

THE NEW REGIONALISM
IN AFRICA

J. ANDREW GRANT
AND FREDRIK SÖDERBAUM

THE NEW REGIONALISM IN AFRICA

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Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	vii
<i>List of Figures</i>	viii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	ix
<i>Foreword by Christopher Clapham</i>	xiii
<i>Preface by Timothy M. Shaw</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xviii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xix

1	Introduction: The New Regionalism in Africa <i>J. Andrew Grant and Fredrik Söderbaum</i>	1
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PART I: REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

2	New Regionalism as an Alias: Regionalization Through Trans-State Networks <i>Daniel C. Bach</i>	21
3	Weak States, Strong Regimes: Towards a 'Real' Political Economy of African Regionalization <i>Morten Bøås</i>	31
4	New Regionalism, States and Non-State Actors in West Africa <i>Okechukwu C. Iheduru</i>	47
5	Regional Development-Environment Discourses, Policies and Practices in Post-Apartheid Southern Africa <i>David Simon</i>	67

PART II: NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

6	Deteriorating Human Security in Kenya: Domestic, Regional and Global Dimensions <i>Stephen Brown</i>	93
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7	New Regionalism and Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Networks of Plunder and Networks for Peace <i>Sandra J. MacLean</i>	110
8	New Regionalism and Micro-Regionalism in South-Western Africa: The Oil-Rich Enclave of Cabinda <i>J. Andrew Grant</i>	125
9	Angola after Savimbi: New Hope for the South/Central Region? <i>J. Zöe Wilson and Arsène Bwenge Mwaka</i>	144
10	Cold War Regional Hangovers in Southern Africa: Zambian Development Strategies, SADC and the New Regionalism Approach <i>Eve Sandberg and Naomi Sabel</i>	159

PART III: CONCLUSIONS

11	Regionalization, the State and Human Security/Development in Africa: Thoughts for Advancing the Debate <i>Kevin C. Dunn and James J. Hentz</i>	179
12	The Future of New Regionalism in Africa: Regional Governance, Human Security/Development and Beyond <i>Timothy M. Shaw, Fredrik Söderbaum, Julius E. Nyang'oro and J. Andrew Grant</i>	192
	<i>Bibliography</i>	207
	<i>Index</i>	239

List of Maps

Map 1.1	Africa	2
Map 8.1	Cabinda	131

List of Figures

Figure 5.1	The Maputo Development Corridor	75
Figure 5.2	Trans-Boundary and some Domestic South African Spatial Development Initiatives	77
Figure 5.3	Spatial Components of the 1975 National Physical Development Plan	79
Figure 5.4	The Great Limpopo Trans-Frontier Park	83
Figure 5.5	Trans-Frontier Conservation Areas and Parks in Southern Africa	84
Figure 6.1	Net Financial Flows to Kenya, 1989-2000	102
Figure 10.1	Distribution of Zambian Exports	167
Figure 10.2	Distribution of Zambian Imports	168
Figure 10.3	SADCC/SADC Imports to Zambia excluding South Africa and Zimbabwe	169

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Foreword

Christopher Clapham

For some decades after most African states became independent from the late 1950s onwards, the study of 'regionalism' within the continent was conceived of very largely within institutional and intellectual frameworks that looked at regional organizations as 'stepping stones' or 'building blocks' within the wider project of creating African unity. Like the Organization of African Unity (OAU) itself, this project was in practice deeply subordinated to the demands of state maintenance and the survival strategies of individual rulers, in a way that negated the ambitious goals (often compared to those of the European Union) that such organizations formally set themselves. Such doomed attempts at what was generally termed 'regional integration' threatened to condemn the study of regionalism in Africa to the same irrelevance as the institutions to which it devoted rather more attention than they generally deserved.

Yet Africa has always been a deeply regionalized continent. The boundary lines so arbitrarily drawn by colonial rulers – however lasting these have been, and however central to the continent's formal diplomatic norms – could never override the numerous ways in which Africans continued to interact through wider trans-frontier networks. Old trading routes and patterns of long distance migration not only continued, but were in many ways enhanced by the new state system, which at the same time they undermined. Nowhere was this clearer than in the impact of Africa's incorporation into the global economy, which conventional regional integration schemes had often futilely sought to displace. Regional labor migration followed the opportunities created by mining and cash crop production for the global market. Differential tariffs, monetary systems and marketing policies created massive incentives for smuggling across state boundaries. Africa's incorporation into the burgeoning global trade in illegal narcotics likewise benefited from its porous frontiers. Problems of state maintenance – and straightforward bad governance – led to cross-border refugee flows, which in turn provided fertile recruiting grounds for insurgencies directed against the governments of the states from which refugees had fled. Regional institutions like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), formally established for purposes of economic integration, took on a new life as security organizations, in the process subverting the very norms of state sovereignty that they sought to uphold. Nowhere were the intimate links between regional insecurity, intervention and plunder for the global market more brutally present than in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), which is examined by Sandra J. MacLean later in this volume.

