

Transcending State-Centrism: New Regionalism and the
Future of Southern African Regional Integration

By

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, to whom all is due, my wife Dressa and children.

“To be a founder is to be a dreamer. Founders are driven by dreams of what is yet to be. They are able to lift their gaze beyond the now and visible and imagine a different future.” (Mamphele Ramphele)

Abstract

This dissertation argues that in the 1990s and beyond, the character and functions of regions and regionalism have experienced a major transformation. This requires a re-conceptualisation of regions and regionalism that transcends state-centrism. The argument here is that the definition of regions and regionalism needs to recognise that other actors also participate in the construction of regions and the practise of regionalism. Up to now, however, theories of integration incompletely deal with outcomes appropriate to developing countries, states and regions.

In the context where people remain vulnerable to top-down forms of regionalism driven by the forces of globalisation, this calls for a new approach in the analytical study of regionalism in a transnational context. The contention is that new regionalism, and its variant, developmental regionalism pay attention to the role those organised civil society actors and those marginalised by both globalisation and regionalisation play in promoting regionalism in a transnational context.

Historically, state-centric regionalism in southern Africa was not aimed at achieving developmental objectives. In the case of SACU, the argument is that South Africa used its economic strength in a hegemonial way. To counter-act apartheid South Africa's economic hegemony, SADCC was formed. SADCC achieved limited success in the fields of infrastructural development and in attracting donor aid. The end of the Cold War and the downfall of apartheid compelled these organisations to recast their objectives and purpose. For SACU this meant changing from an organisation dominated by South Africa to a fully-fledged inter-state one. Disconcertedly, however, about the reforms undertaken by SACU, is that the disposition of member states remain important in determining the content and scope of regionalism. SADC, on the other hand, has also not sufficiently reform itself to achieve the ambitious goals it set-out for itself. Moreover, while SADC has since its inception in 1992 set-out to involve non-state actors in its regional integration efforts, limited

institutional reform in 2000 and beyond, and elites at the forefront of institutional restructuring make it difficult for non-state actors to contribute to sustainable regional integration.

In conclusion, this dissertation maintains that sustainable regionalist orders are best built by recognising that beyond the geometry of state-sovereignty, civil society organisations with a regional focus and the ordinary people of the region also contribute to regioness and as such to the re-conceptualisation of regional community in southern Africa.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACP	African, Caribbean, and Pacific
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunities Act
ANC	African National Congress
ATN	African Trade Network
BLS	Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland
BLNS	Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland
CBI	Cross Border Initiative
CET	Common External Tariff
COMESA	Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa
CONSAS	Constellation of Southern African States
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CMA	Common Monetary Area
CUTT	Customs Union Task Team
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Commission of West African States
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FLS	Front Line States
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HCT	High Commission Territories
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisations
MDC	Maputo Development Corridor
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Area
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NIPAs	National Investment Promotion Agencies
NRA	New Regionalist Approach
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic development Plan
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SATCC	Southern African Transport and Communications Commission

SAPSN	Southern African Peoples Solidarity Network
SAPP	Southern African Power Pool
SARPN	Southern African Regional Poverty Network
SCUs	Sectoral Co-ordinating Units
SDIs	Spatial Development Initiatives
TFCAs	Trans-Frontier Conservation Areas
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction

1.1. Defining Regions and Regionalism

The end of the Cold War has posed a new challenge for both international relations theorists and practitioners. The test, which confronted them, was how to establish a new international order that reflected the changing global political landscape not characterised by bipolar rivalry. Regions and regional concerts were seen as the edifice upon which such a new international order was to be built. Not surprisingly, therefore, since the end of bipolar rivalry, the idea and organisation of the concept 'region' has elicited renewed international attention¹.

This resurgence in the study of international regionalism is exemplified by the revival of old regional organisations, the formation of new ones and the deepening of existing regional arrangements. This renaissance in the study of regionalism is, however, not only limited to the study of regional bloc formation by states alone. Because of the increasing obviousness of transnational and non-state phenomena in the post- Cold War era, contemporary studies of regions and regionalism recognise the need to transcend purely state-centric notions of regionalism. Phil Cerny (1999b) argues that the study of regionalism should also be driven by politics: by ideology, by the actions, interactions and decisions of state actors, their private sector interlocutors and the wider public. This calls for recognition that the conception of regions and the practice regionalism are not only state-centric projects. The conception of regions and regionalism needs to

¹ Concern with regional patterns and with regionalism did not suddenly begin in the 1990s: it has been the focus of study and political action since the beginning of the twentieth century (Cerny, 1999a).

recognise that other actors also participate in the construction of regions and the practise of regionalism.

The above recognition that other actors also participate in the construction of regions and the practise of regionalism, is prompted by an awareness that both globally and regionally: "... 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..." (Grant and Söderbaum, 2003:1)². This calls for a fundamental re-construction of regions and regionalism. The recognition that the conception of regions and the practise of regionalism is no longer only a statist project, presupposes that the conception of regions and the practise of regionalism should be expanded, to make allowance for such new insights.

An expanded conception of regions and regionalism is necessitated by the challenge posed to traditional views concerning the state-centric regional system, by, *inter alia*, transnational networks built around economic ties and cultural identities. For Philip Cerny an expanded conception of regionalism is necessary because: "... the nation-state as a structural framework for politics is poorly adapted to cope with the imperatives of an unevenly globalising polity." (1999b:152). In responding to the challenges posed by uneven globalisation, regions and regionalism need to be re-conceptualised. A broader definition of regions and regionalism, which such a re-conceptualisation would entail, presupposes an inclusive typology of both state-based and society-based actors.

To arrive at an inclusive typology, demands a multi-level and multi-purpose definition that moves both beyond geography and the state. Several authors define and perceive the notion of a region differently. Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum assert that: "It is conventionally held that a region minimally refers to a limited number of states linked together by a geographical relationship

² Maxi Schoeman contends that: "... regionalization is a process encompassing evolving interactive relationships between states and/or other actors who operate from within and across state borders..." (2001:139). These actors lend new meaning and value to the region and the notion of regional communities, and in doing so also re-scales identities and social relations.

and by a degree of mutual interdependence” (2000:462; Helen and Milner, 1997)³. This state-centric definition of regions underestimates the role of non-state actors in the construction of regions and regional community. As a result, this definition of region is inadequate since: “... regions disappear and reappear as they are transformed by various economic, political and cultural forces...” (Väyrynen, 2003:25)⁴. Because regions disappear and reappear as they are transformed, we can conclude, like Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum do, that: “There are no ‘natural’ or ‘given’ regions, but these are created and recreated in the process of global transformation.” (2000:461)⁵. This presupposes that social and political forces that transcend the state, also contribute to an expanded conception of regions and the notion of regionalism. In the 1990s, the character and functions of regions and regionalism have experienced a major transformation. This requires a re-the conceptualising of regions and regionalism that transcends state-centrism.

In re-conceptualising regions and regionalism that transcends state-centrism, one needs to consider various economic, political and cultural forces, which shape and reshape regions. In doing so, one could argue, like Andrew Hurrell does, that: “The range of factors that may be implicated in the growth of regionalism is very wide and includes economic, social, political, cultural and historic dimensions” (1995:333). Such an expanded regional space provides for a different and multifaceted conception of regions and the notion of regional communities. This suggests that what is needed, in the 1990s and beyond, is a new type of regionalism that is, among others, open and inclusive and driven by both state and non-state actors.

³ Raimo Väyrynen posits that: “Physical regions refer to territorial, military and economic spaces controlled primarily by states, but functional regions are defined by nonterritorial factors such as culture and the market that are often the purview of nonstate actors” (2003:27).

⁴ Moreover: “... regions are shaped by the spillover of domestic conditions across borders.” (ibid, p32).

⁵ In this regard, Fredrik Söderbaum notes that: “Just like states, regions are social constructs and may involve a large number of countries in macroregions or a more limited number grouped in subregions or smaller cross-border microregions. At the same time, the socially constructed nature of regions implies that they are politically contested.” (2003:411).

Social constructivism, which informs definitions of regionalism in the 1990s, and as such has displaced previous approaches, views regions as social and political constructs, formed by both states and non-state actors. Stephen Walt asserts that: “From a constructivist perspective... the central issue in the post-Cold War world is how different groups conceive their identities and interests.” For constructivist the crucial aspect during the post-Cold War period is: “... how ideas and identities are created, how they evolve, and how they shape the way states understand and respond to their situation” (1998:9). In re-conceptualising regionalism, however, it is crucial not only to look at how states understand and respond to their situation, but also to look at the cultural, economic, political and security factors and the multiple actors, which necessitates such a response. New approaches to the study of regionalism, which take place across a number of dimensions, accommodate such a re-conceptualisation.

The above re-conceptualisation of regionalism is necessitated by the fact that: “...the existence of regions is preceded by the existence of region-builders” (Niemann, 1998:115). Region-builders, which is made up of both state and non-state actors should, therefore, recognised that: “Regionalism is a heterogeneous, comprehensive, multi-dimensional phenomenon, taking place in several sectors and often ‘pushed’ (or rather constructed) by a variety of actors (state, market and society)”(Grant and Söderbaum, 2003:6)⁶. This suggests that social and political forces beyond the state also drive regionalism. In the case of southern Africa, it will be contended that non-state actors also contribute to the definition and organisation of social space and political community taking place in the region. As such, they contribute to the constitution of the social reality that gives meaning to the notion of region and regional communities.

Daniel Bach notes that: “Regionalism refers specifically to the idea, ideology, policies and goals that seek to transform a geographical area into a clearly identified social space. Regionalism also relates to the construction of an identity and

⁶ Andrew Grant and Fredrik Söderbaum define regionalism as: “... the body of ideas, values and concrete objectives that are aimed at transforming a geographical area into a clearly identified regional social space. In other words, it is the urge by any set of actors to re-organize along regional lines in any given issue-area.” (2003:7).

carries as a result, a strong cognitive component.” (2003:22). This invites us to re-examine both the theoretical and normative foundations of the study of regionalism. The construction of an identity is not only the prerogative of states, but also of non-state actors. It is the construction of an identity, which informs the definition of regions and regionalism in the 1990s.

Important for the conception of regions and regionalism in the 1990s was: “... how political actors perceive and interpret the idea of a region...hence the conclusion is that... regions are socially constructed and hence politically contested...” (Hurrell. 1995:334). For southern Africans, the social re-construction of regions should make allowance for: “... the growth of societal integration within a region and to the [often-undirected] processes of social and economic interaction, which, result in complex social networks as a result of the increasing flow of people, which eventually lead to... the creation of a transnational regional civil society.” (Ibid)⁷. Such a transnational regional civil society posits that the poor and the marginalised are forging an identity among themselves not bound by national boundaries in their search for a modicum of protection and livelihood. In demonstrating their social significance, they are socially reconstructing southern Africa. The social re-construction of regions and regionalism, therefore, should recognise that a regional civil society gives new meaning to the notion of regional communities.

The study of regional integration in southern Africa has hitherto, however, largely been conducted within the confines of inter-state integration. The imposition of SAPs in most southern African countries and economic globalisation has seen the growth in transnational relations⁸. In the context of southern Africa, a ‘new’ approach to the study of regionalism opened-up possibilities for recognising that regionalism in its contemporary form is a multifaceted process that involves both state and non-state actors

7 Lesley Blaauw (1997) explores the possible evolution of a regional civil society in southern Africa.

⁸ Six states within SADC have implemented SAPs under the aegis of the WB and IMF. These countries are Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Others such as Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland have voluntarily introduced elements of SAPs into their economic policies (Tsie, 1996; Lee, 2003).

and occurs within the institutional space provided by states, but also outside of such space. This would entail re-configuring the definition of southern Africa, to make allowance for such insights.

In socially re-constructing the southern African region, thus, regional analysis should focus on the role of both state and non-state actors. In addition, if we view regions as social and political constructs, we should bear in mind the various cultural, economic and political factors, which contribute to the growth of regionalism. Re-conceptualising regionalism in southern means we should move beyond the historical definition of regionalism as a statist project.

1.1.2 Regionalism in southern Africa: Old and New

The formation of the southern African region centred historically on South Africa. The discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa enabled that country to construct the region based on its own needs. Labour migration, mining expansion, trade and transport, *inter alia*, all enhanced by the discovery of minerals, assisted South Africa to establish a political region to suit its own needs. The implications of the above, is that southern Africa, as a region did not evolve naturally or organically. With reference to southern Africa and drawing on Historical Sociology, Peter Vale contends that: "... states in the region were not born of natural ordering but were the products of constantly changing political, economic and strategic considerations." (2003:42; 2005). This suggests that states are social and political constructs, which are constantly created and re-created. Moreover, state formation in this context, is a multifaceted and comprehensive enterprise, taking place across a multi-level framework.

By similar extension regions and the formation of regional communities are also social and political constructs, which takes place in the context of complex economic and social linkages, among multiple actors. These linkages may be historically embedded. Referring to the afore-mentioned, Peter vale asserts that: "... across the face of southern Africa community identities exist that predate and, perforce, defy the fragmentation represented by colonial borders." (2003: 153). This suggests that regional identities may be historically deep-seated. Moreover, it points to the fact that the regional frontier is not defined by states also. The possible discovery of a common past that lies beyond the geometry of state sovereignty is embedded in the shared history of colonialism and the process of decolonisation.

For southern Africans: "The use of common cultural identities to define regions grew out of the process of decolonisation." (Väyrynen, 2003:26). This shared history of colonialism points to the existence of an inherent region, which could be used to enhance regionness. Björn Hettne posits that: "... there may be an 'inherent regionness' from precolonial times which form the basis for latent, informal regions transcending the current state

system.” (2001b:92). New approaches to the study of regionalism also recognise the specific historical experience of a particular space. This inherent regionness presupposes that regions are also re-defined by “the people” who are conscious of their transnational past and form a transnational community in doing so. This makes the contemporary conception of southern Africa as a regional state system only, contentious.

In the case of southern Africa, the conception of a southern African ‘region’ has remained a contested concept. This begs the question: what type of region does contemporary southern Africa constitute? Notwithstanding the renewed dynamism of regions, Solomon and Cilliers (1996) argue that southern Africa lacks the characteristics of a region in important respects. Their argument is informed by a perception of heterogeneity in the domains of religion and language, as well as a lack of economic and political homogeneity. Such a conception of the region, ignores the fact the trans-border activities of the people of southern Africa, which predates colonialism, lend new meaning and value to the region and the notion of regional communities and in doing so provide or make allowance for the conception of regionalism, which transcends state-centrism.

The above suggests that the conception of a region by Solomon and Cilliers (1996) in such narrow terms is based on dominant and indeed very conventional thinking on regionalism as a purely statist project⁹. This thinking, Peter Vale contends, has been crucial in: “The development of the region’s state system, and the community its state-makers have constructed... This has consequently... separate[d] southern African from a shared history.” The conception of a region, and indeed: “... the discovery of a common regional purpose is through the theoretical and political openings offered by the local, the immediate, even the personal- not... the statist.” (2003:140). This implies the need to rethink the relationship between governmental and non-governmental actors along much more fundamental lines in southern Africa. More critically, it exhorts us to consider the

⁹ Writing on southern Africa Peter Vale and Khabelo Matlosa assert that: “... interstate community-building is inevitably a prisoner of the national ambitions of governments. These governments inevitably operate on narrow political agendas that stand in the way of regional cooperation.” (1995:2).

agency of non-state actors and transnational forces. This non-statist emphasis requires a re-interpretation and expanded form of regionalism in southern Africa, which embraces non-state actors as well.

The shared history of the peoples' of southern Africa could be used to re-interpret the conception of regionalism in southern Africa, from a non-state centric viewpoint. These historically deep-seated identities, brought about by social contacts facilitate some sort of regionness. This suggests that non-state actors have a role to play in the construction of regions and regional community. Regionalism in southern Africa is also re-defined by "the people" who are conscious of their transnational past and form a transnational community in doing so. The awareness of a transnational past in southern Africa is embedded in social relations, which are historically constituted. Monnakgotla (1997) argues that the history of colonialism, which resulted in English and Portuguese being the core lingua francas of the region, could be used to reinforce common cultural identities, increase regionness and as such contributes to the formation of a transnational community¹⁰.

The formation of a transnational community, which transcends state-centrism in southern Africa, will arguably, lead to: "... the re-scaling of identities and social relations..." (Taylor and Söderbaum, 2001:677). The re-scaling of identities and social relations are fuelled by the existence of: "... informal economic and sociocultural cross-border interaction among small and private business, traders and people, ethnic and cultural networks, and so forth more or less all over Southern Africa. Well-known examples include the cross-border interaction in Southern Malawi and Mozambique; eastern Zimbabwe and Mozambique; southern DRC and Zambia... Some of these cross-border activities arise for sociocultural and historical reasons, as a consequence of the

¹⁰ Moreover, Venda and Sotho are spoken by South Africans and Zimbabweans; Kalanga, Tswana and San are spoken on the borders of Botswana and Zimbabwe, whilst Tonga is the medium of interaction between Zambians and Zimbabweans (Monnakgotla, 1997). Language can indeed serve as a powerful tool in reconstructing a southern Africa community. For example: "... the Sotho-Tswana people of southern Africa are scattered across several international borders... inter alia... those of Lesotho, Botswana, and South Africa..." (Vale, 2003:153).

irrelevance of current national borders, while others are based on price and institutional differences between countries with common borders.” (Söderbaum, 2001b: 111-112)¹¹. The actions of these non-state actors not only leads to transforming the region’s economic and political landscape, but also implies that social relations include a regional dimension. As such, using state-centric lenses to define southern Africa, suggests a poor basis for understanding the region. New approaches to the study of regionalism point to the need to recognise the reflexive inter-relations of multiple actors operating at multiple levels within the region.

Because the actions of these actors compel us to re-conceptualise regionalism, they remind us that the region is not only made up of institutions which promote co-operation, but also of non-state actors which contribute to the formation of a regional identity that lies beyond the geometry of state boundaries. In this trajectory, the conception of regionalism consists of a complex set of inter-locking institutions, norms and values, formal and informal relations, governmental and non-governmental actors that serves to make the rules for the regional order. Such trans-border activity from below lends new meaning and value to the region and the notion of regional communities and in doing so re-scales identities and social relations. This re-scaling of identities and social relations, are also mirrored in the migration patterns of farm workers and mine workers and those in search of a modicum of relief in the face of growing poverty and displacement.

The above re-scaling of identities and social relations suggests that: “In the midst of growing economic uncertainty and social strains, people in southern Africa have established or renewed regional connections as protective strategies. Of late there has been a noticeable increase in informal transborder trade and in the migration of people. While many such movements are economically driven, there have been increased numbers of political refugees fleeing civil war... and of ecological refugees forced out of homelands by drought and soil depletion. In many instances, the nature and source of the problem, like the

¹¹ This allows us to view the region as a social system: “... which implies translocal relations of social, political, cultural and economic nature between human groups. These relations may be positive or negative, but, either way, they constitute some kind of regional complex.” (Hettne, 2001a: 157-158).

responses, are also regional.” (MaClean, 1999:945). Such interconnections have implications for domestic as well as inter-state politics, and contribute to the re-scaling of identities and social relations.

This re-scaling of identities and social relations are crucial for: “... the development of shared understanding, transnational values and transaction flows to encourage community-building.” (Adler and Barnett,1998:4). The development of shared understanding and transnational values beyond the geometry of state sovereignty by non-state actors are contributing to raising awareness that new approaches to the study of regionalism is also concerned with regionalism from below. Regionalism from below contributes to regionness and an expanded conception of regions and the notion of regional communities beyond state boundaries¹².

The above implies that: “... regions do not need fixed boundaries. Regional clusters of actors can be defined by their mutual externalities, common identities, or the interactions among domestic coalitions. But even state-based regions expand and contract.” (Väyrynen, 2003:40). For southern Africa, this creates the opportunity to re-interpret the conception of region and regionalism. In simple terms, it offers southern Africans the opportunity to construct a ‘new’ region that transcends state-centrism.

It needs to be recognised that southern Africa as a region consists of both social forces and states. This compels us to re-create and re-conceptualise southern African regionalism. Re-conceptualising regionalism in southern Africa should include the poor and the marginalised. The contention here is that regionalism in southern Africa will only be enduring if it is underpinned by the realisation that both social forces and states have roles to play in strengthening regional institutions and processes. For the above to be achieved, recognition must be given to sub-national and transnational communities, which exist alongside states. This requires new analytical tools to define the concepts region and community.

¹² As regards the region’s borders, Peter Vale asserts that: “... the borders that separate one southern African state from another are more incidental than real- more obstacle than the facilitator of peace and progress” (2003:12).

One of the most potent symbols that could be used in constructing a 'new' region, that transcend state-centrism and as such a 'new' community in southern Africa is the liberation struggle. Due to the liberation struggles waged by the people of the region, a degree of cultural assimilation took place. The threads of southern Africa's history are indeed densely intertwined. History could, therefore, assist southern Africans in the possible discovery of a common past¹³. This in turn will enable southern Africans to talk more constructively about a common future. Ken Booth and Peter Vale note that: "By facing up to their past, southern Africa's peoples can shed their legacy of bitter conflict; and, by looking at security through fresh eyes, they can participate in the complex task of building a regional community out of a set of generally embattled and impoverished states." (1995:299). Talking more constructively about a common future will lend new meaning and value to the region and the notion of regional communities and in doing so re-scales identities and social relations.

Lending new meaning and value to the region and the notion of regional communities will heighten the awareness that historically in southern Africa: "... actors share values, norms and symbols that provide a social identity..." (Adler and Barnett, 1998:3). By sharing a social identity, communities are allowed to broaden the definition of a region. Accordingly: "... regions arise from the redefinition of norms and identities by governments, crime groups, and business firms." (Väyrynen, 2003:26). Regions are, therefore, also re-defined by 'the people' who are conscious of their transnational past and form a transnational community in doing so. Here the burden of the region's apartheid past, however, remains a huge obstacle in re-conceptualising southern Africa.

The existence of apartheid in southern Africa created a clear regional divide between South Africa and her neighbours, and a striking paradox. On the one hand, we had the apartheid government and its private economic actors, and part of South African civil society, seeking to actively promote the national

¹³ The possible discovery of a common past is embedded in the shared history of colonialism. For southern Africans: "The use of common cultural identities to define regions grew out of the process of decolonisation." (Väyrynen, 2003:26). Indeed: "... there may be an 'inherent regionness' from precolonial times which form the basis for latent, informal regions transcending the current system." (Hettne, 2001b:92).

interests of that government. On the other, we had the liberation movements of South Africa and some sections of civil society, predominantly black, actively opposed to all ventures beyond the parameters of the apartheid state. Neighbouring countries in southern Africa also actively attempted to oppose the penetration of the apartheid state and, especially its private economic actors. This response by the rest of the region to the apartheid state was exemplified by the formation of a community of resistance and common purpose¹⁴.

For the people of southern Africa, the formation of a community of resistance and common purpose was considerably aided by a common British administrative past. This in turn has contributed to a common interdependence contributed to a sense of regionness, which lies beyond the geometry of state sovereignty. Writing on this common British past, Stephen Burgess notes that: “The southern African structure was created by British imperialist forces, consolidated after the Anglo-Boer War, and centered on cooperation with the Union of South Africa. The region was bound together by British capital, the mining economy, and railroads, extended to Angola in the Northwest and to the border of Tanganyika in the Northeast, and featured European settlers and Portugal as junior partners. After the defeat of Germany in World War 1, a unipolar, hierarchical structure prevailed which ensured that there were no internal or interstate wars in the region until the 1960s.” (1998:43; Martin 1990)¹⁵. These developments, arguably, point to the historical existence of a common interdependence, which in turn contributed to a sense of regionness.

¹⁴ In the domain of security, this suggests that: “... the search for community in southern Africa seemed to be remarkably straightforward.” (Vale, 2003:137). What this highlights in the aftermath of the Cold War, is that narrow state-driven regionalism: “... has not produced community but has given instead, and ideological and geopolitical shape to regional affairs.” (ibid, p139).

¹⁵ With respect to geography, Vale maintains that: “The countries of Southern Africa are hide-bound to each other in the same way as are Canada and the United States, or France and Germany.” (1989:3). In the realm of political economy, he views the erection of a railway across the continent, to ostensibly transport gold from South Africa to the world market, as creating a pattern of (inter) dependence.

The above socio-cultural cross-border interaction circumvented state imposed anti-apartheid trade restrictions. This socio-cultural cross-border interaction may lay the basis for broader, non-state centric forms of co-operation in the region¹⁶. Peter Vale and Ken Booth posit that for the establishment of broader non-state centric forms of co-operation in the region: “The key lies in the development of a common sense of purpose among the societies across the region.” (1995:290). This requires a re-interpretation and expanded conception of regions, which includes economic, social, political, cultural and historic dimensions. In southern Africa, however, regional co-operation and integration historically meant state-promoted regionalism. This could, by and large, be attributed to the minimal role non-state actors have played in such integration projects¹⁷. Observers have not as yet interviewed or considered sub-regional actors about how they view the region. States have hitherto occupied the central focus of regional analysis in southern Africa.

State-promoted regional co-operation has formed an integral part, if not the only part, of regional integration attempts in southern Africa. What is significant to note is that inter-state integration in southern Africa: “... can be developed to secure welfare gains, to promote common values or to solve common problems... with a view to enhance... the conceptualisation of confidence-building measures, to the negotiation of a region-wide security regime.” (ibid. p336). A region-wide security regime, should however, not only concern itself with the security of the state, but also the security of individuals and groups within and between it. Therefore, regional security must be conceived in terms of the extension of the notion of community¹⁸, to include the poor and the marginalised.

¹⁶ Increasing non-state interaction may lead to: “A deeper thrust towards regional civil society will follow upon the intermingling of southern Africa’s peoples outside the activities of their governments.” (Booth and Vale, 1995:300).

¹⁷ More ominously: “The post-apartheid recreation of Southern Africa has tended to stress that the borders which are said to separate its states are fixed, determine the points of entry to, and exit from, a regional state system.” (Vale, 1999:19).

¹⁸ Karl Deutsch has argued that: “... a security community grows out of the mutual compatibility of values; strong economic ties; the expectation of more; multifaceted, social, political and cultural transactions...” (Ken Booth and Peter Vale, 1995:290).

A number of developments offer the opportunity to re-interpret and expand the notion of security in southern Africa. For Peter Vale: "Sites that offer an exchange of sovereignty are much in vogue in southern Africa: peace parks, spatial development projects, and the sharing of power grids are forcefully advanced as a rational way to resolve regional tensions, to dissolve ecological worries, to create jobs, and to grow the region's economy. All these, it is often asserted, will deepen the prospects for regional peace and community." (2003:144). These regional tensions not only affect inter-state relations, but also communities in the region. Not surprisingly, therefore, communities in southern Africa are at the forefront of constructing trans-border or transnational peace parks and spatial development projects. The actions of these actors require the broadening of the conception of regions and regionalism in southern Africa.

1.1.3 Re-conceptualising regionalism in southern Africa

The formative force of regions and the conceptualisation of regionalism in the 1990s, it has been argued elsewhere, are not states alone. In this trajectory, new approaches to regions and regionalism make allowance for a much more broader and comprehensive definition of these processes. Broadening the conception of regions and regionalism presupposes: "... that a number of domestic and transnational problems... are... approached in terms of security. Even at regional level, concern... needs to focus on the 'new' security threats such as: "... population growth; the environment and competition for scarce natural resources; mass migration; food shortage; drugs; disease and AIDS; ethnocentric nationalism; crime and small arms proliferation; the crises of liberal democracy; the role of the armed forces; poverty and economic marginalisation." (Söderbaum, 2001:29). These problems are central to most southern African states and societies and are critical determinants in contributing to the new conception of regionalism in the region.

