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COLLECTIVE OR SINGULAR DEVELOPMENT PATH: A CASE STUDY OF FORMER MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

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ABSTRACT

This review paper examined the development path pursued by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland during the period 1953 – 1963. It investigated major reasons for the formation of the federation, advantages of the federation, major socio-economic achievements and its legacy on the territories of southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi) beyond its demise in 1963. It suggests formation of a quartet comprising Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe and pooling of resources of the four countries to achieve higher economic growth rates, improved movement of goods and services and elimination of major obstacles faced by the three land-locked countries. Pooling resources would create a competitive territory with resilience to local and external shocks.

Keywords: Pursue, pool resources, labour force, goods, services, resilience, market

INTRODUCTION

The pursuit of sustainable development has been one of man's desires for many centuries. It has been the major cause of wars and rivalries between peoples and Africa has been perhaps the worst victim of exploitation particularly by European powers for many centuries. Its human and natural resources have been exploited to support the economic development of mainly European Empires while Africa the source of most raw materials remains largely underdeveloped.

History shows that the apex of exploitation was reached during the Atlantic Slave Trade which forced the transportation of unknown millions of black Africans which most conservative Caucasians estimate at only 10 million who were forcibly driven from their homelands in Africa to destinations in Europe and the Americas during the 15th through 19th centuries (between 1440 and 1880). Europeans and North Americans exchanged merchandise for slaves in Africa. Africans were then transported to other locations around the Atlantic Ocean. The vast majority went to Brazil, the Caribbean, and Spanish-speaking regions of South America and Central America (Willis, 1967; Baxter, 2013a, 2013b). Smaller numbers were taken to Atlantic islands, continental Europe, and English-speaking areas of the North American mainland. In the eyes of a European economist, this was lucrative business which enormously contributed to the socio economic development of western societies including the United States where Africans were the main source of labour mainly in agricultural related primary and secondary industries. The Atlantic slave trade was not at the time seen as an abuse of fellow human beings, but just an integral part of an international trading system of goods.

According to Willis (1967) the treatment of other humans as merchandise profoundly changed the racial, social, economic, and cultural make-up in many of the American nations that imported slaves. It also left a legacy of racism that many of those nations are still struggling to overcome to date.

The justification for using Africans as *slaves* a word which did not in the real sense exist in the African tradition, comes from *Slavic peoples* (of largely eastern and central Europe including the Balkan peninsula) the source of the words for *slave* in several European languages and were the first to be used as slaves. The preference for Africans however, was that African labour was abundant and inexpensive to acquire and maintain. Although Native Americans were the obvious choice, they died rapidly from such diseases as smallpox, mumps, and measles, which the Europeans introduced into the region and to which the Native Americans lacked immunity. They also could run away with ease. Their homes were usually close by, they were familiar with the landscape, and they knew how to survive on indigenous plants and animals. European indentured servants, criminals sentenced to labour or men obligated to work for a set time in exchange for ocean passage, also fell victim to diseases, mostly tropical malaria and yellow fever and so were not suitable for the gruesome jobs suitably performed by blacks. They could also escape and easily blend in as members of the colony's white ruling class (Willis, 1967; Baxter, 2013a, 2013b).

But Africans were different. They came from an environment where those who survived into adolescence acquired some immunity to such "Old World" diseases as smallpox, mumps, and measles, as well as to such tropical maladies as malaria and yellow fever. This meant they lived three to five times longer than white labourers under the difficult conditions on plantations, and longer still than Native Americans. Also, when Africans ran away they could neither go home nor be mistaken for members of the planters' society. Through most of the years of the Atlantic trade, prices for Africans remained favorable in relation to the price of the crops they produced. They were, thus, the best economic solution for plantation owners seeking inexpensive labour.

At this time the Africans themselves and not their land were the most valuable merchandise for sustainable development of the western countries including Britain. As slave trading nations began to claim larger parts of the slave trade during the 1640s, Britain joined the trade such that by the 18th century the British were the dominant slave traders (Willis, 1967; Baxter, 2013a, 2013b).

Overtime, the humanitarian motives became strong. Antislavery sentiments began to appear in Europe in the 18th century with roots in Christian religious principles and in the egalitarian philosophy that emerged during the age of enlightenment. By 1750 abolitionists were devoting money and time toward ending the slave trade and slavery itself. Their efforts were aided by the egalitarian ideals of the American Revolution (1775-1783) and the French Revolution (1789-1799) and by such bloody slave rebellions as the Haitian Slave Revolt on the French island of St. Domingue in 1791 (Willis, 1967; Baxter, 2013a, 2013b).

Subsequently, Britain outlawed the slave trade in 1807, as did the United States in 1808. The Netherlands followed in 1814, France in 1815, Spain in 1820. It remained for the British, who controlled the world's most powerful fleet, to enforce anti-slave trade laws, and that was difficult. The Atlantic slave trade continued, with declining numbers, through most of the 19th century. The movement of African slaves across the Atlantic did not end until slavery was outlawed everywhere in the Americas. Cuba was the last to outlaw slavery, in 1888 (Willis, 1967; Baxter, 2013b).

It would appear that even with the abolition of slave trade, Europe's interest in Africa and Africans had not faded. History shows that even long after the abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade, Europe still had hidden interests in Africa. Such vested interests resurfaced in a different form. This time, it was taking over the Africa's land and natural resources. The Berlin Conference, which was a meeting of representatives of 14 European countries and the United States, was held between 15th November 1884 and 26th February 1885 (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010) to deal with matters relating to European trade and territorial claims in Africa. The out come of this conference resulted into the partitioning of Africa like pieces of cake to the European powers (Figure 1). At the conference, these powers reached agreement on who would possess lands around the Congo River and established ground rules and justification for further takeover of the entire African continent as if it had no kingdoms and leadership hierarchies of its own. The conference was brought about by European rivalries in Africa and concerns over the European colonial balance of power (Willis, 1967; Baxter, 2013a, 2013b). Earlier in the late 1870s and early 1880s King Leopold II of Belgium for instance, had been trying to further personal interests by employing Anglo-American explorer Henry Morton Stanley to stake claims for him along the lower Congo River, an area where Portugal already had claims. On the basis of treaties negotiated by French explorer Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza in 1880, France claimed land along the river as well. Meanwhile, on the lower Niger River, Britain and France were potential competitors over river trade. Merchants across Europe urged their governments to protect their African trade interests from European rivals. Under such pressure, in mid -1884 German chancellor Otto von Bismarck announced German claims to three African colonies;Togoland, Cameroon, and South - West Africa (See Figure 1).

This increasingly frantic seizing of African territory, dubbed the Scramble for Africa, threatened to bring European nations to conflict. Bismarck with France called for a conference to settle European rivalries. Half of the countries represented, including the United States, had no colonial stake in Africa. However, they were invited to help sort out rival claims and to put the stamp of unbiased international approval on the territorial acquisition to come (Willis, 1967; Baxter, 2013a, 2013b).

Fig. 1 Partitioning of Africa among the European powers after the abolition of the luctarive Trans-Atlantic slave trade (Source: Microsoft Encarta, 2009)

The European taking of African land therefore, had been underway for some years before, and the Berlin Conference, just symbolized its climax. First of all, its occurrence in a European capital, thousands of miles from Africa, without a single

African present, represents Europeans' unquestioned attitude of superiority and greed, an attitude that underlay the scramble and the early periods of colonial rule. Although most of Africa remained in African possession immediately following the conference, the Berlin Conference served as the first public indication that European countries were poised to take over the continent in fulfillment of their long-held dreams, which they accomplished during the conference (Willis, 1967; Baxter, 2013a, 2013b). Conference participants stated lofty goals for their African territories, which included extending civilization, commerce, and Christianity to the African people, yet the most critical role and hidden motive was sustainable development of European economies using African labour and resources.

In southern Africa, Britain took a swift move to crave out territories for its empire (see Figure 1). Through John Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902) a British colonial statesman and financier, a charter was granted to him in 1889 to incorporate the British South Africa Company (BSA). Until 1923 it controlled what are now Zimbabwe and Zambia; and the two territories were named Rhodesia in honour of Rhodes himself.

Years later, the white minority regime in Rhodesia sought to augment Cecil Rhodes' dream. They persuaded the imperial government to support the formation of a federation by the economic arguments, by the nationalist victory in South Africa in 1948, and by hopes of creating a multiracial state based on "partnership" to counter South Africa's racial policies (apartheid). Earlier on, prosperity muted African protest in the early years of the federation, although dissent mounted in the impoverished reserves of Southern Rhodesia, where disaffection was fuelled by attempts to restructure peasant production at a time of growing landlessness and congestion on inferior land.

Available facts show that despite the rhetoric of multiracial partnership, the economic advantages of the federation appeared mainly to benefit Southern Rhodesian whites (Mugabe, 1982; Willis, 1967). Nevertheless the British government permitted the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which was a semi-autonomous British dependency in southern Africa. This was a colonial creation formed of the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi) and the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). It was legally formed through an Order in Council 1953, of the United Kingdom, Statutory Instrument No. 1199, pp 1804 (British Government, 1953).

Objective and outline of the assessment

The main objective of the assessment was to establish major reasons for the formation of CAF, major developments achieved, its legacy and the comparative advantages of the former members of CAF re uniting under a modernised federation for enhanced sustainable development than operating as singular states as has been the case since 1964 for Malawi and Zambia and 1980 for Zimbabwe.

The assessment also considered the advantages of adding Mozambique to the federation. Furthermore, it identified the natural resources endowment in each of the four territories which, if well and collectively developed would form a strong, resilient and robust regional economy. A collective development path for the four countries would also guarantee free access to the sea for mainly trade and eliminate the use of the term 'land locked' for Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

Study area

The study covered the three territories (Figure 2) that formerly constituted the Central African Federation. Mozambique was considered to be a potentially good addition to the concept of collective development.

Data collection

Published literature, government reports, minutes of meetings and anecdotal reports, were thoroughly examined for facts. Personal interviews were conducted with identified individuals with knowledge on the subject matter and to verify anecdotal reports. Experts in various relevant fields such as African history were also consulted for guidance.

FINDINGS

The collective management of African territories under respective colonial masters was well planned and coordinated. It was not haphazard, as it may have appeared from its face value. In the former members of the Central African Federation, it started in the late 1800s (Figure 2).

