

CSGR 3rd Annual Conference

AFTER THE GLOBAL CRISES: WHAT NEXT FOR REGIONALISM?

**Scarman House, University of Warwick
16–18 September 1999**

**New Regionalisms in Africa in the New
Millennium: comparative perspectives on
renaissance, realisms and/or regressions**

TIMOTHY M SHAW

Dalhousie, Stellenbosch & Western Cape Universities

**New Regionalisms in Africa in the New Millennium:
comparative perspectives on renaissance, realisms and/or regressions**

Timothy M Shaw, *Dalhousie, Stellenbosch & Western Cape Universities**

“Regionalism has ...’been brought back in’ to the academic debate as well as the policy one after some decades of neglect. This renewed trend, often labeled ‘the new regionalism’, is characterized by its multidimensionality, complexity, flexibility, fluidity and non-conformity. It is therefore appropriate to speak of regionalism in the plural rather than the singular form’

- Hettne & Soderbaum 1998: 4

“...conflicts in the Horn of Africa...(have) cross-border or inter-regional dimensions...a pattern of ‘mutual intervention’. Each government sought to deal with its own internal conflicts by some degree of support for insurgencies in neighbouring states...regional stability...(is affected by) the role of regional bodies in combining economic cooperation, peace making & security roles”

- Lionel Cliffe 1998a: 89

“West Africa is becoming the symbol of worldwide demographic, environmental & social stress, in which criminal anarchy emerges as the real ‘strategic’ danger”

- Kaplan 1994: 46

Allegedly, Africa is the most marginal of the continents in an era of globalizations. Paradoxically, however, it may reveal more about ‘new’ forms of regionalism(s) than more integrated continents & communities (Hettne & Soderbaum 1998, Shaw 1998). Given its peripheralness it may also be the least affected by the ‘global crisis’, having been profoundly & negatively impacted by the interrelated structural & ideological changes attendant on the ‘New International Division of Labour’ (NIDL), otherwise known as the rise of ‘neo-liberalism’, since the late-1970s. Subsequently, these have been reinforced by the end of bipolarity & emergence of a range of ‘new’ security issues since the late-1980s, as indicated in the final section below.

This paper highlights four novel features of ‘new regionalisms’ in Africa as the new millennium dawns: from economies & ecologies, corridors & triangles, civil societies & medias to new security threats, peace-building responses, reconstruction & redirection: is the continent anticipating either renaissance and/or anarchy in the new century (Ottaway 1999)? How compatible are these features/scenarios over time (Shaw & Nyang’oro 2000)? And despite all the conversations about post-bipolar, -industrial, -modern local to global communities/governance, is the continent in the vanguard of new forms of ‘realism’ in both theory & practice at century’s end (Shaw 1998)?

So what are the lessons from this supposedly peripheral continent for comparative studies of new regionalisms & related fields of analysis? My assumption/assertion is that such

meso-level regional analysis, if appropriately nuanced/informed can throw light on the diversities of political economy/culture on the continent which other established approaches fail to discern. Such insights entail profound applied & policy as well as analytic implications as suggested in the final section (Grugel & Hout 1999, Payne 1998).

Given significant changes in the character of state-economy/society relations, exacerbated by the combination of the realities of globalizations & the conditionalities of neo-liberalism, this paper takes it to be axiomatic that any local to global social relationship (Shaw 1999b, Stiles 1999) inevitably includes a trio of heterogeneous actors: not just states (& interstate global & regional institutions) but also economies (eg multinational corporations (MNCs) & informal sectors) (Shaw & van der Westhuizen 1999) and civil societies from INGOs to grass-roots movements. To be sure the balance among this trio varies between regions & issue-areas & over time but none of them can be excluded or overlooked in any ongoing relationship in either Africa or elsewhere (Shaw & Nyang'oro 2000). This is especially so at the intermediate, meso-level, which is increasingly characterized by a range of heterogeneous actors, coalitions & relations, both cooperative & conflictual as suggested below.

I turn first to an overview of the genesis & current state of new regionalisms as both analysis & praxis with a focus on trilateral relations among states/inter-state organizations, companies & civil societies in a post-neoliberal era; or at least in the context of the late-twentieth century in which new skepticism about the gains & sustainability of globalizations & markets is being voiced (Boas, Marchand & Shaw 1999a). Second, I identify a range of novel forms of regional interactions/institutions beyond established, inter-governmental regional organizations: corridors, ecologies, triangles & new forms of meso-level governance (Shaw 1999a). The latter may be compatible or incompatible with the former, which tend to be limited largely to economic & security concerns. In the third part, reflective of renewed conflict & related 'realist' analysis, I examine new as well as old forms of confrontation & alliance: beyond peace-building to sustainable human security? In the penultimate, fourth section, I focus on the 'other' side of new (and old!) regionalisms: civil societies at the regional level (MacLean & Shaw 1996, Shaw & MacLean 1999). These include not only ubiquitous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) but also ethnicities, genders, professions, regions, religions, sports etc; the informal aspects of regionalisms which typically impact the formal whether so recognized in more orthodox analysis & practice or not (Boas, Marchand & Shaw 1999b). And, finally, in the fifth & concluding part, I attempt to highlight some salient 'lessons' which might be learned from African cases & debates for both older disciplines & discourses as well as future policy interventions.