The contention here is that three elements should inform our understanding of the conception of regionalism: "First, there is a

common historical experience and sense of shared problems among a geographically distinct group of countries or societies: this effectively gives a definition of a 'region'. Second, there are close linkages of a distinct kind between those countries and societies.... Finally, there is the emergence of organizations, giving shape to the region in a legal and institutional sense and providing some 'rules of the game' within the region: this element of design and conscious policy is central to 'regionalism'." (Smith, 1997:70-71). This suggests that expanded forms of regions and regionalism need to recognise that domestic, regional and the security of groups and individuals are inseparable.

The expansion and broadening of the conception of regionalism in southern Africa, and the definition of the region itself needs to bear in mind that: "... the region's people are in search of communities that lie beyond the privileges that have until now been accorded to the region's states and their governing elites." (Vale, 2003:158). The conception of regions and regionalism in southern Africa, therefore, need to be moulded to accommodate the poor and marginalised. It is, thus, necessary to recognise that: "The relative strength and mutual relationships between the top-down and bottom-up forces determine the dynamics of regionalism and regionalization in Southern Africa." (Söderbaum, 2001:106). This creates the opportunity for co-operation and inclusion, which in turn could strengthen regionness.

Fredrik Söderbaum notes that: "The profound implications of globalization, regionalization, and the restructuring of the nation-state have made it necessary to transcend the conventional obsession with national government and recognize the emergence of new and revised authority and governance structures, both "above" and "below" the level of national government." (2004:410). Regionalism in southern Africa should also, therefore, concern itself with political and social communities, which exist outside or on the fringes of states or who are the subject of exclusion. We, therefore, need to recognise more complex and multi-level modes of governance in which both state and non-state actors play a role. Globalisation and regionalism are according communities the opportunity to find solutions to pressing problems in transnational structures. This is because globalisation and regionalism are intimately connected, and together are shaping the emerging world order.

1.2. The Rationale for Regional Integration

1.2.1. The Global Context

In the aftermath of the Cold War, the activities of civil society actors have become increasingly important in giving us a lead about the changing nature of multiple referents in a transnational context¹⁹. Developmental activists, trade unionists, gender advocates, environmentalists, human rights watchdogs, groups of indigenous people and even drug syndicates, are helping to define interests that were once considered the exclusive domain of the state. This has given rise to a growth in societal activities.

Renewed growth in non-state actor activity is often attributed to the process of globalisation²⁰. To James Mittelman: “What sets

¹⁹ There is no shortage of definitions of civil society, Gramsci, Hegel and others have written on the subject. In this context, civil society embodies that space between constituted authority and the household. The conception of civil society in this context is understood: “... as a space where the public and private are more closely intertwined.” (Hopgood, 2001:1). However, civil society is also distinct from society in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to, *inter alia*, express their interests and make demands on the state and hold state officials accountable. Civil society encompasses a vast array of organisations. For the purpose of this dissertation, the developmental and issue-oriented nature of civil society is critical. Larry Diamond asserts that the developmental function of civil society is performed by: “...organizations that combine individual resources to improve infrastructure, institutions and the quality of life of the community.” While its issue-oriented function is performed by: “... movements for environmental protection, women’s rights, land reform, or consumer protection.” (1994:6).

²⁰ Globalisation has a long lineage. Yet, in the last three decades of the twentieth century, it has become more pronounced (Mittelman, 2000:918). To Stephen Gill: “Globalisation has a long lineage, which coincides with the development of capitalism.” (1996:209). The first phase of globalisation commenced at the end of the fifteenth century and was characterised by expanded European hegemony over the Western Hemisphere and sea routes becoming global. The second phase started during the latter part of the nineteenth century and was characterised by imperialism, and by a tremendous increase in trade and investment during the Industrial Revolution. The third phase commenced at the beginning of the twentieth century, with the integration of capital markets (Keohane and Nye, 2000).

the context for conflict and cooperation in the post-Cold War period is an integrating yet disintegrating process known as globalization.” (ibid. p3). Globalisation needs to be understood as a multifaceted process, in which a range of actors try to address a variety of issues. Globalisation as a phenomenon on the ground is embedded in a large diversity of economic, political and social questions. Because globalisation takes place not only in a state-centric set-up, but also within a multi-level framework it: “...has undermined the authority of conventional political structures and accentuated the fragmentation of societies.” (ibid. p27). This highlights the richness and complexity of interconnections, which transcend states and societies in the global order. New approaches to the study of regionalism, because of its comprehensives and multiplicity, also recognise the richness and complexity of contemporary forms of regionalism. As such, new approaches to the study and practise of regionalism, is intimately linked to globalism.

1.2.2 Globalisation Defined

Globalisation²¹ represents one of the most significant aspects of current international relations. The concept of globalisation is a contested one, which is obscured by a pervasive conceptual fuzziness. Louise Amoore (et al, 1997) postulate that definitional clusters of the concept globalisation might include: economic processes; political processes; world culture processes; and global civil society processes. For our purpose, the concept globalisation denotes the economic, cultural, political and technological processes which generate a multiplicity of linkages and interconnections between states and societies which make up

²¹ Conceptually, Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye contend that it is necessary to make a distinction between globalism and globalisation. The former, they argue, refers to: “... a state of the world involving networks of interdependence of capital and goods, information and ideas, and people and forces, as well as environmentally and biologically relevant substance (such as acid rain or pathogens). Globalisation and deglobalisation refers to the increase or decline of globalism.” (2000:105).

the modern world system (Held and McGrew, 1993:262). This suggests that globalisation, like new approaches to regionalism, is a multifaceted and comprehensive process that involves both state and non-state actors, and covers a wide range of issues, ranging from politics to economics. While there is agreement that globalisation encompasses a variety of issues and involve numerous actors, it is often narrowed down to the neo-liberal project of economic globalisation. When globalisation is narrowed down to the neo-liberal project of economic globalisation then the contours of the definition becomes clear.

It is indeed often argued that the globalisation process is ostensibly, but not exclusively, driven by economic considerations²². Globalisation as an economic force centres on: "... the spatial reorganisation of production, international trade, and the integration of financial markets." (Sideri, 1997:38)²³. The economic triad- the EU, NAFTA, and the regionalism as practised in Asia-Pacific- exemplifies this re-organisation of the global political economy²⁴. For Björn Hettne (1997) economic globalisation is fundamentally about the extension and intensification of capitalist global relations on a global scale, specifically after the Cold War. Globalisation is, thus, in this context, shaped by the ideology of neo-liberalism.

The end of the Cold War has accentuated the ideology of 'free markets' or neo-liberalism which extended: "... the Reaganite-Thatcherite idea of neo-liberalism... from Anglo-America to other

²² To Sandro Sideri, the economic concerns of this process centre around: "... multilateral trade liberalisation and trade policy." (1997:39)

²³ Globalisation is, however, more than an economic force. Stephen Gill notes that it: "... is part of a broad process of restructuring of state and civil society, and of the political economy and culture." (Gill, 1995:405).

²⁴ Philip Cerny notes that: "Globalisation as a political phenomenon basically means that the shaping of the playing field of politics itself derives from... state boundaries." (1997:253). Yet, these regions do not drive the new wave of regionalism. Indeed: "The most important characteristic of the new regionalism is its truly worldwide reach, extending to more regions, with greater external linkages." (Palmer, 1991:2). This suggests that the new regionalism is developing in a multipolar context. The multipolar nature of the new regionalism suggests that: "The relationship between these regional schemes and between regional and broader global initiatives is central to the politics of contemporary regionalism." (Hurrel, 1995:332).

parts of the world, eroding barriers, relaxing restrictive frameworks for cross-border transactions, and allowing information, goods and labour to flow more easily across national boundaries. (Mittelman, 2000:919)²⁵. This type of globalisation is synonymous with the liberalisation of production and trade, the extensive use of digital information technology to facilitate fast flows of information and rapid or instant telecommunication²⁶. These developments have been seen as catalytic in promoting economic globalisation, promoted by especially the neo-liberal state.

1.2.3 Globalisation and the State

The de-territorialisation of economic and political space, has led to a growth in global forms of governance. This suggests that the state is no longer the key structural agent, which can initiate action and exercise structural power in its own right. Resultantly, states need to respond in innovative ways to the proclivities of globalisation. In response to the diminution of its role as an initiator of global economic action, the state needs to re-position itself. In re-positioning itself, the state at times actively participate in the process of economic globalisation. This gives the state a particular neo-liberal posture.

The neo-liberal state has been viewed as an active promoter of economic globalisation²⁷. Philip Cerny argues that: "... the state has always been to some extent viewed as a promoter of market forces..." (2003:208). For states, this implies that globalisation is re-constituting or transforming the functions and authority of the

²⁵ Resultantly: "The globalisation of neo-liberal capitalism dismantles the state's power to regulate its national economy..." (Rosow, 2000:32).

²⁶ David Held and Anthony McGrew assert that: "This globalization of economic forces has transformed the parameters within which national economic management is pursued." (1993:269).

²⁷ Philip Cerny notes that: "Economic globalization contributes not so much to the supersession of the state by a homogenous global order as to the splintering of the existing political order." (2003:214).

nation-state. Cerny suggests that: “The main task or function of the contemporary state is the promotion of economic activities, whether at home or abroad, which makes firms and sectors located within the territory of the state competitive in international markets.” (ibid.). The state, in this context, reproduces itself in the face of domestic and international challenges.

In simple terms, the state is being fundamentally transformed within the wider structural context of global transformation. To James Mittelman, this suggests that: “In a globalized division of labour, the state no longer primarily initiates action in, but rather reacts to worldwide economic forces.” (1996:7). Globalisation involves a complex process of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation of political authority. The role of the state in this trajectory is, therefore, defensive.

In addition, Philip Cerny contends that neo-liberalism actively promotes the ‘market-state’ by positing that: “... state structures today are increasingly being transformed into market-oriented and even market-based organizations themselves, fundamentally altering the way that public and private goods are produced.”²⁸ Economic globalisation is transforming the conditions under which state power is exercised. Robert Cox observes that the above has resulted in: “The loss of effective sovereignty by states in economic policy...” (1997b:59). Conversely: “... states have promoted the formation of a web of transnational regimes and other linkages which have increasingly been developing the capacity to operate autonomously of those states.” (ibid.). This implies that interactions and processes at various levels also shape and change state responses to globalisation.

From the above, the globalisation process produces a contradiction for states: “States and intergovernmental organization play a role in enforcing the rules of the global economy and in enhancing national competitiveness, but their powers of shielding domestic economies from negative effects of globalization have diminished.” (Cox, 1996b:26-27). The loss of

²⁸ This suggests that: “... we may be witnessing the transmutation of the state from a civil association into a more limited form of enterprise association...” (Cerny, 2003:208).

effective sovereignty by states in economic policy, brought about by economic globalisation, means that the state is seen as less able to provide for the development needs of its people.

The inability of the state to perform its developmental role is made more pronounced by what Richard Sandbrook (2000) terms pragmatic neo-liberalism, which posits that: "...the state assumes responsibility for providing minimally adequate safety nets for those individuals who cannot market themselves effectively" (2000:1070)²⁹. This suggests that the state is here engaging in welfare action instead of development, which is an effect of globalisation and the neo-liberal ideology.

The above, Richard Sandbrook claims, "... purveys a false promise to the poor and socially excluded" (ibid: 1071). In protest, the poor and socially excluded challenge this exclusion, brought about by globalisation. This in turn, gives rise to resistance from social forces³⁰. By and large this resistance from social forces suggests the need for a 'new' recognition of the role of non-state actors. Simply put its calls for the recognition that international relations are not conducted by states only, but by a complex array of non-state actors, formal and informal political processes, and levels of sub-national, national, regional, international, and transnational polity as well. Balefi Tsie forcefully argues that states may no longer be seen as the primary unit of analysis in international relations since: "... there may be other equally important or even more powerful actors in the international political arena than the state..." (2001a:114; Skocpol 1979; Halliday, 1994,)³¹. Often change in the international system does not simply revolve around states.

²⁹ Writing on the impact of disciplinary neo-liberal globalism, Stephen Gill observes that: "... market civilisation involves patterns of social disintegration and exclusionary and hierarchical patterns of social relation." (1995:397).

³⁰ In this sense, not only production and the state, but also civil society is being globalised. James Mittelman asserts that: "The globalization of civil society involves resistance from disadvantaged strata in a changing division of labour." (1996:10).

³¹ Stephen Rosow argues that: "States remain the primary political units, however they are more stringently disciplined by global markets and international managerial organisations to deregulate production and capital flows, reduce social programmes and limit organised labour." (2000:32).

Other authors, like David Held et al (1990), contend that after all globalisation does not bring about the end of the state. To them, globalisation has also encouraged a more realigned activist state. Philip Cerny asserts that: "... state actors and institutions are themselves promoting new forms of complex globalisation in the attempt to adapt state actions to cope more effectively with what they see as global 'realities'." (1997:251). This argument posits that the power of national governments is not necessarily diminished by globalisation. States remain important actors in national, regional and global politics. They have been joined, however, by numerous non-state actors that address a multitude of issues beyond territorial politics.

From the above, power of national governments is being reconstituted and restructured in response to the growing complexity of processes of governance in a more interconnected world. To Philip Cerny, the political response of the state to globalisation: "... does not lead to a simple decline of the state but may be seen to necessitate the actual expansion of *de facto* state intervention and regulation in the name of competitiveness and marketization." (ibid.). This suggests that states remain central to shaping international economic relations. In pursuance of its economic goals under the neo-liberal economic rubric, however, states have to deal with a complex array of economic relations.

It explains the state's preoccupation with market-related economic matters³², which indirectly promotes civil society formation. States in having to re-organise economic space need to go regional. Simply put, states respond to the structural pressures of globalisation, by turning to regionalism³³. This is because: "... regionalism both shields domestic society from and integrates it into the global division of labour..." (Mittelman, 1996:11)³⁴. Seen

³² Implicitly is the recognition: "... that globalisation transforms political and not just economic life." (Rosow, S, 2000:38).

³³ To Tom Mertes this result in a process of 'de-globalisation', which demands the building of: "... strong regional markets within the South that would have some autonomy from global financial interests." (2002:3).

³⁴ Regionalism can, therefore, be a defensive or an offensive state strategy or it can combine elements of both. Resultantly, it is a conscious political project. Björn Hettne postulates that regionalisation is: "... the political corrective to globalised market-driven disorder and turbulence, not only on the level of the world but also in

in this light, the emergence of new approaches to regionalism take place against the background of the comprehensive structural transformation of the global system, characterise by a multi-level pattern of governance. In this trajectory, globalisation and regionalisation are intimately connected.

1.2.4 Globalisation and Regionalisation

Regionalism takes place within the overall context of globalisation. As such, regions are created and re-created in the process of global transformation. One of the consequences of such transformation is the internationalisation of the state. The internationalisation of the state requires it to respond to multilevel pressures: ranging from local, regional to the international context. In this trajectory, the argument for regional co-operation³⁵ and integration³⁶ becomes persuasive as the only way to deal with the challenges of unbridled market forces spawned by globalisation. It is in this context that Gibb and Michalak remark that through regionalism states are trying: "... to control at the regional scale what they increasingly failed to manage at the national and multilateral levels." (1996:447; Fawcett, 2004:439)³⁷. In simple

local systems." (1999:xxx).

³⁵ Björn Hettne notes that: "Regional cooperation through a formal organisation is sometimes rather superficial, but at least the framework for cooperation is created." (2001a:158). In addition: Regional cooperation may involve the creation of formal institutions, but it can often be based on a much looser structure, involving patterns of regular meetings with some rules attached, together with mechanisms for preparation and follow-up... Unlike some brands of regional integration, such cooperative arrangements are very clearly statist, designed to protect and enhance the role of the state and the power of the government." (Hurrell, 1995:336).

³⁶ Regional integration on the other hand is defined: "... as the gradual elimination of political and economic barriers between [and among] participating countries" (Dieter, 1997:201). Fredrik Söderbaum and Björn Hettne contend that: "... although both processes form an integral part of the current transformation of the global system, regionalization has a stronger element of political reaction to the basically market-driven globalisation process." (1998:4).

³⁷ Gamble and Payne argue that: "...nearly all states now seek, as it were, to ride two

terms, therefore, regionalism is the political response to globalisation. Jean Grugel posits that as a state-initiated project: “New regionalist associations of this sort may also be a way to avoid marginalisation.” (2000:8). This suggests that for states, globalisation has necessitated the construction of new types of inter-state organisation³⁸, at a regional level.

The above explains why a shift towards regionalism and bloc formation is increasingly apparent at both the global and regional levels³⁹. The rise of regionalism not only represents an attempt to militate against the possible negative consequences of globalism, but also seeks to influence the form that globalism is taking. In doing so new forms of regionalism has to incorporate non-state actors. Contemporary regionalism differs from older forms of regionalism, which was primarily concerned with inter-state relations, in both content and scope⁴⁰.

Whereas old regionalism was either economically or inter-governmentally driven, new regionalism is broader and multi-dimensional. The multifaceted nature of regionalism, and the

tigers simultaneously: they have to respond to the structural power of international capital, which demands the continuing openness of the world economy, and to the continuing pull of national interests of various sorts, which requires that they compete for relative advantage in the global economy as effective as possible.” (1996:16).

³⁸ The above illustrate that states now shares governance with societal actors as well. David Held and Andrew McGrew conclude that because of this increasingly complex forms of governance we now have: “... -a divided authority system- in which states seek to share the tasks of governance with a complex array of institutions, public and private, local regional, transnational and global, representing the emergence of ‘overlapping communities of fate’ (1998:221).

³⁹ In this context, Björn Hettne suggests that: “The contemporary context of the mercantilist logic is no longer the nation-state, however, but the international political economy, in which ‘the political’ refers to a transnational framework of economic transactions...” (1993:212). This compels us: “... to see regionalism as a return of the political, the need to control, in a transnational context.” (ibid.). This implies that: “Neo-liberalism then, cannot ignore the political issues it raises, issues about the reconceptualisation of democracy and about the possibilities of global democratisation.” (Rosow, 2000:34).

⁴⁰ Andrew Hurrell (1995) contends that new regionalism is distinct from older forms of integration as a result of its multidimensional character; its scope and level of analysis embraces North/South regionalism, and creates regional consciousness.

uncertainty of political phenomena, opened-up space for actors other than states to influence global and regional events. Hettne illustrates that global structural transformation was also occasioned by the addition of: "... non-state actors [that] are active and manifest themselves at several levels of the global system." (1996:161). The 'new regionalism' therefore, embraces a range of issues and actors, which cover a variety of spectrums in the domains of economics and politics.

The developments that have ushered in the rise of new regionalism are informed by a growth in economic, social and political interdependencies, involving both state and non-state actors⁴¹. The terms of engagement vary from one region to another, depending on each region's structural location and its role in the global economy⁴². What the new regionalism intends to achieve is a change in the terms of engagement for the developing world. Björn Hettne argues that new regionalism- and one of its variants- developmental regionalism: "...imply regional economic regulation without going to the extent of delinking from the world economy." (1997:230).

The above suggests that: "There is no doubt that the 'new regionalism' represents an attempt by states to forge a form of governance different from but not necessarily opposed to multilateralism⁴³. In that sense, it is a new strategy dealing with

⁴¹ The genesis of new regionalism is to be located: "As a building block of global social theory...which allows us to... somewhat simplistically speak of a marriage between development theory and international political economy, (or rather political economy, since "international" does not need mentioning anymore. Such a merger may ultimately strengthen an emerging "new" or "critical political economy of development," dealing with historical power structures and emphasizing contradictions in them, as well as change and transformation expressed in normative terms, that is, development. In the broadest sense the NRA is compatible with various theoretical perspectives, ranging from neorealism to postmodernism." (Söderbaum, 2001:104). Notable contributions to the NRA have been made by (Cox, 1997a, Gamble and Payne, 1996; and Hettne 1995a, b). Ultimately, like new regionalism: "Globalisation is rooted mainly in cultural, transnational, and international political economy approaches." (Buzan and Wæver, 2003:7).

⁴² This is because: "Globalisation had a differential reach and impact reflecting existing asymmetries in the geometry of global power relations." (Held and McGrew, 1993:263).

⁴³ In a multilateral world, one view is that globalisation and regionalisation is viewed

rapidly changing conditions in the global political economy and might lead to a revamped or improved multilateral system.” (Tsie, 2001:12). This suggests the fostering of forms of governance, which acknowledges the existence of a multipolar world. Governance in this context: “... is constructed by certain actors for certain purposes.” (Söderbaum, 2003:13). Regionalism, the above posits, is therefore, a political response to the economic consequences of globalisation (Bøås, 2001; Mittelman, 1996; Fawcett, 2004).

Processes of regional integration are, thus, for states crucial as both an international and national development strategy. In the developing world in general, the resurgence of regionalism must also be viewed as a response to the perceived threat of global marginalisation. In this regard, Louise Fawcett points out that: “For weaker states regionalism has provided a point of entry into a western-dominated order in which their interest are often perceived as marginalized, and also a forum where interaction and agenda-setting are possible.” (2004:439; Hettne, 1996b:89)⁴⁴.

To achieve the above, the state needs to respond in innovative ways to both these global and regional pressures, ostensibly because the state is located at the interface between the international and the national. Towards this end, the state: “... looks both inward and outward, and in the process derives considerable power and autonomy, often playing each spatial dimension off against the other.” (Hobson, 1997:253-4)⁴⁵. This dual role compels the state: “... to locate itself within the globalising order... it also has: “... to respond to local, national and extra-national organisations and civil societies, especially as democratisation gets underway.” (Grugel, 2000:6). New

as mutually reinforcing (Hettne, 2001a). This suggests that: “Regionalism is one possible approach to multilateralism...” Ostensibly because: “World regions rather than nation states may in fact constitute basic units in a future multilateral world order.” (Hettne, 2001a:156).

⁴⁴ Martin Bøås asserts that: “Regionalisation, as a political strategy... is an attempt by nation-states to recuperate governance over a globalised international political economy through regional management.” (2001:28)

⁴⁵ This suggests that the state is detached from neither national nor international forces.

approaches to the study of regionalism shed light on how the region is constructed in the interplay between states, markets and civil society in various areas. The attempt by the state to locate itself within the interplay of these various forces, has led to a diminution of the role of the state as an economic provider engaged in development and security.

The above polarisation results in increasing insecurity, which manifest itself in economic and social polarization. To find solutions to pressing economic and social needs, people look beyond the confines of the territorial state. In doing so, they establish a multiplicity of linkages and interconnections between societies. This expansion of the political and social space for civil society has resulted in the growth of independent organisations. These independent organisations espouse new directions of development, which transcend state-centric notions of globalisation and regionalism.

1.2.5 Globalisation and Non-State Actors

Globalisation has, arguably, altered the relationship between the individual and the state. The transformation of the relationship between state and national citizens, gives rise to a growth in independent organisations. These independent organisations grew as a result of the insecurity caused by globalisation⁴⁶. Such insecurity manifests itself in conflict, economic and social polarisation, and humanitarian emergencies. In addition, such insecurity transforms the role of the state as an economic provider. This transformation causes states to become even less able to provide for the multiple economic and social needs of people. To address their multiple economic and social needs, people look beyond the territorial confines of their respective states⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ Such independent organisations are generically referred to as civil society. Robert Cox posits that: “Civil society is now understood to refer to the realm of autonomous group action distinct from both corporate power and the state.” (1999:10).

⁴⁷ In this context: “... civil society has become the comprehensive term for various

In reaction to ‘deterritorialisation’⁴⁸- a reconfiguration of social space- brought about by globalisation, people foresee an emancipatory role for civil society. The emancipatory role for civil society, Jan Aardt Scholte contends, results from the fact that:

*“In a territorial world, people normally have most of their interactions and affiliations with others who share the same territorial space. The novelty of globalisation allows for a proliferation of social connections that are at least partly- and often quite substantially- detached from a territorial logic.”*⁴⁹ (2000:47).

James Mittelman argues that de-territorialisation brought about by globalisation leads to the search for: “... alternative and bottoms-ups forms of cultural identity and regional self-organization and self-protection, such as pro-democracy forces, women’s movements, environmentalists and other civil societal movements.” (2000:225). The proliferation of social connections, it is contended here, makes allowance for civil society to perform its emancipatory role. The emancipatory role of civil society posits

ways in which people express collective wills independently of (and often in opposition to) established power, both economic and political.” (Cox, 1999:10). This is because: “... globalization leads to a growing disjuncture between the democratic, constitutional and social aspirations of the people- which are still shaped by and understood through the frame of the territorial state- on the one hand, and the dissipating possibilities of genuine and effective collective action through constitutional political processes on the other.” (Cerny, 2003:214).

⁴⁸ To Richard Falk: “... territorial sovereignty is being diminished on a spectrum of issues in such a serious manner as to subvert the capacity of states to control and protect the internal life of society, and non-state actors holds an increasing proportion of power and influence in the shaping of world order.” (1997:125).

⁴⁹ Stephen Rosow contends that: “The various stories of globalisation which follow a logic of territorialisation depoliticise democratic transnational democracy...” (2000:44). Indeed: “...contemporary social movements-for example, those that concern environmental destruction, women’s rights and indigenous people’s rights- appear to bypass the state in search of transnational or global solutions.” (C. Chin and J. Mittelman, 1999:39-40). Ultimately, thus: “Globalisation’s hallmark is acknowledgement of the independent role of both transnational entities- corporations, non-governmental social and political organisations of many kinds- and intergovernmental organisations and regions. The state is often a player in these networks, but it does not necessarily, or even usually, control them, and is increasingly enmeshed in and penetrated by them.” (Buzan and Wæver, 2003:7).

the need to act as a counter-force to top-down globalisation⁵⁰. In other words, it allows us to construct a new global approach to development, which includes the poor and the marginalised.

Thus in a bottom-up sense civil society needs to become: "... the realm in which those who are disadvantaged by globalization of the world economy can mount their protest and seek alternatives. This can happen through local community groups that reflect diversity of cultures and evolving social practices worldwide. More ambitious still is the vision of a 'global civil society' in which these social movements together constitute a basis for an alternative world order." (Cox, 1999:10-11). Such an alternative world order posits an emancipatory role for civil society, which could play an active role in the re-interpretation and expansion of the notion of development and security in southern Africa.

The emancipatory role for civil society could potentially contribute to creating an alternative global structure. In this context, civil society- representing here a different type of political or social economy- becomes the most promising arena in which to seek the potential for change and development. For as Cox reminds us: "... the social economy is precisely the area in which different forms of human organization, including the language and the concepts that make human organization intelligible, mesh with technologies and material resources to create viable communities." (2001:224). This view is in contrast to the top-down approach, in that it calls for the globalisation of people, instead of globalisation driven by states and market forces only.

This allows not only for the 'globalisation of people'- to invoke Patrick Bond's (2001) phrase- but also for the further expansion of political and social space in which civil society could develop. In the above-mentioned scenario, individuals are accorded the opportunity to interact with the wider region and the rest of the world as a means of advancing economic and political goals.

⁵⁰ In a top-down sense: "... states and corporate interests influence the development of this current version of civil society towards making it an agency for stabilizing the social and political status quo." (Cox, 1999:11). Graig Murphy (2000) asserts that private bond-rating agencies, global oligopolies in re-insurance and global telecommunication networks, *inter alia*, are all contributing to reinforcing top-down globalisation.

Blaauw and Bischoff (2001) contend that in a region such as southern Africa this makes it possible for the formation of regional communities, engaged in development possible.

They propose that in the context of southern Africa, it is best to develop: “A regional policy framework to address the consequences of these trends, of reduced loyalty region-wide, [which] includes refocusing on a commitment to democracy, development, building loyalty in the context of regional cooperation...” (2001:56). The suggestion is that regional organisations and regionalism are political constructs. As such, they can be moulded to accommodate the marginalised and begin to address broad-based development.