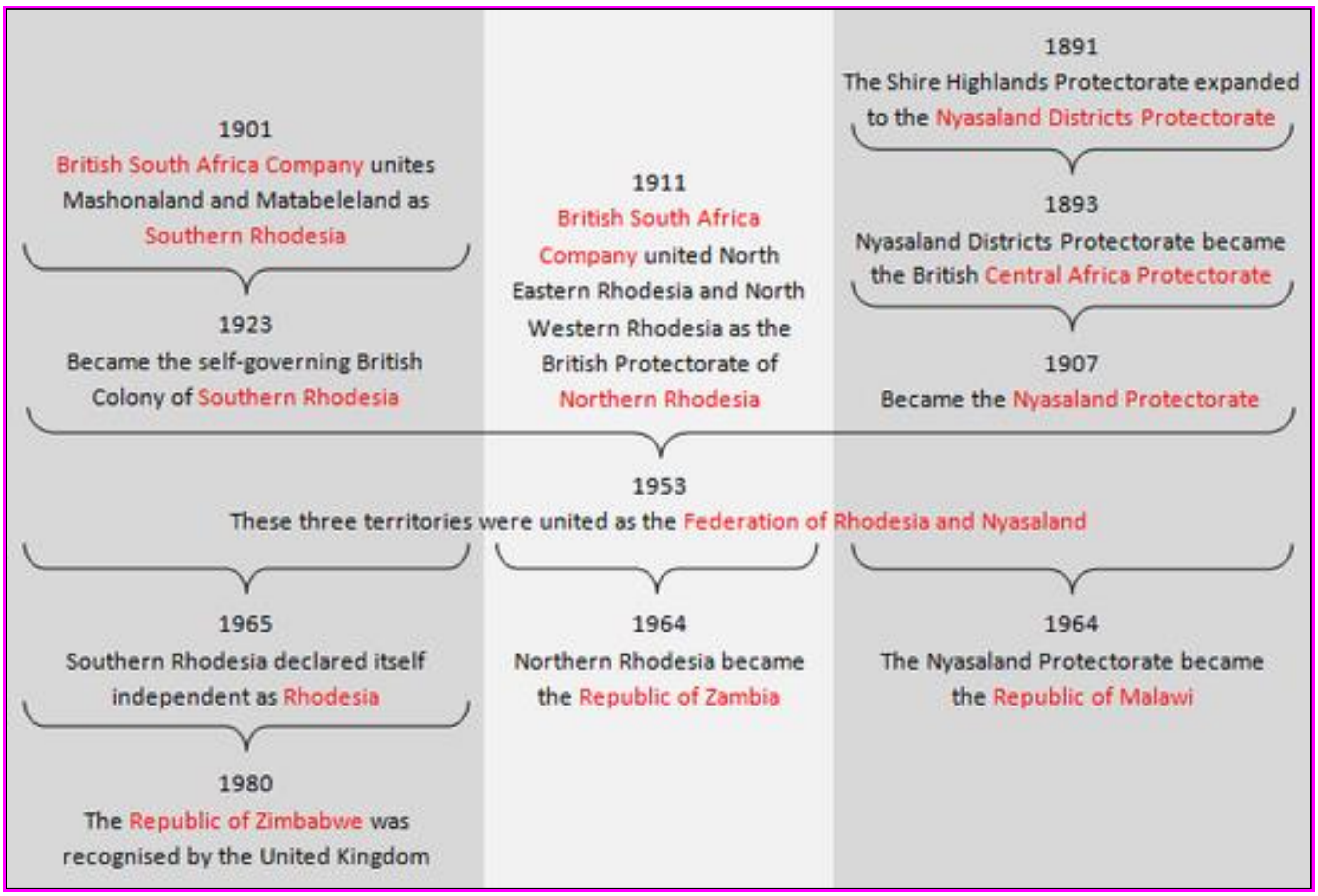


Fig. 2 Evolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Source: Willis, 1967; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010)

According to earlier plans by John Cecil Rhodes, it was convenient to have all three territories colonized under one constitution. But for Huggins, Sir Roy Welensky and the Rhodesian establishment, the central economic motive behind the CAF (or amalgamation) had always been the abundant copper deposits of Northern Rhodesia (Welensky, 1964; Don, 1965). Collective management of the two Rhodesia's provided direct and unhindered access to the copper deposits of Northern Rhodesia. With huge profits derived from the vast mineral wealth in Northern Rhodesia at the disposal of the white minority population in southern Rhodesia, skewed exponential socio-economic development in favour of Southern Rhodesia (which was a settler colony and had a larger number of whites) followed. The federation capital Salisbury and Bulawayo grew exponentially at the expense of Lusaka and Zomba (Capital of Malawi later moved to Lilongwe) a factor which still persists to date and many interviewees of Zambian and Malawian origin expressed worry that it this disparity would still emerge if the territories were to be reunited under a federation in order to pursue a collective economic development path.

Was the pre independence collective management of the three territories beneficial to Africans?

Africans argued that if the formation of the federation was based on economic development and enhancement of the livelihoods of the black majority, the original shape and composition of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1953 – 1963 could have been different. It could have been more reasonable, at least based on simple logic and understanding of the inherent geography of the area, to add Mozambique to the federation (Egero, 1990) even if it was not a British Colony. In fact, the people of the four territories share a common ancestry and culture and are already traditionally united. They were only divided by the political boundaries drawn by the colonial masters and enshrined in the various policy and legislative instruments (Widstrand, 1969).

They further argued that if the United Kingdom was more interested in building a strong collective economy to benefit indigenous Africans, they should have negotiated with the Portuguese or best still should have bought it off the Portuguese the way the United States of America purchased 1,518, 800 sq. km. of Alaska at a cost of USD 7, 200,000 or two (2) cents per acre (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010) from Russia. The United Kingdom being supposedly the wealthiest nation at the time could have done the same. This could have changed the shape and character of the landscape and improved trade and commerce by having a direct route to the sea. It could also have allowed the inner territories direct access to the renewable and non renewable resources of the sea which are currently only being exploited by European powers while the adjacent African states remain under nourished and impoverished.

Early economic performance of the federation

The few early years of the federation were characterized by a relatively peaceful political atmosphere and a booming economy. The government coffers were kept full through revenue from Northern Rhodesia's copper mines, and overseas investment saw the rapid expansion of the cities of Salisbury and Bulawayo. High-standard tar roads replaced dirt tracks in most of southern Rhodesia and the railway system was expanded. Welensky credited the high rate of development to the astute management of the federal Minister of Finance, Donald Macintyre (Welensky, 1964). Ultimately, therefore, the collective development path pursued under the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was skewed towards the white minority regime in Southern Rhodesia now Zimbabwe. Zambia and Malawi did not benefit from this collective development path. Public infrastructure and facilities were more developed in Southern Rhodesia than the other two territories. Southern Rhodesia had more and better roads, railway systems, engineering work shops, hospitals and the only university (then a University College of London now University of

Zimbabwe). At the time of its collapse in 1963, Malawi and Zambia had nothing to show as benefits arising from the sharing of CAF assets after its dissolution in 1963. Viewed from this angle, it is appropriate to state that the collective management of resources under the CAF was only beneficial to the white minority in Southern Rhodesia while the majority of black people particularly in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were the losers.

Post independence and the suggested collective development path

Natural Resources endowment, development and trade in the region

Data collated showed that the region is naturally endowed with a large variety of renewable and non-renewable natural resources; minerals, water, forests, fish, wildlife, good soils and favourable climate among others, and has an adequate labour force that would develop and sustain industries, create jobs and eliminate poverty among its people. Details of the findings are given under respective sub headings below.

Mineral resources and industries

Mineral resources

The CAF region with Mozambique (MMZZ) has a large variety of more than 31 naturally occurring metalliferous ores, such as the ores of gold, iron, copper, lead, zinc, tin, and manganese, and non-metalliferous minerals, such as coal, quartz, bauxite, trona, borax, asbestos, talc, feldspar, and phosphate rock. It also has precious stones/gem stones as well as building and ornamental stones, which form a separate group that include slate, marble, limestone, trap rock, travertine, and granite. Among the world's most precious minerals found in the region are deposits of Gold and diamonds (Table 1).

All the minerals extracted in the region are either exported raw or semi processed which creates jobs in foreign countries where the final processing and production of finished goods is carried out. This has disadvantaged the region which continues to register low GDP *per* capita way below the world's mean GDP per capita despite being endowed with rich natural assets.

Despite the large variant and abundant resources, industries to process these resources are either non existent or often basic and rudimentary and producing largely for the local market (Table 2).

Table 1 Minerals found in the region

No.	Name of mineral	Country			
		Malawi	Mozambique	Zambia	Zimbabwe
1	Asbestos		*		*
2	Amethyst			*	
3	Aquamarine			*	
4	Bauxite				*
5	Bentonite		*		
6	Cobalt			*	
7	Copper (Large scale deposits)			*	
8	Coal	*	*	*	*
9	Chromite				*
10	Diamond		*		*
11	Emerald			*	
12	Flourite		*		
13	Gold			*	*
14	Graphite	*			*
15	Granite		*		
16	Gas		*		
17	Iron			*	*
18	Lead			**	
19	Lime			*	
20	Limestone			*	
21	Marble	*	*	*	
22	Manganese		*		
23	Nickel		*		*
24	Platinum		*		
25	Salt (Large scale)		*		
26	Silver			*	
27	Talc			*	
28	Tourmaline			*	
29	Titanium/Tantulum		*		
30	Uranium	*	*	*	
31	Zinc			*	

(Source: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book 2016; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010).
Notes: Some minerals may have been missed and presence in some countries may have been erroneously omitted, ** May be exhausted.

<u>Industries</u>

The region does not have well developed manufacturing industries which can produce a vast array of consumer and producer goods such as; processed food, clothing, heavy machinery, automobiles, electronics, and household appliances, save for some rudimentary ones in Zimbabwe. Current policies in the region do not seem to favour the development of manufacturing industries but rather encourage importation of foreign goods which only promote a retail trade based economy further deepening the dependency syndrome.

Table 2 Industries found in the region

Industry	Country			
	Malawi	Mozambique	Zambia	Zimbabwe
Mining (large scale)			*	*
Steel			*	*
Wood products (Saw mill)	*			*
Cement	*	*	*	*
Chemicals		*	*	*
Fertiliser		*	*	*
Clothing				*
Footwear				*
Food stuffs	*	*	*	*
Beverages	*	*	*	*
Aluminium		*		
Petroleum products (processing)		*	*	
Textiles		*	**	*
Glass		*		
Asbestos		*		*
Tobacco	*	*	*	*
Tea	*			*
Sugar	*		*	*
Copper mining and processing			*	
Emerald mining (distinguished from general mining)			*	
Construction	*	*	*	*
Horticulture			*	*

(Source: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book 2016; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010). Notes: ** Production may have closed down

Agriculture

Agriculture forms the basis of the African rural landscape and well over 80% Africans depend on Agriculture. In essence, agriculture is an art, science, and industry of managing the growth of plants and animals for human use. In a broad sense agriculture includes cultivation of the soil, growing and harvesting crops, breeding and raising livestock (animal husbandry), dairying, and forestry, poultry farming, soil management and many others. Over 25 different types of crops are grown and over eight types of livestock are reared, though mainly at subsistence level (Table 3). Production is far below the region’s capacity mainly due to inadequate levels of engineering and technology and the limited use of science in agriculture. Irrigation, drainage, conservation, and sanitary engineering, each of which is important in successful farming and require specialized knowledge of agricultural engineers are generally lacking in the region. Consequently, production is largely at subsistence level.

Table 3 Crops grown and livestock reared in the region

Name of crop/Livestock	Country			
Crops	**Malawi**	**Mozambique**	**Zambia**	**Zimbabwe**
Beans	*		*	*
Cassava	*	*	*	
Coconut		*		
Coffee			*	*
Cotton	*	*	*	*
Copra		*		
Citrus and tropical fruits		*		
Cashew nuts		*	**	
Flowers			*	*
Macadamia nuts	*			
Maize (corn)	*	*	*	*
Peanuts (Ground nuts)	*		*	*
Potatoes	*	*	*	
Pulses	*			
Rice	*		*	
Sisal		*		
Sorghum	*		*	
Sunflower	*	*	*	*
Sugar cane	*	*	*	*
Tea	*	*	*	*
Tobacco	*		*	*
Wheat			*	*
Livestock				
Cattle	*	*	*	*
Goats	*	*	*	*
Pigs		*	*	*
Poultry		*	*	*
Sheep				*

(Source: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book 2016; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010). Notes: Some crops or livestock may have been missed and presence in some countries may have been erroneously omitted, ** Production may have ceased. Volumes of crops or livestock considered are those for export and not local consumption.

Knowledge on agricultural chemistry which deals with other vital farming concerns, such as the application of fertilizer, insecticides (Pest control as well), and fungicides, soil makeup, analysis of agricultural products, and nutritional needs of farm animals, are largely out of reach of most farmers and more often than not, and particularly during years of draught the region suffers from food insufficiency. Plant breeding and genetics which contribute immeasurably to enhanced farm productivity is of low priority just as genetics which has improved livestock breeding is also not a priority. The use of science and technology in packaging, processing, and marketing of agricultural products including methods of quick-freezing and dehydration which have elsewhere increased the markets for farm products by lengthening their shelf life has not been promoted. Consequently, the region is more often than not flooded by South African agricultural products, and South African based shopping malls such as Shoprite are now widespread in the region which has stifled the growth of local and indigenous merchants.