a) 'new' regionalisms & trilateral relationships post-neoliberalism

The 'old' regional studies focused on formal, interstate economic & strategic relations, from European Community/Union to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (Hettne, Inotai & Sunkel 1999, Hettne & Soderbaum 1998). By contrast, 'new regionalisms' attempt to capture the diversities of definition & interaction, such as 'Europe' defined by MNCs or mafias etc. The latter genre's inclusion of non-state & -

formal interactions between the national & global levels enables it to treat the interconnections between more & less statist relations as well as to transcend the official by recognizing how the latter relates to the unofficial in myriad ways: the multiple conceptions of 'regions' as well as diversity of issue areas, from ecologies & ethnicities to civil societies & private armies (Boas, Marchand & Shaw 1999a).

The 'new' unlike the 'old' regional studies also incorporates all three major types of actors in its purview, not just states but also companies & communities. Recognition of the trilateral character of all social relations, especially since the end of the Cold War & the concomitant hegemony of neo-liberal values, is an essential attribute (and advantage!) of new regionalisms. 'States' here includes official governmental organizations from local to global (eg IFI & UN systems); economies include informal (and illegal?) sectors as well as the more familiar world of MNCs; and societies incorporates not only indigenous & international NGOs but also charities, cooperatives, grass-roots groups, medias, new social movements, professional associations, religious organizations, sports clubs etc (Aulakh & Schechter 1999, Lindberg & Sverrisson 1997, Van Rooy 1999).

The old regional studies gradually extended its purview to include the South, at least in terms of formal, interstate economic institutions. By contrast, the new regionalisms literature is largely rooted in non- or semi-state cases from the South – eg maquiladoras & EPZs, growth triangles in Asia, corridors in Southern Africa (Gelb & Manning 1998), diasporas from the South in the North, track-two diplomacy & CBMs/PKOs etc - and increasingly links with IPE, development & human security perspectives (Boas, Marchand & Shaw 1999a & b). Not only are the old & new regionalisms disparate in terms of theoretical geneses & affinities, they are not always/often compatible in practice. As in, say, Southeast Asia, the connection between, say, EPZs/triangles & ASEAN, is not clear: compatible/reinforcement or incompatible/dilution (Chen & Kwan 1997)?

This paper proceeds to highlight four areas derived from (sub-Saharan) African cases which illuminate the emerging discourse about new regionalisms. Together these cover the spectrum of formal/informal, West/East/Southern Africa(s), issue areas, range of involved actors, analytic perspectives etc. In many ways, these make us go back to Samir Amin's (1972) seminal essay on the distinctive types of post-colonial regional political economies on the continent: Africas of the peasant economy, mining economy and labour reserves. Today he (we?!) would presumably identify the several Africas of emerging markets, transitions/reconstruction, peacekeeping operations, anarchies etc (cf my preliminary attempt at such a typology in section c) below)?!

b) beyond regional organizations: corridors, ecologies, triangles & new forms of meso-level governance

The prevailing perspective about regionalism on this continent is that it is a disappointment because formal sector regional trade has failed to grow faster than at the global level, notwithstanding the essential homogeneity of the overwhelming majority of Africa's economies (McCarthy 1996, Teunissen 1996). However, its informal sector exchange continues to boom, in part in response to formal level constraints, from familiar (eg inefficient) to specific (ie corruption) non-tariff barriers. Moreover, official statistics

only record official trade within established inter-governmental groupings such as COMESA, ECOWAS & SADC (Gibb 1998, Nel & McGowan 1999, Vale, Swatuk & Oden 2000) & shortly the incubating African Economic Community (AEC). Yet palpably, ECOWAS is characterized by a vast network of informal flows, which may yet be augmented by large-scale official schemes, such as the proposed West African Gas Pipeline agreed in mid-1999 with Chevron & Shell to transport natural gas from their Nigerian wells to Ghana through Benin & Togo.