The above suggests that economic globalisation has not only altered the relationship between state and state, but also between state and civil society. Andrew Grant and Fredrik Söderbaum assert that the changed in state-civil society relationship have caused: “... legitimacy, loyalty, identity, function and even sovereignty are transferred up or down in the system to political entities other than the state... This makes it necessary to... think in terms of a more complex, multi-level political structure in which states assumes different functions and in which regionalism needs to be integrated into multi-level framework.” (2003:11). In recognising that regionalism takes place within a multi-level framework, new regionalism has to incorporate non-state actors.

For example, new regionalism acknowledges that as a result of uneven globalisation some communities that exist on the fringes of states take care of their own survival and as such of change.⁵¹ To illustrate: “In some poor countries of Africa and Southeast Asia, community organizations, often led by women, endeavour to meet basic needs on a local level, turning their backs upon states and international organizations that are perceived as acting against people.” (Cox, 1999:13). This implies that the role of non-state actors needs to be recognised in a world where local and

⁵¹ This premise suggests that from: “... the scope and intensity of global interconnections... it is evident that national communities by no means exclusively “programme” the actions, decisions and policies of their governments and the latter by no means simply determine what is right or appropriate for their citizens alone.” (Held and McGrew, 1993:264).

international non-state actors are also critically engaging states, and where through its transnational actions these actors are shaping state behaviour⁵².

For James Mittelman: "... the impetus for resistance seemed to emanate from civil society, which began to scale up and thrust across borders." (2000:919)⁵³. The poor and the socially excluded are compelled to look beyond the state for means of economic survival and to address their mass economic and social needs. In doing so, the poor and socially excluded form alliances with other non-state actors.

Consequently, these actors, such as community organisations, for example, fill the void left by state retreat. This suggests that non-state actors are enmeshed and entrenched in complex structures of overlapping relations and movements. These non-state actors give rise to new independent organisations. For Robert Cox: "New independent organizations of protest grew into the political space that was opened up by the disruption and uncertainty of political authority." (1999:8-9)⁵⁴. This means that the political and social space in which civil society could develop was expanded. This suggests that the political project of integration needs to entail, for example, workers and peasant's mobilization, changing leadership attitudes or getting the international community to recognise people-centred forms of development. This requires greater non-state actor participation in international affairs.

⁵² Philip Cerny asserts that: "Political globalization involves reshaping political practices and institutional structures in order to adjust and adapt to the growing deficiencies of nation-states as perceived and experienced by such actors." (1997:253). Organisations such as Amnesty International and the various environmental movements are making constructive contributions in changing state behaviour.

⁵³ Hettne claims that: "... the present phase of neo-liberal hegemony and social marginalisation... causes ... civil society... to become more important again, simply as a mode of survival when the protective redistributive political structures break up." (1995a:5). He further suggests that: "social movements can also be seen as a protective measure in an era of extreme market dominance." (ibid.).

⁵⁴ In this sense: "... the dynamics of globalisation are gradually disembedding the domestic social contract between the state and society..." (Falk, 1997:130).

The demand for greater non-state actor participation in international affairs, bring into relief the issue of regionalism, not only as a purely economic issue, but also a politically driven project. The contention here is that regional organisations and regionalism in southern Africa, is a political construction. As such, it can be moulded to accommodate the marginalised and begin to address broad-based development. This is because development is a key issue in the region, and the realisation that one way of reversing the history of lopsided economic development can only be by regulated regionalism⁵⁵. For a new global developmental coherence, which embraces popular needs, to evolve, there is a need to regulate both the global economy and the regional political economy of southern Africa.

New forms of regionalism, which is multifaceted in nature, requires the state to play an active role in the regional integration process. Whilst, this new form of regionalism or 'new regionalism' is underpinned by the conviction that engagement with the world economy is unavoidable, new regionalism, also lend scope and provide guidance to the developing world on how to change the terms of engagement.

This seems an appropriate response to the unfettered operation of market forces in the regional context. Regionalism in southern Africa should therefore be a manifestation of both old and new processes of regional integration. For states, this suggests that regionalism should be pursued as an attempt to create a political framework for a variety of forms of economic activity. The new dimension to regionalism should seek to involve non-state actors in the integration process. Non-state actor involvement in the integration process compels us to re-interpret the concept of regions and regionalism.

In southern Africa, the re-interpretation of the region and regionalism is necessitated by the growth of social and economic interaction among the ordinary people. Such interaction, which leads to the development of complex social networks might

⁵⁵ Björn Hettne states that new regionalism allows for: "... a certain amount of interventionism... in the form of an organized transfer of resources from rich to poor countries." (2001b:19).

eventually lead to: ... the creation of a transnational regional civil society.” (Hurrell, 1995:334). However, state-promoted regional economic integration in southern Africa has hitherto achieved modest success, ostensibly because non-state actors have played a minimal role in such integration projects⁵⁶.

To date the study of African integration has largely been conducted within the confines of inter-state integration. Two products of inter-state regionalism in Africa are the Southern African Development Community and the Southern African Customs Union. Writing on SADCC, Ibbo Mandaza rightly observes: “that Southern Africa has in general enjoyed such a healthy state of inter-state interaction...” (1995:25)⁵⁷. As such, SADCC’s state-led integration was limited and circumscribed to by the wish to preserve one’s sovereignty. Similarly, the SACU arrangement also points to the limits of conventional integration.

The above schemes were, by and large, state-centric and premised on political considerations⁵⁸. Hettne (2001a) reminds us that interaction among countries of southern Africa, suggests a level of organised co-operation. Generally, conventional studies of integration among states in SADCC were essentially premised on attempts to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa, and to counter-act the security risk posed by that country⁵⁹.

However, this form of regionalism ignored the involvement of actors other than states, and defined economic, political and security issues in rather narrow terms. This statist approach

⁵⁶ More ominously: “The post-apartheid recreation of Southern Africa has tended to stress that the borders which are said to separate its states are fixed, determine the points of entry to, and exit from, a regional state system.” (Vale,2001:19).

⁵⁷ The genesis of SADCC was to act as the principal rear base in support of primarily state-based liberation struggles in southern Africa.

⁵⁸ By and large, however, interaction among countries of southern Africa, suggests a level of organised co-operation (Hettne, 2001a).

⁵⁹ A defining feature of organised co-operation is: “... the unidimensionality which characterises this stage of regional cooperation.” (Hettne, 2001a:158). Indeed: “Regional cooperation through a formal organisation is sometimes rather superficial, but at least the framework for cooperation is created.” (ibid.).

towards regionalism neglected the role played by non-state actors in regional integration. To counter-pose conventional studies on regional integration, the emergence of a study of new regionalism in the late-1980s must be understood in a historical context.

What is significant to note is that inter-state integration in southern Africa: "... can be developed to secure welfare gains, to promote common values or to solve common problems... with a view to enhance... the conceptualisation of confidence-building measures, to the negotiation of a region-wide security regime." (ibid. p336). This requires an expanded and maximalist conception of regional security community.

Because of the failure of southern African states to involve the regions' people: "... the region remains poor and impoverished, its people trapped by both the ideas of politicians and the practices of security state makers. In contemporary southern Africa, therefore, security remains a slave to the preordained limits of a state system that is partial, lopsided and entirely inappropriate to the needs of the region's people." (Vale, 2003:17). This is to a large extent due to the fact that the economic history of southern Africa, its political economy and structure was based on South Africa's mining (Legum, 2000). To move-away from such reliance a new maximalist regional order in southern Africa should embrace non-state actor participation.

It is instructive to note that new approaches to the study of regionalism, focuses not only on integration between sovereign states, but recognises that: "... regionalism flows from the idea that various nongovernmental factors can induce increased levels of economic and political activity among countries (Mansfield and Milner, 1997:4)⁶⁰. The most salient distinction between old and new regionalism is that the latter: "... involves more spontaneous processes that often emerge from below and within the region itself, and more in accordance with its peculiarities and problems." (Hettne and Söderbaum, 1998b:7). This requires that the conception of regionalism in southern Africa should transcend state-centrism.

⁶⁰ New regionalism concerns itself with: "... the growth of societal integration within a region and the often undirected processes of social and economic interaction." (Hurrel, 1995:334).

1.2.6 The Southern African Context

The force of globalisation⁶¹ and the fear of marginalisation⁶², coupled with Africa's integration into the global political structure⁶³, are defining features accounting for the growth in transnational activity. Historically, Africa has been integrated into the global political structure in an asymmetrical manner. Christopher Clapham postulates that: "... Africa had in a sense been 'globalised' in the late nineteenth century by European colonialism, which had imposed structures of economic production, systems of government, and cultural changes in language and education, which linked (at the same time subordinated) them to the process of global capitalist development. From this viewpoint, the increased external control exercised from the 1980s onwards, through economic and political conditionalities⁶⁴... represented a return to familiar conditions of

⁶¹ The fashionable discourse on globalisation has held that Africa has, and is being, 'marginalised' or 'disconnected' due to its 'bad policies' (Jordaan, 2001, Robertson, 1992, Scott, 1995). Paul Taylor notes that: "...globalisation inevitably involved exploitative relations between North and South and that, therefore, the various regions in the South should be encouraged to develop stronger relations economically and politically among themselves." (1993:11). In the case of Africa, this could serve to reverse its marginal role in the global economy.

⁶² To Tim Shaw: "... it is undeniable that Africa's place in the global political economy is less central than any other region." (2000:98). For example: "From 1948 to 1999, Africa's share of world merchandise exports fell from 7.4 per cent to under 2 per cent." (WTO, 2001:3). Similarly, international investment in: "... Africa is almost totally neglected in the global competition for international capital, and in 2000 it attracted just 0.7 per cent of world foreign direct investments." (Gibb, 2003:885).

⁶³ Historically, Africa has been incorporated into the global economy not on its own terms, but on the terms of the developed world. This was achieved through, amongst others, policies of Structural Adjustment Programmes (Amin, 2001; Bayart, 2000).

⁶⁴ Alex Thomson defines political conditionalities as: "The demands of 'good governance' to which aid donors required recipient states to conform." (2000:163). These political conditionalities normally result in political liberalisation. Balefi Tsie notes that: "... political liberalisation entails a transition from authoritarian rule whereby the civil and political liberties of citizens are restored, enabling them to participate freely in political decision-making processes without fear of being repressed by the coercive agencies of the state." (2001b:104).

subordination...” (1998a:24). The above viewpoint suggests that Africa had become the victim of globalisation.

Africa’s integration into the global political structure cannot be viewed in such simplistic or reductionist terms. Patrick Chabal rightly asserts that: “Africa is... not simply the victim of globalisation. Its elites are active participants in the informal world market, the underside of the globalised economy.” (2001:112)⁶⁵. This suggests that African states and its political and economic elites actively participate in the global economy.

To actively participate in the global economy: “African states... found themselves increasingly drawn into the international arena, in a search for the resources to protect themselves against the consequences of domestic political and economic failure.” (Clapham, 1998b:146)⁶⁶. In addition, Africa’s own international and transnational relations reflect the growing challenges faced by relatively vulnerable states⁶⁷. The vulnerability of African states⁶⁸, could possibly be reversed by, *inter alia*, renewed attempts at regional integration on the continent.

⁶⁵ For Christopher Clapham, the participation of African countries, and especially African rulers in: “... international relations actually was important... because their access to international resources played a critical role in their own survival strategies.” (1998b:145).

⁶⁶ Christopher Clapham asserts that: “For those significant social groups for whom the state has been absolutely central- politicians, bureaucrats, soldiers and their intellectual supporters and affiliates- it has been essential to preserve the institutional entity on which they depend.” (2001:4).

⁶⁷ Christopher Clapham notes that the implications of this are that: “International politics affects these states and people in ways that often differ appreciably from the ways in which it affects the people and governments of more powerful states.” (1998a:3). Paradoxically, while the states in Africa became more vulnerable: “... the state’s role in the economy has continued to grow in OEDC countries in the 1990s.” (Friedman, 2003:19).

⁶⁸ Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver observe that: “because of these weaknesses a variety of nonstate actors and entities... have remained vitally in play as sources of social and political authority and economic activity.” (2003:222). The implications are that: “In understanding post-Cold War security in Africa, this emergent pattern of nonstate actors may well hold more of the future than the decaying state system.” (ibid, p223).

Writing on African economies in general, Christopher Clapham asserts that: "... old economy-led approach to regional integration in Africa flew in the face of both global economies and African politics..." Their regional partners had economies very similar to their own, and the lumping together of a number of (in global terms) tiny African economies did not provide either viable market/s for a process of internal industrialisation, nor did it enable them to form any influential bargaining capacity to strengthen their relations with the outside world. Politically, arrangements for regional integration fell foul of the intense concern of the rulers of newly independent African states for the maintenance of their own sovereignty, and indeed for the preservation of their own power within their states." (2001:60)⁶⁹. This makes the goal of establishing viable regional orders at an institutional level a daunting task.

Nonetheless, the fear of marginalisation has made the goal of establishing viable regional orders on the continent, even for states, more urgent. Fantu Cheru cautions that: "Africa will find itself even more vulnerable and isolated if it chooses (or is obliged) to remain a collection of fifty, small, competing exporters, dependent on... regional markets and rationalising existing resources... by establishing viable sub-regional economic integration schemes." (1992:1). To date, however, the failure of regional projects is, by and large, due to the weaknesses of African states and its subordinate nature in the global economy.

Despite the weaknesses of African states and its subordinate nature in the global economy, these states: "... developed the will to control virtually all aspects of international relations, though few developed the capacity. As such, non-state international actors often operated beyond the jurisdiction of states, which is to say they undertook their activities illegally." (Reed, 1995:140)⁷⁰.

⁶⁹ This suggests that: "... the origins of regionalism in Africa were more political than economic." (Lee, 2003:29). The contention here is that the political dimensions of regionalism are as important as the economic ones, since new approaches to regionalism posit regionalism is a comprehensive and multi-faceted process.

⁷⁰ This begs the question: "Whether even diminished African regimes can come to accept a more modest international posture in which *non-state relations*- from NGOs and civil societies or ethnic nations to informal sectors and environmental communities- are facilitated, even encouraged, remains to be seen." (Shaw,

Furthermore, the imposition of SAPs⁷¹ has encouraged the liberalisation of economic and political forces. This in turn has contributed to recasting state-society relations in Africa⁷².

Recasting-state-society relations revolve around re-legitimising the state. The latter is contingent on: “State efforts to forge new links with civil society in the wake of the crises of legitimacy and governance.” (Thomson, 2000:240)⁷³. Political liberalisation brought about by SAPs resulted, *inter alia*, in the loss of a significant amount of state power. The state lost significant power because in a liberalised political set-up civil society actors are allowed to participate freely without the fear of repression. This liberalised political set-up allowed civil society to expand, which in turn led to a re-definition between the role state and society. The recasting state-society relations in Africa now involve taking a broader view of development and, as such accommodate non-state actors.

Towards this end: “African and non-African states and non-state policy-makers have to recognize that, at the turn of the millennium,

2000:109).

⁷¹ SAPs are programmes of conditional lending. Initially African governments, who were recipients of loans, were only required to make changes to their economic policies. In the mid-1990s, political conditionalities were also imposed. Kenya, Malawi and Mauritius were the first states to introduce SAPs at the start of the 1980s. By the mid-1990s almost all other African countries had followed suit. Even those countries, such as Tanzania and Zambia, which initially tried to pursue socialist development strategies, had succumbed by this date (Thomson, 2000).

⁷² In this regard, Cyrus Reed suggests that: “The imposition of liberal economic and political reforms legalized tremendous arenas for activity in civil society which linked actors there directly with other international actors.” (1995:144). This does not suggest, however, that societal actors do not also engage with states. To the contrary, during the 1990s, intensive political struggle for democratisation and state power, serves as evidence that: “The state remains a potent and highly prized force in Africa, its tattered condition notwithstanding.” (Mkandawire, 2001:67). However, it needs to be recognised that in Africa: “... power transits essentially through the informal sector. Or rather, it is in the interplay between the formal and the informal that the kernel of politics is to be found on the continent.” (Chabal, 2001:110).

⁷³ The state in Africa has been variously defined as criminal (Bayart, 1999); fragile (Clapham, 1998a); an unequal and opportunity state (Bayart, 1993); non-emancipated and undifferentiated (Chabal and Daloz, 1999).

the continent's development, foreign and security agenda has been quite redefined." (Shaw, 2000:96). In this regard, three defining features are particularly relevant:

- "Transformed states, especially state-economy/society relations, with special reference to... the... rise of civil society..."
- The rise of sub-and supra-state actors from internal as well as international 'civil society' in response to novel challenges and opportunities as the state declines;
- Popular pressures for sustainable democracy at all levels, from sub-to supra-national- i.e. from local communities/NGOs to non-and inter-governmental organizations at regional and global levels..." (Shaw, 2000:96).

It is in this context that broader forms of regional organisation need to be considered⁷⁴. Tim Shaw contends that a number of emerging trends are discernable in Africa at the end of the twentieth century. These trends are, *inter alia*, the following:

1. "Redefinition and diminution of the African state given the interrelated pressures of globalization/regionalism..."
2. "Recognition of the potential yet also limits of the market..."
3. "Reaction to the increasing tension between pressures for and against democratisation, centred on the new space for civil society..." (Ibid, p97).

From the above, it is found that: "The strengthening of civil society is thus an indispensable step toward improving public life in Africa and by extension, toward improving the social and economic

⁷⁴ In fact regionalism seems to be the only viable alternative at the disposal of Africans to reverse the tide of global marginalisation. Margaret Lee posits that: "As a result of the realities in Africa, regional cooperation continues to be viewed as a viable means for developing regions. There is no substitute for regional nations pooling their resources to develop regional infrastructure, transport networks, food security, electricity, etc." (2003:28).

conditions there.” (Chazan, 1992:52)⁷⁵. In a similar vein, this makes the inclusion of actors from civil society critical for proposals on regional restructuring and revitalization. The argument here is that for southern Africa, economic and political change, brought about by the politics of SAPs, has opened a new window of opportunity to recast state-society relations, in building new regional capacity, involving both state and non-state actors.

In addition, the end of the Cold War provided the impetus for the emergence of more pluralistic political economies in the southern African region. Writing on southern Africa, Larry Swatuk contends that: “... various factors... are... facilitating and pressing for a ‘new regionalism’; the end of the Cold War and apartheid, globalization and the growing sense of urgency among the people in the region.” (2000:210-11). This compels states in the region to follow global trends, which suggest that it is crucial to include non-state actors in region-building efforts⁷⁶.

Towards this end, Paul Bischoff notes that regionalism in southern Africa and the rest of the continent should be characterised by a two-pronged approach: “... it... should be both state-sponsored activities and those driven by the need for economies of scale; on the social front, the search for physical and economic security is a source of transnational activity.” (2004:5)⁷⁷. This requires a maximalist conception of regionalism and regional integration.

⁷⁵ It needs to be recognised, however, that: “Civil society in Africa cannot thrive unless opportunities for intergroup communication are also expanded considerably.” (Chazan, 1992:52). This requires the forging of links around issue-networks.

⁷⁶ To achieve this: “An alternative approach would be to identify where regional cooperation exists at the level of civil society, and the extent to which these patterns of behaviour grow out of, or exist in spite of relations between states at the official level.” (Reed, 1995:145).

⁷⁷ Writing on southern Africa, Bertil Odén notes that: “It may be that SADC develops into a two-track organization: on the one hand following open-regionalism in the areas of trade, investment and capital flows; and on the other, following more regionally-based activities in regional goods sectors, security, environment, culture etc.” (1999:70). This suggests that regionalism in southern Africa, should cater for both state-led processes of integration and more organic forms of regionalism.

In the case of southern Africa: "... a maximalist conception of [regional] order... should involve... more extensive schemes of co-operation to safeguard peace and security, to promote economic development, to solve common problems, and to sustain common values." (Hurrell, A. And Fawcett, L, 1995:309). This requires an almost paradigmatic shift from a state-centric conception of regional integration, to a more broad-based conception that involves non-state actors as well⁷⁸. Such a shift is necessary to reverse the history of exclusion and uneven economic development.

The regional consciousness⁷⁹ and indeed the history of regional economic integration are a history of unequal economic development⁸⁰. The point of departure in the development of an inclusive regional order in southern Africa, should acknowledge the disparities and inequities in existing relations. At the same time there needs to be a commitment to overcome these⁸¹. This suggests that in southern Africa, we need a normative understanding of regionalism. This would assist us in the construction of interaction based on principles of equity, mutual benefit and interdependence. This is necessary to reverse the history of lopsided economic development, which at the moment favours South Africa, in southern Africa⁸².

⁷⁸ This requires a recognition of: "... informal economies and encourage informal polities: civil societies at regional and/or continental levels." (Shaw, 2000:109).

⁷⁹ Regional consciousness is here defined as: "... the political processes by which regionalism and regional identity are constantly defined and redefined, and on shared understanding and the meanings given to political activity by the actors involved." (Hurrell, 1995:335).

⁸⁰ By and large therefore: "... regionalism in Africa is also likely to be characterized by two contradictory tendencies... firstly the ... imperative of economic co-operation... and secondly... incidence of political dominance." (Shaw, 2000:108).

⁸¹ Various policy documents-, which will be referred to elsewhere-, commit both SADC and SACU to achieve this. In addition, the new regionalism, and one of its variants- developmental regionalism- explicitly states that as a political project, regionalism should include an element of redistribution, i.e. regional funds or specialised banks in the regionalist project (Hettne, 1999b).

⁸² To Patrick Bond: "Among the most obvious casualties of uneven regionalism has been the Southern African environment, shaped as it is by cross-border ecological processes- particularly in relation to water and energy flows..." (2002:367).

One of the most enduring qualities of regionalism in southern Africa hitherto is embedded in the acute regional awareness of South Africa's regional dominance⁸³. Her GDP is four times the size of all other SADC member states⁸⁴. South Africa's GDP dominance in the region is reflected in both the GNP and trade.

Richard Gibb succinctly illustrates the dynamism of the region's inequalities by providing the following: "In 1999, approximately 75% of Southern Africa's GNP was produced within South Africa, which had approximately 13% of the land, 23% of the population and 85% of manufacturing output." (2001:79). Despite this, it was widely expected that some positive spill-over would be the result of South Africa joining a regional grouping. The FTA, however, signed between South Africa and the EU cast serious doubt about the commitment of the country to regional integration in the sub-region.

South Africa entered into an FTA with the EU, anticipating that the agreement would significantly improve South Africa's access to the EU market⁸⁵. The SA-EU agreement was also informed by the realization that: "South Africa will experience limited benefits as a result of the SADC FTA, further economic growth dictates that South Africa must look beyond the region in order to enhance its economic growth." (Lee, 2003:217). In seeking to enhance its own economic growth, South Africa's agreement with the EU is likely to exacerbate inequality in the southern African region⁸⁶.

⁸³ Writing on southern Africa, Björn Hettne notes that: "The levels of regionness of the regions in the process of being formed will continue to be uneven, but only the future will decide where the levels will be... political will and political action will certainly play their part." (1999b:xxvii).

⁸⁴ Between 1990-2000, South Africa's annual GDP average growth was 2 percent, whereas that of the rest of SADC was 1,7 percent (World Bank, 2002).

⁸⁵ This increased market access to the EU market is limited to a number of sectors only. Robert Davies opines that: "... the agreement will open up a number of opportunities for manufacturing industries. Steel and steel products, ferro alloys, aluminium products, furniture and automotive products are all industries that have been identified as potentially significant beneficiaries." (2000:10).

⁸⁶ This suggests that: "... in the affairs of the region, South Africa continues to dominate..." (Vale, 2003:137).

Paul Goodison outlines the consequences the SA-EU FTA agreement will have on SADC in general, and SACU in particular. With regards to SACU, Goodison points out that: "If government revenues decline as a result of an FTA this could mean cuts in funding for schools and health clinics, public sector workers could be laid off, road infrastructure could deteriorate, or alternatively sales tax would have to substantially increase to make up the shortfall in government revenue." (1999:90). This suggests that the SA-EU agreement could enhance South Africa's regional dominance at the expense of the region in general, and SACU in particular.

South Africa, however, has much to gain by constructively engaging her neighbours⁸⁷. Carol Thompson, for instance, contends that South Africa: "... needs a viable and prospering Mozambique for its own growth." (1992:144, Robert Davies, 1992). Writing generally on interdependencies between South Africa and the region, Maphanyane asserts that: "South Africa needs the markets of the region which currently absorb 50 percent of its non-mineral exports and its natural resources such as water, power etc. The rest of the region needs South Africa's large market, and its advanced technology." (Odén, 1993:180). Moreover, by ensuring the well-being of neighbouring countries, South Africa will considerably alleviate the burden of migration pressure, and by pooling resources into a regional market, South Africa will, *inter alia*, aid the region in attracting foreign investment⁸⁸.

This needs to be transformed to a more equitable regional order. Lastly, there is widespread agreement that a democratic regional order, which will come about once the civil and political liberties of the region's citizens are restored, will address, amongst others, unequal economic integration. A democratic regional order- it will

⁸⁷ South Africa, which is arguably the biggest economy on the continent, is also- to paraphrase Susan Strange (1997)- vulnerable to transnational business through trade, investment and financial movements.

⁸⁸ Bertil Odén postulates that: "The ongoing discussion on new regionalism in Southern Africa is mainly based on the open regionalism concept, with the theoretical framework taken from trade integration and direct investment theory." (1999:167).

be contended here- needs to allow civil society space in solving issues such as regional migration, the harmonisation of labour practises, etc. To achieve this, what is required is a: "... process of regionalisation from below resulting largely from internal transformation within emerging regions." (Hettne, 2001a:157). Regional integration in southern Africa, and elsewhere in the developing world, should be politically directed⁸⁹. This implies a process- in the words of Björn Hettne of autonomous regionalism-, which is relevant in discussing the new regionalism.

For southern Africa, therefore, the strategic challenge is to relate the development needs of the sub-region to the challenges of an emerging and unregulated liberalised world economy. The manifestation of a process of new forms of regionalism in southern Africa, while it should grow from within, is ultimately also linked to a new global situation. This is because even if initiatives are taken within the region, the factors, which make these initiatives necessary, are global. Björn Hettne (1997) reminds us that regionalism is a multifaceted phenomenon that takes place at the level of the world system, the level of intra-regional relations and the internal pattern of the single region. The multifaceted nature of regionalism manifests itself at each of the above-mentioned levels, and as such contributed to the rise of regional integration.

For southern Africa, this suggests that regionalism should be more than limited trade integration. Paul Bischoff and Lesley Blaauw contend that in the case of southern Africa, new forms of regionalism should: "... concern itself with the broad tapestry of development." (2001:56). The strategic challenge in this respect is to use the regional framework to develop and diversify economies, improve production, productivity and export capacities. Regional integration as a development tool must also be used as an important structure with which to redress the gross imbalances created not only within, but also between countries of the region. But up to now, state actors have historically driven political regionalism. This has excluded and marginalised the

⁸⁹ Bertil Odén asserts that: "In Southern Africa... the two processes of economic globalization and political regionalism are going on simultaneously. The former refers to... trade integration and development integration issues... while the latter include... both environmental and security issues." (1999:169).

majority of the people in the region also represented by civil society in the region.

As such, the institutional frameworks of both SADC and SACU need to be reformed to match the ambitions of non-state actor participation in regional endeavours⁹⁰. By reforming existing regional blocs, states are attempting to manage on a regional level what they are unable to regulate on a national and global scale. Indeed, regional economic bloc formation and the liberalisation of trade in the developing world are predicated on the assumption that such countries will be increasingly marginalized if they fail to engage the world economy as a collective unit.

In the case of southern Africa, the argument - a forceful one - is that regionalism, unlike elsewhere in the world, must not only be market driven, but should have a strong political element driven by states and non-state actors of the region⁹¹. For southern Africa, the evolution of spontaneous processes entails the broader participation of the people of the sub-region. This is particularly critical in view of the fact that: "... Southern Africans believe that the state system no longer offers solutions to their everyday problems: it neither delivers security nor satisfies a desire for community. As a result, they are driven to find fresh terrains of regional intercourse, like cross-border trading, and to explore old ones, like cross-border migration." (Vale, 2003:135)⁹².