Trade

The exchange of goods that must be transported from one place to another is limited between countries of the region. Almost all raw materials are exported to foreign countries which is indicative of the absence of secondary industries in the region. With regard to imports, the countries import almost the same kinds of goods. The principal imports are food, petroleum and its derivatives, machinery and vehicles, and textiles. Perhaps this is the reason why trade among the four countries is limited, because they consume what they do not produce. A large part of external trade is mainly with South Africa and China; other major trading partners include France, Germany, Italy, and Japan, with virtually no realistic trade amongst themselves.

Export commodities

The region primarily exports primary goods to foreign countries derived principally from mining activities and agriculture (Table 4), and imports mainly machinery, petroleum and a wide range of manufactured goods (Table 5).

Table 4 Primary goods exported from the region

Export commodity	Country			
	Malawi	Mozambique	Zambia	Zimbabwe
Copper			*	
Cobalt			*	
Electricity			**	
Tobacco	*		*	*
Cotton	*		*	
Flowers			*	**
Maize			*	
Aluminium		*		
Prawns		*		
Cashew nuts		*		
Cotton		*	*	*
Sugar	*	*	*	*
Electricity		*	**	
Citrus		*		*
Timber	*	*		*
Tea	*		*	*
Coffee	*		*	*
Peanuts	*		*	
Wood products	*			*
Apparel	*			

(Source of data: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book 2016; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010)
Notes: This data covers the period up to 2014 and patterns may have changed since then. ** May no longer be in a position to export. Notes: Some products may have been missed and presence in some countries may have been erroneously omitted, ** May have ceased.

Goods imported

Goods imported are largely manufactured or finished goods particularly machinery, metal products and processed food stuffs (Table 5).

Table 5 Goods imported by the four countries

Import commodity	Country			
	Malawi	Mozambique	Zambia	Zimbabwe
Machinery		*	*	*
Equipment		*	*	*
Vehicles	*	*	*	*
Fuel	*	*	*	*
Chemicals		*	*	*
Metal products		*	*	*
Food stuffs	*	*	*	*
Textiles		*	*	*
Semi manufactures	*	*	*	*
Consumer goods	*	*	*	*

(Source of data: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book 2016; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010). Notes: This data covers the period up to 2012 and patterns may have changed since then.

Export and import partners

The leading import partner is the Republic of South Africa, while the second, third to the least important varied between countries (Table 6).

Export partners

Based on the commodities exported by each country, the export partners varied. The United Kingdom, Portugal and the world power the United States of America were not among important export partners (Table 6; Figure 3, 4); instead, China, South Africa and the Netherlands were the most important export partners.

Table 6 Export partners ranked in order of importance from 1(highest) to 7 (lowest).

Leading export partners, ranked	Country			
Export partner	Malawi	Mozambique	Zambia	Zimbabwe
				*
China			1	*
Democratic Republic of Congo			2	*
Republic of South Africa	1	2	3	*
South Korea			4	*
India			5	*
Germany	2			
Egypt	3			
United States of America	4			
Zimbabwe	5	3		
Russia	6			
Netherlands	7	1		

(Source of data: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book 2016; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010). Notes: This data covers the period up to and patterns may have changed since then. * Data for Zimbabwe deficient.

The four countries import mainly from their near neighbour the Republic of South Africa. This signified the importance and regional influence of South Africa as a trade partner (Table 7a, b; Figure 3).

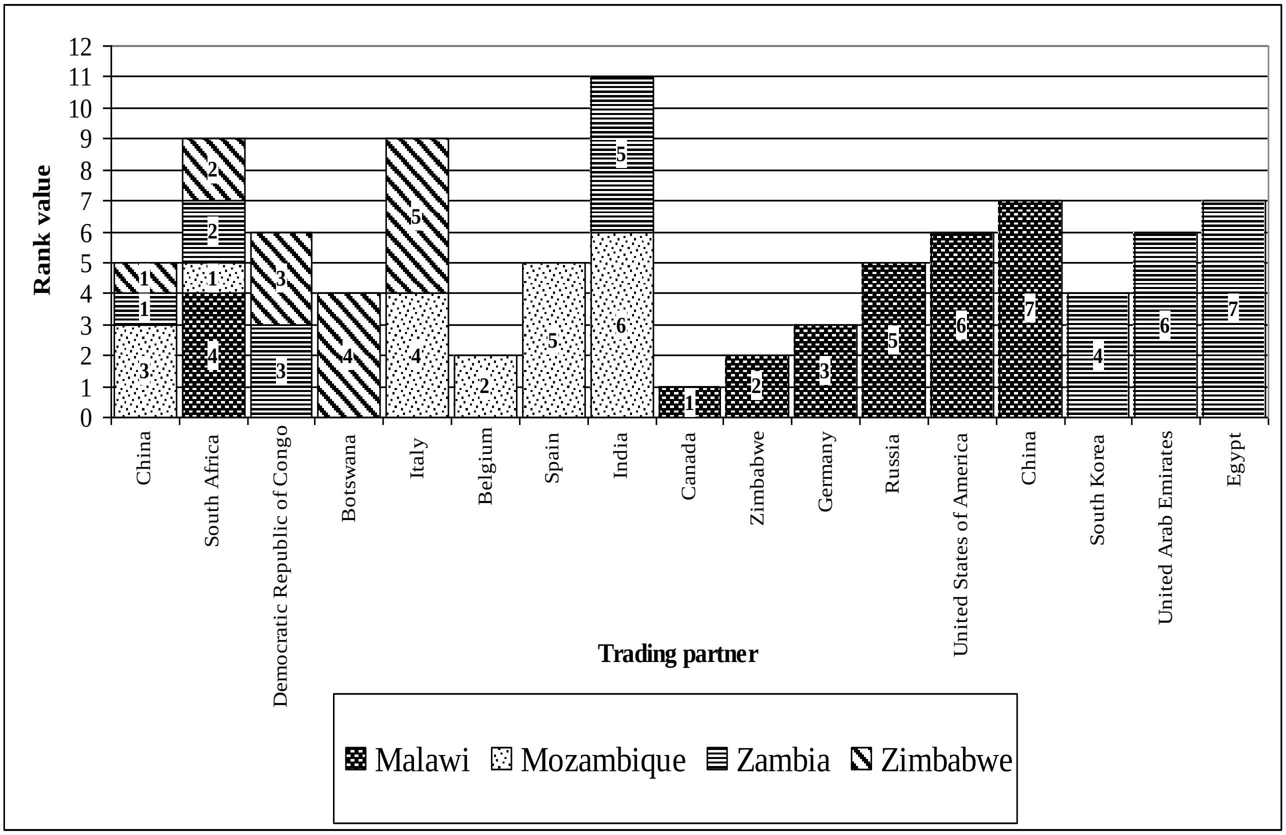


Fig. 3 Major trading partners in order of importance, ranked in descending order from 1 down to 7. Notes: The larger the number the lesser the importance. Ranked export partner from 1 to 7 with 1 having the highest importance value and seven the least importance value as a trade partner.

Table 7a Leading import partners, ranked from most important to less important (for the year 2014).

Leading import partners, ranked	Country			
	Malawi	Mozambique	Zambia	Zimbabwe
China	7		4	
Republic of South Africa	1	1	1	*
Democratic Republic of Congo			2	
Kenya			3	
India	2		5	
Zambia	3			
United States of America	4			
Tanzania	5			
Germany	6			
Netherlands		2		
Portugal		3		

(Source: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book 2016; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010). * Data for Zimbabwe deficient.

Table 7b: Leading import partners for the year 2015

Major import partners ranked	Country			
	Malawi	Mozambique	Zambia	Zimbabwe
South Africa	1	1	1	1
China	2	2	3	2
India	3	3		
United States of America	6	4		
Portugal		5		
Australia		6		
Zambia	4			
Tanzania	5			
Democratic Republic of Congo			2	
Kuwait			4	
Total	6	6	4	2

(Source of data: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book 2016; Encyclopaedia. Notes: Patterns in trade partners may have changed.

