These include measures such as devaluation of national currency, removal of subsidies, abolition of minimum wage legislation and privatisation of economic activities (Cheru 1995:236).

1999:40). Of course, the perpetuation of a culture of poverty from one generation to the next in periphery countries, inhibits sustainable development.

Due to globalisation, values could be changed to the advantage of periphery and semi-periphery countries. In fulfilment of the function of *tension management*, mechanisms must be provided and used to secure peace by means of negotiations with conflicting interest groups (Wallace and Wolf 1999:40).

4.4.1 Population growth and HIV/AIDS as obstacles to pattern maintenance

Changes in population growth as well as migration shape and influence sustainable development in ways that governments and economies cannot. In South Africa, for instance, the birth rate among Africans is three times higher than that of white people (Bell et al. 2000:49). Naturally, because of this it will be constantly more difficult for the African population to develop sustainability.

Approximately a 100 million people world-wide live in countries where they were not born. The vast majority of these people are seeking better work and wages to provide for themselves and their families. Although the number of immigrants in South Africa is unclear, the largest proportions are unauthorised and unskilled workers (Bell et al. 2000:48-9). Sustainable development is certainly inhibited by this (McGowan 1999:239-40).

Some of the populations of the SADC region, especially those of Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Namibia, the Seychelles and Swaziland, vary from two million or less and have been growing rapidly at an average rate of about 3,0% per annum in the period 1985-1995. Subsequently, the SADC region is not likely to develop diversified and strong growing economies or have much influence in world politics. What is important, though, is the population's level of development in terms of health, knowledge, skills and income. The United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) is used to measure these factors.

With reference to HIV/AIDS McGeary (2001:48) indicated that world-wide 36 million people (adults and children) were infected at the end of 1999. In the SADC region, HIV/AIDS is widespread and is rising, particularly in Botswana (35,8%), Malawi (14,9%), Mozambique (14,1%), Namibia (19,9%), Swaziland (33%), Zambia (19%), Zimbabwe (25,8%), and South Africa 19,9%) (UNAIDS Report 2000). At the end of 1999 4,2 million people were infected with HIV/AIDS in South Africa (Cawthra et al. 2001:120).

The quoted statistics relate to adult HIV/AIDS rates as a proportion of the population aged 15-49 (Peters 2000:21-47).

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Almost 70% of the global total of people infected with HIV/AIDS live in the Sub-Saharan region. At the end of 1999, 24,5 million people, 23,4 million of whom were in the age group 15-49, more than 50% of them women, were living with HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa. Some 85% of AIDS-related deaths world-wide are in Sub-Saharan Africa (Cawthra et al. 2001:120).

The worst is still to come: various studies suggest that the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa, has not yet reached its peak. The most important fact is that this pandemic is undermining the economics of all countries as well as affecting the quality of life of many people. It is predicted that AIDS will cause an annual loss of 3,1% in real GDP in South Africa between 2006 and 2010. Between 2011 and 2015 the annual loss in real GDP is expected to be 4,7% (Spratt 2000:7). Indeed, HIV/AIDS has the potential to prevent Africa from becoming a viable continent in future (Shell 1999:158-9).

It is therefore clear that there is a profound link between HIVS/AIDS and poverty. HIV/AIDS causes poverty even where it does not exist. Piot (2000:16) concludes that the HIV/AIDS pandemic is a development crisis that has already undermined decades of progress. In many countries it has a devastating impact on exactly those educated and highly skilled groups poised to lead their nation's development.

4.4.2 War as an obstacle to tension management

The function of tension management is to provide mechanisms in order to relieve and eventually alleviate internal conflict in one way or the other. Extensive warfare occurred in many African countries since the 1960s. This inhibits sustainable development. Indeed, never has it been truer that war upsets normality in all aspects of a society's life (Agadjanian and Prata 1999:79). Apart from the consequences of the wars of the past, the critical problem presently in Southern Africa is the continuing armed conflict in the DRC.