⁹⁰ Institutions such as SADC seem to realise the critical role that non-state actors in general, and the private sector in this particular case, can play. Indeed: "Within SADC, which according to its treaty and other policy documents should be closer to the new regionalism concept, and interesting change is taking place. During the last few years... the importance of the private sector for creating growth and development in SADC countries has been emphasized." (Odén, 1999:169).

⁹¹ In this regard, Linda Weiss reminds us that: "... efforts to analyse or demonstrate economic change- the extent to which national economies have become more interconnected through trade, production, finance, and the growing web of international rules and institutions- are often a prelude to the political project." (1999:59).

⁹² In terms of the level of regionness, this suggests that the Southern African region is evolving into a social system: "... which implies translocal; relations of social, political, cultural and economic nature between human groups." (Hettne, 2001a:157).

Writing on southern Africa, Paul Bischoff argues that: "... southern African states which are at various stages of democratisation largely remain outside the grasp of organised civil society." (2002:283). The imposition of SAPs, have made the developmental role of the state more daunting. The case of Zambia is illustrative of how the state was unable to take care of its developmental duties as it managed to do in the past. Because the economic conditionalities, which accompanied SAPs required the Zambian government to curtail spending, the social impact of SAPs in that country resulted in, *inter alia*, increased unemployment reduced health spending and a reduction in school enrolment⁹³. Alex Thomas (2000) postulates that the removal of subsidies in Zambia brought the greatest disadvantage to the most vulnerable. The inability of the state in Zambia to take care of its developmental duties resulted in increasing insecurity.

Sandra McClean asserts that SAPs: "... have contributed to regionalist pressures by forcing people to revive old, or establish new, associative ties as counters to material shortage, unemployment, and so on." (2001:126). The multiplicity of linkages and interconnections between societies has contributed to expanding the political and social space in which civil society actors could develop (Cox, 1999).

Graig Murhpy notes that the expansion of political and social space is aimed at: "... both the deepening of democratic processes and the extension of democratic forms beyond the nation-state." (2000:790). In southern Africa, this presupposes the building of regional networks, among both state and non-state actors, which are aimed at constructing new approaches to development.

Writing on southern Africa Sandra McClean observes that: "Some NGOs which operate at the regional level are actively and consciously engaged in the project to construct a new global

⁹³ Carol Thompson notes that: "Invalidating political discourse has also been the agenda of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) which demand the removal of the state from regulatory functions, from protection of locally-defined 'commons' and from strategic productive activities." (2000:44). New approaches to regionalism, however, recognise that states, in tandem with other non-state actors must mutually enable each other for the process of regionalism to be successful.

approach to development and human security. In Southern Africa, Mwelakeo Wa NGO (MWENGO) is an example of such an organisation- regionally based to establish information webs, stronger advocacy positions in national and international fora, and connections between NGOs and research institutes and universities in the region...Other NGOs which are primarily concerned with specific human security issues such as gender and human rights may unintentionally be fostering a global citizenship identity and, at the same time, promoting regionalism.” (1999:949). States should recognise that sub-national and transnational non-state actors are proliferating and that they are re-shaping, and re-defining the parameters and content of regionalism.

The involvement of non-state actors in regional affairs is not only decisive for the development of a trans-boundary civil society⁹⁴ in southern Africa but is a critical element for the success of the emergence of a new regionalism that we are investigating here⁹⁵. It is through mutual enablement between state and non-state actors, that the development of regional manufacturing and transport capacities, for instance, are contingent. Thus, what is needed is a process of inward-development as opposed to outward development. New approaches to the study of regionalism recognise that a region needs to develop according to its own peculiarities.

Lastly the developmental aspect of the new regionalism focuses on: “... activities such as the conscious fostering of complementarities, industrial projects, joint investment in

⁹⁴ A trans-boundary civil society comes about as a result of: “... a cluster of practices that are described as ‘informal’ or ‘unrecorded’ trade, the ‘underground’ ‘second’ or even the ‘real’ economy; ‘smuggling’ or ‘re-exportation’; and ‘popular’ or ‘bottom-up’ regionalism.” The development of such a civil society: “...may be understood as a corollary of the range of opportunities generated by the frontier lines. These are exploited, in turn, through chains of social relations that are autonomous, though not disconnected, from institutional procedures.” (Van Nieuwkerk, 2001:8).

⁹⁵ Paul Bischoff notes that: “In Southern Africa, with its investment in democracy, direct state involvement in the economy and regional economic projects would seem to be on the wane.” (2001: 4). New approaches to regionalism see the state as playing a central role, alongside non-state actors in building durable and sustainable processes of regional integration.

transport, infrastructure, etc.” (Hettne, 1996b:160). This would require the energies of both state and non-state actors, since as was pointed out elsewhere, regionalism flows from the idea that the contributions of non-state actors are critical for igniting economic and political activity among countries. This is important for southern Africa if the history of lopsided economic development is to be reversed.

In southern Africa, this regional consciousness is fed by a history of uneven or lopsided economic development. André du Pisani cautions that: “In the case of Southern Africa levels of dependence, the asymmetrical nature of relations of power and the different resource endowments of the various countries, would - at least for some time - work against economic and political integration characteristic of a common market” (1992:184). This is of significance to the thinking on regional co-operation⁹⁶ and integration in southern Africa.

Moreover, regionalism and the need for sustainable development are made necessary not just by globalisation, but also by the lopsided regional economic development of the past. Regional trade and social imbalances in southern Africa now require “...regional mechanisms and instruments to ensure a balanced distribution of benefits from increased regional interaction, as well as corrective measures to promote development in the peripheries...” (Tjønneland.E. 1992:xiv; Muzorewa.B.1997: 27)⁹⁷. In this regard, Ibbo Mandaza has reminded us that: “... without a

⁹⁶ Co-operation: “... refers to a range of situations in which individual states share or make available to each other resources, technology or expertise, collaborate in joint projects or act together in external economic relations. Such cooperation... Robert Davies has pointed out... may or may not be undertaken with the aim of promoting economic integration.” (1994:12). For Jens Haarlov, regional co-operation entails: “... a process whereby nation states in common solve tasks and create improved conditions in order to maximise internal and external economic, political, social and cultural benefits for each participatory country.” (1997:15). Regarding the evolution of common economic, political and social values in the Southern African region, one can only say that what exists of common economic values, for instance, is a consequence of external IMF and WB pressure than a result of mutually shared normative developments.

⁹⁷ This suggests that in order to consolidate the structure of interdependence: “... a certain amount of intervention would be needed: for instance, in the form of an organized transfer of resources from rich to poor countries.” (Hettne, 1999a:19).

satisfactory degree of equitable economic development and co-operation among member states, there can be no peace and security.” (1995:29; Davies. R. 1993 and Keet. D. 1994).

1.2.7 The Goals of the Research

In view of the above it is critical to determine to what extent new regionalism and new forms of regional organisation can achieve what conventional regionalism with its focus on inter-state regional organisation could not. It is also necessary to ascertain what constitutes the limits and possibilities to employ what Hettne (1996b), De Melo and Panagariya (1993) term “developmental regionalism” in Southern Africa. Towards that end, this thesis will:

- ❖ Explain that an expanded definition of regions and regionalism that includes both state and non-state actors is needed to best describe southern Africa;
- ❖ Investigate whether the theory of ‘new’ regionalism, because of its comprehensiveness and multifaceted nature, offers state and non-state actors the opportunity to build new regional capacity;
- ❖ Look at the historical imperatives which informs regionalism in southern Africa, and argue that the goals of the organisations, although policy documents state this, were not developmental;
- ❖ Uncover whether the reform of SACU and SADC adequately cater for the development of non-state actors and the goals of new and developmental regionalism;
- ❖ Investigate whether beyond the geometry of state sovereignty, non-state actors also contribute to raising awareness that new approaches to the study of regionalism is also concerned with regionalism from ‘below’ that contributes to regionnes and an expanded conception of regions and regionalism.

1.2.8 Methodology and Techniques of Research

The basis for this research project will be primary and secondary research material.

My research technique will involve the:

- ❖ Review of literature on integration in southern Africa;
- ❖ Conducting of interviews with key stakeholders: national officials dealing with integration, private sector interests, international partners and civil society;
- ❖ Conducting of interviews with officials in both SADC and SACU.

1.2.9 Chapter Outline

This study consists of six chapters. Chapter One deals with the conceptual issues. It argues that in the 1990s, the character and functions of regions and regionalism have experienced a major transformation. This requires a re-conceptualisation of regions and regionalism that transcends state-centrism. The argument here is that the definition of regions and regionalism needs to recognise that other actors also participate in the construction of regions and the practise of regionalism.

Chapter Two contends that the theories of integration incompletely deals with outcomes appropriate to developing countries, states and regions. In the context where people remain vulnerable to top-down forms of regionalism driven by the forces of globalisation, this calls for a new approach in the analytical study of regionalism in a transnational context. The contention is that new regionalism, and its variant, developmental regionalism, pays

attention to the role that civil society actors play in promoting regionalism in a transnational context.

Chapter Three focuses on the history of integration in southern Africa. Its major thrust is that historically state-centric regionalism in southern Africa, was not aimed at achieving developmental objectives. In the case of SACU, the argument is that South Africa used its economic strength in a hegemonial way. To counter-act apartheid South Africa's hegemony, SADCC was formed. SADCC achieved limited success in the fields of infrastructural development and attracting donor aid.

Chapter Four looks at the reform which SACU and SADC undertook in the early 1990s. The argument is that SACU has not as yet transformed sufficiently to achieve the goals of developmental regionalism. Similarly, the institutional structure of SADC has not been sufficiently transformed to achieve the ambitious goals it set-out for itself.

Chapter Five maintains that sustainable regionalist orders are best built by recognising that beyond the geometry of state-sovereignty, organisations with a regional focus and ordinary people in the region link by culture and the search for economic survival, also contribute to regionness and as such contribute to the re-conceptualisation of regional community in southern Africa.

Chapter six constitutes the conclusion of this study.

1.3 Conclusion

In the aftermath of the Cold War, regions and regional concerts were seen as the basis upon which a new international order was to be built. In the post-Cold War period, the study of regions and regionalism need to recognise that only states participate in the construction of regions and the practice of regionalism. The definition of regions and regionalism needs to recognise that other actors also participate in the construction of regions and the practice of regionalism. A broader definition of regions and regionalism, which such a re-conceptualisation would entail, presupposes an inclusive typology of both state-based and society-based actors.

Such an expanded regional space provides for a different and multifaceted conception of regions and the notion of regional communities. This suggests that what is needed, in the 1990s and beyond, is a new type of regionalism that is, among others, open and inclusive and driven by both state and non-state actors. Social constructivism, which informs definitions of regionalism in the 1990s, and as such has displaced previous approaches, views regions as social and political constructs, formed by both states and non-state actors. The study of regional integration in southern Africa has largely been conducted within the confines of inter-state integration. As such integration in the region has not catalogue non-state actor integration.

In the context of southern Africa, a 'new' approach to the study of regionalism opened-up possibilities for recognising that regionalism in its contemporary form is a multifaceted process that involves both state and non-state actors and occurs within the institutional space provided by states, but also outside of such space. This would entail re-configuring the definition of southern Africa, to make allowance for such insights. In the context of southern Africa, a 'new' approach to the study of regionalism open-up possibilities for recognising that regionalism in its contemporary form is a multifaceted process that involves both state and non-state actors, and covers a range of issues.

Up to now, mainstream theories of integration have historically concern itself only with the role of the state. It is, however, necessary to probe how integration theory accounts for a change in regionalism in the 1990s and beyond.

Chapter 2

2. Integration Theory

2.1 Introduction

To-date the study and practice of regional integration has largely been conducted from a state-centric point of view. Viotti and Kauppi assert that integration theory concerns itself: "... with explaining how and why states cease to be wholly sovereign, how and why they voluntarily mingle, merge and mix with their neighbours so as to lose the factual attributes of sovereignty while acquiring new technologies for resolving conflict between themselves." (1987:387). Conventional approaches to regional integration, therefore, promote a central role for the state, at the expense of other actors.

If development is a key objective of integration, for states and societies, in southern Africa, as will be argued here, then mainstream theory and practice of regional integration⁹⁸ only incompletely deals with outcomes appropriate to developing countries, states and regions. In the context where people remain

⁹⁸ Karl Deutsch, writing in the European context, asserts that integration seeks: "... the attainment of institutions and practises strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a long time, dependable expectations of peaceful change among its population." (J. Nye, 1971:25). Ernst Haas on the other hand, defined integration: "... as the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities to a new centre whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national state." (Ibid.). Alluding to integration in southern Africa, Rob Davies conceptualises economic integration - the prime purpose of regional integration - as: "... referring to a process in which the economies of individual states are merged (in whole or in part) into a single entity." (1992:2; 1994:12). To Peter Vale, regional integration (between states) seeks: "... to reverse the cohesive force of nationalism, giving states and their citizens greater access to a wider experience, wider resources within the community of states" (1989:4). In the case of southern Africa, both economic and political aspects can serve as frontiers to reverse marginalisation, and to increase competitiveness in the global economic order.

vulnerable to top-down forms of regionalism driven by the forces of globalisation, this calls for a new approach in the analytical study of regionalism in a transnational context⁹⁹. Integration theory ought to pay more attention to the role that civil society actors play in promoting regionalism in a transnational context.

This transformation of the world economy, in the context of globalisation, marks the end of an era in which states were seen as central to the interpretation of global events. This calls for a new approach in the analytical study of regionalism in a transnational context. This stems from the realisation that solutions to emerging problems such as drug trafficking, environmental degradation and human rights abuses, amongst others, are increasingly to be found in transnational approaches. These networks and linkages forged by transnational forces have circumscribed the autonomy of state action.

Transnational forces have not only circumscribed the autonomy of state action. These transnational forces are generally playing a crucial role in re-defining the conventional state-centred conception of co-operation and security. A more broad-based conception of security is therefore seen to emanate from: "... communication processes and transaction flows between peoples [that] become not only "facilities for attention" but factories of shared identification. Through transactions such as trade, migration, tourism, cultural and educational exchanges, and the use of physical communications facilities, a social fabric is built not only among elites but also the masses, instilling in them a sense of community..." (Adler and Bennet, 1997:7). For southern Africans, this sense of community, which in part pre-dates colonialism, should be used to transcend state-centrism in building new regional capacity.

⁹⁹ Thomas Kuhn suggests that: "... when the world changes, the paradigm changes too"... or conversely "... when the paradigms change, the world itself changes with them." (1970:11). This requires that theorists give account of how a certain order came into being, or how it may be changing. To account for a contemporary concern with more pluralistic and more responsive forms of governance, theorists are concerned with the issue of participative democracy. Robert Cox (1996) suggests that participative democracy is informed by the organisation of civic life that forms the basis of a variety of self-governing groups that deal with the whole range of people's substantive concerns.

The above presupposes that the study of regionalism or the practice of it by those wishing to put together a region should not be limited to state co-operation¹⁰⁰. It needs to take into account wider regional processes at work. A regionalist project is not an ethereal thing but one that is concrete, consciously driven by either analysts who want practitioners- states mostly- to create a framework through which both state and non-state actors through new fora or institutions contribute to 'new regionalism'. This not only ensures that non-state actor activity corresponds with regions defined by governments, but can also provide the impulses upon which a new developmental coherence, embracing both state and non-state actors, in southern Africa can be built.

Thus, the study of regionalism needs to reflect a concern: "... with the configuration of regional spaces by both state and non-state actors engaged in intergovernmental, transgovernmental, state-non-state actor and importantly, transnational, 'organic' business-to-business or people-to-people relations." (Bischoff and Blaauw, 2001:53). This implies that the study of regionalism in southern Africa should be simultaneously state-led, embrace the market and sensitive to the concerns of civil society.

The need for the re-configuration of regional spaces by both state and non-state actors illustrates that regionalism and regional organisation are extremely complex phenomena that do not only require state participation. The contemporary study of regionalism in southern Africa should be: "...an all-embracing phenomenon, which amounts to far, more than the existence of regional organisations in which only governments participate." (ibid.). To accommodate the marginalised and begin to address broad-based development, there needs to be an acknowledgement that both social and political forces need to drive regionalism in the sub-region. This requires a re-definition of both the needs of state and non-state actors.

¹⁰⁰ Eric Wolf asserts that: "It is periodically incumbent on a discipline to review the ideas that it has found useful in the past, and to reconsider if they will serve its purpose in the future" (Lipschutz. R. 1992:389). Simply put, all intellectual advances are the result of a dynamic contest with the past, in which old orthodoxies give way to new ones. This happens when communities of intellectuals/scholars start using different parameters in order to define and explain sociological issues.

Conventionally, however, regionalism was prescribed by states. In the contemporary context, it is now co-determined by transnational activity and a variety of transnational actors both economic and social. New approaches to the study of regionalism shed light on how the region is constructed in the interplay between states, markets and civil society in various areas. These interactions, which take place within the framework of formal institutions and informally, modify citizens' relationship to their own state, to citizens of other states and to regional institutions. As a result, these exchanges have loosened the bonds between individuals and the state, traditionally defined by the sovereign state. New approaches to the study of regionalism need to recognise this. Traditionally, however, integration theory has focussed on the study of state integration only.

Two theoretical approaches, which have not only dominated the study of European integration and integration *per se*, but were concerned with state integration are Neo-Functionalism¹⁰¹ and Transactionalism¹⁰². These two approaches were primarily concerned with understanding economic, cultural, political and social aspects within the context of territorially-bound units (nation-states). Jakob Ohrgaard posits that the central concern of these approaches was to ascertain whether: "... the institutional framework of European integration, is supranational or intergovernmental." (1997:1). However, in not addressing integration in the South, it not only embodied a limited framework of analysis, but also fell short of accounting for the role that non-state actors in general have to play in the integration process¹⁰³. The growth in transnationalism in southern Africa, due to

¹⁰¹ David Mitrany is credited for having first used the concept Neo-functionalism.

¹⁰² For Peterson: "The term 'transnational relations' was used variously to cover direct cross-border contacts among individuals and groups, the diffusion of ideas through increased communications and media circulation, and the effects stemming from continued existence of stable networks of cross-border transactions," (1992:373). Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye originally used the term transnational relations.

¹⁰³ Peterson suggests that: "Such a state-centric view of world politics would ignore... a view that sees states as sharing a transnational public space with other actors..." (ibid, p376).

globalising influences, necessitates theoretically developing on these theories of integration.

Neo-functionalism, Transactionalism and the New Regionalism approaches differ on the methodology to be applied to achieve integration.

2.2. Neo-Functionalism

Neo-Functionalism was developed in the late 1950s and early 1960s to explain ostensibly the emergence of the European Community¹⁰⁴. Ernst Haas, one of the founding fathers of this approach, argues that Neo-functionalism is primarily: "... the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states." (Tranholm-Mikkelsen; 1991:3).

For David Mitrany, the intellectual father of neo-functionalism, integration comes about by linking: "... particular activities and interests, one at a time, according to need and acceptability, giving each a joint authority and policy limited to that activity alone." (1965:135)¹⁰⁵. Larry Swatuk and Peter Vale (2001) posit that such an incremental process, which manifests itself through a series of shared projects across borders, creates habits of co-operation and reveal the advantages of pooling efforts.

This in essence, will set in motion a process of regional co-operation. Andrew Hurrell notes that: "Regional cooperation may involve the creation of formal institutions, but it can often be based on much looser structures, involving patterns of regular meetings with some rules attached." (1995:336). This not only creates interdependence in one sector, but will necessarily create interests in cooperation. The end result would be a shift in loyalties, which would set in motion a process of supranationalism.

Supranationalism, Leon Lindberg contends is: "... the process whereby nations forego the desire and ability to conduct foreign

¹⁰⁴ The focus of neo-functionalism, therefore, was contextual rather than general and universal.

¹⁰⁵ The central thesis of Neo-functionalism is to be located in the postulate that: "... integration within one sector will tend to beget its own impetus and spread to other sectors." (Tranholm-Mikkelsen; 1991:4)

and key domestic policies independently of each other, seeking instead to make joint decisions or to delegate their decision-making process to new central organs and the process whereby political actors in several distinct settings are persuaded to shift their expectations and political activities to a new centre.” (1963:6; T. Taylor, 1978:243). These supranational institutions had a specific role to play in the process of political integration. Andrew Hurrell asserts that: “Supranational institutions were seen as the most effective means of solving common problems, beginning with technical and non-controversial issues, but ‘spilling over’ into the realm of high politics and leading to a redefinition of group identity around the regional unit.” (1995:348). Neo-functionalists view ‘spill over’ as central to deepening the process of integration¹⁰⁶.

Sectoral integration, the theory claims, will result in functional, political, and cultivated spill-overs¹⁰⁷. Political spill-overs will come about as a result of a transfer of loyalties from the national to the new supranational centres. Cultivated spill-overs are essentially a task of the central institutions. Primarily, it involves attempts to “upgrade common interests” among members. Hodges (1978) posits that by redefining elite interests in regional as opposed to national terms, supranational institutions become perceived as the best to satisfy pragmatic interests. These then lead to calls for further integration, due ostensibly to the spill-over effect.

¹⁰⁶ Deepening integration through a spill over process could only materialise by involving interest groups, public opinion and elite socialization (Hurrell, 1995).

¹⁰⁷ SACU never had any supranational centre to which loyalty could be transferred. SADCC, because it was not a legally binding treaty, never compelled its members to transfer loyalties to the new supranational centre. Common interests were confined to “delinking” economies dependence on South Africa, oppose its apartheid policies and improve infrastructure in the region. The southern African experience of regionalism differs from this conventional wisdom since state security and the protection of sovereignty superseded other consideration such as economic co-operation, and the involvement of non-state actors in regional endeavours. Functional spill-overs are a consequence of interdependent economies. In the case of SADC/C, functional spill-over are not discernible because of economic complementarities. SACU by its very nature was deliberately developed to create dependent rather independent economies. The New Regionalism, and its variant Developmental Regionalism, seeks to consciously foster, *inter alia*, regional industrial development.

Two types of 'spill over' will deepen the process of integration. Andrew Hurrell notes that: "First there was functional spill-over whereby partial small initial steps down the integration road would create new problems that could only be solved by further cooperation. Partial integration represented an unstable half-way house, and the increased complexity of interdependence meant that cooperation in one area would force governments to expand their cooperative endeavours into further areas. Second, there was political spill-over, whereby the existence of supranational institutions would set in motion a self-reinforcing process of institution-building." (1995:348)¹⁰⁸. This self-reinforcing process of institution building will be strengthened by sector-to-sector integration.

Neo-functionalism as a theory was subjected to severe criticism¹⁰⁹. Firstly: "... it underestimated the resilience of the nation-state and of loyalties at the national level..." (Hurrell, 1995:349). Secondly: "...it ignored the great differences between matters of 'low politics', which may be subject to technocratic management, and matters of 'high politics' that remain essential to national sovereignty...". It furthermore: "... ignored the changing role of external factors, political, economic and security (and also the influence of shifts in economic cycle); and that it was overly deterministic, technocratic and apolitical with little ability to explain the nature of power-political and distributional conflicts between member states and the choices between different means of managing them." (ibid, Brown, 2005:124).

Another criticism of the Neo-functionalist theory is that it: "... has always had re to say about the ongoing role of institutions than about the factors that explain the birth of regionalist schemes..." (Hurrell, 1995:349). In the case of southern Africa for instance,

¹⁰⁸ Neo-functionalists: "... view institutions not simply as formal organizations with headquarters buildings and specialized staffs, but more broadly as recognized patterns of practice around which expectations converge." (Young, 1980:337).

¹⁰⁹ While the theory was developed to explain the evolution of the European Commission/Union: "... it failed to predict the evolution of the EC..." (Hurrell, 1995:349).

regionalism at the outset was not geared towards supranationalism, but was prompted by a different logic.

2.2.1 Neo-Functionalism and southern Africa

The logic, which underpinned SACU and SADCC at their formation, was purely political, and was driven by political leaders and senior technocrats. All the same, neo-functionalism has played an integral role in understanding political co-operation and solidarity among nation states in southern Africa. André du Pisani contends that the faith that SADCC had in: "... collaboration on smaller issue areas would provide a basis for cooperation in larger spheres..." (2001:201), bears further testimony to the fact that neo-functionalist precepts underpinned the organisation since its inception. In the case of SADCC, it may be argued that the organisation in addition played an important role in conflict resolution and trying to co-ordinate states' activities. Integration was also seen by governments as a strategy to enhance national development.

For Percy Mistry, writing in the context of Africa in general: "The implications, costs, benefits and opportunities of integration were neither fully understood nor supported by all levels of government nor by a sufficiently broad spectrum of public opinion." (2000:559). In the southern African context this explains the initial reluctance to subject sovereignty to a supranational institution.

Following the Neo-Functionalists logic: "... participants in SADC were not geared, nor were they prepared, to surrender their sovereignty. Rather, the SADC project sought to consolidate areas in which state loyalties might be transferred- for example, in fisheries or transportation and communications development." (Vale, 1999:23). Sharing a series of projects across borders is an essential Neo-functionalist characteristic. In the case of SADCC, however, technical co-operation was not meant to lead to political integration and political community instead the organisation was primarily inter-governmental. SADCC remained essentially an inter-governmental entity. However, some economic benefits were to be had from SADCC's sectoral co-operation. Sectoral co-operation did not, however, go far enough, since it did not entail

giving up sovereignty. Furthermore, it did not involve non-state actors in decision-making.

Like SADCC, SACU was not geared towards the establishment of a supranational body¹¹⁰. On the contrary, unilateral decision-making by South Africa ensured that it became the hegemon of the Customs Union. Importantly also, loyalty was not supposed to shift to the Customs Union, but to South Africa¹¹¹. As such, it became the hegemon of the Customs Union.

Supranationalism in southern Africa as elsewhere demands the need to transcend the arena of national interests, through some sacrifice of the principle of sovereignty, in pursuit of regional economic and political reciprocity. This is to be achieved through definitive economic/trade, institutional, legal and technical arrangements that prescribe the content and parameters of regional integration.

As yet, the political leaders in southern Africa seem unaware of the economic and political propositions needed for neo-functional integration to succeed. This makes new regionalism as a theory relevant to the building of a political community and the plotting of a path towards economic and political integration. This is because the actors in the new regionalism no longer include only national governments, but also private non-governmental entities.

¹¹⁰ This suggests that in the cases of both these organisations there has not been a: "... transposition of the pluralist polity from the national to the regional levels." (Rosamund, 1995:393).

¹¹¹ More critically, the genesis of a Customs Union as established in southern Africa undermined the goal of the creation of a supranational institution. Generically: "A Customs Union is established within two or more countries if all barriers (such as tariffs or quotas) to the free exchange of each other's goods and services are removed, and at the same time, a common external tariff is established against non-members." (Bannock et al., 1970:109).

For Peter Mistry (2000) this reluctance by [southern] African governments to subordinate their immediate national political interests to a regional centre, contributed to a failure to achieve long-term regional economic goals. Both SACU and SADC/C were inter-governmental at formation. In that sense, regionalism in southern Africa had no built-in commitment to supranationalism. The second reason why Neo-functionalism only partially succeeded in southern Africa, relates to: "... its expectations about the declining role of the state in relation to central institutions [which] seem radically at variance with the very heavily statist orientation of most regional arrangements outside the EC." (Hurrell, 1995:349). For instance, in the case of both SACU and SADCC, key domestic and foreign policies remained the preserve of the different member states¹¹². This has had profound implications for the development of these institutions as supranational bodies, since some of the building blocks to supranationalism were missing. Creating effective and inclusive regional communities requires going beyond the simple harmonisation of programmes and policies.