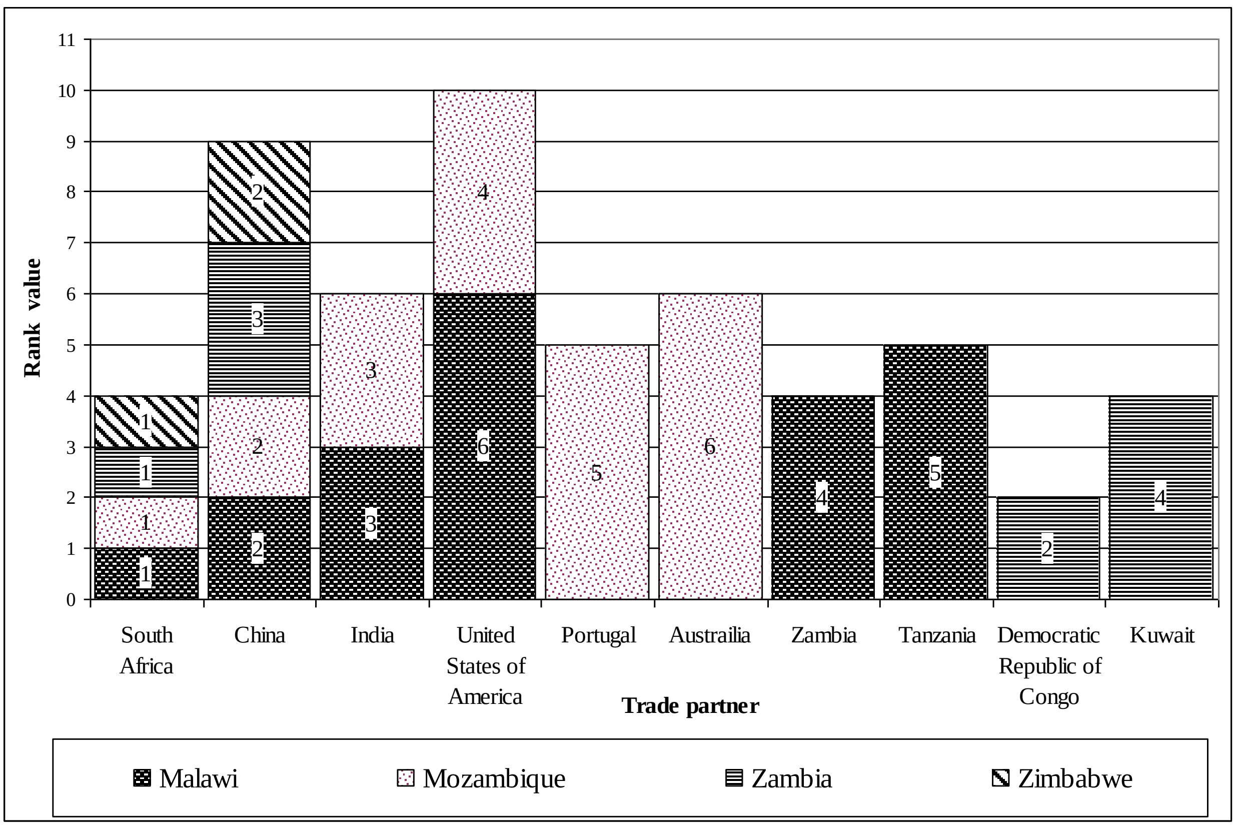


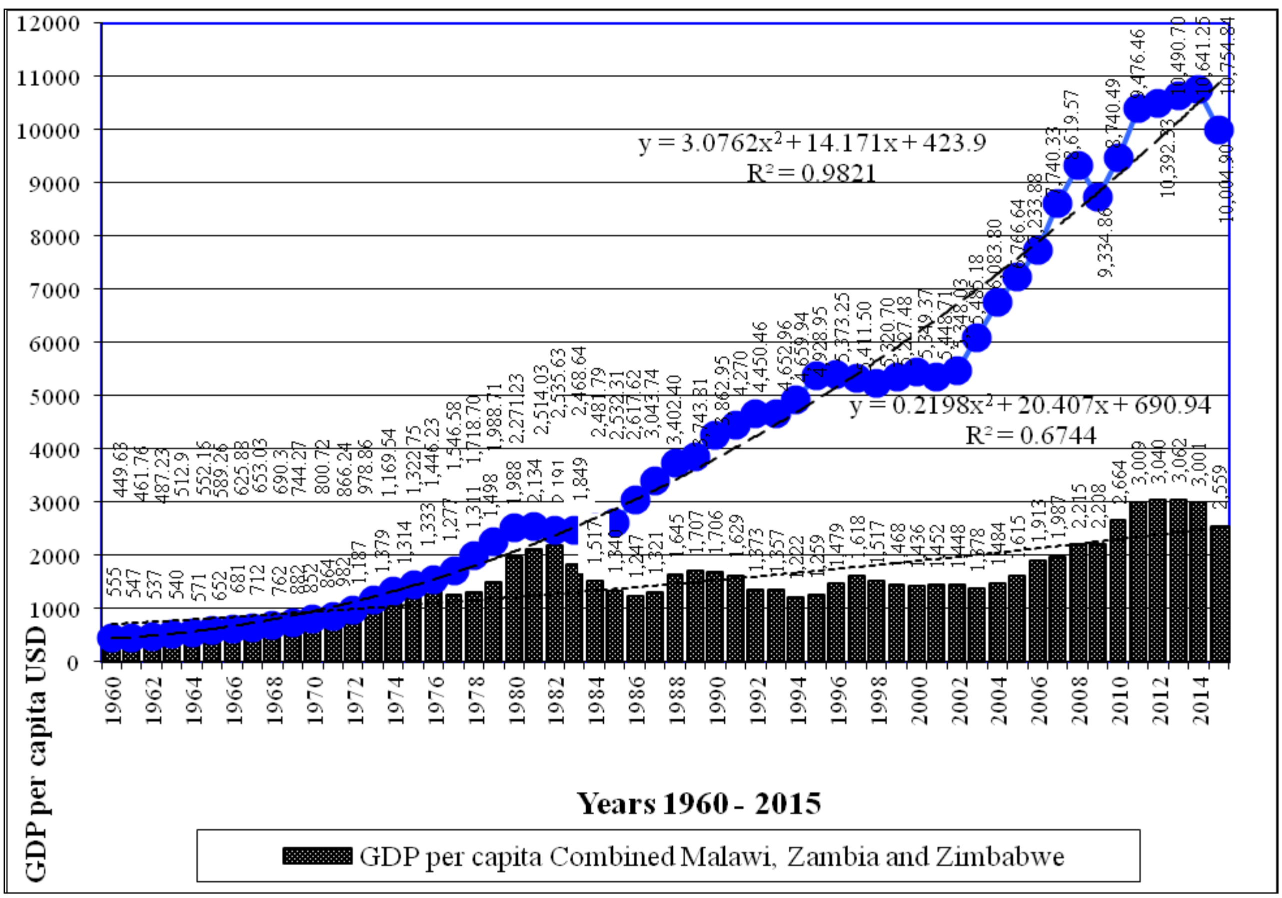
Figure 4 Ranked in order importance from 1 down to 6, countries from which the presumed members of the federation import their goods.

(Source of data: (Source: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010). Notes: This data covers the period up to 2014 and patterns may have changed since then. The larger the number the lesser the importance. Ranked import partner from 1 to 7 with 1 having the highest importance value and seven the least importance value as a trade partner.

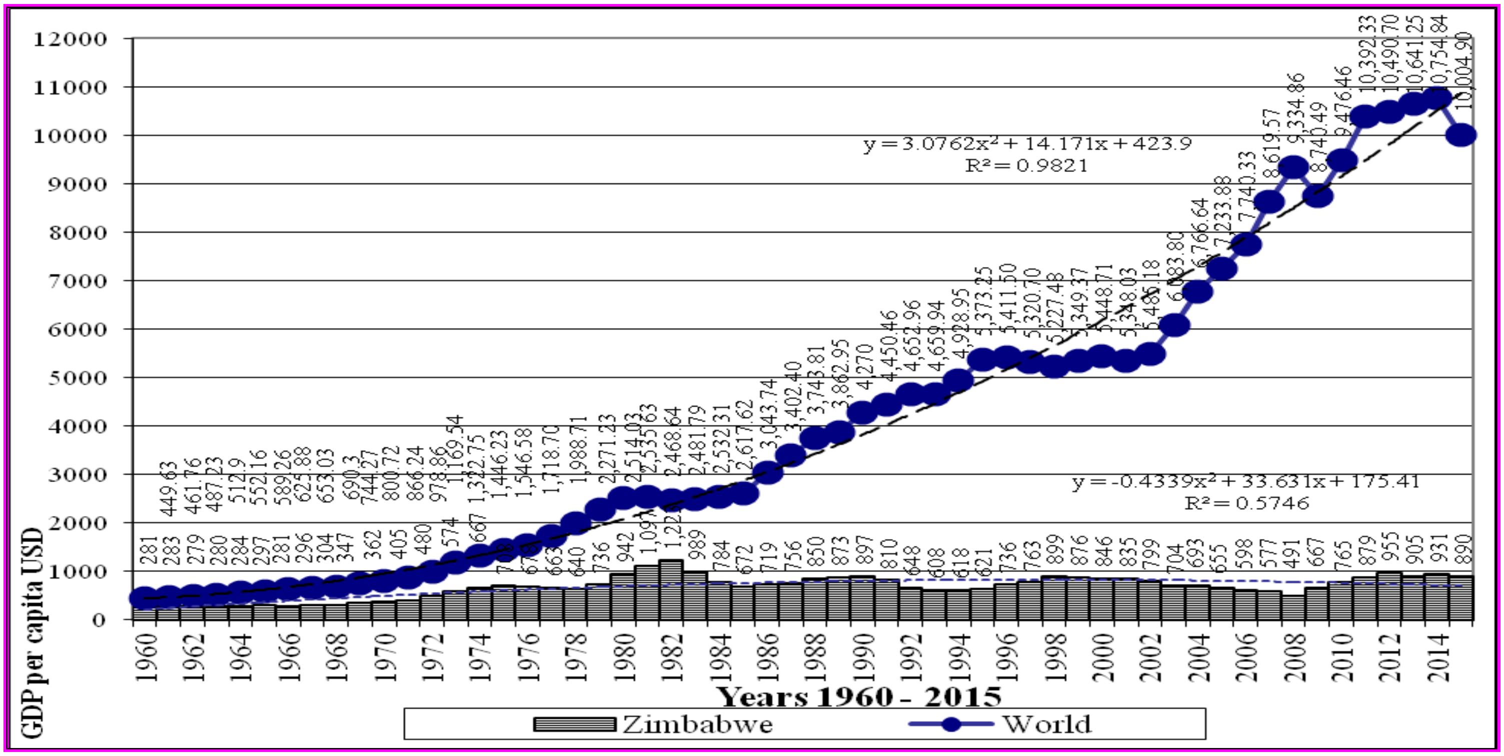
Gross domestic product

The per capita GDP is a measure of the total output of a country that takes Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and divides it by the number of people in the country. The *per capita GDP* is therefore useful when comparing one country to another, because it shows the relative performance of the countries. In this paper, the use of GDP per capita was preferred because it translates into "by head," basically meaning *"average per person"* as if GDP was shared equitably among all citizens. Per capita suitably takes the place of saying "per person". It can also be associated with the standard of living of citizens.

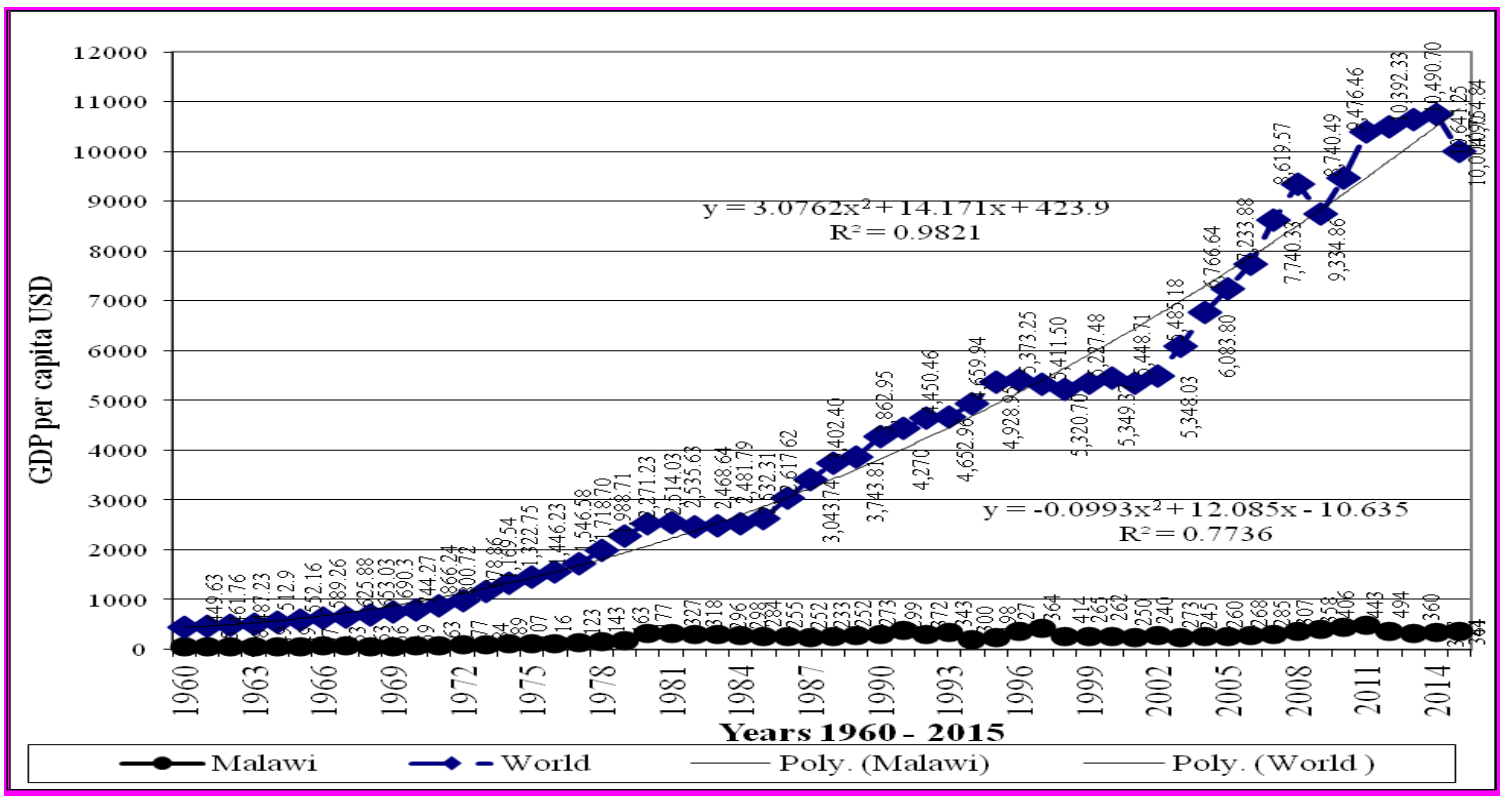
Based on this definition, the GDP per capita was used to determine the comparative advantage of pooling the resources of the four countries together compared with the approach of treating them as individual countries. When the GDP per capita for Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe (former CAF members) were combined a greater GDP per capita value was obtained. For example, combined GDP per capita for 2013 of the three countries was USD 3,062. When this is split to isolate individual countries, the GDP per capita figures dropped significantly in comparison with global mean GDP per capita (Figure 5a, b, c, d).