In short, Africa provides a classic location for the study of the 'new regionalism' – a regionalism shorn of the conceptual rigidities (and, alas, often also the worthy but naive aspirations) that marked its predecessors, that places regional relationships firmly within the frame created by globalization on the one hand, and the endless human search for physical and material security on the other. This regionalism is now central to the understanding of developments in modern Africa, and to that understanding this volume makes a very welcome and important contribution.

Preface

As both series editor and occasional mentor of this volume's co-editors, I am delighted to contribute some reflections on the salience of this timely collection to reinforce the welcome Foreword by a leading Africanist and social scientist, Christopher Clapham.

This volume presents a group of largely younger, but truly international scholars, who advance and reinforce the trend towards 'new' approaches to 'regionalism(s)' whether they do so from a local/national or continental/global vantage-point. In so doing, the dozen truly 'radical' analysts contribute towards a currently rather endangered species of analysis and practice: multilateralism. The rush towards US unilateralism is of profound consequence for the Global South. By contrast, recent, novel and flexible forms of multilateralisms (e.g., around the erstwhile Ottawa and Kimberley Processes as well as the UN system) suggest innovative ways forward to circumvent any unilateralism so long as extensive and heterogeneous 'willing' coalitions can be forged using the internet and other contemporary means of global public or popular diplomacy. For some time now, 'global governance' has come to include a range of non-state actors like civil society and transnational companies (see, for example, the UN Global Compact) as well as states and inter-state organizations. The 'new multilateralism' seeks to build on mixed-actor coalitions to identify and resolve a set of novel global issues ranging from conflict diamonds, landmines, small arms and the mistreatment of children to global warming, ozone depletion, viruses and so on – let alone international terrorism.

Together, this volume's contributors advance a set of inter-related, inter-disciplinary perspectives and debates which contribute to overlapping genres and discourses, notably African and development studies, democratic governance, globalization(s), human development/rights/security and the political economies of violence within the new regionalism/regionalisms approach (NRA). But, happily, the new generation of analysts is not bound by any one canon or discipline. Rather, this volume is marked by its diversity and heterogeneity in terms of approach, assumption, focus, level and conclusion. Moreover, whilst it constitutes essentially an 'academic' exercise, its findings can contribute to policy and practice as well as concept and theory. Yet, its orientation is away from the conservative and towards the progressive: more or less international political economy (IPE), informed by the continued elusiveness of 'development' – ecological, economic, political and social alike – in much of the South. Moreover, it is also appropriately eclectic in terms of its level of analysis, shifting from more to less micro- and macro-level, including the meso-level, albeit always with a focus on the regional; that is, innovative corridors, enclaves, peace parks, triangles, valleys, zones and so forth.

Finally, whilst its unifying focus is 'Africa', the relevance of its findings extends well beyond this one continent and time period.

As this book was conceived, contracted, edited, revised and facilitated by a set of overlapping professional networks around the new regionalism(s) in the ISA, IPISA, BISA and EADI, regional projects in Africa were themselves in some disarray. Today, very few of the continent's established inter-state arrangements are in good shape (e.g., ECOWAS and SADC). Nevertheless, some innovative, less state-centric formulations are burgeoning, such as the Cross-Border Initiative (CBI) and Maputo Development Corridor (MDC). Moreover, if the 'new' African Union (AU) suffers from many of the same maladies as its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), at least it constitutes a new beginning. Furthermore, its erstwhile 'partner' – the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) – constitutes a rather different formulation: how to communicate and collaborate with and not against the G8? The AU-NEPAD-G8 conjuncture should be contrasted with its state-centric predecessors, such as the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), which was already out of tune with the emerging neo-liberal times of the early-1980s. In short, the continent is once again at a cross-roads, one that exists at several inter-related levels.