What confounds the selective development of supranationalism and reflects the overt statist nature of SACU and SADCC, relates to the capacities of states in southern Africa to fulfil conditions of statehood. Generally, states in southern Africa are weak, and therefore do not fulfil conditions of statehood (Lodge, 1998). This explains why states in the region guard their sovereignty so jealously. The inability of states to partially surrender their sovereignty made only political co-operation, not supranationalism, possible as a regional strategy¹¹³.

A third criticism of neo-functionalism is that it: "... views institutions as fundamental and is thus difficult to relate to the relatively low levels of institutionalisation found in many regional schemes."

¹¹² This suggests a minimalist approach to regional co-operation and integration that builds consensus among members without binding agreements or commitments.

¹¹³ André du Pisani asserts: "... that cooperation prevents and mediated conflict (a neo-functionalist precept) (2001:201).

(Hurrel, 1995:349). SADCC operated on the basis of a memorandum of understanding (du Pisani, 2001, Mandaza and Tostensen, 1994), whereas SACU was used by South Africa to exert its political and economic hegemony. The institutional fabric of both these organisations, were, despite low levels of institutionalisation, underpinned by strong political elements. By and large, neither SACU nor SADCC used this strong political element to involve non-state actors, which ultimately would have deepened both the institutionalisation and the integration process in southern Africa.

Moreover, the logic that underpinned both organisations, although strategic, was not developmental. The genesis of SADCC was to reduce its economic dependence on South Africa. This was to be achieved through infrastructural development, and political co-operation and solidarity among regional states. From the outset, SADCC focused on intergovernmental co-operation, and limited economic co-operation. This corresponds with the defining feature of Neo-functionalist integration that political integration leads to the establishment of a political community, albeit among states. To achieve its objectives, SADCC opted for sectoral functional co-operation among its members.

If one measures the above proposition against the experience of southern Africa, the genesis of SADCC was underpinned by sectoral co-operation, especially, but not exclusively, in the field of infrastructural development¹¹⁴. Until recently, poor intra-regional infrastructure, counter-productive to the enhancement of intra-regional trade and growth, was a hallmark of the southern African region¹¹⁵ (Mistry, 2000). It could, however, be argued that SADCC achieved modest success in its regional sector co-operation, especially in the field of infrastructural development.

¹¹⁴ For James Mittelman (1999) the logic that underpinned SADCC at formation was neither security nor economic considerations.

¹¹⁵ SACU members are the exception to this rule and have a well-developed infrastructure, which served specifically, but not exclusively, South Africa well.

Tom Østergaard (1993) argues that interest groups have an important role to play in infrastructural development. Interest groups have, despite some integration so far, however, been excluded in southern African integration efforts. Instead, national rather than regional development has remained the preoccupation of leaders in southern Africa. South Africa earlier on, for instance, was more concerned with developing its own industrial base than that of other members of the Customs Union. Similarly, SADCC member states were more concerned with national as opposed to regional development and co-operation.

If regional development and co-operation is to be achieved, economic integration must be driven by the need to regulate and re-direct market forces. In this context, new regionalism, and its variant developmental regionalism, has a particular role to play in directing policy. New regionalism posits that the reversal of uneven economic development is only possible, through the regulation of regional economies. This regulation of regional economies is not only done by state, but numerous private, non-governmental entities.

The theory of new regionalism recognises that regional integration is not led by state and their governments alone, but is accompanied by awareness that many regional interests accommodate processes which are transnational in nature. These regional interests and processes: "... spill over borders, involving contacts between groups who are located in different national societies, but who are linked by economic, cultural and political needs." (Smith, 1997:74). This implies that decision-making about economic, political and security policies, which may lead to deeper political and regional integration, goes beyond inter-governmentalism.

History, however, illustrates that in the case of SACU, economic co-operation did not lead to political integration, whereas with SADCC it was hoped that political co-operation and limited project co-ordination would lead to economic integration. Because the focus of these programmes was national instead of regional in focus, SADCC had no particular development programme of its own (Massdorp, 1992). Under SADC too, so far, this has not

happened. Political integration did not even take place after 1994 with SADC as envisaged. Botswana and South Africa's intervention in Lesotho, and the division that existed concerning military intervention in the DRC, bore testimony to the fact that mutual self-interest will not sustain political integration among the political elites of the region. New approaches to the study of regionalism recognise that integration is an all-encompassing phenomenon involving various actors and takes place within a multi-level framework.

Integration in southern Africa, according to neo-functional theory, presupposes a high degree of inter-state integration at different levels. Southern Africa to them is a regional subsystem with a network of trade dependencies, capital flows, labour migration patterns and infrastructural ties (railways and roads) that bind the region together. Regionalism in southern Africa does amount to more than this.

A new developmental coherence presupposes that there be real co-operative forms of policy co-ordination and integration by nation-states. In addition, and because of transnational relations, both state and non-state actors should be part of new supranational designs. This necessitates another paradigm of analysis that recognises the role to be played by non-state actors to drive forward the process of regional integration.

Transnationalism as a theory recognises that international relations conducted in a transnational context involve a complex process of interaction within a multi-level framework and involve state and non-state actors.

2.3 Transactionalism

Contemporary international relations and the study of regions, involves more than relations between and among states. It focuses on transnational relations as well¹¹⁶. Transactionalism as a paradigm gained momentum in the late 1970s and 1980s, with the rise in transnational relations¹¹⁷. Peter Katzenstein (et al) note that: “By 1970 integration theory had specified a substantial number of economic and social background factors that conditioned a series of political processes. These, in turn, shaped how political actors defined their interests and thus the policy strategies that elites adopted in different states.” (1998:654).

The theory was only concerned with the implications of transnational relations for state autonomy. It, therefore, did not recognise that regions and the notion of regional communities are also defined by ‘the people’ and as such impact on transnational relations. For Peterson: “The term ‘transnational relations’ was used variously to cover direct cross-border contacts among individuals and groups, the diffusion of ideas through increased communications and media circulation, and the effects stemming from continued existence of stable networks of cross-border transactions.” (1992:373). At face value, it seems that the theory of transactionalism, which focuses on transnational non-state actor relations challenge the supremacy on the state in international relations.

However, transactionalism focussed on transnational non-state actor relations is limited to non-state corporate actors (Katzenstein et al, 1998). More specifically, transactionalism focussed on the

¹¹⁶ For Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye: “... transnational social movements and international organizations had created a world without borders and thus eclipsed the territorial state.” (1997:3).

¹¹⁷ For Peterson: “The basis for an escape from state-centric conceptions can be derived from the scholarly debates that raged in the 1970s and 1980s concerning the nature of the state and state-society relations within countries.” (1992:373).

impact of changing economic and technological forces on international relations, against the backdrop of a proliferation in the numbers of non-state corporate actors. As such, transactionalism ignored the fact that “the people” who are conscious of their transnational past and form a transnational community in doing so, also define regions and the notion of regional communities. Peter Vale notes that in the case of southern Africa: “... states, and the system they construct are the only- indeed, the natural- means to explain community in the region.” (2003:125). Both SACU and SADCC constructed communities around states in the 1970s and 1980s.

Other authors have argued that transactionalism gained momentum during this period as a result of the growing concern by the United States foreign policy establishment on how to control or manage what was perceived to be an increasingly vulnerable economy (Neuman and Wæver, 1997). The genesis of the theory of transactionalism was the result of the evolution among the industrialized nations of: “... a more complex pattern of actors and issues than claimed by realists.” (Suhr, 1997:1)¹¹⁸. The concern of transactionalists was how to deal with impact of changing economic and technological forces on international relation, which saw a rise in non-state corporate actors. The establishment of the CBI by SACU, for instance in the mid-1980s, was one such instance that was geared towards accommodating non-state corporate actors¹¹⁹. Yet, these changing economic and technological forces, not only gave rise to a proliferation in non-state corporate actors. It has also given rise to the growth of informal cultural and economic networks as well.

¹¹⁸ The solution to this was a: “... process of creating new institutions, or perhaps some sense of shared purpose.” (Walters, 2002:83). In the case of SACU, institutions established were aimed at entrenching South Africa’s economic and political hegemony. SADCC on the other hand, was kept together by a shared purpose: to reduce economic dependence on South Africa.

¹¹⁹ Robert Davies opines that the CBI: “... approach was rooted in an assumption that what was good for business was good for the community as a whole. Its essential thrust was towards accommodating the demands of capital, without taking account of the interests of other stakeholders.” (1996:4)

The economic and technological changes, addressed by Transnationalism, have not only led to increased global linkages among non-state corporate actors. But they have also opened-up avenues for civil society in general to expand and re-interpret the notion of region and regional communities. The concomitant structural transformation, which these changes entail, allows people to look beyond the state and state borders, in solving problems of unemployment and poverty. In this transnational process, which takes place within a multi-level framework, actions of states, markets and civil society intersect in a variety of ways, constituting the phenomenon of new regionalism.

The implications for non-state actors of these increased social relations are that it has led to a proliferation in trans-border activity, by specifically migrant workers. These trans-border activities of migrants give new meaning and value to regionalism and the notion of regional communities and in doing so re-scale inter-governmental and social relations. This has led Jessie Hoon to conclude that: "The growth of transnationalism has... contributed to a rejection of political integration as the overarching goal of regionalism." (Hoon, 2001:253). These non-state corporate actors were more concerned with issues of economics than with politics. In southern Africa, patterns of labour migration and informal economic networks also reflected a concern with economic survival issues. This prompted a change in inter-governmental relations.

For states, the rise of transactionalism meant that: "Intergovernmental relations had, in other words, become transgovernmental." (ibid.). The concern of the theory of transactionalism was how to deal with inter-state co-operation and dependence (Katzenstein, et al, 1998). This meant that for transactionalists, the unit of analysis remained states. The rise of economic and technological changes, however, made the establishment of global linkages between and among other non-state actors, easier. The implications for regionalism and region-building were that states and non-state actors were compelled to respond to this changing global situation.

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye (1971) examine the rise of transnational relations, in the form of cross-border capital, goods and services, information and technology, as well as people¹²⁰. These multidimensional economic, social and ecological interdependencies endow international relations with a tapestry of diverse relationships¹²¹. New forms of regionalism embrace transnational non-state actor relations as well.

The above presupposes that recognition should be given to transnational activity among societal actors. This presupposes recognition of transnational activity among societal actors, which requires innovative states' responses. States responded to this plethora of relations by establishing international regimes¹²² that govern: "... procedures, rules or institutions for certain kinds of activity..." (Keohane and Nye, 1989:5; Young, 1994). Moreover, these common procedures, rules and institutions employed by states were geared towards controlling and regulating both transnational and inter-state relations, but did not pay recognition to non-state organic people-to-people relations. In southern Africa, the negotiated regime of SADCC and the imposed regime SACU did not include non-state actors (Thompson, 1991).

¹²⁰ In southern Africa, as elsewhere, this requires a recognition that, inter alia: "The increased prominence of environmental issues, many of which have transboundary implications requiring co-operative action, provides yet another ground for emphasizing the importance of regional and global rather than national activity." (Peterson, 1992:372).

¹²¹ For states, the critical decision was: "... whether to sacrifice domestic autonomy for greater international cooperation. Agreeing to abide by a set of rules or practices within a community of states means that members forgo some types of behaviour." In a nutshell, transactionalism offered: "... states the opportunity to subscribe to a set of rules in exchange for reduced autonomy." (Aspinwall, 2003: 146).

¹²² Oran Young (1982) distinguishes three types of regime (see also Krasner, 1983; Keohane, 1984:49-64). These are spontaneous, negotiated and imposed regimes. More recently, Nayef Samhat observes that: "... international regime (community of states) is the partial consequence of efforts of the individual within these networks that comprise this bargaining and society... the regime mobilises, enhances, and legitimises the activities of this network by providing accepted norms and principles." (1997:365). For a discussion on the relevance of regimes to southern Africa see Lisa Thompson (1991).

This suggests that southern African states still viewed social identities as only bounded within the confines of the territorial state. Yet: "...social identities and interests are not fixed but evolved from the diffusion and convergence of causal and normative understandings across national boundaries, high levels of communication, economic interdependence, and cooperative practices." (Adler, 1997:252). As such, states in general were unable through regimes to lend scope or provide guidance to: "... the high volume of transactions within the region over a wide range of economic, political and social activities which... promote and maintain a sense of community among the population of a given region." (Hodges, 1978: 244-245). This was because states were unable to control everything within their territorial confines. Even today, states in southern Africa are still incapable of measuring informal trade among the various people of the region.

States established international regimes with the express purpose of regulating international relations. Robert Keohance and Joseph Nye conceptualise the functions of regimes as: "... governing arrangements that affect relationships of interdependence." (1977:19). Stephen Krasner, on the other hand, defines regimes as: "... sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations." (1983:1). Simply put, theoretically the intention was to create social institutions that would regulate the interdependence of both state and non-state actors¹²³. But this did not happen in southern Africa.

The conception of institutions resembles that of regimes. Institutions are defined: "... as the formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or political economy." (Hall and Taylor, 1996:938). As formal entities, institutions, like formal regimes,

¹²³ Jessie Hoon notes that: "Modern institutions see the renaissance in regionalism as an outgrowth of the expansion of transnational linkages which have increased the need for governance structures where international rules and cooperative behaviour among various actors may be encouraged thereby strengthening global multilateralism." (2001:253).

enable states to achieve their objectives more effectively, if the intention is to promote co-operation. In the case of SACU and SADCC, the developmental functions of institutions were limited, because non-state actors were not accommodated despite increasingly established economic ties across borders.

However, generally speaking, the establishment of institutions took place against the background of increased economic interdependence and technological changes. Linda Weiss notes that: "... the extent to which national economies have become more interconnected through trade, production, finance, and the growing web of international rules and institutions- are often a prelude to the political project." (1999:59). As a political project, new forms of regionalism are concerned not only with rules and institutions created among sovereign states, but accommodate spontaneous and informal relations among other actors as well.

New forms of regionalism¹²⁴ embracing transnational non-state actor relations presuppose that: "... the state cannot be viewed as a unitary actor because to do so misses the multiplicity of actors comprising the state." (Ibid, p29)¹²⁵. New Regionalism, as a guide of action, accommodates and promotes regimes that include non-state actors. This is because actors in the new regionalism no longer include only national governments, but also private non-governmental entities and informal cultural, economic and social networks. States were, however, still used as the primary unit of analysis in the changing world economy of the 1980s and 1990s¹²⁶.

¹²⁴ In southern Africa, new forms of regionalism are exemplified by the creation of SDIs and TFCAs (Simon, 2003).

¹²⁵ For Michael Suhr: "... the transgovernmental and transsocietal focus... challenged the centrality of the state as the most important actor in international relations." This suggests that: "Intergovernmental relations had... become transgovernmental." ((1997:92).

¹²⁶ This notwithstanding the advantage that: "... viewing states and civil societies as co-inhabitants of the public space makes us more sensitive to the possibility that societal actors will be able to increase their authority from the state in countries where that autonomy appears very limited or even non-existent." (Peterson, 1992: 376-77).

The above suggests that there were no changes of the system, only changes in the system (Cox, 1996). Petersen asserts that transactionalism ignore... a view that sees states as sharing a transnational public space with other actors..." (Peterson, 1992:378). This: "... amidst the growth in trans-regional relations on the ground, especially in the wake of IMF and World Bank imposed SAPs, which have encouraged economic openness and the growth of market forces- both formal and informal- regionalization increasingly happens despite the singular preoccupation of states." (Bischoff, 2004:4)¹²⁷. SAPs and the World Bank have circumvented the state and encouraged non-state actor activity. New forms of regionalism see states as sharing a transnational public space with other actors¹²⁸.

In the contemporary context, individuals or groups who find their voice through regional non-state actors- organised outside the institutional frameworks of regional organisations- such as San communities in southern Africa- contribute to regionalism and regionness. This is because states only represent those who act within a national context, and cannot fully speak on behalf of those who act in a regional context. This compels us to expand and re-interpret our conception of region to accommodate the poor and marginalized. The diminishing models of governance and the concomitant rise of transnational forces, affected African states in general, and Southern African states in this instance, adversely. This contributed to: "... a diminution of the role of the state as an economic provider." (Blaauw and Bischoff, 2001:53). Informal economic activities in southern Africa reinforced the contention that the state has become less of an economic provider.

¹²⁷ In southern Africa, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, have been implementing IMF and World Bank sanctioned SAPS, whereas Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland have voluntarily introduced elements of SAPs in their economic policies (Tsie, 1996).

¹²⁸ This notwithstanding the recognition at the time: "... that state and societal actors share a transnational public space. Both state and societal actors have their reasons for existing, as well as sufficient resources and motivation for self-perpetuation to assure that neither is likely to disappear very soon." (Peterson, 1992:385).

The state has become less of an economic provider because the: “The economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s eroded the international capacity of African states still further and structural adjustment programmes have required many states to recast their policies in new directions.” (Reed, 1995:140). The World Bank (1981) stated that an over-extended state in Africa was the core problem on the continent. The report reflected that the state in Africa rewarded political control more than it did economic investment and production.

What was required to remedy this situation was the adjustment of African economies to integrate them more fully and on a more competitive basis with the world economy. Yet, Balefi Tsie argues, persuasively too: “... that a free market approach is inappropriate for a developing region such as southern Africa, whose economies are characterised by acute disparities.” (2000:11). Rather, what is needed in southern Africa, is an activist state. New forms of regionalism posit a crucial role for state, alongside other actors, in the building of economic capacity.

The imposition of SAPS and its concomitant political conditionalities, have opened up space for non-state actors to play a role in the building of economic capacity¹²⁹. These political conditionalities were ostensibly aimed at the promotion of new non-state forces. Says Reed: “... donors, particularly the United States, sought to strengthen “accountability, enhance “good governance”, and build institutional capacity...”. To achieve the afore-mentioned: “...donors began to support actors in society which could monitor the activities of the state. Thus, human rights organizations, trade unions, fledging political parties and other interest groups with the capacity to analyse public policy, became the target of foreign assistance.” (1995:144; Sandbrook, 1993).

¹²⁹ These liberalised political structures specifically in the southern African region: “...made allowance for the creation of space at the end of one-party rule, the end of apartheid, but we did not see the deepening of political liberalisation to the extent that it amounted to democratisation.” (Ozias Tungwarara, Personal Communication, 27/09/2002.)

This suggests that the promotion of non-state actors in Africa were as much a political project as an economic one¹³⁰.

As a result of SAPs, state actors were by-passed by non-state actors as development agents: "... because of the ability which actors in civil society had to circumvent... state authority" (Reed, 1995:144)¹³¹. Fredrik Söderbaum illustrates how state actors were by-passed as development agents by positing that: "...SAPs and the reform programmes are founded on the ideology of 'the rolling back of the state', which reduces the potential not only for state-driven regionalism but also for market and society-induced integration, since the two depend on each other." (1998a:79). However, regional integration as a political project requires not a rolled back state. To the contrary, it requires a more activist state. States in southern Africa should, however, recognise that they share a public space with other actors. In the 1980s and early 1990s, non-state actors have been active in establishing linkages with other non-state actors, which could strengthen their role in regional integration vis-à-vis states.

Non-state actors in southern Africa, and the rest of Africa, were also effective in establishing international linkages with other global non-state actors, such as Amnesty International and Greenpeace. Establishing linkages with other international actors were legalised by the imposition of economic and political reforms in southern Africa in the early 1990s (Reed, 1995). The establishment of linkages with international non-state actors was furthermore, supported by the spread of democratisation and changes in technology. Charles Petland posits that the perception of interdependence or mutual dependence is brought about by: "... modern technology of communications, industry and welfare, as

¹³⁰ Bilateral and multilateral donors in the 1990s have devoted increasing amounts of their funding; especially the fraction earmarked for democracy and human rights, to civil society bodies.

¹³¹ Sandra McClean contends that: "Although assessment of SAPs' contribution to social problems are inconclusive, it does appear that they have contributed to regionalist pressures by forcing people to revive old or establish new associative ties as counters to material shortage, unemployment etc," (1999:946).

well as the growth of economic, ecological and social problems on the regional or global scale...” (1973:64). This interdependence not only affect states, but also non-governmental and transnational relations.

States in southern Africa, as elsewhere, were not always able to control the flow of information, nor were they capable of solving all the problems they were confronted with. This called for the involvement of non-state actors. The consequences of an increase in non-state relations results in a “... web of relations between non-governmental units... which in turn result in a... transnational society.” (Nye, 1971:33). Transnationalism is an integral part of increased regionness and regionalism¹³². Increased social relations among non-state actors had major implications for the study of regions and regional integration. They were vital in revamping existing regional integration blocks in the early 1990s, in southern Africa, as elsewhere in the developing world.

For instance, MISA uses communication technology to establish linkages among the people of the region. Similarly, the trade unions in the region have initiated the Social Charter for the fundamental rights of workers in southern Africa. Various bilateral agreements have been established between the South African trade unions and their counterparts in Mozambique, Namibia and Lesotho. These relations are established outside the purview of state influence, and contributed to the reconstitution of relations among non-state actors. More importantly, this bears testimony to the fact that regionalism is ultimately about how regional actors such as state and non-state actors seek to influence and control issues of an economic, political and social nature¹³³.

¹³² Regionalism, therefore, needs to cater for both state-led forms of regional integration and more organic forms of integration, involving non-state actors. This demands a re-interpretation and expanded notion of regionalism and regional integration.

¹³³ Ultimately, however: “...pressure from social groups... is mediated by an organizational dynamic that imprints its own image on the outcome.” (Hull, 1986:19). In southern Africa, media restrictions in countries such as Zimbabwe and Namibia, makes it difficult for these actors to effectively influence state policy.

In the case of southern Africa, the non-involvement of non-state actors in their deliberations on policy formulation has contributed to the inability of SACU and SADC to generate additional economic growth, because co-operative economic practices among non-state actors- as in the case of informal women traders in Mozambique and South Africa referred to earlier- were excluded from the measurement of formal economic activity (Söderbaum and Taylor, 2001). The SADC document on the Free Movement of People and the recently established SADC Women's and the Non-Governmental Council acknowledge the need to respond to informal traders. However, the SADC body may also aim to control and regulate other transnational relations in southern Africa, because states predominate in regional relations and retain the ability to impede or promote regionalism in the sub-region.

It is, however, important for states in the sub-region to involve non-state actors in an analysis of integration, as they are mutually dependent on each other to solve problems of a transnational nature. Mutual dependence in this context is a consequence of the interdependence of states with states, as well as states and societies. It also serves as a poignant reminder of the regions' interdependence and common vulnerability in the global economy. In southern Africa, moreover, in the recent past, apartheid and the history of unequal economic development further reinforced the awareness of interdependence. Today, South Africa's economic predominance still provides the political economic glue that binds the region and shapes the perception of interdependence.

By ignoring the crucial role of non-state actors in the integration process Transactionalism failed to recognise that: "... the new order... established by SAPs... in African international relations is firmly rooted in the re-ordered relationship which is emerging between civil society and the state in Africa. While the state is certainly not about to be supplanted in international affairs, the recasting of its capacities and jurisdictions, and the expansion of

Furthermore, there is a common feeling of unease among Southern African regional governments about working with civil society, as will be demonstrated elsewhere.

the international activities of actors in the society realm, does indicate that the African state will have to share political space with a growing number of non-state actors..." (Reed, 1995:145).

The above suggests that the study of regionalism or the practice of it by those wishing to put together a region, should serve as a catalyst for wide ranging changes in development. Regionalism in southern Africa must lend scope and provide guidance to the promotion of a wider regionalism that embraces both state and non-state actors, for the achievement of a more equitable economic, political and social order: in short, a developmental regional order. . In a world context of multiple actors, a sound understanding of world politics depends on understanding the different types of societal actors operating transnationally. This is crucial, since societal actors co-exist and interact with states.

Ultimately, therefore: "Any discussion of international society of states must take into account the transnational activities of individuals, firms, interest associations and social groups. These societal actors have significant effects on the flow of material resources, know-how and ideas around the world, and cannot be ignored in any full account of international relations." (Peterson, 1992:371). Transactionalism, as a field of study, however, only focussed on inter-state and corporate non-state actors only. As such, it has neglected the fact that new forms of regionalism have constantly extended into new and diverse domains, since the mid-1980s. New forms of regionalism recognise that: "... regional initiatives- from civil society networks and NGOs... play out roles that have a daily impact upon peoples and states..." (Fawcett, 2004:431)¹³⁴.

The New Regionalism as a paradigm of analysis and guide to political action, and one of its variants - Developmental Regionalism - is aimed at identifying and ascertaining where an alternative normative approach to regionalism exists at the level of

¹³⁴ Louise Fawcett asserts that: "... a truly successful regionalist project today presupposes eventual linkages between state and non-state actors: an interlocking network of regional governance structures..." (2004:433). New regionalism as a phenomenon on the ground, recognises the linkages and mutual dependence between state and non-state actors.

civil society, and how these patterns of behaviour grow out of, and exist in spite of relations between and among states.

2.4 Transcending State-Centrism: New Regionalism

Globalisation and the study of regionalism after the Cold War can be seen as a reflection of the reconfiguration of economic and political power in the production centres of the world (Gamble and Payne, 1996). Andrew Hurrell and Louise Fawcett note that: “The end of the Cold War has witnessed a further expansion of the normative ambitions of international society. Order is increasingly held to involve the creation of rules that affect very deeply the domestic structures and organization of states, that invest individuals and groups within states with rights and duties, and which seek to embody some notion of a common good (human rights, democratisation, the environment, the construction of more elaborate and intrusive interstate security orders).” (1995:309). One of the ways that is increasingly being seen as contributing to the creation of ‘new’ rules for international society, is regionalism, especially in the aftermath of the Cold War.

After the Cold War, international society is increasingly being restructured along regional lines. The rise of new forms of regionalism refers to a phenomenon in its infancy that had its genesis in the mid-1980s (Hettne and Söderbaum, 1998)¹³⁵. As a field of study, new forms of regionalism: “... reflects the deeper interdependence of today’s global political economy and the intriguing relationship between globalism and regionalism...” (ibid, 3; Sideri, 1997). Simply put, new forms of regionalism are reflective of the proliferation of transnational activity. This is because: “Even if initiatives are taken within the region, the factors which make these initiatives necessary are global.” (Hettne, 1997:229)¹³⁶. New Regionalism is the study of new forms of regionalism.

¹³⁵ For Marianne Marchand et al: “... there is a qualitative difference between the old regionalism of the Cold War and the one that emerged during the late 1980s.” (1999:903).

¹³⁶ Morten Bóäs reminds us that: “The globalisation/regionalisation nexuses have

In the aftermath of the Cold War a second wave or revamped regionalism took-off. This second wave of regionalism is referred to as the study of new forms of regionalism or the 'new regionalism'¹³⁷, was the end of geo-political rivalry and a decline in US economic hegemony (Hettne, 1999b; Smith, 1997)¹³⁸. Regionalisation, therefore, should be seen against the background of important transformations of the global political economy. This suggests that the global economy is not only becoming globalised, it is also becoming regionalised. Conceptually, the new regionalism refers to: "... new economic and political processes actually going on in many parts of the world..." (Hettne, 1999b:1). While different authors agree that the new regionalism refers to the second wave of regionalism: "... there is as yet no clear definition of the new regionalism which is commonly subscribed to.

created a whole range of diversified patterns of interactions and responses at the local, national and regional levels." (1999:1062). These diversified patterns of interactions and responses are, arguably, due to the unevenness of this process of global restructuring. Indeed: "The impact of global restructuring is not only uneven among countries, but perhaps even more so within them. This means that at the local as well as the national and regional levels there is a multitude of approaches and responses to globalisation/regionalisation." (ibid, p1064).