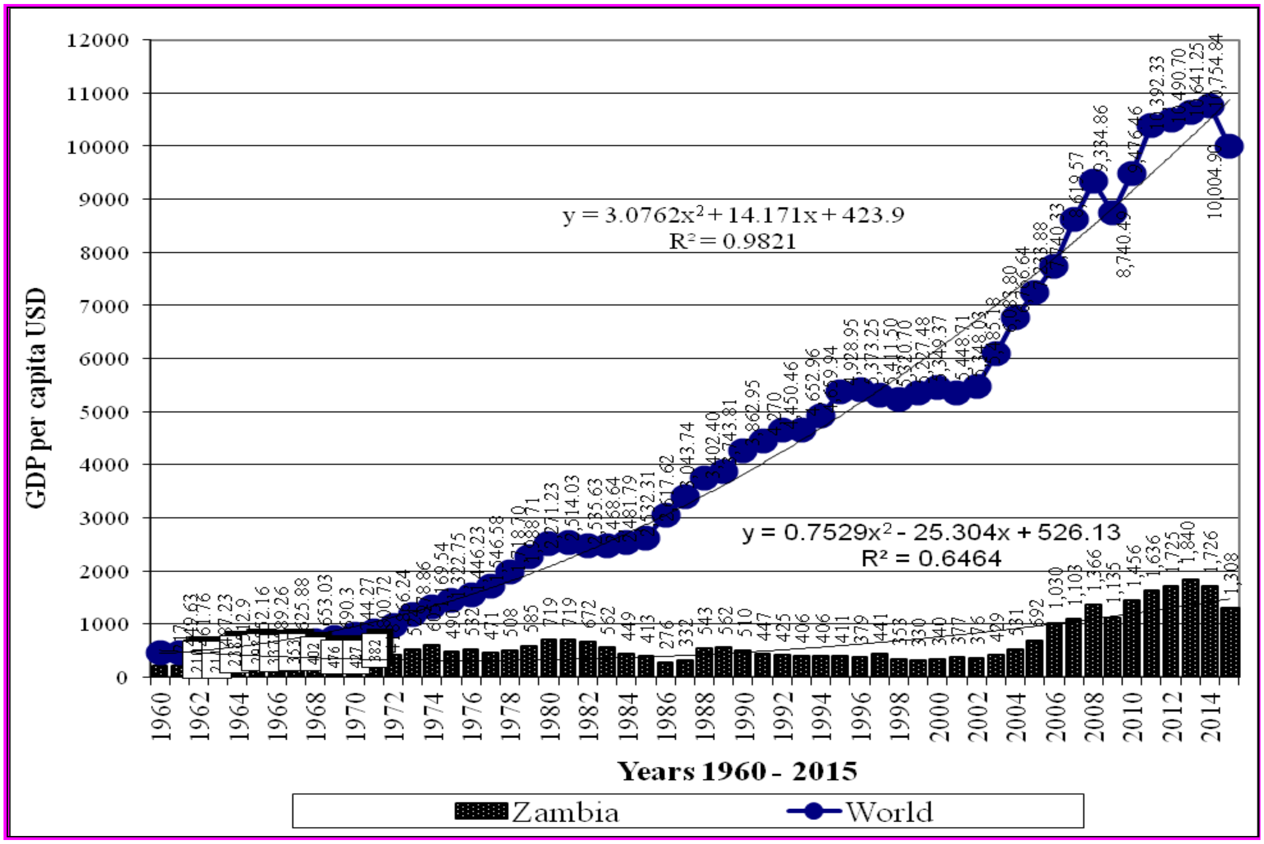
(a)


GDP per capita USD
y = 3.0762x² + 14.171x + 423.9
R² = 0.9821
y = -0.4339x² + 33.631x + 175.41
R² = 0.5746
Years 1960 - 2015
Zimbabwe
World

(b)


GDP per capita USD
y = 3.0762x² + 14.171x + 423.9
R² = 0.9821
y = -0.0993x² + 12.085x - 10.635
R² = 0.7736
Years 1960 - 2015
Malawi
World
Poly. (Malawi)
Poly. (World)

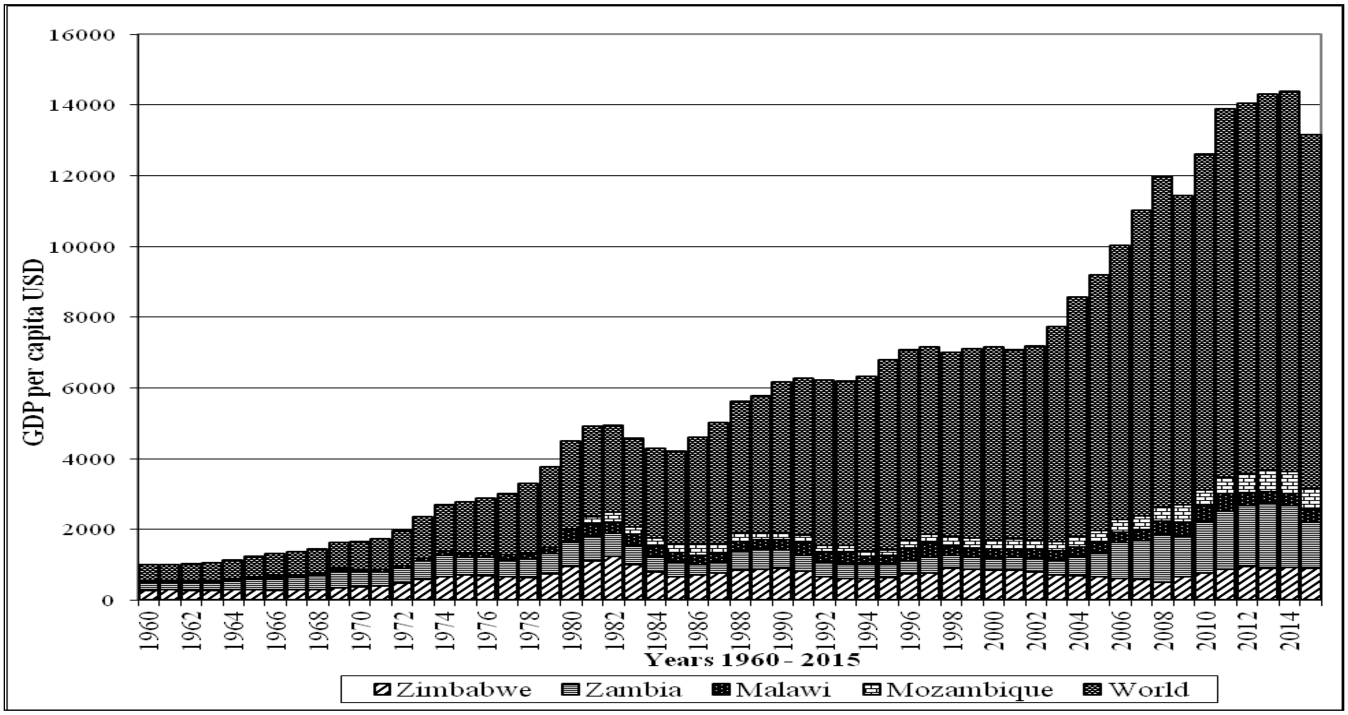
(c)



(d)

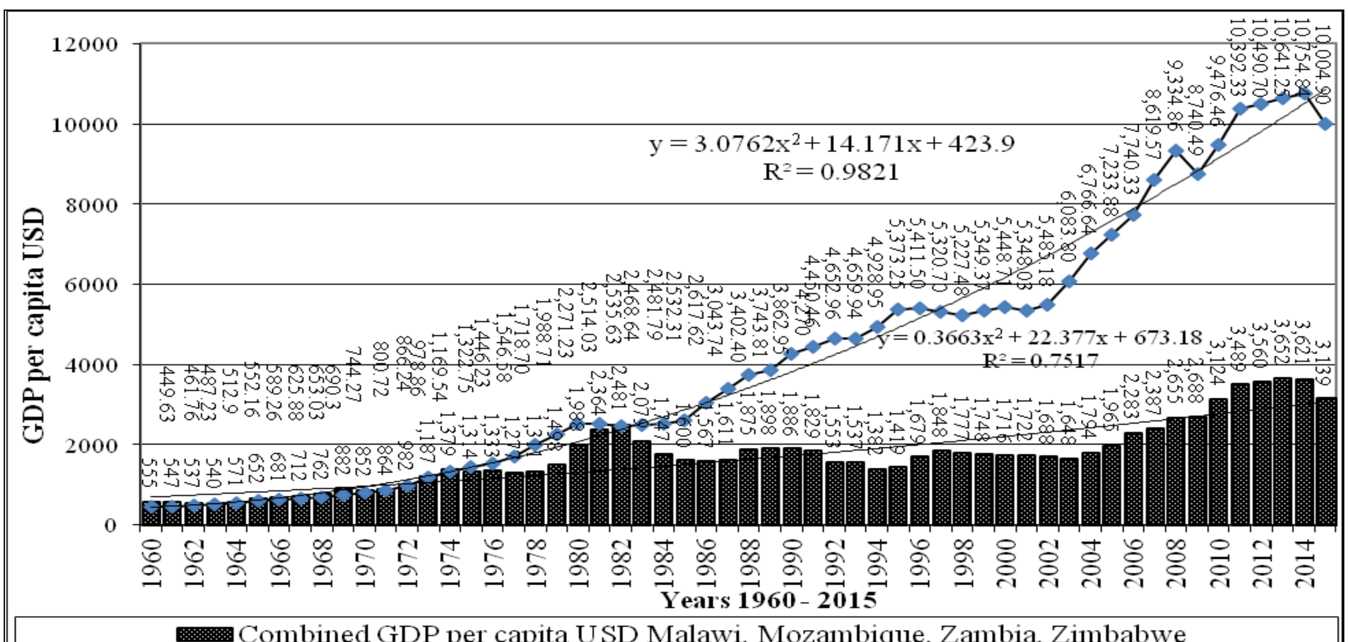
Fig. 5 a) Combination of GDP per capita for Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and for individual countries; b) Zimbabwe c) Malawi and d)Zambia.(Source of data: Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book 2016; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010) Notes: This data covers the period up to 2014 and patterns may have changed since then.

Adding Mozambique to the three countrie's GDP per capita, increased the figure by 16 percent (UAD 590) from USD 3,062. to USD 3,652 (Figure 6a,b,c,d). When Mozambique was isolated to stand on its own, the GDP per capita was USD 590 a drop of 84 percent (Figure 6a,b,c, d). On this front, linking the four economies would increase GDP per capita which would from the theoretical stand point make citizens wealthier.