Simultaneously, then, African state and non-state actors have to treat an endless variety of intermediate challenges and opportunities, from regional conflicts and peace-building to regional just-in-time production. Yet, these are, for better or worse, central aspects of the future for many non-state and state actors alike, informed by myriad dimensions of 'globalization'. Likewise, the literatures to which attention increasingly has to be paid, if effective developmental directions are to be identified and pursued, include not only George Soros and Joseph Stiglitz but also:

- i) new forms of IPE, including new varieties of flexible niche production;
- ii) new regionalism(s) at a variety of levels and involving/reflecting a diversity of disciplinary approaches, novel issues, social pressures and so on;
- iii) new multilateralisms, especially around 'African' issues like landmines and conflict diamonds as well as endangered species, ethical trade, extractive industries and so forth;
- iv) new conflicts, some over (very) basic needs, others over accumulation (i.e., grievance as well as greed); and
- v) new globalization(s) in the form of incidences and impacts of global actors and interests and institutions never before anticipated (e.g., global networks of indigenous communities and of gangs/mafias – not just TNCs and NGOs).

If this and related analyses/volumes fail to so contribute – and to be recognized and appreciated for so contributing – then the future of IPE is endangered above as well as below the 49th parallel and elsewhere. Nevertheless, this and related collections point to alternative futures, frameworks and outcomes,

hopefully of the more positive kind all too often envisaged yet all too rarely realized as the Cold War ended: from peace to democratic and developmental dividends. In short, despite the less than auspicious start to the new century, I am delighted to recommend this timely collection for reasons of analysis, policy and practice as well as means to advance comparative and global scholarship on a set of inter-related concepts and debates.

Timothy M. Shaw

July 2003

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List of Abbreviations

ABR	African Business Roundtable
ACBI	African Capacity Building Initiative
ACCORD	African Centre for the Cooperative Resolution of Disputes
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
ADFL	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo/Zaire
AEC	African Economic Community
AERC	African Economic Research Consortium
AfDB	African Development Bank
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
AFWE	African Federation of Women Enterprises
ANC	African National Congress
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
AU	African Union
BNA	<i>Banco Nacional de Angola</i>
BOT	build, operate and transfer
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CABGOC	Cabinda Gulf Oil Company
CCA	Corporate Council on Africa
CCR	Center for Conflict Resolution
CEAO	<i>Communauté économique en Afrique de l'ouest</i>
CEMAC	<i>Communauté économique en Afrique centrale</i>
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States (<i>Communauté des états sahélo-sahariens</i>)
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CMA	Common Monetary Area
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CONSAS	Constellation of Southern African States
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EAC	East African Community
EACSO	East African Common Services Organization
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEA	European Economic Area

EPZ	export-processing zone
ESKOM	Electricity Supply Commission (South Africa)
EU	European Union
FAA	<i>Forças Armadas de Angola</i>
FAMW-SADC	Federation of African Media Women-SADC
FAPLA	<i>Forças Armadas Populares para a Libertação de Angola</i>
FDD	Forces for the Defence of Democracy
FEWAC	Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce
FLEC	<i>Frente para a Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda</i>
FLEC-FAC	<i>FLEC-Forças Armadas de Cabinda</i>
FLEC-R	<i>FLEC-Renovata</i>
FLS	Front Line States
FNLA	<i>Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola</i>
Frelimo	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i>
FTA	free trade area
GCA	Global Coalition for Africa
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	gross domestic product
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GNP	gross national product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICRAF	International Centre for Research in Agro-Forestry
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa
IDP	internally-displaced person
IDZ	industrial development zone
IFAW	International Fund for Animal Welfare
IFC	International Financial Corporation
IFI	international financial institution
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGD	Institute for Global Dialogue
IGO	inter-governmental organization
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMET	International Military and Educational Training
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPE	international political economy
IR	international relations
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
IUCN	World Conservation Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy
MDC	Maputo Development Corridor

MERCOSUR	<i>Mercado Común del Sur</i> (Southern Common Market)
MLC	<i>Mouvement de libération du Congo</i>
MLEC	<i>Movimento de Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda</i>
MNC	multinational corporation
MONUA	United Nations Observer Mission in Angola
MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MPLA	<i>Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola</i>
MPRP	Marxist People's Revolutionary Party
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NCQPC	Negotiating Committee for the Quest for Peace in Cabinda
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	non-governmental organization
NPDP	National Physical Development Plan
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NRA	new regionalism/regionalisms approach
NRA-Uganda	National Resistance Army (Uganda)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHADA	<i>Organisation pour l'harmonization des affaires du droit en Afrique</i>
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
PKO	peace-keeping operation
PPF	Peace Parks Foundation
PPP	purchasing power parity; public-private partnership
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PSA	production-sharing agreement
PTA	Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern African States
RCD-Goma	<i>Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie-Goma</i>
RCD-ML	<i>Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie-Mouvement de libération</i>
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
ROC	Republic of Congo
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RSA	Republic of South Africa
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SACM	South African Chamber of Mines
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SAIAA	Southern African Institute for International Affairs
SANP	South African National Parks
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAPP	Southern African Power Pool
SAPSN	Southern African Peoples' Solidarity Network