¹³⁷ Margaret Lee argues that the study of new regionalism can be divided into four theoretical constructs. The first construct is known as open regionalism, which: "... is based on neo-classical and/or neo-liberal economic theory, which emphasises that the markets should drive the integration process. The second, known as the WIDER approach, sees regionalism as a more multidimensional process that will result in greater homogeneity in areas such as culture, politics, economics, security and diplomacy. The third approach is termed 'new regionalism- regionalism from below', and suggests that the starting point for formal regional organisation should be informal cross border trade and related activity. The final theoretical approach of the new regionalism is the 'external guarantors model', which advocates that the African regional agenda should be supervised by an external agent in order to guarantee that economic reforms are not reversed and macroeconomic stability is enhanced." (2003:31).

¹³⁸ Margaret Lee postulates that: "The first wave... of regionalism... took place during the 1960s, while the second wave commenced during the mid-1980. The latter took off only after the Cold War came to an end in 1989." (2003:28; Hettne and Söderbaum, 1998).

There is only some convergence of thinking in emphasizing its difference from the old.” (Mistry, 1999:123)¹³⁹.

New regionalism as a field of study differs from the old or first wave of regionalism in important respects¹⁴⁰. Björn Hettne posits that whereas old regionalism was:

- (1) “Formed in and shaped by a bipolar cold-war context, the new is taking shape in a multipolar world order...”
- (2) “Created ‘from above’ (by the superpowers), the new is a more spontaneous process from within the region and also ‘from below’ in the sense that the constituent states themselves, but increasingly also other actors, are the main proponents for regional integration.”
- (3) “As far as economic integration is concerned, was inward-oriented and protectionist, the new is often described as

¹³⁹ The most cogent distinction between new regionalism and older forms of regionalism is that the former allows for: “... a marriage between development theory and international political economy. Such a merger may ultimately strengthen an emerging “new” or critical political economy of development.” (Söderbaum, 2001:104). Critical Political Economy deals with historical power structures, emphasising contradictions in them, as well as changes and transformation expressed in normative terms (Cox, 1996). As such, it allows us to probe the normative concerns of regionalism, which deal with regionalism as a political project.

¹⁴⁰ Marianne Marchand et al observe that: “In the past, the study of regionalisation has been dominated by functionalist and neo-functionalist approaches to, as it was then called, economic and political integration.” (1999:901). James Mittelman, concludes that in addition to these two approaches, institutionalism and neo-institutionalism are deficient, ostensibly because they: “... understate power relations and fail to offer an explanation of structural transformation.” (1999:26). Recently, however: “... renewed interest has been accompanied by the emergence of new theories and approaches to regionalisation. In particular, political economy and critical security studies are shedding new light on processes of regionalisation, as well as on the emergence of regionalism as a new world order phenomenon...” (Marchand, et al, 1999:901). Ultimately, new regionalism differs from older types in that the new regionalism approach: “... unlike the ‘old’ regional studies also incorporates all three major types of actors in its purview, not just states but also companies and communities.” (Shaw, 2000:401).

‘open’, and thus compatible with an interdependent world economy...”

- (4) “Specific with regard to objectives, some organizations being security-oriented and others being economically-oriented, the new is a more comprehensive, multidimensional process. This includes trade and economic integration, but also environment, social policy, security and democracy, including the whole issue of accountability and legitimacy.
- (5) “Only concerned relations between formally sovereign states, the new forms part of a global structural transformation in which non-state actors are active and manifest themselves at several levels of the global system...” (1999b:7-8).

For Andrew Hurrell (1995), the New Regionalist renaissance, or what he terms “The Resurgence of New Regionalism”, is a product of the revival of old regional organisations, the establishment of new ones, and the calls to deepen integration in some instances. In view of the above, the new regionalism: “... is a package rather than a single policy and goes beyond the free market idea... the political ambition of establishing territorial control and regional coherence cum identity is the primary regionalist goal.” (ibid, p17; Smith, 1997:73)¹⁴¹. New forms of regionalism are thus a pluralist phenomenon that concerns itself with various fields of activity and at various levels¹⁴².

¹⁴¹ This suggests that regionalism is ultimately a political and social construct. Indeed: “Taking the new regionalisms seriously implies that actual practices, and not geographical proximity alone or formal political and economic cooperation, will determine the delimitation of the region.” (Marchand, et al, 1999:903).

¹⁴² As a political project, new regionalism accords states the opportunity to enhance and protect their roles in an interdependent world because states are: “... more selective in its external relations, and careful to address the interests of the region as a whole...” (Hettne, 1996a:101). Furthermore, as a normative project, new regionalism allows states and non-state actors to respond to an interdependent world: “... in accordance with its peculiarities and problems.” Hettne and Söderbaum, 1998:7).

Theoretically, new forms of regionalism are also an innovative response to the impact of neo-liberalism on state and society. Robert Cox asserts that: “Neo-liberalism is transforming states from being buffers between external economic forces and the domestic economy into agencies for adapting domestic economies to the exigencies of the global economy.” (1995:39). Multilateral institutions in a regional setting facilitate this transformation of the state to the exigencies of the global economy.

The new regionalism is therefore predicated on the assumption that engagement with the world economy is unavoidable. For Balefi Tsie the process of new regionalism: “... represents an attempt by states to forge a form of governance different but not necessarily opposed to multilateralism.” (2000:12). This latter contention is closely related to the fact: “... that the constituent states themselves are main actors.” (Hettne, 1997:229.). Seen in this light, new regionalism is arguably a state-initiated political project, to respond to globalisation and to a plurality of actors, with a view to respond to the comprehensiveness and multifaceted nature of contemporary regionalism.

For Björn Hettne the process of: “... new regionalism is a response to globalisation processes, including efforts to initiate a counter-process of deglobalisation. Deglobalisation is: “... an attempt to bring the globalisation process and transnational transactions under some political-territorial control.” (1999b:6)¹⁴³. In the face of reduced state autonomy states are the main protagonist initiating this process of de-globalisation¹⁴⁴. The

¹⁴³ Regionalisation must thus, ultimately be viewed as: “... the political corrective to globalised market-driven disorder and turbulence, not only on the level of the world but also in local systems.” (Hettne, et al, 1999b:xxxi). Moreover, de-globalisation results from a desire: “... to modify, halt or to reverse the process of globalisation in order to safeguard some degree of territoriality, civil norms, cultural diversity, and human security...” (Hettne, 1998:49).

¹⁴⁴ Indeed, it is intimately related to the current transformation of the world economy into trading blocs and the process of globalisation. Yet, the new regionalism: “... is on the one hand seen as an integral part of the globalisation process, but on the other it can serve as formal (including state-led) counterforces against this process...” (Lee, 2003:35). In this sense, the new regionalism is an important political construct in

initiating role of the state in the process of de-globalisation, takes place against the backdrop of its reduced role as a unitary actor in international affairs¹⁴⁵.

Robert Cox concludes that: “States are, by and large, reduced to the role of adjusting national economies to the dynamics of an unregulated global economy.” (1996:528). Thus, the state is reduced in its functions as a unitary and intermediary or gatekeeper. In contrast, the direct participation of individuals and non-state actors in global and regional affairs can only grow, because of the uncertainty that accompanies globalisation, and the space that it created for non-state actor participation (Cox, 1999a)¹⁴⁶.

Non-state actor participation in particularly, but not exclusively, economic affairs has become crucial: “... in a world context in which there is a rise in globalised market forces... which consequently contributed to: “... a diminution of the role of the state as an economic provider. Arguably, therefore, International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) can increasingly contribute to the development agenda.” (Blaauw and Bischoff, 2001:52). As a political initiative, the process of New Regionalism demands that there be mutual enablement between state and non-state actors in building such new economic capacity

influencing the project of globalism.

¹⁴⁵ Accordingly: “Within each regional project there will be more than one vision, and often also more than one actor pursuing regionalisation.” (Marchand, et al, 1999:900). This suggests that in the context of new regionalism: “The debate has also been widened... it is beginning to acknowledge that regional interactions and organisations focus not only on state but on continuing linkages among a heterogeneous set of actors and realms, including states, economies/companies and societies/civil societies.” (ibid, p897).

¹⁴⁶ Cox (1999a) notes that civil society is increasingly being looked on as the source for alternative and more equitable forms of society – the motivational force for change. This opens up the possibility of plotting change, transformation, freedom from control and enlarging the possibilities for greater human emancipation.

(Söderbaum, 1998)¹⁴⁷. This creates the opportunity for both state and non-state actors to build new regional economic and political capacity.

Building new regional economic and political capacity requires deliberate attempts to connect the two broad processes of formal and informal regionalism¹⁴⁸. Therefore, the study of new regionalism: "... concerns the ideas, identities and ideologies related to a regional project." (Marchand, et al, 1999:900). As such, new regionalism is a political construction, which can be moulded to accommodate the marginalised and begin to address broad-based development¹⁴⁹. This is necessary since: "In many parts of the world, what feeds people, organises them and constructs their worldview is not the state and its formal representations (at local, national or regional levels), but the informal sector and its multitude of networks, civil societies and

¹⁴⁷ The focus of new regionalism, like critical theory, is on the exclusion of individuals, groups, communities and the state at the international system's level and how to overcome this. To achieve this, we need to explain how the present order came about, and secondly, attempt to seek an alternative order to the existing one (Cox, 1981, 1996). This is because state-society relations are to be located in "...historically constituted frameworks or structures within which economic and political activity take place" (Cox, 1996:32).

¹⁴⁸ For Margaret Lee: "The need to attempt to connect both the formal and informal processes of regionalism is at the heart of the new regionalism concept." (2003:36).

¹⁴⁹ Samir Amin asserts that: "The creation of such regions represents the most effective response to the growing polarisation as a result of the globalisation process. Regionalisation, therefore, will help facilitate the creation of a global system that is different." (1999:54). The outcome for developing countries, Bertil Odén posits, is that: "... this configuration of the new regionalism is viewed as a way to increase regional interrelations in order to enhance interdependence and therefore arrest the globalisation process, which results in their economies being linked to the developed countries based on centre-periphery model." (1999:157).

associations (again at many levels).” (ibid, p904)¹⁵⁰. This continued and increased interaction between the formal and informal allows state and other actors to mutually enable each other¹⁵¹. This in turn deepens co-operation among regional actors, which increases the level of regionness. New Regionalism studies and encourages this process.

From the above postulate, new regionalism means regionness is not only a state-initiated project, but is more comprehensive and multidimensional. Indeed, the usefulness of new regionalism as a field of study lies in its recognition of ‘informal integration’ among non-state actors which: “... consists of those intense patterns of interaction which develop without the impetus of deliberate political decisions following the dynamics of markets, technology, communication networks and social change.” (Wallace, 1992:9). New regionalism as a phenomenon itself makes allowance for transnational: “... often undirected processes of social and economic interactions...” (Hurrell, 1995:39)¹⁵².

Because of its comprehensiveness and multidimensional nature, the New Regionalism is concerned with the broad tapestry of development, including security issues. (Hettne and Söderbaum, 1998). Development and security, it is now widely acknowledged,

¹⁵⁰ In studying: “... informal regionalisms from below... our analyses should take into account the regional practices in the informal border politics of small trade, of smuggling and crime, and the networks and associations involved in these two processes.” (Marchand, et al, 1999:906). Studying formal and informal regionalism also has another advantage. For example: “... Formal regionalisation in the form of trade liberalisation can also entail the regionalisation of various elements of civil societies into a regionalised civil society that can become a viable counterforce to the formal regionalisation project.” (ibid.).

¹⁵¹ This suggests merging top-down globalisation, driven by states and IFIs and bottom-up globalisation driven by social networks and social movements or transnational regional economy and civil society (Söderbaum, 2001).

¹⁵² This increases the level of regionness and is intimately related to the process of regionalisation. Löhtenmäki and Käkönen assert that regionalism refers to: “... subregional co-operation created from below, not by states or supra-national actors.” (1999:204).

exist in a complementary relationship with one another. Boutros-Boutros Ghali reminds us that: “Just as there can be no lasting peace without development, so development efforts cannot succeed without a stable, peaceful environment.” (1995:1). The reality is, however, that: “... states in the southern region, as in much of Africa, have not been particularly responsive to the needs and interests of their citizens.” (Maclean, 1999:945). This compels citizens to re-organise social and economic relations.

New regionalism, as a phenomenon develops in a multipolar context which: “... acknowledges the importance of movements in civil societies for emancipation, democratisation, material opportunity and/or survival.” (ibid, p944). This, by and large, is to explain the increased activism shown by civil societies across borders¹⁵³. The issues, which these non-state actors seek to address, include, *inter alia*, democracy, human rights, environmental degradation and migration. These functional linkages established by trans-regional actors point to the impact of regional and international norms on the growth and the influence of civil societies at domestic level. This calls for the re-organisation of economic and social relations.

The re-organisation of economic and social relations also finds resonance in southern Africa. Sandra McClean asserts that: “In the midst of growing economic uncertainty and social strains, people in southern Africa have established or renewed regional connections as protective strategies.” (ibid, p945)¹⁵⁴. In a situation of this new regionness, individuals and marginalized communities

¹⁵³ The presence of these actors compels states to recast their roles in a changing global economy. In doing so, the state has to consider a variety of factors that circumscribe its autonomy and influence, ranging from economic, social, political, cultural and historic dimensions that require much more than state participation, but also popular participation. These: “... social movements can also be seen as protective measures in an era of extreme market dominance.” (Hettne, 1995:5).

¹⁵⁴ Reflecting on the new century, Cox maintains that the quest for a new social order, or what he terms ‘civilization’ can best be understood as a: “... fit between material conditions of life and intersubjective meanings” (2001:215-234). This understanding of civilisation makes the political or social economy the most promising arena for change and development.

are accorded the opportunity to interact with the wider region and the rest of the world as a means of advancing economic and political goals. Blaauw and Bischoff (2001) contend that in the case of southern Africa this makes it possible for the insertion of regional communities¹⁵⁵.

The delimitation of the region will decidedly be determined by actual practice, and not just (physical) geography or formal political and economic co-operation. As such, a new approach to regionalism in southern Africa must move beyond any static notion of region and regionness and replace it with the dynamic notion of the region as a social construct. Accordingly: "... regional decision makers now have the opportunity to travel a different path, a path possibly leading to peace, sustainable development, and ecological sustainability." (Swatuk and Vale,2003:31). Such a path must also take cognisance of the fact that: "... in the region there seems to be an emerging consensus around the inherent value of community-based development, at state, substate and nonstate levels." (ibid, p39)¹⁵⁶. To transcend state-centrism, we are compelled to expand and re-interpret the conception of development and security

By transcending state-centrism, we will afford southern Africa and southern Africans the opportunity to politically correspond to globalisation and start a process of inward looking development called developmental regionalism which 'mixes and matches' inward with outward orientations with a view to lessen regional inequalities and to involve both state and non-state actors in the process of building new economic capacity.

¹⁵⁵ The transformative potential of civil society can only be fully unleashed if there is: "Mutual support in promoting social equity, reversing the current trend towards social polarization" (ibid, p231).

¹⁵⁶ Ultimately: "... the ways in which the market, the state and civil society interact and react to the challenges of globalisation are crucial in constituting sub-regional outcomes." (Mittelman, 2000:160).

2.4.1 Developmental Regionalism

Globalism brings into relief the issue of regionalism as a key development phenomenon in southern Africa. By similar extension: “The new regionalism may also provide solutions to development problems.” (Hettne, 2001b:103). For Björn Hettne: “Development is... one dimension of the new regionalism, which has many causes and serves many purposes...” (1996a:164). In the face of marginalisation, regionalism offers southern African countries the opportunity to address both national developmental needs and to engage the international community. Bertil Odén postulates that: “The marginalization of Southern Africa as well as the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, in the world economy over the last decades has increased the scope for regionally induced initiatives.” (2001:176)¹⁵⁷.

As a normative project, regionalism in southern Africa, as elsewhere in the developing world, accords states and non-state actors the opportunity to build new regional economic capacity¹⁵⁸. Towards this end, Louise Fawcett notes that: “Promoting regional co-operation would appear then to be a rational policy choice for developing countries both in terms of strengthening links with the advanced industrialized countries but also demonstrating greater independence and self-sufficiency.” (1995:22). Regionalism in southern Africa, however, should be not purely economic, but also a politically driven project, since the aim of regionalism should be to reduce the acute disparities in and among countries of the region¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁷ This with a view to counter-act: “... the global pattern of uneven development... that... more often than not was reproduced within the region...” (Odén, 1999:19).

¹⁵⁸ This is because globalisation as a normative project: “... is driven not primarily by some inexorable economic process, but rather by politics: by ideology, by the actions, interactions and decisions of state actors, their private sector interlocutors and wider public.” (Cerny, 1999:159).

¹⁵⁹ Indeed, one of the fundamental aims of the regionalisation process is the: “...creation of welfare (in terms of social security and regional balance).” (Hettne,

These significant regional inequalities lend support to developmental regionalism that sets out explicitly to address the structural and spatial problems associated with integration amongst unequal partners, by regional economic regulation (Söderbaum, 1998). In this context, developmental regionalism refers: "... to concerted efforts from a group of countries within a geographical region to increase the efficiency of the total regional economy and to improve its position in the world economy." (Hettne, 2001b:104). One way of increasing the efficiency of the total regional economy is through regional industrial development. Indeed one of the precepts that underpin developmental regionalism relates to: "... efforts to co-ordinate regional industrial development." (Gibb, 2001:74). This suggests: "... a political economy approach to developmental regionalism." (Söderbaum, 1998:86).

A political economy approach to developmental regionalism, presupposes that we answer the question: "... what the driving forces of the regional process are." (ibid.). Accordingly, and to answer the question, we need to ascertain the role of the state, market forces and civil society in building new economic capacity¹⁶⁰. Historically, state-led regionalism in southern Africa has been a political elite project which has tended to live a life of its own, often separated from market demands and civil society. This means that up to now, the interpretation of a regional community in southern Africa remains the prerogative of the narrow interests of regional elites. From this reading, it implies that states in southern Africa provide the only path to regional community. Regionalism is, however, a comprehensive and multifaceted process taking place at various analytical levels and involving both state and non-state actors. This suggests that the fostering of closer ties between and among governments has to be complemented by governments promoting grassroots co-operation among non-state or civil society actors across

2001b:90).

¹⁶⁰ Writing on state, market and society relations in southern Africa, Fredrik Söderbaum asserts that: "The private and public economic forces have been reacting faster than have the state actors to the new postapartheid situation and the changes occurring as the result of the structural adjustment and economic liberalization reforms in Southern Africa." (2001:111).

borders¹⁶¹, even outside of the institutional structures provided for such co-operation. New approaches to the study of regionalism, which take place across a number of dimensions, accommodate and encourage such co-operation.

The above suggests that individuals or groups find their voice through regional non-state actors, and as such also contributes to formal regionalism and regionness. This creates the opportunity to not only expand and re-interpret our conception of the region and regionalism in southern Africa, but may also contribute to participative regionness. Moreover, it bears testimony to the: "... vast potential for a successful and mutually beneficial developmental regionalism in Southern Africa." (ibid, p87). Indeed, evidence suggests that non-state forces driving regionalism in southern Africa, are already considerably contributing to re-constructing regional industrial development.

Finally the importance of Developmental regionalism for an understanding of contemporary efforts at integration is aptly captured by Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum, who enthuse that Developmental Regionalism: "... contains the traditional arguments for regional cooperation of various relevance for different actors, such as territorial size, population size, and economies of scale, but more significantly, also adds some which express new concerns and uncertainties in the current transformation of the world order and world economy, such as resource management, peace dividend, social security, investment and finance, stability and credibility." (1998:19). All of these inform the challenge of regional economic integration in Southern Africa.

All in all, Developmental Regionalism, Björn Hettne claims, is discernible when attempts are geared towards:

¹⁶¹ Abie Dithlake notes that the: "SADC-CNGOs recognise and respect the role that such institutions play in the region. For civil society organisations to be more effective, we need to be focussed. Specialisation in a particular field and area of concern would help us a great deal and enable us to achieve much." (Personal Communication, 25th January, 2006). New approaches to the study of regionalism recognise that non-state actors also have to address a multitude of issues.

- (a) Achieving sufficient market size in order to attract foreign investment;
- (b) Forging viable economies for the purpose of enhancing possibilities of collective self-reliance, especially food security;
- (c) Seeking and maintaining policy credibility in the form of similar macro-economic policies and common political systems and values;
- (d) Effective articulation of common interests;
- (e) Social stability through regional redistribution;
- (f) Joint agreement and judicious exploitation of common natural resources, and
- (g) Conflict management and resolution so as to collectively reap the 'peace dividend' (1996a:165-166).

Seen in this light, developmental regionalism as an economic project centres on: "...the role of the region towards the rest of the world and the internal dynamics of a particular region." (Söderbaum, 1998a:76). To achieve the afore-mentioned, it is necessary to first respond to global economic demands by harmonising macro and micro coordination in such a way as: "... to cope in a rapidly globalizing world that demands ever-increasing competitiveness." (Mistry, 2000:554). In addition, the history of lopsided economic development in the southern African region demands that strong emphasis be placed on measures intended to counter polarisation.

For Fredrik Söderbaum therefore Developmental regionalism implies: "...the concerted efforts of state and non-state actors within a geographical area to increase the economic efficiency and development of the region as a whole and to improve its position in the world economy." (1998a:91) (the argument of effective articulation)¹⁶².

¹⁶² Critically: "... the way in which the market, the state and civil society interact and

For our purpose, Developmental Regionalism may be of assistance to states who: "... have to cooperate to solve problems..." (Hettne, 1996b:100). This would ensure that each member reaches a higher level of development. Significantly, this would contribute to the creation of a favourable economic environment in the form of an expanded regional market. This is in tandem with the argument of Developmental Regionalism that achieving sufficient market size is a *sine qua non* for attracting foreign investment (the argument of sufficient size). A positive spin-off for countries which integrate with other ones, is that: "... As interdependence deepens so the risk of major economic or military conflict declines." (Gamble and Payne, 1996:248).

In the final analysis: "... development regionalism is a relatively new phenomenon. It contains the traditional arguments for regional cooperation of various relevance for different actors, such as territorial size, population size, and economies of scale, but, more significantly, also add some which are expressing new concerns and uncertainties in the current transformation of the world order and world economy." (Hettne, 2001b:107).

2.4.2 Developmental Regionalism in southern Africa

Efforts to establish a developmental axis between the port of Maputo and the industrial heartland of South Africa (Gauteng) (Söderbaum and Taylor, 2001); can be seen as an attempt to reconstruct regional industrial development. Yet, these efforts are not only state-initiated. Indeed, in some instances, private actors' enthusiasm in building a trans-regional economy even supersedes the role that state actors play. Söderbaum et al (1998b) observe that private economic actors are included in discussions by the CBI, SACU/CMA, and COMESA¹⁶³.

react to the challenges of globalisation is crucial in constituting sub-regional outcomes." (Mittelman, 2000:160).

¹⁶³ Writing on African regions, Björn Hettne reminds us that: "Apart from the formal

More tangible proof of the involvement of the business community in economic activity in southern Africa is borne out by their contribution to the establishment and rehabilitation of the Beira, Maputo and Walvis Bay Corridors. Moreover other: “South African based actors, such as ESKOM, Transnet and Spoornet, mining companies, banks and financiers, have sophisticated regional strategies and push the regionalisation process forward.” (ibid.). Vale and Maseko allude to similar growth of South African non-state actor based investment in the region: “South Africa’s direct investment in Africa was approximately R3.7 billion before the 1994 elections, and increased to about R13 billion thereafter, while trade during 1994-5 has increased 52.5 per cent to R16,771 billion.” (1998:279)¹⁶⁴.

However, the above-mentioned developments seek to reinforce the notion that: “South Africa’s physical and financial infrastructure is superior to the rest of the region.” (Odén, 2001:179). Notwithstanding South Africa’s economic dominance in the region, there nevertheless exists the potential for enhancing mutual interdependence between that country and her neighbours. Mining, for example, offers the opportunity to enhance mutual enablement or interdependence between South Africa and the rest of the region.

For Bertil Odén the: “... Jwaneng in Botswana is the largest single diamond mine in the empire of De Beers, with ownership divided equally between De Beers and the Botswana government. Such interdependence... may in fact facilitate a balanced regional development through investments and technology transfer. Transport and communications is another sector... where interdependencies may be mutually beneficial. For instance, it is possible that the Maputo corridor and harbour can experience a renaissance as an outlet for production in Mpumalanga. It is also possible that South African agencies such as Portnet and Spoornet could be involved in the management of transport corridors in Mozambique.” (ibid, p179-180). The interactions

regions, there are more important informal networks transcending state borders and these networks can be seen as embryonic regional civil societies.” (2001b:92).

¹⁶⁴ These developments point to: “... observable changes in terms of changing regionness, and how such changes can be brought about by concerted political action coming from within the region.” (Hettne, 2001b:97).

suggest that state-society relations are limited to government-business relations.

Implicit in the afore-mentioned, is the suggestion that developmental regionalism by encouraging state-non-state actor partnership, offers state and non-state actors the political opportunity to build new economic capacity. Developmental regionalism in southern Africa should thus be: "... state-led, market-driven and sensitive to the concerns of civil society organisations." (Tsie, 2000:13). But to overcome disparities in the region also requires a degree of interventionist regionalism¹⁶⁵. Indeed, as the above example of infrastructural development demonstrate, mutual enablement between the public and private sectors in the various political economies that constitute the southern African region, are already contributing to forging an equitable regional economy.

Effective articulation finds expression in the way that SADC engages the rest of the world on trade and related issues by articulating a common position. This is exemplified by the bi-annual SADC-EU dialogue and the SADC-Nordic initiative (Balefi Tsie, 1999). Such an approach to regionalism reinforces Mfundo Nkuhlu's conception of Developmental Regionalism as being of specific value to southern Africa because: "... it places a strong emphasis on measures that are intended to counter polarisation in the integration schemes... and... stresses the need for macro and micro coordination in a multi-sectoral programme that embraces production, infrastructure and trade." Moreover it: "... is also insistent on compensatory and corrective measures to guarantee benefits even for the least developed contracting partners." (1994:34). In a region such as southern Africa, with a history of social instability, collective self-reliance and social stability can only be achieved- to invoke Björn Hettne's (1996b) phrase- through a regional distribution mechanism.

Not surprisingly: "Recent SADC documents indicate an awareness of the need for political intervention to prevent deepening of

¹⁶⁵ This means, Rok Aluju argues, that: "Developmental regionalism is thus an attempt to govern the market." (2001:38; Edigheji, 2005:6).

regional economic disparities.” (Ibid, p101)¹⁶⁶. Similarly, the recently re-negotiated SACU provides for a development component that recognises the need for a regional distribution mechanism¹⁶⁷. Thus, Developmental Regionalism in southern Africa should amount to more than just the elimination of barriers to trade. It should in fact be about the economic structural transformation of the region. With reference to southern Africa, Balefi Tsie suggests that what is needed is: “... a gradual transformation of the regions’ agricultural-dependent economies.” (2000:14). In this respect, the co-ordination of regional integration efforts should be geared towards providing less-developed and invariably small member states preferential access to regional markets and facilities¹⁶⁸.

More critically, regional redistribution is likely not only lead to a decline in economic and military conflicts, but will also result in social stability and a peace dividend for in southern Africa (the social stability and peace dividend arguments). The SADC Free Trade Protocol and the Southern African Power Pool Protocol, coupled with the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, are indicators that in southern Africa, attempts are underway to achieve both collective self-reliance and a peace dividend in the region (Balefi Tsie, 1999).

From the above therefore, it is obvious that Developmental Regionalism seeks to: “... reinforce societal viability by including social security issues and an element of redistribution and protection (by regional compensation and development funds or specialised banks) in the regionalist project.” (Ibid, p36). This would require that states transcend the role that they have hitherto played in terms of providing infrastructure and a stable regulatory framework. States in southern Africa should be central in providing regional development institutions such as a Regional

¹⁶⁶ The social reconstruction of the region should not be left to states alone. It should involve states, markets and civil society actors (Söderbaum, 2001).

¹⁶⁷ Robert Davies, Personal Communication, 16 October 2002.