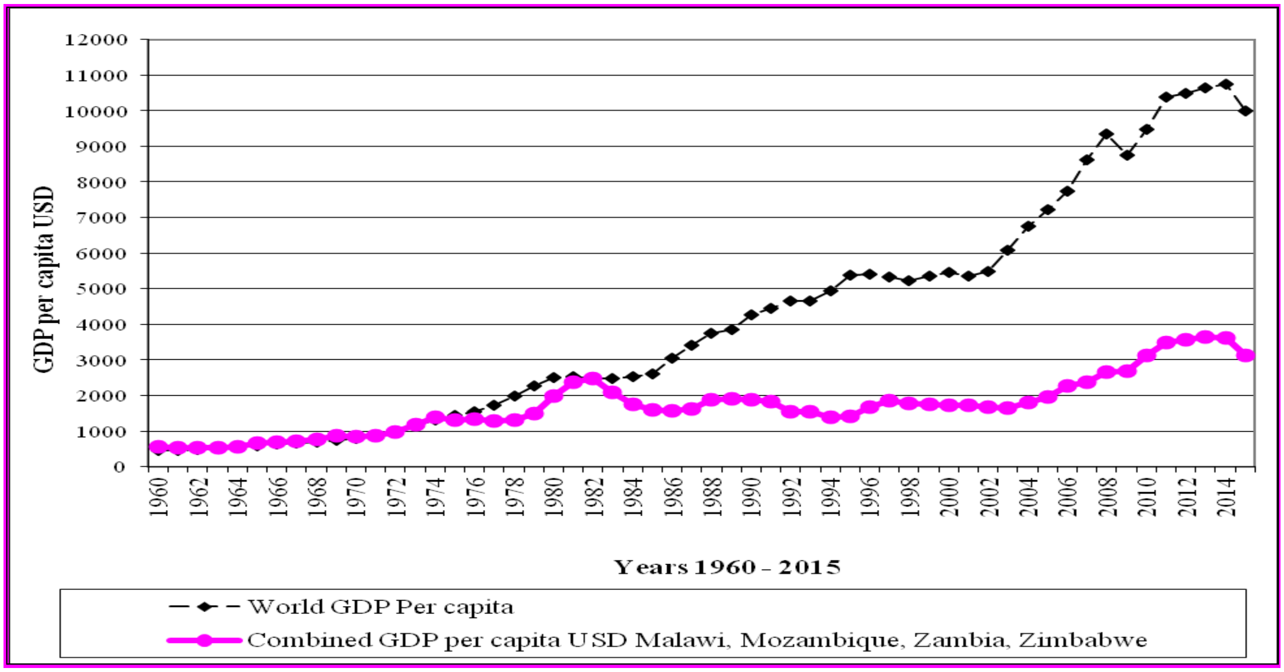
GDP per capita USD
Years 1960 - 2015
Zimbabwe
Zambia
Malawi
Mozambique
World

(a)

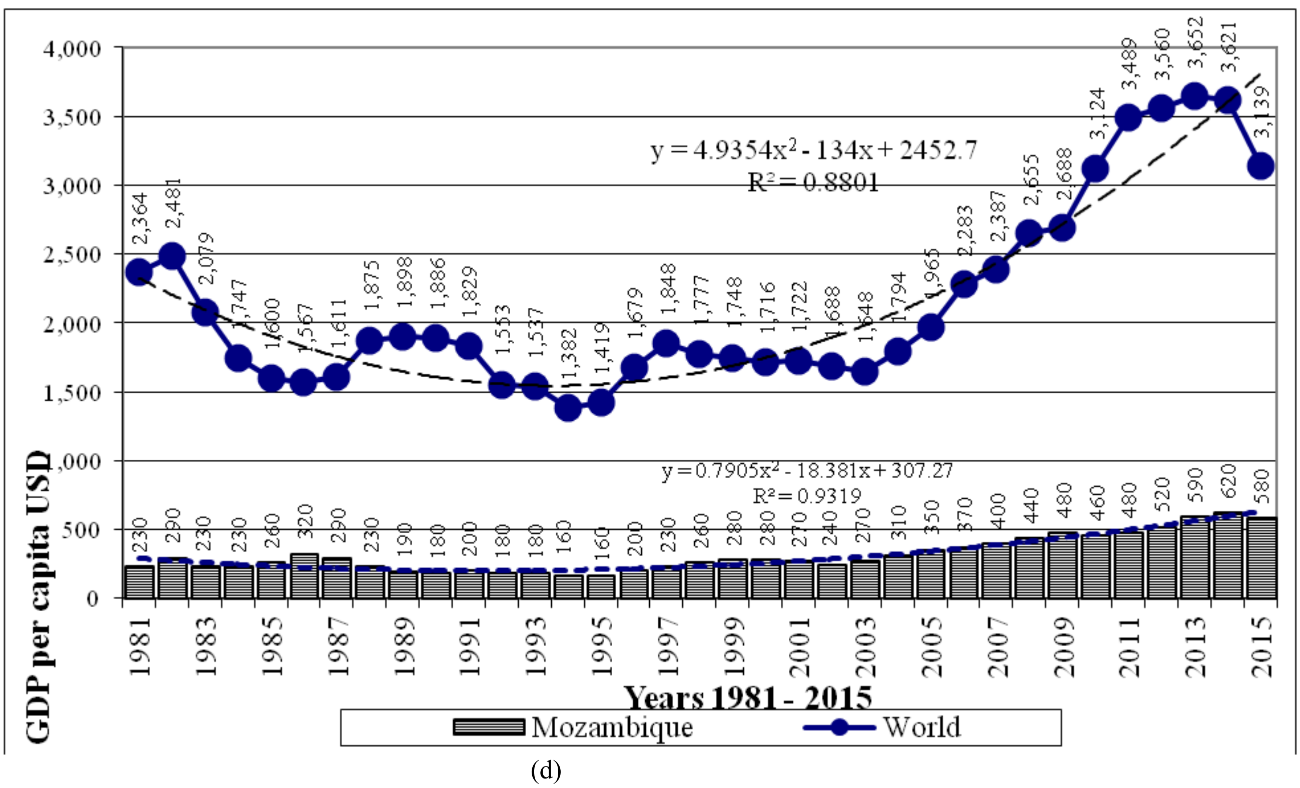


GDP per capita USD
Years 1960 - 2015
y = 3.0762x² + 14.171x + 423.9
R² = 0.9821
y = 0.3663x² + 22.377x + 673.18
R² = 0.7517
Combined GDP per capita USD Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe

(b)



(c)



(d)

Fig. 15 Improvement in GDP per capita with the addition of Mozambique in a), b) and c) and a lower GDP per capita when Mozambique is isolated in d).
(Source of data: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book 2016; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010). This data covers the period up to 2014 and patterns may have changed since then.

Increased population size as source of labour source

Earlier studies on the correlations between population size and growth of labour force suggested the need for more detailed study, requiring thorough examination of multiple factors Ostergaard (1989). For East Asia, at least nine (9) different patterns in the relationship between population growth rates and labour force growth rates were identified. The report cautioned that the assumption frequently made that the rate of growth of population and the rate of growth of labour force have a linear relationship in respect to magnitude of level and direction of change is highly debatable. Despite this argument however, a relationship is detectable between populations and labour force changes for certain sex-age groups, particularly for males 25 to 54 years of age. The report by Ostergaard (1989) showed that 95% of the change in labour force in Asia was attributable to population change. Since Africa has a similar population growth pattern to many countries in Asia which is a broad based population pyramid, one would assume that this would be applicable to Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe where the population growth curve is for now exponential (Figure 7). This large population size does not only provide labour force but is also a local market for different types of goods. A combined population of 77 million people for Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Figure 7; Table 8a, b) is reasonable market for goods as well as being a sustainable pool of labour force.

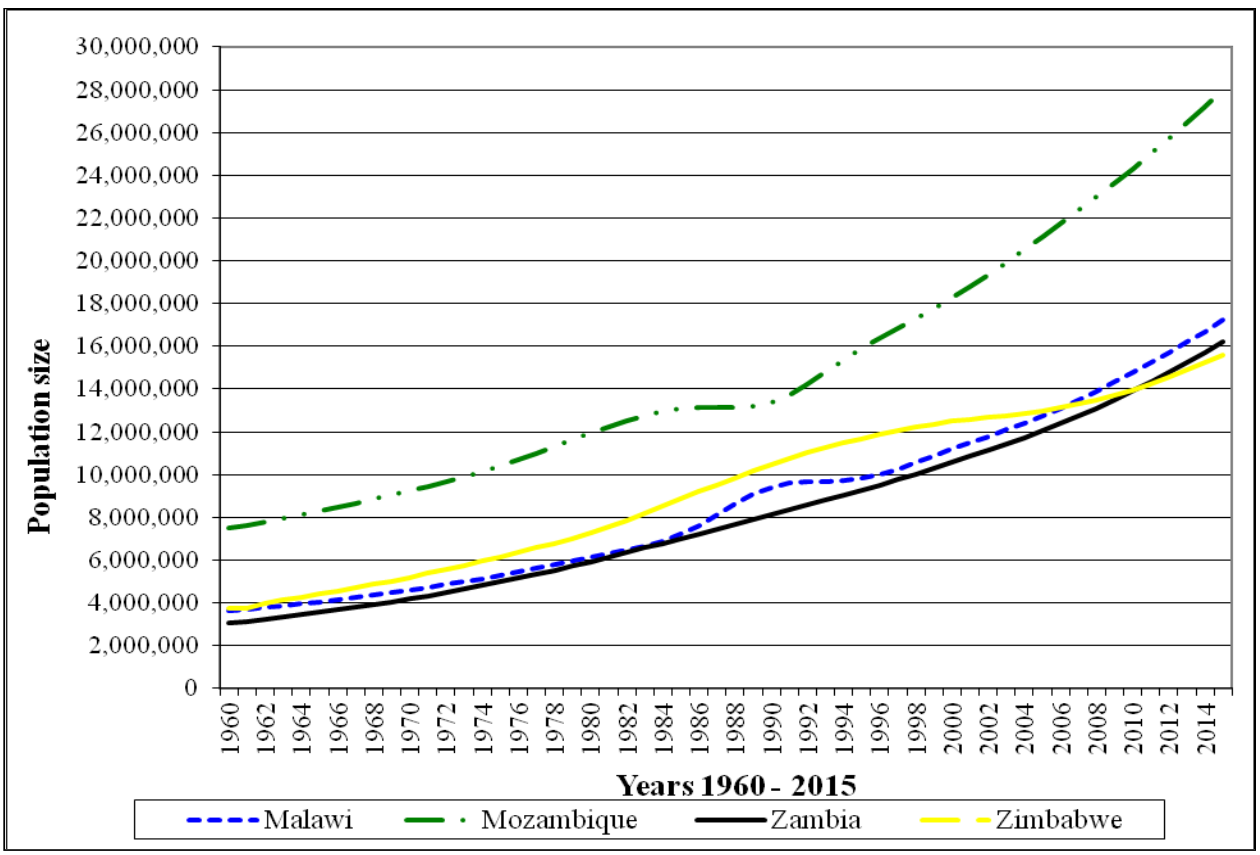


Fig.7 Population growth for guaranteed and sustained source of labour.

Table 8a) Population for the former Central African Federation members only

Year	Malawi	Zambia	Zimbabwe	Combined
1960	3,618,604	3,049,586	3,752,390	10,420,580
1961	3,700,032	3,142,848	3,876,638	10,719,518
1962	3,784,444	3,240,664	4,006,262	11,031,370
1963	3,872,124	3,342,894	4,140,804	11,355,822
1964	3,963,424	3,449,266	4,279,561	11,692,251
1965	4,058,680	3,559,687	4,422,132	12,040,499
1966	4,158,132	3,674,088	4,568,320	12,400,540
1967	4,262,013	3,792,864	4,718,612	12,773,489
1968	4,370,664	3,916,928	4,874,113	13,161,705
1969	4,484,456	4,047,479	5,036,321	13,568,256
1970	4,603,739	4,185,378	5,206,311	13,995,428
1971	4,728,693	4,331,002	5,385,342	14,445,037
1972	4,859,569	4,484,141	5,573,312	14,917,022
1973	4,996,861	4,644,329	5,768,382	15,409,572
1974	5,141,138	4,810,810	5,967,861	15,919,809
1975	5,292,816	4,983,017	6,170,284	16,446,117
1976	5,454,839	5,160,570	6,373,956	16,989,365
1977	5,627,788	5,343,550	6,580,739	17,552,077
1978	5,807,170	5,532,350	6,796,946	18,136,466
1979	5,986,639	5,727,577	7,031,159	18,745,375
1980	6,163,225	5,929,497	7,289,083	19,381,805
1981	6,327,344	6,138,069	7,571,965	20,037,378
1982	6,483,571	6,352,561	7,876,414	20,712,546
1983	6,659,453	6,571,673	8,197,564	21,428,690
1984	6,892,527	6,793,708	8,528,328	22,214,563
1985	7,205,635	7,017,292	8,862,601	23,085,528
1986	7,617,137	7,242,496	9,198,874	24,058,507
1987	8,108,484	7,469,270	9,535,657	25,113,411
1988	8,620,942	7,696,070	9,866,776	26,183,788
1989	9,073,088	7,921,028	10,184,966	27,179,082
1990	9,408,998	8,143,142	10,484,771	28,036,911
1991	9,604,199	8,361,381	10,763,036	28,728,616
1992	9,682,918	8,576,987	11,019,717	29,279,622
1993	9,697,635	8,794,061	11,256,512	29,748,208
1994	9,725,612	9,018,229	11,476,807	30,220,648
1995	9,822,812	9,253,527	11,683,136	30,759,475
1996	10,006,767	9,502,346	11,877,664	31,386,777
1997	10,260,421	9,763,742	12,059,858	32,084,021
1998	10,563,554	10,034,412	12,226,742	32,824,708
1999	10,882,543	10,309,310	12,374,019	33,565,872