This section seeks to identify some contemporary regional responses to the constraints & opportunities of globalizations, as both praxis as well as ideology (Germain 1999, Gills 1997, Murphy 2000, Scholte 1999). In particular, it seeks to highlight some current indigenous reactions to exponential globalizations as well as to privilege some of the continent's own distinctive yet under-appreciated contributions to comparative analysis & praxis. These have developed out of a significant tradition of innovative forms of regionalisms, in part in response to colonial and/or settler resistance: from FLS to SADCC; earlier incarnations of guerrilla-based regimes-in-waiting (Clapham 1998). Such non- or semi-state strategies were themselves developed in reaction to the settler regimes' own 'unholy alliance', which came to control a shrinking proportion of the territory & population of the remaining white-ruled states. In short, regional groupings, state & non-state alike, do not necessarily have to include all the territory or population, communities or resources of participating countries. As we will see in the next part c) below, complex & dynamic strategic partnerships among several state & non-state actors around the current Congo conflicts split some countries & communities in Central Africa.

Guerilla struggles led to the first 'corridor' in Africa in the mid-1980s: the Beira Corridor connecting Zimbabwe to global trade through the middle 'waist' of Mozambique. This has since been replicated & upgraded in current plans for some nine corridors within SADC, including three (the most advanced in terms of infrastructural & organizational development) around the perimeters of post-apartheid South Africa, particularly its now post-mineral/-industrial heartland, Gauteng (Gelb & Manning 1998: vi). But while these have been declared to exist & so advertised, their internal multi-stakeholder governance structures are embryonic (Gelb & Manning 1998): what divisions of labour among several levels of states, companies & civil societies (Shaw 1999a)?

- i) Maputo Corridor between Gauteng & Maputo port, which is to advance development in the relatively impoverished Mpumalanga Province of South Africa as well as of Southern Mozambique: a regional project in which the private sector is in the driver's seat, but in which city & provincial authorities & the two national regimes are also positively engaged.
- ii) Trans-Kalahari Corridor between Lobatse in Botswana & Windhoek in Namibia so linking Gauteng with the Atlantic coast at Walvis Bay, cutting some 500 kms off the trip & completing the Maputo-Walvis Bay Indian Ocean-Atlantic Oceans link; again, largely a corporate initiative, albeit with more national state involvement by Botswana & Namibia.

- iii) Lubombo Corridor linking Durban with Maputo via Northern Kwazulu-Natal & Swaziland; more of a South African Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) than a short-term corporate venture, one involving more community participation given high population densities etc (Gelb & Manning 1998).
- iv) Lesotho Highlands Water Project, already well under way towards completion, involving the damming & flow reversal of the Orange/Senqi River into the Vaal Dam so that water & HEP are delivered to Gauteng: a largely South African private sector corporate investment with Rand Water support, opposed by many ecological & developmental NGOs & local Basotho communities, although supported by the Lesotho state, which stands to collect R 6.5 million 'rent' each month as well as gain access to some water & electricity (NB ongoing World Commission on Dams is the first such global commission to be located in the South – Cape Town – with South Africa's Minister for Water Affairs, Dr Kader Asmal, as Chair). And
- v) Cahora Bassa Dam transmission line rehabilitation: a 1 440 km long power line rebuilding, largely by the South African private sector, not only to bring HEP to Gauteng but also to enable the regional grid to be connected, from the powerful Congo River to Cape Town.

But in all these five corridor-type projects, especially the first trio above of more comprehensive corridor plans, forms of multi-stakeholder or trilateral governance have yet to be agreed let alone effected. Thus, there is a palpable 'democratic deficit' not only in SADC (African Development Bank 1993), which has only embryonic links outside its state members to the local & global corporate & civil society worlds, but also in these sub-regional projects. SADC like the ECA may now seek to develop dialogue with civil society as well as the private sector along with its extra-regional partners; but its credibility in such links is problematic & it has yet to sustain such accountable relationships over time. Whether SADC will really deal as partners if not equals with the Southern African Development Council NGO Coordinating Committee or ECA's embryonic Centre for Civil Society with, say, Mwengo & Ravdo remains to be seen, with important implications for the future of regionalism (Barnard 1998, MacLean & Shaw 1996).

The primary beneficiaries of corridor or triangle arrangements tend to be larger South African companies, both state (eg Eskom, SAA & Transnet) & private (eg Anglo American, SA Breweries etc), and local to national official jurisdictions rather than local communities or NGOs. And the degree to which these sub-regional arrangements reinforce or dilute somewhat moribund established interstate institutions such as SADC is quite problematic given the still state-centric character of the latter. Surprisingly, to date there has been no analytic attention given to such issues of compatibility, although there is a discourse about old/new, inner/outer, Upper/lower case SADC; ie the old FLS versus newcomers like Congo. However, as noted in the next section, not unrelated to regional hierarchy & hegemony, SADC has been riven by divisions over security policies rather than development corridors (Vale, Swatuk & Oden 2000, Dunn & Shaw 2000).