SARPCCO	Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization
SDI	spatial development initiative
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprise
SONANGOL	<i>Sociedade Nacional de Combustíveis</i>
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
TFCA	trans-frontier conservation area
TFP	trans-frontier park
TNC	transnational corporation
UDN	Uganda Debt Network
UDPS	<i>Union pour la démocratie et le progrès social</i>
UEMOA	<i>Union économique et monétaire ouest-africaine</i>
UMOA	<i>Union monétaire ouest-africaine</i>
UN	United Nations
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNITA	<i>União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola</i>
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNTAG	United Nations Transitions Assistant Group
UNU/WIDER	United Nations University/World Institute for Development Economics Research
UPA	<i>União das Populações de Angola</i>
US	United States
WAEN	West African Enterprise Network
WAGP	West African Gas Pipeline
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF-SA	Worldwide Fund for Nature-South Africa
ZAMWA	Zambian Media Women's Association
ZESCO	Zambian Electricity Supply Corporation

Chapter 1

Introduction: The New Regionalism in Africa

J. Andrew Grant and Fredrik Söderbaum

Introduction

The study of regionalism and its many facets is enjoying a renaissance of sorts within the larger, overlapping context of international relations (IR) and international political economy (IPE). Obviously, the 'region' and its various incarnations is not a new concept. However, in the present era characterized by a certain measure of uncertainty regarding the effects of globalization on all forms of political, economic and socio-cultural identity, the region – whether intra-state or supra-state – is as salient as ever. Concomitantly, the current era is also characterized by an international system that is in flux. The perceived stability of bi-polarity during the Cold War gave way to a decade of uncertainty, as the so-called 'New World Order' of the post-Cold War era was anything but orderly. In turn, the post-Cold War era was punctuated by the terror attacks of 11 September 2001, leading some to conclude that we have now entered a 'post-September 11th' era accompanied by further approbation concerning the stability of the international system.

It seems appropriate therefore to recognize the need to transcend purely state-centric notions of not only the disciplines of IR and IPE, but of regionalism as well. This applies to all regions in all parts of the world, though the theoretical orthodoxy has tended to focus on formal and inter-state regional frameworks in Europe and more recently, in North America and Asia-Pacific. Africa is, to a large extent, neglected in the general debate on regionalism. Mainstream perspectives tend to claim that if there is any regionalism at all in Africa, it is primitive and characterized mainly by failed or weak regional organizations and a superficial degree of regional economic integration. While this is not altogether wrong, it obscures the fact that there are intense and multi-dimensional processes of regionalization in Africa. The African state-society nexus is based on multiple actors that are linked together in hybrid networks and coalitions, together creating a wide range of complex regionalization patterns on the continent. Indeed, as Dunn (2001: 3) correctly asserts, 'African individuals and policy makers continue to construct creative and original responses to meet their political, economic, and social needs'.

Map 1.1 Africa

Rooted in what is broadly defined as 'the new regionalism/regionalisms approach' (NRA), this edited volume transcends conventional state-centric and formalistic notions of regionalism and seeks to theorize, conceptualize and understand the multiplicities, complexities and contradictions of regionalization processes in contemporary Africa. It is in this vein that the collection not only unpacks and theorizes the African state-society complex with regard to new regionalism, but also explicitly integrates the often neglected discourse of human security and human development. In so doing, the book moves the discussion of new regionalism forward at the same time as it adds important insights to security and development as such.¹

This introduction is structured in three main sections. The first rather comprehensive section describes the broad paradigm of the NRA, with emphasis on the transcendence of state-centric and formal regionalism, the core concepts

such as regions, regionalism and regionalization, and finally the intriguing relationship between globalization and regionalization. In the second section, the human security and human development discourses are discussed in the context of how they fit with the NRA. The introduction concludes with an outline of the structure of the book and a presentation of the individual chapters.