2000	11,193,230	10,585,220	12,499,981	34,278,431
2001	11,491,824	10,861,238	12,603,988	34,957,050
2002	11,788,731	11,139,978	12,691,431	35,620,140
2003	12,090,476	11,426,006	12,774,162	36,290,644
2004	12,407,618	11,725,635	12,867,828	37,001,081
2005	12,747,846	12,043,591	12,984,418	37,775,855
2006	13,112,383	12,381,509	13,127,942	38,621,834
2007	13,498,377	12,738,676	13,297,798	39,534,851
2008	13,904,671	13,114,579	13,495,462	40,514,712
2009	14,329,056	13,507,849	13,720,997	41,557,902
2010	14,769,824	13,917,439	13,973,897	42,661,160
2011	15,226,813	14,343,526	14,255,592	43,825,931
2012	15,700,436	14,786,581	14,565,482	45,052,499
2013	16,190,126	15,246,086	14,898,092	46,334,304
2014	16,695,253	15,721,343	15,245,855	47,662,451
2015	17,215,232	16,211,767	15,602,751	49,029,750

(Source of data: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book, 2016)

Table 8b) Combined population for Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique as source of labour to spur industrial growth and establishment of a large military force to guarantee security of the region

Year	Malawi	Mozambique	Zambia	Zimbabwe	Combined
1960	3,618,604	7,493,278	3,049,586	3,752,390	17,913,858
1961	3,700,032	7,643,290	3,142,848	3,876,638	18,362,808
1962	3,784,444	7,799,396	3,240,664	4,006,262	18,830,766
1963	3,872,124	7,961,458	3,342,894	4,140,804	19,317,280
1964	3,963,424	8,129,268	3,449,266	4,279,561	19,821,519
1965	4,058,680	8,302,736	3,559,687	4,422,132	20,343,235
1966	4,158,132	8,482,373	3,674,088	4,568,320	20,882,913
1967	4,262,013	8,668,529	3,792,864	4,718,612	21,442,018
1968	4,370,664	8,860,823	3,916,928	4,874,113	22,022,528
1969	4,484,456	9,058,691	4,047,479	5,036,321	22,626,947
1970	4,603,739	9,262,078	4,185,378	5,206,311	23,257,506
1971	4,728,693	9,468,836	4,331,002	5,385,342	23,913,873
1972	4,859,569	9,679,753	4,484,141	5,573,312	24,596,775
1973	4,996,861	9,901,052	4,644,329	5,768,382	25,310,624
1974	5,141,138	10,141,147	4,810,810	5,967,861	26,060,956
1975	5,292,816	10,405,000	4,983,017	6,170,284	26,851,117
1976	5,454,839	10,693,688	5,160,570	6,373,956	27,683,053
1977	5,627,788	11,001,909	5,343,550	6,580,739	28,553,986
1978	5,807,170	11,320,103	5,532,350	6,796,946	29,456,569
1979	5,986,639	11,635,174	5,727,577	7,031,159	30,380,549

1980	6,163,225	11,936,379	5,929,497	7,289,083	31,318,184
1981	6,327,344	12,228,508	6,138,069	7,571,965	32,265,886
1982	6,483,571	12,511,864	6,352,561	7,876,414	33,224,410
1983	6,659,453	12,766,859	6,571,673	8,197,564	34,195,549
1984	6,892,527	12,968,335	6,793,708	8,528,328	35,182,898
1985	7,205,635	13,102,982	7,017,292	8,862,601	36,188,510
1986	7,617,137	13,155,272	7,242,496	9,198,874	37,213,779
1987	8,108,484	13,142,516	7,469,270	9,535,657	38,255,927
1988	8,620,942	13,124,285	7,696,070	9,866,776	39,308,073
1989	9,073,088	13,181,941	7,921,028	10,184,966	40,361,023
1990	9,408,998	13,371,971	8,143,142	10,484,771	41,408,882
1991	9,604,199	13,719,853	8,361,381	10,763,036	42,448,469
1992	9,682,918	14,203,987	8,576,987	11,019,717	43,483,609
1993	9,697,635	14,775,872	8,794,061	11,256,512	44,524,080
1994	9,725,612	15,363,065	9,018,229	11,476,807	45,583,713
1995	9,822,812	15,913,101	9,253,527	11,683,136	46,672,576
1996	10,006,767	16,410,777	9,502,346	11,877,664	47,797,554
1997	10,260,421	16,872,896	9,763,742	12,059,858	48,956,917
1998	10,563,554	17,317,376	10,034,412	12,226,742	50,142,084
1999	10,882,543	17,774,066	10,309,310	12,374,019	51,339,938
2000	11,193,230	18,264,536	10,585,220	12,499,981	52,542,967
2001	11,491,824	18,792,357	10,861,238	12,603,988	53,749,407
2002	11,788,731	19,348,715	11,139,978	12,691,431	54,968,855
2003	12,090,476	19,928,496	11,426,006	12,774,162	56,219,140
2004	12,407,618	20,523,159	11,725,635	12,867,828	57,524,240
2005	12,747,846	21,126,676	12,043,591	12,984,418	58,902,531
2006	13,112,383	21,737,860	12,381,509	13,127,942	60,359,694
2007	13,498,377	22,359,637	12,738,676	13,297,798	61,894,488
2008	13,904,671	22,994,867	13,114,579	13,495,462	63,509,579
2009	14,329,056	23,647,815	13,507,849	13,720,997	65,205,717
2010	14,769,824	24,321,457	13,917,439	13,973,897	66,982,617
2011	15,226,813	25,016,921	14,343,526	14,255,592	68,842,852
2012	15,700,436	25,732,928	14,786,581	14,565,482	70,785,427
2013	16,190,126	26,467,180	15,246,086	14,898,092	72,801,484
2014	16,695,253	27,216,276	15,721,343	15,245,855	74,878,727
2015	17,215,232	27,977,863	16,211,767	15,602,751	77,007,613

(Source of data: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book, 2016)

Based on this argument, it can be postulated that a combination of the population in the four countries coupled with industrial growth, would provide labour force to feed industry to propel exponential industrial growth. It would also be a big reservoir for the formation of a large military force for regional security. The demand for labour with growth of industry was at one time experienced in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia when the mining sector grew exponentially. The demand for man power in the mining sector attracted people from as far as East Africa to work in the mines. Many of whom did not even return to their countries. For example, at the beginning of the 20th century, by far the strongest demand for labour came from the gold mines of South Africa. With the creation of the Union of South Africa there was for the first time a state strong enough to ensure the effective implementation of the laws and labour policies that had developed in Kimberley and on the Witwatersrand to control the workforce. This attracted tens of thousands of migrant labour from the region.

It is therefore undisputed that the development of South Africa as the most powerful and industrialized country in modern Africa is linked to the migrant labour from the region. Many came from Northern Rhodesia, Mozambique, and Nyasaland. Some worked in the hundreds of small mines of scattered gold deposits in Southern Rhodesia, but many made their way to the Witwatersrand (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010; Widstrand, 1969).

Across the Zambezi the absence of mineral wealth at the time meant that Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia who could not migrate to Southern Rhodesia or South Africa, migrated to the mines in Katanga (Shaba), in search of money for food and taxation (mainly poll tax). In the interwar years Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were no more than massive labour reservoirs (Table 9). Later the discovery and opening up of the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia shifted some migrant routes to the Copperbelt. In this new concept, there would be no migrant but resident labour (see Table 8a).

Table 9 Regional migration to mining centres in South Africa, and Zimbabwe

From	To South Africa	To Southern Rhodesia	Total	Remarks
South West Africa (Namibia)	6,000			
Lesotho	280,000			
Swaziland	66,000			
Botswana	85,000			
Southern Rhodesia	75,000			
Malawi	73,000	200,000	273,000	
Mozambique	220,000	118,000	338,000	
Zambia	16,200	70,000	86,200	Zambia also attracted foreign labour in the mining sector
Others	15,000		15,000	
Total	836,200	388,000		
Mean	92,911	129,334		

(Source: Widstrand (Ed), 1969)

Tourism potential

Tourism as defined by Holloway (2009) has not yet developed to be one of the main components of the service sector and a principal source of foreign exchange in the region. Zimbabwe which has slightly superior tourism based infrastructure seems to earn slightly higher income than the other three countries. Zambia and Mozambique are currently on the rise (Table 9; Figure 8a, b). In general terms however, despite the huge resource base of terrestrial (mainly wildlife); and aquatic natural attractions (pristine beaches) and wide cultural diversity/ local arts and customs, with UNESCOs World Heritage Sites the countries still individually earn less than South Africa (USD 10,484,000,000 in 2014), Egypt (7,979,000,000 in 2014), Tanzania (USD 2,043,000,000 in 2014), Kenya (USD1,833, 000,000 in 2014), Angola (USD1,597,000,000 in 2014), and Ghana (USD

1,027,000,000 in 2014) (see Table 10a,b).

Table 10a Number of tourists and income earned from tourism

ear	Malawi		Mozambique		Zambia		Zimbabwe	
	Number	Receipts USD	Number	Receipts USD	Number	Receipts USD	Number	Receipts USD
1995	192,000	22,000,000			163,000		1,416,000	145,000,000
1996	194,000	31,000,000		49,000,000	264,000		1,577,000	232,000,000
1997	207,000	32,000,000		61,000,000	341,000	29,000,000	1,336,000	205,000,000
1998	220,000	25,000,000		61,000,000	362,000	40,000,000	2,090,000	158,000,000
1999	254,000	42,000,000		61,000,000	404,000	53,000,000	2,250,000	202,000,000
2000	228,000	29,000,000		74,000,000	457,000	67,000,000	1,967,000	125,000,000
2001	266,000	40,000,000	323,000	64,000,000	492,000	80,000,000	2,217,000	81,000,000
2002	383,000	45,000,000	541,000	65,000,000	565,000	64,000,000	2,041,000	76,000,000
2003	424,000	66,000,000	441,000	106,000,000	413,000	88,000,000	2,256,000	61,000,000
2004	427,000	74,000,000	470,000	96,000,000	515,000	92,000,000	1,854,000	194,000,000
2005	488,000	48,000,000	578,000	138,000,000	669,000	447,000,000	1,559,000	99,000,000
2006	638,000	45,000,000	664,000	145,000,000	757,000	506,000,000	2,287,000	338,000,000
2007	735,000	43,000,000	771,000	182,000,000	897,000	599,000,000	2,506,000	365,000,000
2008	742,000	43,000,000	1,193,000	213,000,000	710,000	542,000,000	1,956,000	294,000,000
2009	755,000	46,000,000	1,461,000	217,000,000	815,000	474,000,000	2,017,000	523,000,000
2010	746,000	45,000,000	1,718,000	135,000,000	920,000	492,000,000	2,239,000	634,000,000
2011	767,000	36,000,000	1,902,000	171,000,000	959,000	555,000,000	2,423,000	664,000,000
2012	770,000	35,000,000	2,113,000	224,000,000	915,000	518,000,000	1,794,000	749,000,000
2013	795,000	33,000,000	1,886,000	228,000,000	947,000	552,000,000	1,833,000	856,000,000
2014		36,000,000	1,661,000	225,000,000		642,000,000	1,905,000	827,000,000
Mean	485,842	40,000,000	1,123,000	132,368,421	608,684	324,444,444	1,976,150	341,400,000