In addition to such corridor projects, Southern Africa in particular but SSA in general has been characterized by its own emerging pattern of 'hubs-and-spokes': airlines (eg Kenya Airways & SAA, but also Air Afrique & Ethiopian Airlines), cable TV & internet servers plus websites (eg MNet & iAfrica), distribution or logistics companies (eg DHL & Lonrho), financial centres (eg Johannesburg Stock Exchange) (Kenny & Moss 1998), franchises (eg Spur, Nandos), think-tanks & universities especially business programmes, private- & state-funded etc. These tend to be replicated in the NGO world also, with Gauteng again being dominant (cf Barnard 1998), as well as in other sectors of civil society such as medias (eg SABC & Weekly Mail & Guardian as well as MNet), professional associations, sports groups etc. And Export Processing Zones (EPZs), icons of flexible globalization, or triangles, likewise tend to be concentrated around already established economic cores like Gauteng & Cape Town, centres in the middle of corridors! Their attractiveness is now reinforced in terms of offering not only cheap labour & infrastructure but also security through gated communities/compounds etc: private rather than human, individual rather than collective security (UNDP 1994)!

c) new as well as old forms of conflict & alliance: beyond peace-building to sustainable human security

Africa has not benefited from any post-Cold War 'peace dividend'. Indeed, internal & regional conflicts have proliferated & escalated in the 1990s, with profound implications for regional & continental security & stability, especially when redefined in terms of human security (Shaw & MacLean 1999). Although almost all African conflicts are 'internal' in origin, they invariably become regional in scale as they progress. Moreover, the declared 'Revolution in Military Affairs' (RMA) has at best been perverse on the continent: a return to basic strategies & technologies such as machettes, landmines & AK47s. Further, such struggles never involve only national armies; they always include non-state actors, both conflictual & economic, short-term crisis-oriented & longer-term developmental. And many are long-running as they involve competition over scarce resources, control of which enables factions to continue fighting (eg diamonds in Angola & Sierra Leone) (Reno 1998). In short, these are not really 'complex political emergencies' (Cliffe 1999): complex definitely but typically economic & ecological as well as political & rarely crisis length (Ali & Matthews 1999). And the apparent inability of states to eliminate or contain such conflicts has led towards the privatization of security away from regime forces to towards private armies, whether of the more organized corporate Executive Outcomes style (Howe 1998, Shearer 1998) or the more chaotic child soldier variety.

The apparent sustainability of such conflicts is apparent around Angola, Liberia/Sierra Leone & the Horn, with the first & last spilling over into the Great Lakes & Congo. Moreover, as such conflicts have sucked in a growing range of actors – from global agencies & medias through mercenary forces & NGOs to non-contiguous regimes – so revisionist notions of 'neo-realism' become attractive again, albeit in a post-Westphalian & -bipolar context (Vale, Swatuk & Oden 2000, Shaw & Dunn 2000).

Regional responses on the continent to persistent conflict have stretched from a redesigned OAU facility to attempts by inter-state organizations such as ECOWAS, IGAD & SADC to establish confidence-building & peace-keeping structures. But some of these may be little more than thinly disguised forms of regional hegemony appropriate to the 1990s. The ECOMOG reaction by the first, for example, is largely a Nigerian creation to force peace in Liberia then Sierra Leone. And while the controversial Organ for Politics, Defence & Security in the last may be less clearly a South African initiative, its still-born character is a reflection of simmering competition between Mugabe's Zimbabwean regime & the post-apartheid state in South Africa (Gibb 1998, Vale, Swatuk & Oden 2000). The continuing stand-off is in stark contrast to the relatively successful & cooperative anti-apartheid & -destabilization Inter-State Defence & Security Committee of the Front Line States (FLS). Meanwhile IGAD continues to evolve away from its initial ecological & functional emphasis towards a broader mandate to advance human security as well as human development: protracted 'track-two' diplomacy over the long-standing inter-related tensions in Southern Sudan, the Horn etc (Current History 1999).

The diversity of actors, interests & relations in such new regionalisms not only complicates notions of human development/security, it also opens up new possibilities for pressure, both positive & negative. Sanctions & incentives are no longer the exclusive preserve of states: they may be imposed on & by non-state actors; eg corporate & cultural boycotts & affirmative actions. Anti-apartheid sanctions came to be imposed on/by a wide range of actors/relations, to crucial effect. Debate continues about whether in this (Crawford & Klotz 1999), as other cases (eg Burundi), which sanctions if any were most effective: communications, cultural, economic, energy, financial, investment, strategic, technological etc, especially when regional consequences are also factored in.

