

wives started working in the fields. On the contrary, some well-to-do cultivators suffered a decline in their economic welfare not because of the failure of the rural development project but because a part of their landed property had been given away to their children when they married.<sup>c</sup> Thus, even the simplest method exercised by the development planners in the selection of the poorest section does not seem to be the easy task that it appears to be in Mishra's book.

Chambers' passionate indignation vis-à-vis rural poverty in the Third World is reflected in his phrase "bureaucracy of the parasital." He admires the courage of the rural poor and those who work with and for them in face of abuse, discrimination, and danger. But Chambers realizes his own limitations. Being a confused and uneasy middle-class Englishman, he does not believe that foreign outsiders like himself can be justified in urging others to risk their livelihoods or lives. This point is very important in the midst of agrarian crisis where some self-complacent foreign revolutionaries tend to ignore this ethical question and encourage vulnerable poor people to take risks.

Although the tone of Mishra's argument is cool and remarkably objective, his determination to eradicate rural poverty is equally sympathetic to the weaker sections in remote regions. His life is much closer to the reality of the rural poor than that of Chambers. It is paradoxical that the narrow social distance between the author and the rural poor should make the explanation in his book very comprehensive and well balanced. With the help of Chambers' book, many reader will be able to understand Mishra's compassion for the rural poor expressed between the lines.

(Hisashi Nakamura)

<sup>c</sup> H. Nakamura, "Disintegration and Re-integration of a Rural Society in the Process of Economic Development," in *Socio-Cultural Change in Villages in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamilnadu, India, Part 2, Modern Period No. 1* (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1983).

*African Regional Organizations*, edited by Domenico Mazzeo, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, ix+265 pp.

## I

A large number of regional cooperation organizations in the form of tariff unions, free trade associations, common markets, etc. have been established in Third World regions, including Africa, and this is because the countries of such regions view regional cooperation as an important means of accomplishing economic development or economic self-reliance as well as a forum in the international economic system in which they can have a stronger say. In view of the fact that in recent years such countries have put collective self-reliance forward as the mainstay of development strategy, they can be expected to continue to firmly retain an orientation toward what might be called "developmental regionalism."

In spite of such orientation and the expectations to which it gives rise, however, in many cases the reality of regional cooperation falls short of satisfactory attainment

of its goals, and cooperation is marking time rather than gaining ground. In fact, there are even examples of worst coming to worst and regional cooperation schemes completely failing, such as the EAC (East African Community) and the LAFTA (Latin American Free Trade Area). What is more, as in the case of the LAFTA, the legacy of such cooperation efforts can be sharp conflict and pronounced tensions among the member countries.

This state of affairs shows that regional cooperation cannot bear fruit merely on the basis of an orientation and expectations, and this realization has given rise to two stands with respect to the issue of regional cooperation. One is that regional development is basically something unsuited to the Third World, something that is a result of development and not a means of achieving it, something for economically advanced countries. The other says that the standstill and failure of regional cooperation is not due to the low degree of development of Third World countries but rather to the inadequacy of the existing framework of the theory and practice of regional cooperation and that what needs to be done is to create a new framework better suited to Third World conditions and objectives. How much water this first stand holds will be shown by what is achieved by regional cooperation efforts in the years ahead, but considering the trend for attachment of considerable importance to regional cooperation, the second stand would appear to be more persuasive. In any case, what is needed is a deeper analysis of the actual state of regional cooperation as presently practiced and further consideration of what kind of cooperation will be most effective and suitable to Third World countries.

This book is very suggestive with respect to such needs. As a proponent of the second stand, it analyzes African regional cooperation and proposes a new framework of regional cooperation based on such analysis. Although it deals with Africa, what it says would appear to be of wider applicability to the Third World as a whole.