The New Regionalism/Regionalisms Approach

Regionalism has returned as one of the leading buzz-words in international studies. The term 'new regionalism' has been widely employed in the ensuing theoretical, ontological and methodological debates (Söderbaum and Shaw, 2003). There is however some confusion regarding its meaning as well as its divergence from 'old regionalism'. It must be emphasized from the outset that regionalism is by no means a new phenomenon. Cross-'national' (cross-community) interactions and interdependencies have existed as far back as the earliest historical recordings. In some instances, new regionalism is employed in the temporal sense with reference to the current era or wave of regionalism. There are a number of problems that are readily apparent with this type of labeling. First and foremost, there are often strong continuities and similarities between older and more recent forms of regionalism. By focusing solely on either past or present eras, one runs the risk of obscuring important transitions and possible concurrences between regionalisms. It is also possible to speak of new regionalism in a spatial sense, referring to a region – a veritable emerging region – that did not previously experience regionalism or has experienced a form of regionalism that was imposed by external forces. This dimension is relevant insofar as the regional phenomenon is now being transformed in the image of the European project and model during the first wave of regionalism towards a more global and diverse phenomenon.

The term new regionalism is perhaps most relevant to use for theoretical reasons. It is a widely used theory-building strategy in the social sciences to add the prefix 'new' in order to distinguish theoretical novelties from previous frameworks. This strategy is used both by mainstream and critical scholars in the discourse of regionalism. By consequence, we need to distinguish between mainstream theories of new regionalism and the new regionalism/regionalisms approach (NRA) as used in this volume (Söderbaum, 2002; Söderbaum and Shaw, 2003). Our definition of the NRA is a rather diffused school of regionalism espoused by scholars of critical and non-orthodox IR/IPE. Its origins can be traced to the United Nations University/World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU/WIDER)-sponsored research project on the New Regionalism (Hettne and Inotai, 1994; Hettne *et al*, 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c and 2001; Hettne and Söderbaum, 1998 and 2000; Mittelman, 2000; Schulz *et al*, 2001; Söderbaum, 2002; Thompson, 2000). Subsequently, some scholars have made a call for a 'new regionalisms' approach (Bøås *et al*, 1999; Bøås, 2000; Shaw, 2000a and 2000b). While applauding the NRA, this cohort has placed additional emphasis on the pluralistic and informal nature of contemporary regionalization as it is

occurring in the South. However, it must be emphasized that the researchers spearheading the two 'approaches' are linked in varying degrees to more or less the same epistemic network. The stance of this volume is to draw attention to the similarities rather than relatively minor (and in-group) differences between these two strands of thinking (for clarifications, see Söderbaum, 2002; Söderbaum and Shaw, 2003). The contention regarding the pluralism of new regionalism is a non-issue for us, since both strands of thinking are equally flexible for the aims and objectives of this book. Thus, the NRA as defined in this collection is referring to both of these theoretical 'strands' or 'approaches'.

Transcending State-Centrism and Formal Regionalism

Most approaches in the research field have been excessively concerned with formal and states-centric notions of regionalism. As Bach (1999a: 1) correctly points out: 'Outside Europe, the rebirth of regionalism during the late 1980s often had little to do with the numerous international organizations that were supposed to promote its development'. Clapham (1999: 53) draws attention to the same issue:

The model of inter-state integration through formal institutional frameworks, which has hitherto dominated the analysis of integration in Africa and elsewhere, has increasingly been challenged by the declining control of states over their own territories, the proliferation of informal networks, and the incorporation of Africa (on a highly subordinate basis) into the emerging global order.

It should thus be evident that the NRA looks beyond state-centrism. It is difficult to dispute that the nation-state is being re-structured and often lacks the capacity to handle global challenges to national interests. The NRA suggests that in the context of globalization, the state is being 'unbundled', with the result that actors other than the state are gaining strength. By implication, the focus should not be only on state actors and formal regionalism, but also on non-state actors and what is broadly referred to as 'informal regionalism' or 'regionalism from below'. This includes a wide range of non-state actors and activities, such as transnational corporations (TNCs), ethnic business networks, civil societies, think-tanks, private armies, development corridors and the informal border politics of small-scale trade, bartering, smuggling and crime. In other words:

It is only when we make deliberate attempts to connect the two broad processes of formal and informal regionalisms that we can get a clearer picture of the connections between them.... The point is that the outcome of these processes is highly unpredictable, and most often there is more to these issues than meets the eye (Bøås *et al.*, 1999: 905-6).

This perspective is highly relevant in the African context. Despite the recent fanfare surrounding the transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU), at least the more cautious commentators are pessimistic that the new entity will be able to attain its vaunted goals of a highly