In addition to recognizing the multiple forms of state-non-state relations in emerging forms of regionalisms - conflictual & cooperative alike - we need to begin to appreciate the diversity of regionalisms in Africa as elsewhere: distinctions among primary issue area (eg economic, ecological, strategic); degree or sustainability of integration (more versus less); and diversity of state & non-state partners (few/more, very/less mixed) etc. Just as NGOs have begun to recognize divisions of labor amongst themselves in terms of roles in PKOs (Weiss 1999) - eg health by MSF, housing by CARE, reconstruction by OXFAM or World Vision etc - so we need to identify crucial catalysts in different eras/regions (eg Makerere in the East African Community in the 1960s or South African Airways & MNet in today's SADC) (Grugel & Hout 1999).

d) alternative regionalisms: civil societies at the meso-level

Analyses of new regionalisms in Africa as elsewhere recognize the present & prospective impacts of civil societies on patterns of regional cooperation & conflict. Such transnational links are not necessarily compatible with formal inter-state regional structures: they may embrace different spatial areas & be concerned about issues other than economics & strategic. While regional organizations in Africa are beginning to encourage 'dialogue' with business associations & NGOs, even trade unions & women's groups, they are not yet ready to share power; such consultations tend to have a formal or

ritual quality to them. Effective governance has yet to begin to trickle down to sub-state levels. Hence the democratic deficit in all African regional institutions to date, which may simplify decision-making somewhat (although assorted presidential egos tend to complicate anyways!) but undermines any accountability, identity, legitimacy, transparency or support. Likewise, conversely, we need to recognize the limited degree of autonomy which some NGOs & MNCs possess in their relations with certain states; ie non-state actors are rarely completely separate from regimes; however, degree of autonomy is uneven between NGOs & over time. Just as the UN or World Bank may coopt certain NGOs in terms of subcontracting etc, so regional organizations may create or cajole regional NGOs for their own purposes (Lindberg & Sverrisson 1997, Kleinberg & Clark 2000, Murphy 2000, Van Rooy 1999).

Non-state definitions of regions may reflect a variety of relations: from continuing bases like ecology (eg shared geographic zones from savannah/forest to valleys/mountains) & ethnicity (history, language, myths etc) to 'modern' cultural events (eg regional book fairs, fashion competitions, musical galas, tourist routes/packages); NGOs (eg after Mwengo & Ravdo, the proposed Southern African Development Council NGO Coordinating Committee (Barnard 1998); professional associations; regional gatherings of kinpersons; religious congregations both orthodox & informal, sports competitions (regional leagues/media coverage/cups) etc. And such regional communities may include tertiary education/training, such as the historic roles of, say Makerere University for East Africa & UNISA for Southern, and now regional graduate programmes at SAPES or via AERC (Quadir, MacLean & Shaw 1999).

And both African & global companies define their own regions on the continent in terms of corporate structures including headquarters & branch plants, distribution lines, franchise licenses, production chains, subcontracting: the hubs-and-spokes of communications, just-in-time production etc (Shaw & van der Westhuizen 1999).

Increasingly, regions, especially corridors & triangles as indicated above, will be defined by contemporary infrastructures, such as electricity (and related dams & water distribution), gas/oil pipeline & telecommunications grids (including cable television & related services, the internet, especially servers etc), transport routes (particularly of containers by ocean, train & truck) etc, which themselves tend to reflect established communications, community & corporate networks (Vale, Swatuk & Oden 2000).

If such new regional designs continue to be effected, then in the second or third decade of the new century, we may find new meso-level structures emerging, such as the Great Lakes, Nile Valley and Rift Valley communities, somewhat parallel to the embryonic Horn & Sahel groupings. These would not necessarily be mutually exclusive, especially if participation was reflective of trilateral realities; ie companies & civil societies as well as states.

And "African" regions do not end at the shores of the continent: African countries/communities/companies are involved, for instance in sub-global groupings like Atlantic & Indian Ocean Rims, Cairns group on agriculture in the WTO, the Conventions

on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) etc, let alone the Commonwealth, *la francophonie* & Non-Aligned Movement.

e) lessons learned...for other disciplines/fields & future interventions

I conclude with a few more speculative reflections on some of the possible range of implications of such new regionalist analysis for established disciplines & debates, including discourses about interdisciplinary studies & policy directions/options. As already indicated, the overly stark, almost stereotypical, dichotomy between coming anarchy & African renaissance is moderated somewhat by the presence or dominance of each of these trends in different regions (Shaw & Nyang'oro 2000), symbolized by the apparent promise of a generation of "New Africans", notably Issayas of Eritrea, Kagame of Rwanda, Meles of Ethiopia & Museveni of Uganda; ie primarily ex-insurgency leaders (Clapham 1998). Yet their transition into international statesmen has not been unproblematic: continued border skirmishes and other signs of instability in the Great Lakes & the Horn suggest that the inherently problematic process of reconstruction of infrastructures & institutions is more protracted than anticipated. Hence my own rediscovery of 'new realism' as well as new regionalism: forms of conflict around the redefined state & its tenuous hold on territory & legitimacy which cannot be downplayed or overlooked (Shaw 1998).