## II

This book is comprised of eleven chapters, three of them written by the editor himself, D. Mazzeo, and the rest by eight different contributors. It can be divided into two main parts other than the introductory chapter, which presents an overall view of the theoretical background of regionalism, and Chapter 11, which suggests a new framework for regional cooperation. Chapters 2-5 have regional cooperation on the continental level as their common subject of analysis, Chapters 2 and 3 dealing with the politico-economic correlation between United Nations systems and African regionalism, Chapter 4 with the OAU (Organization of African Unity), and Chapter 5 with the ADB (African Development Bank) and the ADF (African Development Fund). In the second half of the book (Chapters 6-10) the spotlight is placed on cooperation organizations on the African regional level: Chapter 6—the OCAM (Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache); Chapter 7—the UDEAC (Union Douanière et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale) as an example of partial bankruptcy of regional cooperation; Chapter 8—the EAC as an example of complete failure thereof; Chapter 9—the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) as an example of a new attempt at cooperation; and Chapter 10—the SADCC (Southern African Development Coordination Conference) as another such example.

On the basis of these analyses the editor puts the finger on the introduction of the European type of cooperation theory as the chief culprit for the standstill or failure of regional cooperation in Africa and espouses drastic revision of such theory

(pp. 158-63). According to him, the European type of theory of cooperation that has served as a model for the countries of Africa (or the Third World) has been for the purpose of economic reconstruction and realization of the "welfare society" and the "consumer society," and its first consideration has been expansion of the production sector on the basis of economies of scale. That is why, he says, regional cooperation has taken the form of free trade and common markets and priority has been given to regionalism over nationalism, and he draws the conclusion that this European model is not suited to Africa, which has conditions and goals that are basically different from those of Europe. That is to say, the countries of Africa still lack national unity, have a strong propensity to enhancement of nationalism, suffer from an absolute deficiency of infrastructure and rather than economic reconstruction have set nation-building and the meeting of basic needs as their primary goals.

Having identified such differences, Mazzeo proposes a basic framework of cooperation based on the following points in Chapter 11: (1) self-reliance of the national economy as the chief objective; (2) a selective rather than a comprehensive scope of cooperation, with emphasis on improvement of the service sector rather than the production sector (creation and reinforcement of the necessary means of enhancing national self-reliance); (3) adjustment of the foreign policy of member countries to serve the purpose of improvement of the service sector; and (4) voluntariness of participation in programs and projects within the organizations, with decision-making based on consensus rather than majority vote and priority being given to decision-making by the member countries rather than by the regional organizations (pp. 240-41).

Mazzeo describes the kind of cooperation that he espouses as being closer to the OECD type than to the EEC type and therefore considers the SADCC as being the kind of new framework of cooperation in Africa that is most promising since that organization defines regional cooperation as a means of promoting the basic goal of national self-reliance and rejects the European model of economic cooperation as not being suited to reality, opting, instead, for concentration of cooperative efforts in transportation, communications, procurement of food and other service sectors (pp. 229-30). The detailed discussion of the SADCC in Chapter 10 bears out this contention for the most part. I might mention here that that organization was established in April 1980 with the participation of nine countries (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) and with the goals of (a) reduction of external economic dependence (particularly on the Republic of South Africa), (b) regional unity based on equality, (c) mobilization of resources for implementation of development policy, and (d) achievement of international cooperation. The most important of these goals to the member countries is that of reduction of external economic dependence, and therefore development of the fields of transportation and communications, in which dependence on South Africa is most pronounced, is the task assigned the highest priority by the SADCC.

Thus, Mazzeo stresses the need for new regional cooperation better suited to the particular circumstances of Africa and claims that if cooperation on the basis of such a framework is implemented, not only will the future prospects of regional cooperation in Africa be brighter, but the whole Third World will be provided with a new, more viable theory of regional cooperation.

## III

The view put forth by Mazzeo highlights the difference between Europe and Africa in terms of social background and aims and points out the mistake that Africa has made in ignoring such difference and adopting the European type of regionalism. To be sure, from the viewpoint of nationalism as one of the factors involved, there is a contradiction in logic for African countries, which want to use it as a means of enhancing national unity, to try also to adopt and further regionalism, which is a factor suppressing nationalism, and one can hardly expect regional cooperation to function smoothly when resting on a contradiction. This is what makes Mazzeo's contention that Africa should discard the traditional European model for a new framework of cooperation persuasive and a point around which support can be rallied.