(Source: UNWTO Website; Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book, Tourism, 2016)

Table10 b Income earned in USD from tourism by the four countries

Year	Malawi	Mozambique	Zambia	Zimbabwe
1995	192,000		163,000	1,416,000
1996	194,000		264,000	1,577,000
1997	207,000		341,000	1,336,000
1998	220,000		362,000	2,090,000
1999	254,000		404,000	2,250,000
2000	228,000		457,000	1,967,000
2001	266,000	323,000	492,000	2,217,000
2002	383,000	541,000	565,000	2,041,000
2003	424,000	441,000	413,000	2,256,000
2004	427,000	470,000	515,000	1,854,000
2005	488,000	578,000	669,000	1,559,000
2006	638,000	664,000	757,000	2,287,000
2007	735,000	771,000	897,000	2,506,000
2008	742,000	1,193,000	710,000	1,956,000
2009	755,000	1,461,000	815,000	2,017,000
2010	746,000	1,718,000	920,000	2,239,000
2011	767,000	1,902,000	959,000	2,423,000
2012	770,000	2,113,000	915,000	1,794,000
2013	795,000	1,886,000	947,000	1,833,000
2014		1,661,000		1,905,000

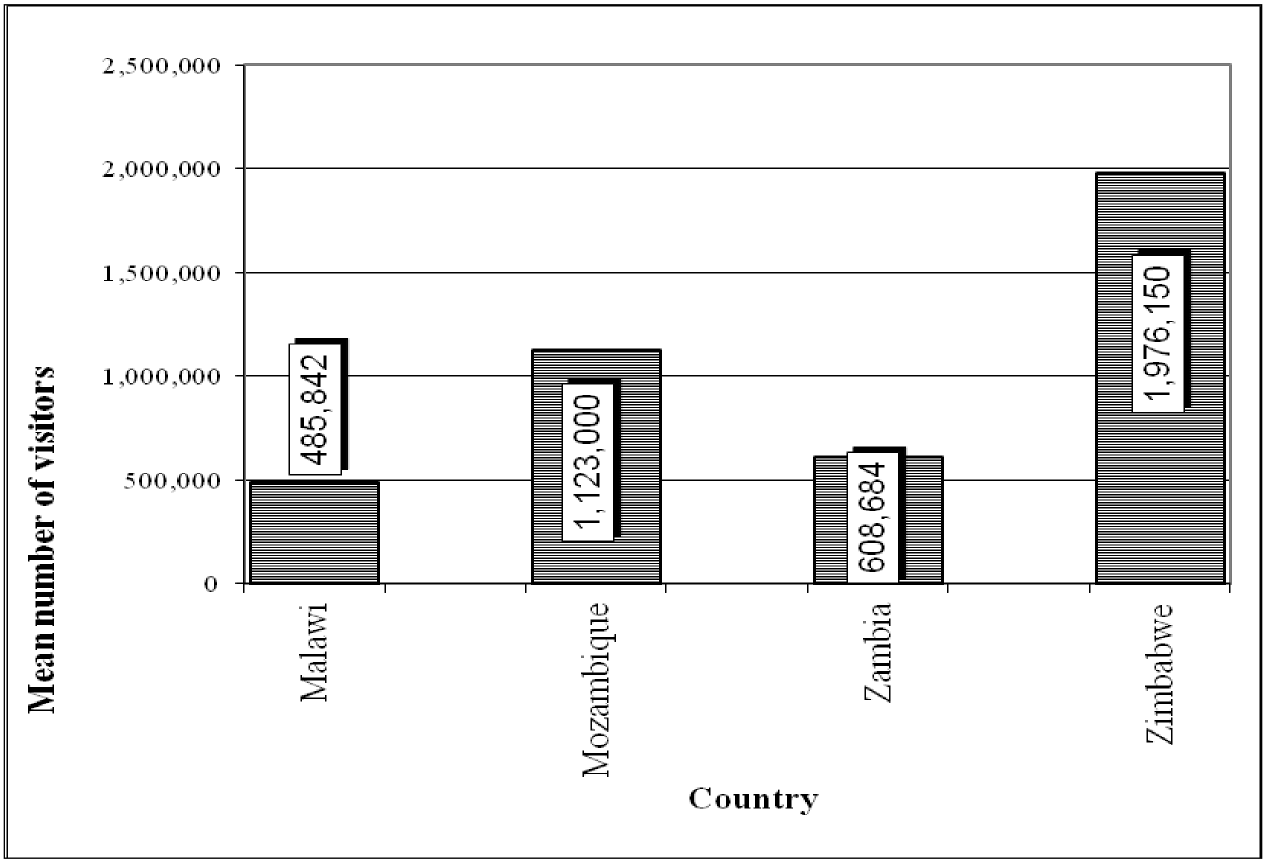


Fig.8a Record of visitors to Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

(Source: UNWTO Website; Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book, Tourism, 2016)

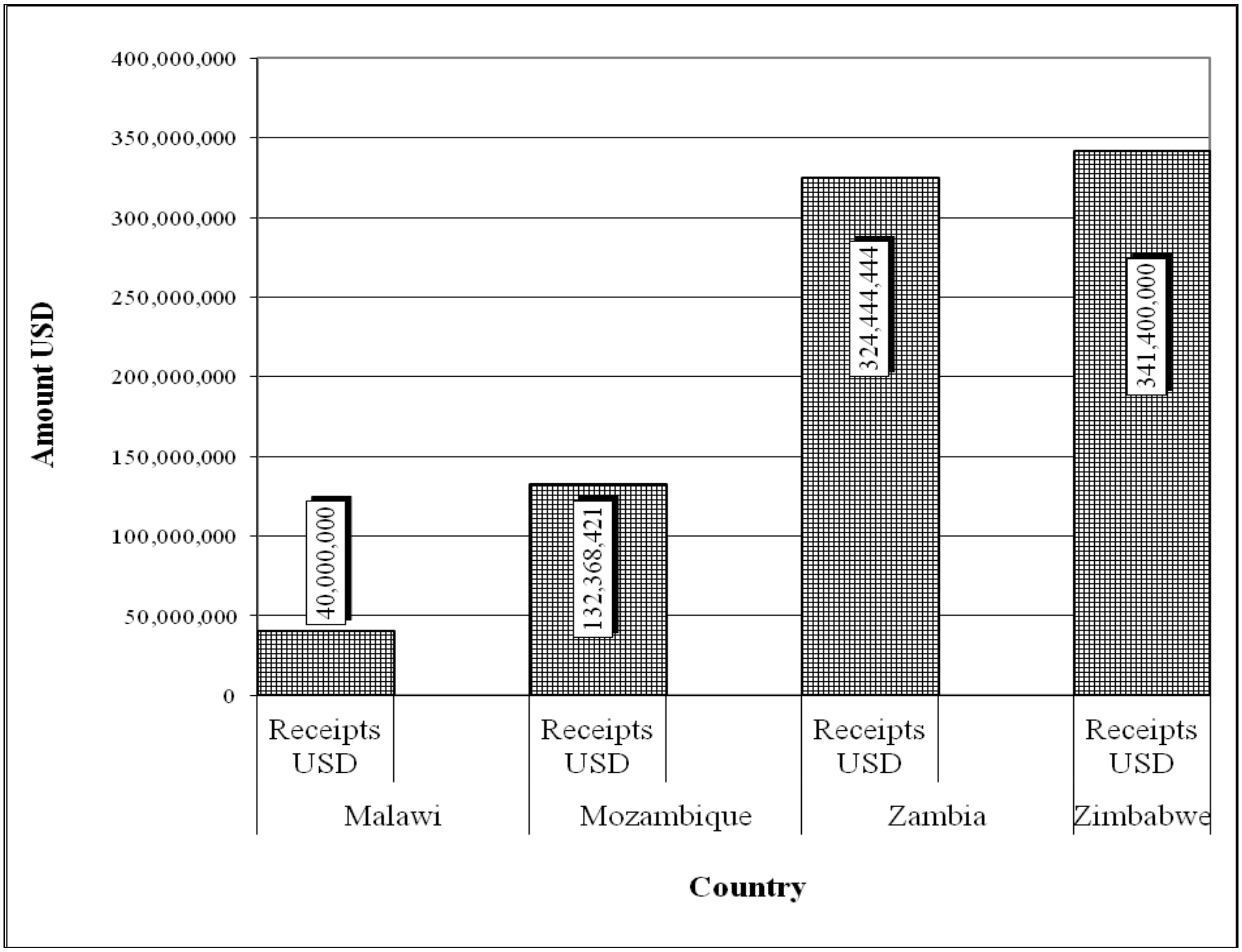


Fig. 8b Mean receipts from tourism for the period 1995 – 2015 for Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. (Source: UNWTO Website; Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe / CIA World Facts Book, Tourism, 2016)

CONCLUSION

This study shows that the European white colonial powers had a long-term planning strategy for Africa. They also managed colonies as units rather than singular states. For instance, long before the 1920s European settlers in the Rhodesias had sought some form of amalgamation to counter the overwhelming numerical superiority of black Africans, but this had been blocked by the British Colonial Office that was sensitive to profound African opposition. After World War II the growth of secondary industries and greatly increased white immigration in Southern Rhodesia, compounded by the copper boom in Northern Rhodesia, led white political leaders and industrialists to urge even more strongly the advantages of an amalgamated territory that would provide larger markets and be able to draw more freely on black labour, especially from Nyasaland.

The imperial government was persuaded to support the formation of the federation by the economic arguments, by the nationalist victory in South Africa in 1948, and by hopes of creating a multiracial state based on “partnership” to counter South Africa's racial policies of apartheid. Blacks in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland though consistently opposed the federation, which they feared would be dominated by Southern Rhodesia. Throughout the 1950s policies in the federation favoured the white population of Southern Rhodesia (Microsoft, 2009).

Black discontent came to a head in 1959, when the growing Nyasaland nationalist movement led to widespread disturbances. This led to a state of emergency being declared during which many nationalists were detained without trial. These events convinced the British that power had to be transferred back to the black majority. The achievement of independence by Malaŵi (July 6, 1964) and Zambia (Oct. 24, 1964) meant the effective end of the federation. In Southern Rhodesia the break-up of the federation led to the white community's illegal unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) as the republic of Rhodesia in November 1965. Black majority rule was instituted there with the establishment of independent Zimbabwe in 1980.

It is evident that while the colonial powers had a foresight to establish a larger resilient economy, Africans did not consider the Federation as a better option for the future. Major emphasis by Africans during the struggle for independence was merely to expel whites from their ancestral African soil. They did not think of uniting to form a stronger larger market by forming a federation or other form of unity. Efforts to establish the SADC, has not achieved good results either, because of over emphasis on sovereignty rather than the common good for all members. It also appears that such efforts to establish regional co-operations *viz;* SADC, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), East African Community (EAC) had no long-term vision but rather were formed on the basis of a reactive response to some real or imagined external factors. For instance, one of the major reasons for the formation of the SADC was to reduce dependency on the apartheid South Africa, which was not a long-term goal, because subsequently, RSA abandoned the apartheid policy in 1994 and this objective has since become moribund.

RECOMMENDATION

In the interest of the long term development of Africa, member states should consider uniting in sub regions before forming a fully integrated African Union (AU). For instance, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe should consider forming a unitary state, which would have a larger resource base, market and labour force and a higher GDP *per capita*. Other regions could do the same and subsequently these regions can be fully integrated to form a strong and resilient AU.

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