New regional perspectives on the continent hold promise for a range of overlapping disciplines/debates, including:

- i) *political science*, which needs to reexamine assumptions about 'trilateral' state-economy-society relations as these continue at all levels, local through national & regional to global, but their content & balance have changed dramatically since the post-independence & -bipolar eras (Baylis & Smith 1997, Clemens 1998);
- ii) *international relations/foreign policy*, which are no longer the monopoly of state & interstate agencies but include the other pair of actors in the trilateral structure – ie economies/companies & civil societies/NGOs – and also embrace an increasingly extensive & heterogeneous range of issues (Dunn & Shaw 2000, Shaw & Nyang'oro 2000), from landmines to ozone, trade to peace-building, AIDS to ecology, leading to broad mixed actor global coalitions (Keck & Sikkink 1998, Lipschutz with Mayer 1996, Tomlin 1998);
- iii) *security studies*, which have to begin to transcend statecentric & bipolar assumptions & emphases in both theory & practice in favor of a catholic range of actors & strategic issues from ecology to viruses, migrations to small-arms at regional as other levels, especially the broad peace-building spectrum from confidence-building to reconstruction which involves civil societies at all stages (eg 'track-two'); and any rehabilitation of a neo-realist perspective would have to incorporate a range of non-state actors/interests & -traditional issues/relations (Nel & McGowan 1999);

- iv) *international political economy* (Stubbs & Underhill 2000), which has to begin to treat destruction & reconstruction as well as production & new technologies as the 'new economy' has distinct forms in the South: a mix of high-tech islands in a sea of poverty, which generates its own security challenges (Shaw & Nyang'oro 2000). Moreover, informal & illegal sectors continue to grow, particularly at the regional level, from basic needs to money-laundering, with multiple forms of 'market-responsiveness' in between. A new IPE of protracted conflicts is beginning to emerge treating ways in which diamond & other industries fund continuing wars in, say, Angola & Sierra Leone (Clapham 1998, Current History 1999, Reno 1998, Richards 1999) leading not only to the pathology of a new generation of child soldiers but also to considerable accumulation for a few; and such forms of exchange tend to have distinct regional dimensions;
- v) *development studies/policies*, which are no longer concerned just with sustainable development or structural adjustments/liberalizations but also increasingly with more flexible varieties of regionalisms along with the causes & consequences of increasingly protracted conflicts; hence the growing focus on, say, human development/security (Dickson 1997, Hoogvelt 1997, Payne 1998);
- vi) *comparative transitions*, from insurgencies to regimes with profound regional implications for forms of cooperation (eg Museveni-Kagame 'alliance' or understanding) & conflict (eg patterns of alliance among non-state as well as state interests around the interrelated Horn/Great Lakes/Congo conflict) (Shaw 1998);
- vii) *civil societies/varieties of NGOs*, especially at fluid new regionalist or meso-levels: both augmenting/containing old regional arrangements concentrated in the economic & strategic issue areas while also advancing new regionalist developments (Boas, Marchand & Shaw 1999, MacLean & Shaw 1996);
- vii) *studies of new forms of governance* appropriate to the new regionalist level/orientation, in which all trilateral actor types are represented, whether at local or regional, corridor or company/civil society level, as well as governance at all stages of the peace-building nexus (Held *et al* 1999, Keck & Sikkink 1998, Lipshutz 1996, Shaw 1999b, Van Rooy 1999); &, finally,
- viii) *alternative futures*, both existential & analytic: what new regionalisms in Africa & elsewhere into the twenty-first century: more anarchy and/or emerging markets? More realism and/or idealism? In short, at the start of the new millennium, reconstruction/redirection and/or regressions/authoritarianisms (Ottaway 1999, Shaw & Nyang'oro 2000)?

*This paper benefits immeasurably from continuing collaboration with colleagues associated with an informal transnational network around studies of 'new regionalisms' based on the Global Development Section in the ISA & Research Commission #40 in IPSA, notably Morten Boas, Sandra MacLean, Marianne Marchand, Fahim Quadir & Fred Soderbaum. It is also informed by a week of intense, informed but good-humoured

& respectful debates at two overlapping research workshops at Dalhousie University in mid-August 1999 on aspects of conflicts, ethnicities, globalizations & governance in Africa & Asia, cosponsored by the Ford Foundation & UNU.