¹⁶⁸ Arguably this requires state intervention in the economy. Fredrik Söderbaum notes that: “The debate on the preferred type of developmental regionalism overlap very much [with] the classical debate on the role of the state in economic development.” (1998:85).

Development Bank, a Regional Board of Industry and Trade and a Regional Human Rights Commission. A Regional Board of Industry and Trade are especially significant for the achievement of policy credibility in the form of similar macro-economic policies. Political intervention to establish these institutions and promote sustainable development would require the evolution of developmental states in southern Africa.

Hettne and Söderbaum remind us that developmental regionalism requires: "...political intervention to reduce conflict and promote sustainable development." (1998: Davies, 1994:13). Sustainable development¹⁶⁹ requires that matters such as trade liberalisation be accompanied by, *inter alia*, the co-ordination of regional industrial development, as is the case with the Beira, Maputo and Walvis Bay Corridors, where both public and private investment have played a pivotal role¹⁷⁰ in changing the conventional investment patterns in the region.

These Spatial Development Initiatives in southern Africa are: "Almost entirely driven by private capital (though in partnership with national and provincial administrations), these SDIs are currently reconfiguring whole areas of South Africa and neighbouring states, constructing effective micro-regions of economic activity." (Taylor, 2003:317). The creation of micro-regions in southern Africa has also given rise to the expansion of non-state actor activity in the economic domain. This suggests

¹⁶⁹ The requirements for sustainable development in southern Africa are:

- Intra-regional peace and domestic social tranquillity;
- Effective and democratic governance;
- Fiscal responsibility and monetary discipline;
- Investment in human capital and improved skills training;
- More domestic and foreign investment for the creation of jobs;
- Infrastructural development, both physical and social infrastructure (Cleary, 2001).

¹⁷⁰ This suggests that in southern Africa: "... a strategy of 'development from within' may yet be a feasible development strategy at the regional level, for instance in the form of coordination of production, improvement of infrastructure, and exploitation of various economic complementarities (the viable economy argument). Moreover, it reminds us that we need to take into cognisance: "... bottom-up, market-induced and society-induced processes of regionalisation." (Söderbaum, 2001:111).

that people and not states alone also ultimately define regions and the notion of regional communities.

Writing on the expansion of non-state actor activity as a result of the creation of the Maputo Development Corridor Fredrik Söderbaum and Ian Taylor posit that: “This informal market expanded to all corners of the country as well as linking up with neighbouring countries, marking the beginning of the institution of makhero¹⁷¹, a movement of people, mostly women, buying and transporting all types of goods, vegetables, fruits, clothes and small home appliances, between Mozambique and South Africa and Swaziland, to sell on the informal market.” (2001:860). The activities of these non-state actors suggest that individuals or groups are likely to find their voice through regional non-state actors, and as such also contribute to the political dimension of regionalism and regionness.

The success of developmental regionalism in southern Africa is, arguably, dependent on the nature of states and regimes and their common political will. Balefi Tsie notes that: “... systems of governance that express the aspirations and needs of its people, are profoundly shaped by the nature and form of the state.” (2001:104). Regional development in southern Africa would, therefore, require developmental states. Thandika Mkandawire defines a developmental state as: “... one whose ideological underpinnings are developmental and one that seriously attempts to deploy its administrative and political resources to the task of economic development.” (2001:65; Ajulu, 2001; Tsie, 1996)¹⁷². Tom Lodge (1998) asserts that southern Africa already has hard, resilient and developmentally effective states. This suggests that the edifice to create a regional development community-comprising of both state and non-state actors- concerned with the

¹⁷¹ Fredrik Söderbaum and Ian Taylor point out that: “... the makhero are modern forms of survival strategies, but several of the women traders have constructed viable business enterprises.” (2001:680).

¹⁷² Balefi Tsie asserts that: “... much of the development that has occurred in Botswana has been state-sponsored and directed. It is in this sense that one can speak of a developmental state in Botswana.” (1996:601).

achievement of human dignity and the fulfilling of basic material needs, already exists¹⁷³.

The above suggests that: “A complex mix of interacting processes and causal mechanisms in various fields (development, economics, politics and culture) shapes the dynamics of developmental regionalism in Southern Africa at various analytical levels.” (Söderbaum, 2001:110). Ultimately, therefore: “The future dynamics of regionalism in Southern Africa will be determined in the relationship between top-down and bottom-up forces and especially to what extent they are mutually reinforcing rather than competitive.” (ibid, p112).

¹⁷³ The above postulate suggests that: “A democratic developmental state is one that not only embodies the principles of electoral democracy, but also ensures citizens’ participation in the development and governance processes.” (Edigheji, 2005:5).

2.5 Conclusion

It was contended that the theories of neo-functionalism and Transactionalism, deal incompletely with outcomes appropriate to developing countries. State-centric conceptions of regionalism inadequately deal with issues of a transnational nature, such as poverty and unemployment. As a result, people remain vulnerable to top-down forms of regionalism driven by the forces of globalisation. This calls for a new approach in the analytical study of regionalism in a transnational context. The transformation of the world economy, in the aftermath of the Cold War, has contributed to renewed calls for a new approach in the analytical study of regionalism in a transnational context.

Historically, however, SADCC used neo-functionalist¹⁷⁴ precepts since its formation, while SACU has also been an inter-state regional grouping. One of the positive spin-offs from following neo-functionalist logic since its formation was that the countries in southern Africa collectively mobilised resources for infrastructural development based on co-ordinated and mutually perceived common interests.

Furthermore, the usefulness of state-centric Neo-Functionalism in southern Africa was obvious at the level of the integration and socialisation of regional elites. This produced a strong sense of political solidarity and co-operation among these elites. It should be used to deepen the integration process in southern Africa. However, political solidarity and co-operation alone will not lead to supranationality. This would require the capacity of both state and non-state actors.

The prime failure of Neo-functionalism in southern Africa, therefore, is that non-state actors have been excluded in regional integration efforts. For regionalism in southern Africa to cater for broad-based development, there is a need to involve states, markets and civil society, since these are already expanding on

¹⁷⁴ Marianne Marchand et al observe that: “In the past, the study of regionalisation has been dominated by functionalist and neo-functionalist approaches to, as it was called, economic and political integration.” (1999:901).

their own and creating 'facts on the ground'. This suggests that regionalism needs to capture the activities of non-state actors as well.

The rise of transactionalism in the late 1970s and early 1980s presupposed that cultural, economic and political aspects of integration could no longer be understood within the bounds of states alone. Though it takes a less rigid view, transactionalism as another approach to the study of integration, is similarly state-centred in its definition of regional organisation. Here integration concerns itself with processes: "... in which supranational institutions possessing binding decision-making power emerge from a convergence of self-interest on the part of various significant groups in society." (Taylor, 1978:243). While both SADCC and SACU made significant progress in the establishment of institutions possessing binding decision-making power, both excluded societal groups in their decision-making process.

The exclusion of societal groups in the decision-making processes of both SACU and SADCC occurred despite the technological developments that have produced world-wide information and communication networks. Furthermore, this exclusion also occurred despite the growth of transnational networks in the region. The growth of transnational relations in the region was exemplified by labour migration in the 1970s and 1980s. Transnational labour migration patterns during the 1970s and 1980s mirrored the trends in economic interdependencies among the nations in the region. The cobweb of relations that resulted from these technological developments has produced a deepening of social relations. In southern Africa the liberation struggles waged by the peoples of the region resulted in a deepening of social relations. Furthermore, cross-border economic exchanges and migration, brought about by worsening economic conditions in the 1980s have further reinforced these relations. However, all these have as yet not been developed into regional loyalties (Bischoff and Blaauw, 2001).

Whilst a nascent regional consciousness and identity, which was fostered, *inter alia*, by a common British colonial past, the liberation struggle and informal trade, exist in southern Africa, the regional inter-governmental bodies have failed to bring all sections

of the region's societies into the mainstream of regional economic and political integration efforts. Regional integration needs to touch the lives of the ordinary citizens of the region, since the building of new loyalties in the context of regional institutions can also contribute to pre-empting physical conflict.

This presupposes that we expand the conception of security to accommodate the marginalised, and as such begin to address broad-based development. Indeed, the poor and the marginalised should become involved in determining the content and form of regionalism. Thus, the building of a transnational community in the region that embrace both state and non-state actors, should encompass the most fundamental regional development. The New Regionalism approach can considerably contribute to achieving this. New regionalism, on the other hand, provides a framework for both state and non-state actors to set parameters for building new regional economic capacity.

New Regionalism as the creation of facts on the ground, amounts to an uncontrolled growth in transnational forces which has unintended consequences, like polarization. This makes a regional redistributive mechanism necessary or justifiable. It is now recognised that regional development is contingent on co-ordinated development, which implicitly necessitates a regional intervention mechanism. In southern Africa, this intellectual shift is most clearly visible in the move from a Co-ordinating Conference to a Development Community. With regards to the transformation from SADCC to SADC, André du Pisani has this to say: "... a development community denotes an attempt at effecting structural change which favours both national and regional development and which activates all sectors of the population to participate in the development process." (2001:207).

This shift in thinking necessarily implies renewed thinking on how to address the issues of a lasting regional order, against the background of changing national, regional and international realities. Market mechanisms, it is widely acknowledged, cannot address the issue of the fair distribution of benefits resulting from regional integration. Neither can it shed light on the vexing question on how to ensure that industrialisation should or could benefit the less-developed members of the integrating community in southern Africa.

Furthermore, the role to be played by non-state actors - and the framework needed to clarify that role - will have to be the product of increased engagement between the states of southern Africa and non-state actors. In this regard, Hettne suggests that the deepening of regional integration in southern Africa is contingent on an: "... organisation framework... which... promotes social communication and convergence of values throughout the region..." (1996b:97). This would require popular participation in and control of national and regional decision-making by citizens through their representative bodies such as political parties, trade unions and others. The establishment of democratic and vibrant civil societies throughout the region is an essential precondition for this.

In this regard, state and non-state actors have a critical role to play in transforming regional institutions, to confront the challenge of integration in the next century. Developmental Regionalism, as a critical element of New Regionalism, has important lessons to offer, and indeed aptly articulates the process of regionalism unfolding in southern Africa. Historically, the political nature of regionalism, still make it difficult for states to make allowance for non-state actors in their attempts to deepen regional integration in southern Africa.

Chapter 3

Everything but Developmental?: A History of Regional Integration in Southern Africa

3.1 Introduction

Until the early 1990s, Southern Africa's regional alliance patterns were characterised by a clear political divide between the apartheid state and independent state in southern Africa. This divide that stood at the centre of the region's turmoil, resulted in mutually exclusive economic and political co-operation and integration arrangements in the sub-region, with little concern for regional development or growth. Political considerations informed regionalism in southern Africa, economic developmental and security objectives that are equally important were neglected. SADCC, for instance, defined itself by the exclusion of apartheid South Africa. South Africa, on the other hand, remained a dominant regional force, because of the reliance of the BLS countries on it, and the various bilateral agreements she had with countries such as Swaziland and Mozambique.

Usually, regional integration under the auspices of SACU was politically driven. Roger Southall argues that: "The development of white settler society in South Africa was founded upon violent conquest and was encouraged by British imperial interests for commercial reasons." (1999:4; Martin, 1990). By the time the Union of South Africa was constituted in 1910, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland were British "High Commission Territories". The British colonial administration kept these "High Commission Territories" outside the colonial administrative structure and development processes which were applicable elsewhere in British Africa (Polhemus, 1994). The contribution of British colonial rule to the underdevelopment of the "High Commission Territories" is exemplified in the absence of common

structures it had created for its territories elsewhere. James Polhemus points out that due to British colonial rule of the “High Commission Territories”: “There was no common High Commission Territory currency, airline, post and telecommunications authority or literature bureau... this was left to South Africa.” (1994:236). The Customs Union was formally established between South Africa and the then High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, in 1910.

The establishment of SACU was aimed at eventually absorbing the BLS countries and entrenching South Africa’s economic and political dominance in the region¹⁷⁵. The 1910 agreement was influenced by both economic and political events in the region. The regional economy, within the Customs Union changed considerably in 1920 with the introduction of tariff protection by South Africa. This pattern of tariff protection only changed after the re-negotiation talks of SACU, which started in 1994. What the tariff protection meant was that a range of products from neighbouring territories was excluded from trade by South Africa in the course of its interaction with them. A partial consequence of this was that South Africa’s exports to the region greatly exceeded its imports from the region (Catteneo, 1990).

This pattern of regional economic interaction established an effective South African hegemony, and created relations of acute dependency in the territories. This pattern of tariff discrimination, it will be illustrated elsewhere, enabled South Africa to make political use of its economic dominance, in the SACU region. This tariff protection was significant in shaping trade patterns in SACU in particular¹⁷⁶. In the economic sphere, SACU in essence

¹⁷⁵ Peter Vale reminds us that: “The Southern African Customs Union (SACU), for instance, the region’s longest-surviving interstate institution, buttressed South African power (and its wealth) in the region for close to a century. By providing states with a secure source of income, participation in SACU also opened the door to the statehood that would come to its three minor partners, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. The theory and practice of regional security in southern Africa have been profoundly one-sided: they have sought to legitimise the access of privilege to power and sanctioned the power of the powerful to set the terms of interstate relations.” (2003:36).

¹⁷⁶ To further enhance its hegemony in Southern Africa, apartheid South Africa even had: “... politically motivated trade agreements negotiated to provide support to the Smith regime in [Rhodesia].” (Davies, 1996:169).

exemplifies South Africa's highhandedness, the power of its industrial lobby and the general hostage status of the BLS countries.

From the period 1948 to 1961 a new dimension was added to the relationship between South Africa and the BLS countries. During this period, apartheid South Africa's relationship with the BLS countries was considerably shaped by its response to African de-colonisation. After the National Party came into power in 1948, a re-alignment of its relations with Africa, in general, and southern Africa in particular, took place. This was in response to Britain's growing commitment to the de-colonisation of its colonies (Southall, 1999). South Africa was, needless to say, strongly opposed to the prospects of de-colonisation.

By the 1970s, the regional context in which SACU operated had changed considerably. Nolutshungu (1988) posits that Verwoerd in an attempt to entrench South Africa's economic and political dominance conceived the idea of establishing a South African common market based upon the former High Commission Territories. The objectives of such a market were to politically tie the former High Commission Territories to South Africa. Similarly, for Sam Nolutshungu (1988), the Cabora Bassa Dam Project and the Kunene River Scheme were aimed at augmenting the dependence of both the Territories and Mozambique on South Africa. Despite South Africa's opposition to the impending independence of the three territories, negotiations for a new agreement started in 1963 and were concluded in 1969.

South Africa was also capable of exerting its economic dominance on non-SACU members in the region. Robert Henderson notes that: "During the 1960s and early 1970s, South Africa sought to protect itself from the threat of guerrilla warfare by liberation movements (e.g. the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress) by creating economic dependencies out of surrounding countries. These 'relations of dependence' were achieved by such institutionalised means as the SACU agreement (i.e.. the BLS countries) and by more informal economic instruments such as the control of rail transit facilities through South Africa, South African commercial dominance of the industrial and commodities markets of the surrounding countries, provision of wage-earning employment (i.e. South African mines

and factories) for foreign Africans, etc. Even the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique and the then white-minority-ruled Rhodesia were brought within South Africa's sphere of economic dominance, thus affording the racist regime influence over a surrounding buffer of dependent, if not friendly, African states." ¹⁷⁷(1985:230).

The above suggests that regionalism in southern Africa was not a developmental project, but rather a political one, to suit primarily South Africa's needs. Fredrik Söderbaum succinctly illustrates this by charging that: "... formal regionalisation schemes in Southern Africa, such as the Frontline States (FLS); SACU/CMA; SADC were used mainly as instruments in the larger power struggle. Regionalism in southern Africa was, however, not only driven by the political needs on the part of South Africa to neutralise political opposition. This implied that South African-based businesses were penetrating the region, often with active support from the government, while neighbouring countries tried (but failed) to resist increased dependency. The neighbouring states supported the liberation movement in South Africa while the apartheid regime tried in all possible and impossible ways to prevent them from doing so." (1998:77-78).

As the liberation struggle became more serious, South Africa increasingly made political use of its dominance. South Africa was able to establish co-operative relations with willing independent African states, such as Malawi and Madagascar, while at the same time it consolidated ties with neighbouring white regimes, such as Rhodesia (Southall, 1999). This prompted a political response and led to the constitution of SADCC in the late 1970s/1980, which excluded South Africa and made South Africa's political and economic dominance a regional issue. The genesis of SADCC was intimately linked to the struggle for independence in the region.

SADCC was motivated by a desire to secure the independence of all states in Southern Africa. With regards to the origin of SADCC, Paul Bischoff contends that: "It did in fact (1980-992) principally

¹⁷⁷ The relationship between apartheid South Africa and these countries were considered to be different, since this relationship was based on solidarity between these white states in the region (Grundy, 1973:222; Ngoma, 2004)

define itself by its exclusion of apartheid South Africa, the region's dominant member." (1995:109)¹⁷⁸. Thus from the outset, regional integration under the auspices of SADCC was politically driven. Not only did the founding fathers of SADCC provide input into the politics of region building: its Western allies were equally concerned with achieving certain political objectives¹⁷⁹.

Samir Amin (et al.) forcefully argue that: "... SADCC was not solely an initiative of the Frontline states. On the contrary, there was strong encouragement from Western countries who wished to draw the region closer to the West, and, by creating a division from undiluted confrontation with South Africa, to prevent the Frontline states from giving greater support to the ANC and SWAPO." (1987:8). From the outset, thus, SADCC was an organisation driven partially by the agenda of international donors. In addition, SADCC's formation was also a political response to South Africa's military and security threats. Margaret Lee asserts that: "SADCC came into existence during the period of growing militarization of the apartheid regime... SADCC was designed to make a greater political statement than an economic one.

The political nature of region building in southern Africa was further reinforced by apartheid South Africa's notion of establishing CONSAS. Derek Chitala postulates that South Africa's response to the establishment of SADCC was to proclaim: "... the notion of the Constellation of Southern African States (CONSAS) which was

¹⁷⁸ Ironically, with the dismantling of the apartheid system, South Africa was viewed as the hope for rejuvenating Southern Africa. Indeed: "... apartheid's regional strategy of destabilization had been replaced by a South Africa that offered the region the seemingly endless opportunities articulated under the idea of globalization." (Vale, 2003:1127).

¹⁷⁹ Anthony Hawkins maintains that the aid given by Western donors was ostensibly: "... to promote a group of viable economies as a counterweight to South Africa." (1992:106). Naison Ngoma asserts that: "The Western policies were also driven by their own economic and security interest given the tremendous economic potential provided by the availability of such valuable minerals as diamonds and gold and the need to maintain control over the sea route to the Indian sub-continent." (2005:86). In addition Peter Vale postulates that: "... given the scope of South Africa's destruction of the region in the 1970s and 1980s, this reinvention of South Africa's past as the hope for the region's future has been done with the connivance of Northern Hemisphere states that have willingly provided funding for the development of policy positions for the postapartheid region." (2003:33).

intended to promote interregional economic cooperation with respect to trade, transport, energy, investment and manpower.” (1987:31; Ngoma, 2005:90)¹⁸⁰. Sam Nolutshungu (1988) views the political objectives of CONSAS differently.

For Nolutshungu (1988) the establishment of CONSAS was aimed at using South Africa’s military might to force southern African countries out of any alternative arrangement they might devise, and to disrupt economic installations that may link such countries¹⁸¹. For example, South Africa prevented the establishment of a pipeline between Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and the Benguela railway line (ibid.). The political divide between the Frontline states, the liberation movements and apartheid South Africa is demonstrated by the fact that: “CONSAS [was] essentially... a part of ‘Total Strategy’ thesis first used in the 1977 White Paper. The strategy is a relatively flexible-counter response by South Africa to a series of crises emanating both from the liberation struggle and the challenges posed by the SADCC.” (Chitala; 1987:31). The policy and programme of CONSAS, however, faltered and failed.

This chapter aims to illustrate that the formation of SACU, was based on achieving the political objective of tying the BLS closer to South Africa. Similarly, it will also be contended that SADCC’s formation was prompted as a political response to South Africa’s military, political and security hegemony.

¹⁸⁰ Naison Ngoma points out that: “Members of the prospective constellation in 1979 included South Africa and its three Bantustans (Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Venda), Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi.” (2005:90-91).

¹⁸¹ This military destabilisation had both human and monetary costs. Peter Vale asserts that: “...we need to note that destabilisation is estimated to have cost \$62,4 billion and, far more importantly, is said to have left more than one million people dead.” (1997:83)

3.2 Promoting Lopsided Development in the Region? The Southern African Customs Union (SACU)

SACU emerged from the colonial period in the 1890s¹⁸². It was formally constituted in 1910 between the Union of South Africa and the High Commission Territories of Basotholand, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. In 1915, the agreement was extended to South West Africa after South Africa defeated the German Army and took over the administration of the territory. But Namibia only formally joined SACU after attaining independence in 1990. Over many years the Customs Union members Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland developed close economic ties that still bind these countries.

3.2.1 The 1910 Agreement

The 1910 agreement provided for:

- (a) The free movement of goods between member countries and the imposition of a Common External Tariff (CET) on all goods imported from outside of SACU.
- (b) Conformity of the BLS countries to South Africa's tariff laws; and
- (c) Payment by South Africa to BLS of a share of the total pool of customs and excise revenue in proportion to their level of trade between 1906 and 1908. South Africa received 98.7 per cent of the revenue, while the BLS countries together earned only 1.3 per cent. (Catteneo. N. 1998:7- 8).

¹⁸² Nicolette Catteneo posits that: "The origins of SACU date back to the 1899 Customs Union Convention between the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State Republic. By 1906, the Convention had grown to incorporate the Transvaal, Natal, Southern Rhodesia, North-Western Rhodesia and the British protectorates of Basotholand, Bechuanaland and Swaziland." (1990:45).

The essence of the 1910 agreement was that it provided for the free interchange of manufactured products among member countries, and the provision of a common external tariff, against the rest of the world. Robert Henderson argues that: "In practice, this was interpreted as 'free duty', permitting South Africa to impose quotas on those BLS goods which could compete with its own large-scale, technologically advanced industries; thus few manufacturing industries catering primarily for the South African market have developed within the BLS countries." (1985:227). SACU was thus to be used by South Africa to achieve its national foreign policy objectives and to underline the general hostage status of the BLS countries.

In the mid-1920s South Africa, in an attempt to promote industrial growth, adopted an import substitution programme. This programme not only resulted in high protective barriers being imposed around SACU, but also led to trade diversion, which polarised industrial growth in the SACU (Cattaneo, 1990; Gibb, 1997; Martin, 1990). The above illustrates that SACU was never established to foster economic development within the BLS countries. To the contrary, it was used by South Africa to enhance its own parochial developmental needs and as a political tool.

The political nature of protective barriers, which further reinforced South Africa's unilateralism and highhandedness, is succinctly summarised by Joseph Hanlon (1986). Hanlon posits that: "Protective tariffs raise the price of goods and sometimes lower the quality as well. This has happened in particular with vehicles, where there are also local content requirements. Sometimes this is linked to military demands and the threat of sanctions." (1986:83). These restrictions imposed by South Africa were not limited to industrial products alone.

Magaret Lee observes that: "... in order to protect the interests of the white South African farmers, restrictions were placed on the amount of cattle that could be imported from these countries. This policy had a devastating impact on the HCTs. These restrictions remained in place until 1941. Then, in 1963, restrictions were placed on the export of Swaziland timber to South Africa because of the threat it posed to South African pulp mills." (2003:75). These early policies implemented by South Africa laid the

foundation for both the underdevelopment of the HCTs and their dependence on South Africa.

South Africa's unilateralism and highhandedness was reinforced by the fact that since its inception, the Customs Union was administered by South Africa. Colin McCarthy points out that: "South Africa's dominant position is reflected in the institutional arrangements of SACU. The customs union does not have a permanent secretariat but depends on South Africa as the principal party in the administration of SACUA: the common external tariff investigative body for SACU; the excise duties that apply in the common customs area are those that are in force in South Africa; rebates, refunds and drawbacks of customs duties are again those that apply in South Africa; and revenue is paid into the Consolidated Revenue Fund of South Africa at the South African Reserve Bank." (1992:11-12; Page,1998:36). This reinforced South Africa's dominance within the Customs Union.

Since 1910, South Africa's unilateralism and highhandedness, allowed her to: "In practice... unilaterally determine all customs rates, and operates the system to maximise the market for its producers behind substantial protective barriers." (ibid.). These protective barriers not only impacted on the pattern of trade, it also served a political purpose¹⁸³. South Africa used the provisions that tariffs be granted for goods produced in the BLS countries to set back the manufacturing capacity in those countries¹⁸⁴. Jan Isaksen notes that: "Whether the country may be granted a second and higher level of protection during the specified time period is entirely up to South Africa. However in several cases where one or another of the BLNS have made representations to South Africa for the application of protection in one of these ways, the response has been negative." (1993:184).

¹⁸³ Peter Vale posits that the political purpose of SACU ensured that it: "... buttressed South African power (and its wealth) in the region close to a century. By providing states with a secure source of income, participation in SACU also opened the door to the statehood that would come to its three minor partners, Bechuanaland, Basutholand and Swaziland." (2003:36).

¹⁸⁴ Michael Matsebula and Vakashile Simelane (1996) argue that South Africa was capable of setting the terms for the BLS countries, because of the dominant role it played on the Board of Tariffs and Trade. This dominant role it played by South Africa: "... worked to detriment of the BLNS in setting up any large industries that would compete with existing South African industries." (1996:57).

Thus, at the outset, SACU as a customs union was never intended to bring development to all its members. Colin McCarthy contends that: “Any analysis of SACU must bear in mind... that the history of customs unions in Southern Africa is not one in which the integration schemes were driven by development goals; the customs union was mostly a pragmatic arrangement to distribute revenue among members...” (1992:11). The decision on how to re-distribute revenue was made entirely by South Africa.

The above policies adopted by South Africa, illustrate the country’s unilateralism and highhandedness, the power of its industrial lobby groups and the general hostage status of the BLS countries¹⁸⁵. It also illustrate that economic developmental goals for the BLS countries, were never the aim of SACU. Instead, South Africa used SACU to achieve its own developmental objectives. The compensation paid by South Africa to the BLNS countries to redress the trade diverting costs, was also primarily political.

The political underpinning of the agreement made provision for the eventual incorporation of the HCTs into the Union of South Africa. Colin McCarthy asserts that: “The intention to incorporate the territories into the Union of South Africa remained on the political agenda from the beginning and for a very long time. The economic dependence of the HCTs on South Africa counted in favour of incorporation, leading to a considered view that it was difficult to escape the conclusion that economic logic dictated that absorption by South Africa should be their ultimate political destiny.” (2003:611)¹⁸⁶.

Provision for the incorporation of the HCTs into the Union of South Africa¹⁸⁷, was buttressed by the constitution. The Constitution of

¹⁸⁵ Robert Henderson argues that the 1910 agreement provided South Africa: “... with several institutional levers of economic pressure upon the BLS countries while concentrating fiscal decision-making for SACU within the responsibility of the South Africa government.” (1995:246).

¹⁸⁶ Richard Gibb states that: “... for a large part of the pre-independence era the Territories were governed as if they were an effectively functioning and integrated part of the South African space economy.” (1997:76).

¹⁸⁷ The change in the political landscape after 1948 altered such plans. In this regard

the Union of South Africa provided for the incorporation of these territories into the Union of South Africa¹⁸⁸. Colin McCarthy states that: “The envisaged incorporation of the HCTs in the Union of South Africa meant that independent customs regimes and an own tariff made little sense for them.” (ibid.). Because of the economic dependence of the HCTs on South Africa: “SACU has led to the integration of BLS into the South African economy.” (Hanlon, 1986:81). However, following the election in South Africa in 1948, which the National Party came to power in that country, Britain no longer intended to incorporate the Territories into South Africa. Roger Southall observes that: “It was politically impracticable for any British government to transfer... the HCTs... while South Africa continued to implement apartheid.” (1999:9). In addition, numerous disagreements regarding the operating procedures affected SACU.