Nevertheless, there would appear to be some problematic points in the regional cooperation espoused by Mazzeo that remain to be resolved. For one thing, there are financial difficulties standing in the way of implementation of regional cooperation. Needless to say, this is a crucial matter determining no less than the success for failure of regional cooperation. Although Mazzeo does not explicitly say so, he appears to have left the financial problem in the hands of external assistance as in the past. One would think, however, that retention of the same means of financial procurement as for the old type of regional cooperation that is being discarded would have a considerably obstructive effect on the development of the new type of regional cooperation. What is more, just how attractive to those who provide the assistance, particularly the economically advanced countries, will a new regional cooperation that has shed such forms inducive of aid as free trade and common markets and embraced the fulfillment of national objectives in an organizational framework characterized by loose ties be and how much confidence will it inspire in them? The present circumstances of the SADCC give good reason for worrying about this. Although 650 million dollars was pledged at the Maputo Conference of November 1980, only 273 million had been contracted by the Blantyre Conference held one year later. In fact, the amount pledged at that conference declined to 180 million dollars. The example of the SADCC therefore shows that new ways of procuring funds, including the bearing of the burden by member countries, must be sought in addition to dependence on traditional aid if a new type of regional cooperation is to be created. In this connection there must be a realization of the most basic of truths, and that is that the economic self-reliance that regional cooperation seeks to achieve is self-reliance on the part of the member countries themselves.

Another problem that is of how to cope with the diversity that exists between the member countries in many respects. Mazzeo maintains that participation in such organizations is similar to participation in the movement of nonaligned countries and that the door to participation should be opened wide regardless of differences in geological environment, economic structure, political ideology, etc. in order to increase external bargaining power and enhance mutual complementariness within the region (pp. 208-11, 235-42). In other words, what he is saying is that once the member countries characterized by diverse conditions are joined together by the fundamental objective of meeting their basic needs, their diversity can be transformed to mutual complementariness in the process of development. However, the diversity among the member countries is bound to be reflected in the content of their basic needs as well, considerably affecting the determination of priorities and the division of responsibilities

in development planning. Even if it is possible to avoid conflict of interest among member countries for a while, such conflict of interest could surface over the medium or long run depending on how the development fares. In this connection the present state in the SADCC is one of concentration of development projects in certain member countries such as Mozambique, and although the adverse effects of such concentration are not yet apparent, it will probably eventually be necessary to make adjustments regarding the gap between different countries in the profit derived from such development. Furthermore, another problem has arisen that will probably have an adverse effect on SADCC unity, that of revision by some of the member countries of their policy toward South Africa. Angola and Mozambique respectively concluded a cease-fire agreement in February 1984 and a peace treaty in March 1984 with South Africa, and it was subsequently revealed that Swaziland had already concluded a secret treaty with that country in 1982. Such political compromise by Angola and Mozambique, both of which figured as strongholds of the forces struggling for the overturn of the South African system of racial discrimination, can be expected to produce serious cracks in SADCC solidarity. At any rate, the diversity among the member countries makes for brittleness of the organization itself, and such brittleness weakens its capacity to attract assistance, which could lead to stagnation of cooperation and conflict of interests. This being the case, it behooves the member countries to make specific and detailed efforts to cope with such diversity among themselves on an ongoing basis as one of the most important tasks confronting them.

A third problem in the regional cooperation espoused by Mazzeo is a basic one, that of how individual countries should act with respect to regional cooperation. Needless to say, regional cooperation is something that plays a complementary role in national economic self-reliance, and the will and effort of the state or policymakers are the final, decisive factor determining such self-reliance. In other words, no regional cooperation of any kind can be expected to make any headway without the will and effort for self-reliance on the part of the individual countries. Neither general discussion of regional cooperation nor Mazzeo in this book say anything about the question of the stance of member countries toward self-reliance on their respective parts. Granted, consideration of this question is no easy matter, it will hardly be possible to avoid widening the scope of consideration of regional cooperation to include the aspect of policy effort within member countries.

These are, roughly speaking, the main problems that should be pointed out regarding Mazzeo's position. In spite of them, however, this book remains of very great usefulness in considering the question of regional cooperation in the Third World. To borrow Mazzeo's words, "practice usually feeds theory," and one can expect new, appropriate regional cooperation to be gradually refined in the practical process of trial and error.

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