The latest civil and international war in the DRC, which started in August 1998, caused at least six regional powers to become involved. These are Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola on the side of president Kabila, and Uganda, Sudan and Rwanda on the side of the rebel movements fighting against Kabila (Naidoo 1999:327-34). This war has since August 1998 resulted in an estimated 660 000 internally displaced people. In addition there are more than 100 000 DRC refugees in the Central African Republic, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia (Naidoo 1999:333).

Naturally, the consequences of these wars have spread throughout central and Southern Africa, causing widespread misery and the destruction of infrastructure. The outcome has been regional conflict resolution attempts costing millions of rand and widespread international suspicion, resulting in further negative attitudes towards development assistance for Africa in general. These realities have a delaying effect on all development activities in the region.

5. SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN THE SADC REGION

The normalisation of South Africa's international position since 1994 and its comprehensive political and economic involvement in Southern Africa as a direct result thereof, is certainly one of the most important factors presently influencing socioeconomic development in the region. South Africa is the dominant economic power, with its economy more than three times bigger than the rest of Southern Africa combined. It has been assumed that South Africa could and should make a major contribution to the development of the SADC region.

The high hopes in this regard, however, have been tempered dramatically during the last five to six years, because of South Africa's own uncertain economic future due to slow economic growth (Röhm and Halbach 1999:56). Still, it is the expressed policy of the South African Government that its immediate environment (Southern Africa and the rest of the African continent) remains its primary focus (South Africa Yearbook 1999:179).

Development co-operation with countries in Africa thus forms an integral part of South Africa's foreign policy. The South African Government regards technical and financial assistance with a view to capacity building, especially to SADC countries, as a major instrument for promoting economic development, peace and stability. Assistance is wide-ranging and includes educational visits by agriculturists, the establishing of viable training centres, conservation of the environment, the rendering of medical assistance and technology exchange programmes.

However, it is generally expected that the implementation of Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) throughout the SADC region, coupled with trade and investment missions led by the Department of Trade and Industry, will make a very important contribution to development in the Southern African region. This has resulted in substantial investments in the region that are mutually beneficial to South Africa and the recipient countries. Examples of this are the Maputo Development Corridor and the Walvis Bay SDI as well as the development of the Nacala, Beira, and Lobito Corridors (South African Yearbook 1999:279).

Coupled with the mandates of the Development Bank of Southern Africa and the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) to provide finance to the entire SADC region for the development of infrastructure and industry, these initiatives played, and will continue to play, an important role in stimulating investments in SADC states. Hopefully this will lead to higher growth, employment and industrial development in the recipient countries.

Finally, for Southern Africa to develop satisfactorily, the country's economic performance and conduct in the region are of vital importance. Therefore, the social problems that South Africa are presently experiencing at home, the inflow of illegal immigrants and the fact that neighbouring countries from time to time accuse South Africa of becoming a regional hegemon, are indeed disquieting (Garztecki 1999:235).

At the same time, South Africa's neighbours desperately need it to succeed. An economic collapse in South Africa would have a devastating effect on the other countries in the region. For its economic development South Africa unfortunately depends on many factors beyond its control. This means that the only viable option that remains for the SADC member states is to work together and to accept the leadership of South Africa.

6. CONCLUSION

It has been indicated that the SADC region is experiencing serious problems to develop sustainably. The reason is that the region has problems to fulfil the development functions previously discussed. A lack of sustainable development leads to feelings of powerlessness and isolation. Although the severity of a lack of sustainable development differs from country to country, the reality is that a large majority of the 188 million people living in Southern Africa find themselves in a state of different degrees of poverty. The alleviation of poverty places governments under pressure to develop and implement policies that will contribute to the improvement of the quality of life.

However, to develop sustainably, values and norms will have to be changed before social structures are established and programmes instituted. Sustainable development is often inhibited due to the fact that governments in African states first provide facilities and establish social structures without changing the mindset (values and norms) of their citizens.

It is generally accepted that South Africa could play a leading role in improving the quality of life of the citizens of the SADC region. The mere fact that the South

African Government has the will and the resources to keep up its involvement in assisting neighbouring countries in their efforts to develop, gives reason for hope. At the same time it is unrealistic to expect that all forms of conflict will not be part of this process.

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