References

African Development Bank Economic Integration in Southern Africa (1993) (Abidjan. Three volumes)

Amin, Samir (1972) "Underdevelopment & Dependence in Black Africa: origins & contemporary forms" Journal of Modern African Studies 10(4), December: 503-524

Aulakh, Preet S & Michael G Schechter (eds) (1999) Rethinking Globalization(s): from corporate transnationalism to local interventions (London: Macmillan)

Barnard, David (ed) (1998) PRODDER: the South African Development Directory 1998/9 (Braamfontein: HSRC)

Baylis, John & Steve Smith (eds) (1997) The Globalization of World Politics: an introduction to international relations (Oxford: OUP)

Boas, Morten, Marianne H Marchand & Timothy M Shaw (eds) (1999a) 'Special Issue: New Regionalisms' Third World Quarterly 20(5)

--- (1999b) 'The Weave-world – regionalisms in the South in the new millennium' Third World Quarterly 20(5)

Chen, Edward & C H Kwan (eds) (1997) Asia's Borderless Economy: the emergence of sub-regional zones (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin)

Clapham, Christopher (1996) Africa & the International System: the politics of state survival (Cambridge: CUP)

--- (ed) (1998) African Guerillas (Oxford: James Currey)

Clemens, Walter C (1998) Dynamics of International Relations: conflict & mutual gain in an era of global interdependence (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield)

Cliffe, Lionel (ed) (1999) 'Special Issue: Complex Political Emergencies' Third World Quarterly 20(1): 1-256

Crawford, Neta C & Audie Klotz (eds) (1999) How Sanctions Work: lessons from South Africa (London: Macmillan)

Dicklitch, Susan (1998) The Elusive Promise of NGOs in Africa: lessons from Uganda (London: Macmillan)

Dickson, Anna K (1997) Development & International Relations: a critical introduction (Cambridge: Polity)

Dunn, Kevin & Timothy M Shaw (eds) (2000) Africa's Challenge to International Relations: rethinking world politics (London: Macmillan)

Gelb, Stephen & Claudia Manning (eds) (1998) 'Spatial Development Initiatives: unlocking economic potential' Development Southern Africa 15(5), Summer: 717-942

Germain, Randall D (ed) (1999) Globalization & its Critics: perspectives from political economy (London: Macmillan)

Gibb, Richard (1998) 'Southern Africa in Transition: prospects & possibilities facing regional integration' Journal of Modern African Studies 36(2), June: 287-306

Giddens, Anthony (1998) The Third Way: the renewal of social democracy (Cambridge: Polity)

Gills, Barry (ed) (1997) 'Special Issue: Globalization & the Politics of Resistance' New Political Economy 2(1): 5-200

Grugel, Jean & Wil Hout (eds) (1999) Regionalism Across the North-South Divide: state strategies & globalization (London: Routledge)

Held, David, Anthony G McGrew, David Goldblatt & Jonathan Perraton (1999) Global Transformations: politics, economics & culture (Cambridge: Polity)

Helmich, Henry & Ian Smillie (eds) (1999) Stakeholders: government-NGO partnerships for international development (London: Earthscan)

Hettne, Bjorn, Andras Inotai & Osvaldo Sunkel (eds) (1999) Globalism & the New Regionalism (London: Macmillan for UNU/WIDER)

Hettne, Bjorn & Fredrik Soderbaum (eds) (1998) 'Special Issue: the New Regionalism' Politeia 17(3): 1-142

Hoogvelt, Ankie (1997) Globalisation & the Postcolonial World: the new political economy of development (London: Macmillan)

Howe, Herbert M (1998) 'Private Security Forces & African Stability: the case of Executive Outcomes' Journal of Modern African Studies 36(2), June: 307-331

Hulme, David & Michael Edwards (eds) (1997) NGOs, States & Donors: too close for comfort? (London: Macmillan for SCF)

Kaplan, Robert (1994) "The Coming Anarchy" Atlantic Monthly 273(2), February: 44-75

- Kasfir, Nelson (ed) (1998) 'Special Issue on Civil Society & Democracy in Africa: critical perspectives' Commonwealth & Comparative Politics 36(2), July: 1-149
- Keck, Margaret E & Kathryn Sikkink (1998) Activists beyond Borders: advocacy networks in international politics (Ithaca: Cornell University Press)
- Kenny, Charles & Todd J Moss (1998) 'Stock Markets in Africa: emerging lions or white elephants?' World Development 26(5), May: 829-843
- Kleinberg, Remonda Bensabat & Janine A Clark (eds) (2000) Economic Liberalization, Democratization & Civil Society in the Developing World (London: Macmillan)
- Lindberg, Staffan & Arni Sverrisson (eds) (1997) Social Movements in Development: the challenge of globalization & democratization (London: Macmillan)
- Lipschutz, Ronnie D with Judith Mayer (1996) Global Civil Society & Global Environmental Governance (Albany: SUNY Press)
- MacLean, Sandra J & Timothy M Shaw (1996) 'Civil Society & Political Economy in Contemporary Africa: what prospects for sustainable democracy?' Journal of Contemporary African Studies 14(2): 247-264
- Marchand Marianne H, Morten Boas & Timothy M Shaw (1999) 'The Political Economy of New Regionalisms' Third World Quarterly 20(5):
- McCarthy, Colin (1996) 'Regional Integration: part of the solution or part of the problem?' in Stephen Ellis (ed) Africa Now: people, policies & institutions (London: Jame Currey) 211-231
- Murphy, Craig (ed) (2000) Egalitarian Social Movements in Response to Globalization (London: Macmillan)
- Nel, Philip & Patrick J McGowan (eds) (1999) Power, Wealth & Global Order: an international relations textbook for Africa (Cape Town: UCT Press for FGD)
- Ottaway, Marina (1999) 'Africa' Foreign Policy 114, Spring: 13-25
- Payne, Anthony (1998) 'The New Political Economy of Area Studies' Millennium 27(2): 253-273
- Quadir, Fahim, Sandra J MacLean & Timothy M Shaw (1999) 'Pluralisms & the Changing Global Political Economy: ethnicities in crises of governance in Asia & Africa' (Halifax: Ford Project, Dalhousie University)
- Reno, William (1998) Warlord Politics & African States (Boulder: Lynne Rienner)

Richards, Paul (1999) Fighting for the Rain Forest: war, youth & resources in Sierra Leone (Oxford: James Currey for IAI)

Scholte, Jan Aart (1999) Globalization: a critical introduction (London: Macmillan)

Shaw, Timothy M (1998) 'African Renaissance/African Alliance: towards new regionalisms & new realism in the Great Lakes at the start of the twenty-first century' Politeia 17(3): 60-74

--- (1999a) 'Island Governance in the New Millennium' (Halifax: ISLE Programme, Dalhousie University)

--- (1999b) 'Overview: global/local – states, companies & civil societies' in Stiles (ed) Global Institutions & Local Empowerment 1-8

Shaw, Timothy M & Sandra J MacLean (1999) 'The Emergence of Regional Civil Society: contributions to a new human security agenda' in Ho-Won Jeong (ed) The New Agenda for Peace Research (Aldershot: Ashgate) 289-308

Shaw, Timothy M & Julius E Nyang'oro (1999) 'Conclusion: African Foreign Policies & the Next Millennium: alternative perspectives, practices & possibilities' in Stephen Wright (ed) African Foreign Policies 237-248

--- (2000) 'African Renaissance in the New Millennium? From anarchy to emerging markets?' in Stubbs & Underhill (eds) Political Economy & the Changing Global Order 275-284

Shaw, Timothy M & Albrecht Schnabel (1999) "Human (In)Security in Africa: prospects for good governance in the twenty-first century" UNU Work in Progress 15(3), Summer: 16-18

Shaw, Timothy M & Janis van der Westhuizen (1999) 'Towards a Political Economy of Trade in Africa: states, companies & civil societies ' in Brian Hocking & Steven McGuire (eds) Trade Politics (London: Routledge)

Shearer, David (1999) "Outsourcing War" Foreign Policy 112, Fall: 68-81

'Special Issue on "Africa's Wars"' (1999) Current History 98(628), May: 195-241

Stiles, Kendall W (ed) (1999) Global Institutions & Local Empowerment (London: Macmillan)

Stubbs, Richard & Geoffrey R D Underhill (eds) (2000) Political Economy & the Changing Global Order (Toronto: OUP. Second edition)

Teunissen, Jan Joost (ed) (1996) Regionalism & the Global Economy: the rise of Africa (The Hague: FONDAD)

Tomlin, Brian *et al* (eds) (1998) To Walk without Fear: the global movement to ban landmines (Toronto: OUP)

UNDP (1994) Human Development Report 1994 (New York: OUP)

Vale, Peter & Sipho Maseko (1998) 'South Africa & the African Renaissance' International Affairs 74(2), April: 271-287

Vale, Peter, Larry A Swatuk & Bertil Oden (eds) (2000) Theory, Change & Southern Africa's Future (London: Macmillan)

Van Rooy, Alison (1999) Civil Society & Global Change: Canadian Development Report 1999 (Ottawa: North-South Institute)

Weiss, Thomas G (1999) Military-Civilian Interactions: intervention in humanitarian crises (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield)

Wright, Stephen (ed) (1999) African Foreign Policies (Boulder; Westview)

Halifax, Nova Scotia, August 1999