Foremost among the contentious issues of the 1910 agreement was the original and subsequent revenue sharing formulae. Whilst it was agreed that the High Commission Territories would indefinitely receive: “... the annual average proportion of total revenue from duties in the SACU area attributable to their imports... their... revenue did not vary with their levels of imports...” (Walters, 1989:30). Consequently their revenue remained static¹⁸⁹.

Colin McCarthy notes that: “... the entrenchment of South Africa’s apartheid policies after 1948 and South Africa leaving the Commonwealth in 1961 put an end to any idea of incorporation, but political independence did not put an end to economic dependence.” (2003:612).

¹⁸⁸ This led Colin McCarthy to conclude that: “SACU came about through the political forces of the colonial era and is not the outcome of pro-active planning to establish a regional integration arrangement on the basis of an inherent logic and preconceived development objectives.” (ibid, p610).

¹⁸⁹ This explains why until the 1969 agreement, South Africa received 98,6 per cent of the revenue and the HCTs only 1,3 per cent (Lee, 2003). The 1910 agreement provided for a fixed share of total customs and excise revenue to the HCTs. Bechuanaland received 0,27 per cent; Basotoland 0,88 per cent; and Swaziland 0,15 per cent respectively (Cattaneo, 1990). Gavin Maasdorp (1990) argues that the above was due to the assumption that the HCTs would eventually be incorporated into South Africa.

This disparity in revenue received reveals that at the outset SACU was not concerned with the appropriate distribution of revenue in the first place. The unequal distribution of revenue resulted in South Africa's current account¹⁹⁰ showing a perpetual trade balance, as opposed to the trade deficit experienced by the other members of the union. This asymmetrical relationship between South Africa and the High Commission Territories with respect to revenue constitute an integral part of the history of unequal economic development in SACU.

Another aspect of the 1910 agreement, which impacted heavily on the character and lopsidedness of interdependence and regional integration under SACU, pertains to the lack of industrial development in the BLS states. This "gave birth" to polarised economic development in favour of South Africa. Conventionally, the generic conviction in economic literature is that a customs union model is driven by developmental goals (Maasdorp, 1982). However, the 1910 agreement was at best concerned with exclusively promoting the economic development of South Africa. Gibb and Sidaway interpret the lack of economic development as a consequence of the logic that underpins SACU. They charge that: "... economic development beyond... the... extraction of resources for overseas markets was not envisaged." (1998:172; Davies, 1994:5 and Hanlon, 1986:82-86). This meant that SACU was supposed to promote South Africa's development only.

South Africa had begun a policy of industrial development in 1925¹⁹¹. To achieve this, South Africa imposed high protective tariff barriers around SACU. The high protective barriers, which were imposed around SACU, had negative impacts on the BLS countries. Richard Gibb identifies three negative impacts of the erection of high protective tariff barriers on the BLS: "... first, protective barriers promoted trade diversion¹⁹² as the Territories

¹⁹⁰ The current account is made up of visible trade (merchandise exports and imports) and invisible trade such as tourism.

¹⁹¹ This ensured that the HTC's remained producers of primary commodities. Indeed: "The South African tariff served as the tariff of the customs union and since 1925 this tariff was used as an instrument to encourage the industrialization of South Africa." (McCarthy, 2003:612).

¹⁹² Trade diversion Gavin Maasdorp points out: "... takes place when a new, high-

were forced to purchase high-cost South African produce; second, the overall level of customs revenue as a portion of GDP began to fall; and third, industrial growth focussed on South Africa¹⁹³. In addition, South Africa's unilateral decision to follow a policy of import substitution highlighted the fact that the Territories had little fiscal discretion and no influence over the direction of any of South Africa's fiscal policy changes affecting them." (1997:75). South Africa developed industrially at the expense of the BLS.

Gavin Maasdorp argues South Africa developed industrially at the expense of the BLS because: "Industries tend to cluster in the relative more-developed member countries, and this leads to a marked intra-union imbalance in trade in manufactures." (1982:85; McCarthy, 1992; 1994; Walters, 1989). As a result, the High Commission Territories did not attract industries. These developments reinforced the relative underdevelopment of the Territories¹⁹⁴. The 1910 agreement highlights South Africa's highhandedness and unilateralism, the power of its industrial lobby and the general hostage situation of the BLS countries. It also shows that Britain was not as concerned with the development of common structures, such as infrastructure, among the BLS countries, as it was elsewhere.

The 1910 agreement managed to establish interdependence that was lopsided and effectively entrenched South Africa's regional hegemony. For Peter Vale: "The decade of reconstruction leading up to union in 1910 established the essential administrative, ideological and economic framework in which South Africa's domestic and regional authority was both confirmed and elaborated through the licence afforded by the idea of sovereignty." (2003:41).

cost, customs main source displaces a member country's imports from a lower-cost, foreign source. Trade is diverted from a low-cost to a high-cost source: foreign products are excluded by the price-raising effect of the CET and are replaced by duty-free imports from the partner." (1982:83).

¹⁹³ The fact that external tariffs were structured to meet South Africa's development needs contributed further to the polarisation of industrial activity (Gibb, 1997).

¹⁹⁴ For instance: "The development of a common infrastructure focused on South Africa and on the need to serve its inland mining and later industrial complexes." (McCarthy, 2003:612).

The 1910 agreement was neither an effective nor functional arrangement, which provided for regional coherence and regional identity. SACU was used by South Africa: "... as an instrument of national foreign policy in accordance with the traditional state-centric view." (Henderson, 1985:225). Not only was the institution an instrument of South Africa's national foreign policy, it also excluded actors other than states in the integration process. John Weeks has argued that since 1910: "The role of SACU developed in a broader context of South African patron-client relations, in which provision of migrant labour by these small countries had been considerably more important than commodity trade." (1996:106).

With a view to ensure that the Customs Union became more developmental in orientation, re-negotiations for a new agreement began in 1963. In 1965, South Africa broke off negotiations for a new agreement, pending the independence of the three territories. Talks resumed in 1968 at the instigation of the newly independent smaller countries¹⁹⁵, whose main concern were the continued application of a customs and excise revenue-sharing formulae based on their trade levels sixty years previously. In addition, the polarisation effect (the tendency for industry to be attracted to the most developed sector of the union), the price-raising effect of South African determined tariffs, and the loss of fiscal discretion due to the lack of control over customs and excise policies which were unilaterally determined by South Africa, further fuelled the need for a new arrangement.

The above illustrates that the 1910 agreement was characterised by relations of economic domination and subordination which: "... enabled South Africa to derive substantial benefits from its access to cheap resources whilst at the same time promoting strong ties of economic dependence." (Hanlon, 1987:344). In 1969, therefore, a more modern form of the Customs Union Agreement was signed.

¹⁹⁵ Botswana and Lesotho gained independence in 1966, whilst Swaziland obtained independence in 1968.

3.2.2. The 1969 Agreement

The 1969 agreement recognised the developmental status of the BLS countries and allowed for:

1. A revised method of calculating the division of revenue;
2. The establishment of a Customs Union Commission among member states; and
3. Measures enabling BLS to protect the development of certain industries.” (Catteneo. N; 1998:8).

Significantly also, the 1969 agreement also made provision for decision-making to be vested in South Africa. Magaret Lee observes that under the 1969 agreement: “... South Africa continued to unilaterally make all policy decisions and control every aspect of economic policy from determining the revenue allocation to its distribution.” (2003:76). This had serious implications for the BLNS countries who were unable to manipulate fiscal policy in order to promote domestic development (Gibb, 1997). South Africa also controlled every aspect of the administration of the customs union too.

The introduction of a revised revenue-sharing formula was geared towards or served as a compensatory mechanism to BLS countries that were participating in a customs union with a more economically developed country. For Magaret Lee: “The new formula was deemed to be more pro-BLS” (2003:75). With a view to reduce the fluctuations in the revenue received by the BLS countries, an enhancement and stabilisation factors’ were introduced. The compensatory mechanism was also intended to compensate the BLS countries for: (1) the polarisation effect of the SACU agreement; and (2) for the loss of fiscal discretion (ibid.). A Customs Union Commission was also formed to consult with Union members about matters affecting the operation of the Customs Union among member countries.

Michael Matsebula and Vakashile Simelane note that South Africa paid compensation to the BLNS countries, because: "... most of their imports are products which have been manufactured inside the SACU wall... therefore... it can be inferred that BLNS have been subsidising industrialisation in South Africa. This justifies some form of compensation to ensure an equitable distribution of the gains from economic integration within SACU." (1996:56).

But the SACU situation also points to the reality that financial transfers do not solve the problem of the unequal distribution of benefits. John Ravenhill asserts that compensation payments failed: "... to address the most fundamental issue in the distribution crisis: the location of industrial production within the region with its spillover effects on empowerment, technological transfers and learning-by-doing." (1985:209). South Africa continues to be the country of choice for industrial investment (Østergaard, 1993).

The revenue formula became a contentious issue for both South Africa and the BLNS countries, as a result of the changing regional landscape in the 1970s. Richard Gibb asserts that: "In 1976, the formula was amended so as to provide a 'stabilisation factor' in the levels of revenue received by the BLNS. Throughout the 1970s these revenues fluctuated markedly, partly in response to a successive series of crises experienced by South Africa after the Soweto uprising." (1997:77). The political objective of introducing the stabilisation factor, was to tie neighbouring states to South Africa, with the intensification of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. (Catteneo, 1990). The promotion of economic development in other SACU member states, in particular, was seen as central to tying these member states to South Africa.

A notable distinction between the 1910 and 1969 agreements was the latter set out to promote economic development regionally¹⁹⁶. The 1969 agreement explicitly states that the intention is to promote economic development for all Customs Union members on the principle of equitable benefits: "... to ensure the continued economic development of the customs area as a whole, and to

¹⁹⁶ The reality, however, differed markedly from the aim of development (Robson, 1967:478).

ensure in particular that these arrangements encourage the development of the less advanced members of the customs union and the diversification of their economies, and afford all parties equitable benefits arising from trade among themselves and with other countries...” (Republic of South Africa, 1969:2)¹⁹⁷. Another pro-BLS decision was the stipulation: “... that the objectives of SACU include the economic development and diversification of the economies of the least advanced members.” (Maasdorp, 1990:24).

In addition, the 1969 agreement recognised the economic inequality between South Africa and smaller member states. Towards this end, the Agreement sets out to: “... ensure in particular that... [the] arrangements encourage the development of less advanced members of the customs union and the diversification of their economies , and afford to all parties equitable benefits arising from trade among themselves and with other countries...” (1969:4). By diversifying economies: “... the intention has been the development of manufacturing industries in the smaller member states.” (McCarthy, 2003:613).

Even though the 1969 agreement explicitly made provision for the development of certain industries by the BLNS countries, South Africa’s actions were again contrary to its stated objectives. Industrial development in the BLNS countries was seriously impeded by South African unilateralism in the 1970s and 1980s and even the 1990s. Nicolette Catteneo (1990) further illustrates how the protectionist policies of South Africa, sabotaged the development of industries in Swaziland. She charges that when: “A textile mill erected in Swaziland by Hong Kong investors planned to make use of imported cloth [from outside the customs union area] South Africa imposed a duty on imported fabric causing the project, which would have provided 300 jobs, to collapse.”. South Africa applied similar measures when: “... a proposed chemical factory in Swaziland in 1971, which would have exported at least 80% of its output to South Africa. South African farmers were denied existing consumer subsidy on

¹⁹⁷ Colin McCarthy argues that: “Because of South Africa’s protectionism policies, BLNS consumers have been buying South African goods at prices higher than would apply if the goods were brought in the global market.” (2003:615).

fertilizers if they bought from Swaziland, and Pretoria increased the tariff on the ammonia and phosphoric acids that Swaziland would have to import from Iran for the project.” (ibid. p49, 58)¹⁹⁸.

South Africa sabotaged industrial development of Botswana and Lesotho in similar ways (ibid.). South Africa benefited from sabotaging the industrial development of the BLS countries. Robert Davies argues that: “Although the production of manufactured goods was largely oriented to the domestic market... in the mid-1980s, exports of manufactured goods made a significant, albeit little noticed, contribution to South Africa’s post-war manufacturing growth. A study conducted in the 1970s, for example, found that although the combined GDP of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were at the time only 3 per cent that of South Africa, trade with these countries was responsible for 27 per cent of new value added and around 67,000 new jobs in South Africa’s manufacturing sector.” (1993:72). South Africa continued to sabotage industrial development in the BLNS countries in the 1990s.

Thus, South Africa unilaterally decided to cancel provision 311 of the 1969 agreement in 1995 (McGowan and Ahwireng-Obeng, 1998). Such action by South Africa not only points to its unilateralism, but also to the power of its industrial lobby and the general hostage status of the BLNS countries. McGowan and Ahwireng-Obeng note that provision 311 of the 1969 agreement: “... had previously permitted the BLNS states to import from outside SACU raw materials for textile production destined for the South African markets.” (1998:182). Other industries also suffered as a result of South Africa’s highhandedness and unilateralism and the power of its industrial lobby. These industries were the Hyundai car assembly plant in Botswana, the intended Citroen car assembly plant in Namibia, a fertilizer factory in Swaziland and a television assembly plant in Lesotho. The beneficiaries of such unilateral action by South Africa were its raw material producers

¹⁹⁸ To be sure: “From 1937 to about 1990 the policy in South Africa was to protect agricultural production against import competition and to encourage self-sufficiency through qualitative import control.” (ibid, p614). The above points to South Africa’s unilateralism and highhandedness and the power of its industrial lobby.

(ibid.). The above illustrates that the 1969 SACU agreement superseded South Africa's structural power¹⁹⁹.

To Paul Rich, the general hostage status of the BLS countries is illustrated by the fact that: "... at independence the BLS states were all in the Rand Zone, possessing no national currency... Furthermore: "For communication and trade with the rest of the world they were, with the exception of Swaziland, which had closer access to the sea through Mozambique and the port of Maputo, almost totally reliant on telecommunications channels and road and rail routes to the sea which passed through South Africa." (1994:239). It is this hostage status and lopsided development of the BLS countries, which was a defining feature of the 1969 SACU agreement.

SACU failed to develop the BLNS countries, because as Gavin Maasdorp posits, that as regards SACU: "The basic requirements of orthodox customs union theory are not satisfied. The participating countries are not at similar levels of development; they do not have competitive industrial sectors; they do not have the potential to develop complementary industrial sectors." (1992:139). The differences in the level of development ensured that fortune favoured the strong: in this instance South Africa. This has led Carol Thompson to assert that: "SACU has survived mainly by force, not economic rationality, and has costs its poorer members dearly in long-term development... (1992:132).

This contradicts the conclusions reached by the African Development Bank, which has asserted that: "... SACU, which is built around the pivotal economy of South Africa, is clearly Africa's closest existing model to the growth-pole-based regional integration arrangement. In spite of the continuing debate regarding the formula for sharing tariff revenue between its member states, it seems clear that Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland derive significant benefits in terms of investment flows generated by the opportunities offered by the South African

¹⁹⁹ South Africa's structural power has ensured that it became the major trade partner of most countries in the region. Pierre Beudet notes that: "By 1988, South Africa supplied between 80 and 90 per cent of all imports to the BLNS countries. The main products sold to the region were chemicals, plastics, footwear and millinery, machinery and vehicles." (1994:156-157).

market and the 'agency of restraint' function performed by SACU to enhance the credibility of their trade policies." (2000:134).

In essence, therefore, SACU did not discourage polarised development, which benefited South Africa in many respects. Under the 1969 SACU Agreement: "... the SACU tariff ... was... the South African tariff, managed by South African authorities in the interest of the South African economy. BLNS have little say in their trade policy and in the levying of duties that contribute a major part of their revenue... SACU's governance... was... not democratic and... was characterized by an absence of supranational customs union institutions." (McCarthy, 2003:618). Finally: "In spite of the developmentalism embodied in the 1969 SACUA, the Agreement essentially remained an agreement that until 1994 had to deal pragmatically with the situation of small but politically independent African states being locked into an integrated economy with apartheid South Africa." (ibid, pp618-619).

Colin McCarthy notes that: "Many observers regarded [the 1969 agreement] as a marriage forced by relationships of dependence and an embarrassment for a continent that found itself in its first post-colonial decade." (2003:606). The above has led Harry Zarenda to conclude that: "SACU has not at any stage in its existence claimed to be a development-focused institution rather than a convenient political arrangement." (1997:60). What it illustrates is that South Africa was able to use the BLS hinterland for its own developmental purposes.

Gavin Maasdorp points out that the 1969 agreement: "... contains no machinery for distributing industry among the four member countries."²⁰⁰ He concludes that: "Such programmes are regarded as particularly important when, as in the case of SACU, one member country is more industrialized than the other." (1982:94). The 1969 agreement failed to forge interdependent economies, and instead promoted lopsided regional integration and

²⁰⁰ This notwithstanding the fact that the 1969 agreement made allowance: "... to protect industries designated as infant industries or as of special interests to smaller economies." (ibid, p613).

development. This begs the question: What economic and/or political glue kept the Customs Union together?.

The revised revenue-sharing formulae, which was the most contentious source of dissatisfaction (Thomas, 1995), represents the most logical explanation as to why the BLS countries remained party to the 1969 agreement²⁰¹. SACU receipts from the common revenue pool represent not only an important or significant percentage of revenue for these countries, but also a secure source of income (see table1). In fact, according to the 1969 agreement, the BLS countries: "... would receive 42% more from the common pool of customs, excise and sales duties than they individually paid into it." (Catteneo, 1990:46)²⁰². Ultimately: "The justification for enhanced revenue payments is to compensate BLNS for the disadvantage of being in a customs union with a much larger and more developed economy and for the way in which the customs union is organized." (McCarthy, 2003:615). This reinforces the notion that SACU promoted lopsided regional integration, in favour of South Africa.

Country	% of Revenue			
	1975	1990/1	1994/5	2001/2
Botswana	31.6%	13.2%	16.2%	13%
Lesotho	57.1%	43.5	53.2	51.6%
Namibia	²⁰³	22.3	26.4	28.4%
Swaziland	25.9%	44.7	47.2	51%

²⁰¹ For the smaller SACU members, the revenue they derived from the organisation served as a crucial fiscal resource. For instance: "In 2001/2 SACU revenue contribution as a share of total revenue were 51,6 percent for Lesotho, 51 percent for Swaziland, 28,4 percent for Namibia and 13 percent for Botswana." (WTO, 2003:7). Botswana derived less revenue from the pool because of its larger share of revenue from the diamond sector.

²⁰² Colin McCarthy postulates that: "A formula is used to calculate revenue shared for the BLNS countries, with South Africa's share of the revenue determined as the residual after payments to the smaller member states have been determined." (1992:12-13).

²⁰³ Namibia was administered by South Africa during this period.

Source: McCarthy, C. 2003. "The Southern African Customs Union in Transition" African Affairs. 102:605-630.

The BLS countries were, however, not only dependent on South Africa for the subsidisation of their budgets via the common revenue pool. Geographically, all three are landlocked. As such, they were also inextricably linked to the apartheid Republic by virtue of its export and transport networks, and its control of the service sector. Most of these countries were also dependent on South Africa for labour, since most of these migrant labourers that worked in South African mines made a valuable contribution to sustaining households in their countries of origin (their contributions to the GDP in their countries of origin are invaluable-see table 3)²⁰⁴.

James Sidaway and Richard Gibb note that: "Other benefits include relief from the burden of having to operate an independent customs service and associated administrations, free access to supplies from South Africa and access to foreign exchange and semi-convertible currency... offered by the relatively sophisticated South African financial infrastructure..." (1998:174-175). This resulted in the economic dependence of both BLS countries and non-SACU members on South Africa.

The above illustrates power of South Africa's industrial lobby and the general hostage situation of the BLNS countries. This prompted a response and led to the constitution of SADCC, which excluded South Africa and made South Africa's political and economic dominance a regional issue.

²⁰⁴ For Roger Southall: "... the maintenance of foreign supplies of workers from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Swaziland became an important policy objective." (1999:13). Politically this allowed the apartheid Republic to shape the politics of region building.

3.3 The Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC): A Vehicle for Limited Integration?

SADCC was established in 1980²⁰⁵, from the political alliance of the Frontline States. At the time of its formation: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, constituted the Conference.

3.3.1 Objectives of SADCC

SADCC's mandate was:

- To reduce economic dependence on apartheid South Africa.
- To forge links with a view to create equitable and genuine regional integration.
- To mobilise its resources which will enable it to promote the implementation of national, interstate and regional policies.
- To secure international cooperation within the framework of its strategy for economic liberation." (Mandaza and Tostenten, 1994:4).

²⁰⁵ SADC dates back to a call by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in 1974 for the establishment of a "transcontinental belt of independent and economically powerful states." The formation of SADCC is also widely regarded as a response to South Africa's plans for a "Constellation of Southern African States" in the late 1970's." (Leistner, 1995:272).

The above objectives were to be achieved through sectoral and project co-operation²⁰⁶ in the fields of agriculture and food security, transport, energy, mining and tourism (see appendix 2). This meant severing ties that pre-date colonialism and the discovery of minerals in South Africa.

The implications of the discovery of minerals for the rest of the southern Africa, is that it bound the region to South Africa. André du Pisani asserts that historically: “Political and economic interaction between South Africa and the states presently within SADCC pre-dates formal colonisation, and accelerated with the colonial expansion of Europe into Southern Africa. Rich mineral discoveries, notably diamonds (1867) and gold (1886) in South Africa, copper in Zambia, and coal, chrome and other base metals in Zimbabwe and Namibia, deepened the patterns of interaction” (1992:178). The discovery of these minerals not only provided for economic linkages between apartheid South Africa and the rest of the region, but also constituted the edifice upon which the dependence of these states on South Africa was to be built²⁰⁷.

Reducing dependence on the apartheid state meant severing economic ties that pre-dated the colonial period. Layi Abegunrin notes that at formation: “SADCC member states... did... not have an integrated transport and communication system distinct from that of South Africa...” (1985:193). The dependence of southern African countries on the South African transport system, set the parameters of the region’s and ultimately SADCC’s dependence on South Africa.

For the founding fathers of SADCC the: “Reduction of dependence on South Africa... was... central to the achievement of economic development, and to the advancement of the dignity and the basic human needs of the people of Southern Africa” (Abegunrin, 1985:193). From the formation of SADCC South African economic

²⁰⁶ Project Integration: “... involves co-operation in the planning and implementation of joint projects. ... These projects are aimed at the improvement of infrastructure and production structures, so as to advance trade in the region.” (C. Van Rooyen, 1998:129)

²⁰⁷ The discovery of these minerals also produced social relations among the ordinary people in the region. It is these relations, which point to the existence of a region that pre-date the state system and defies national boundaries.

hegemony was, thus, by far the most imposing structural characteristic determining southern African relations. South Africa was capable, it will be argued, to use its economic hegemony, to consciously manipulate the rest of the region. The inability to break the relationship of dependence of SADCC countries on South Africa, characterise the existence of the organisation. The ultimate objective of SADCC was, political and not developmental in nature: to exclude South Africa and make its economic and political dominance a regional issue.

3.3.2 The Parameters of SADCC Dependence on South Africa

3.3.2.1 Transportation Networks

Transport constituted a vital artery of dependence for SADCC's land-locked states, such as Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The regional dependence of specifically those land-locked SADCC states on South Africa is highlighted by the fact that: "... Botswana depends on South Africa's railways for access to the sea. Similarly, 90 per cent of Zimbabwe's railways depend heavily on South African railways for coaches, maintenance and expertise. Zimbabwe was, therefore, highly susceptible to rail sanctions by Pretoria, as was seen in October 1981 when South Africa suddenly withdrew twenty locomotives on loan to the country. Like Zimbabwe, Zambia also utilises the South African Railways for the transportation of her copper to the ports of Durban, East London and Port Elizabeth along the coast of the Indian Ocean" (Abegunrin, 1985:196-197).

Nancy Thede asserts that: "Malawi, until 1982, shipped 95 per cent of its traffic through Mozambique; after 1982, 95 per cent has been routed through South Africa" (1993:44)²⁰⁸. These transport dependencies illustrates that the South African railway system remains vital for these land-locked SADCC countries. An important decision for SADCC, in moving away from South Africa, therefore, was to give priority to the transport and communication sector. To achieve this, it was decided to establish SATCC in Maputo, Mozambique. Fadzai Gwaradzimba views the importance that SADCC has attached to these sectors as

²⁰⁸ Paul Goodison observes that: "During the colonial period the littoral countries of Mozambique and Angola provided important transport services to neighbouring land locked southern African states. The transport routes through Mozambique carried $\frac{2}{3}$ of Rhodesia's trade $\frac{1}{2}$ of Swaziland's and all of Malawi's, as well as $\frac{1}{5}$ of South Africa's, whilst the route through Angola carried fully 46% of the imports and exports to Zambia and Zaire's southern province of Shaba. In 1973 Maputo was the largest port in Southern Africa handling more cargo than any other regional port, including those in South Africa" (1992:3).

stemming from the fact that: “infrastructure projects coincided with donors’ traditional sector of interests.” (1993:52; Mistry, 2000:557). Donor aid was meant to be critical in reducing SADCC’s dependence on South African transport routes²⁰⁹.

But donor aid had a political element, and as such manipulated priorities and strategies. Christopher Hill (1983) charges that the amount of aid given to Southern Africa served a particular purpose: not to disturb the precarious balance between the interests of South Africa and the need to ensure that the aid given to Southern African countries did not antagonise the South African government. He concludes that in some cases, such as Zimbabwe, the aid given to that country had a particular overt political overture: to prevent that country from shifting too far to the left.

This seems to affirm Thandika Mkandawire (1987) postulate that the formation of SADCC was an attempt by Western governments to restructure the regional economy to suit Western investment- particularly in the field of railway networks- with a view to reinforce the region’s continued accessibility to foreign trade and investment. Donors and South Africa were together able to “divide and rule” the region because of the economic and politically diverse nature of SADCC.

South Africa, in fact, took political advantage of its dominance of transport routes. The military attacks on transport infrastructure in the late 1970s and 1980s were to see the political manipulation of SADCC by South Africa. This political manipulation was underpinned by an economic thrust. The intention was to tighten economic links and to frustrate the mounting efforts by regional states to reduce their dependence on South Africa. For the transport sector in SADCC, this meant that because of South

²⁰⁹ Ironically, South Africa also provided aid to improve infrastructural projects. This aid had a particular political logic to it. This was done by providing: “... for the direct channelling of low-interest loans to African countries in forms which could be clearly identified as South African. In 1972, for instance, the total extent of financial assistance of R171m was dispensed to Malawi, Madagascar, Swaziland, Lesotho and Mozambique for the creation of infrastructural projects which would integrate regional economies into the South African network.” (Southall, 1999:15).

Africa's military aggression, traffic was deliberately diverted to South African ports.

Paul Goodison maintains that: "By the mid 1980s $\frac{1}{3}$ of the international cargo of the 9 SADCC States was being carried on South African Railways, including fully 50% of the cargo of the 6 landlocked SADCC states. In 1980/81 this increased traffic earned no less than US\$ 240 million for South African Transport Services..." (1992:4). South Africa also used the 'reward' and 'compliance' system to reinforce the dependence of SADCC landlocked states on it.

Swaziland, for instance: "... received assistance to build a railway line through its territory linking the Eastern Transvaal with Richards Bay, and a supplementary R50M payment via SACU" (Southall, 2003:32). Swaziland was 'rewarded' for signing a Non-Aggression Pact with the apartheid state in 1982 (ibid.). Other countries in SADCC who opposed the apartheid states overtures were forced into compliance as the cases of Zimbabwe and Zaire illustrate.

In the case of Zimbabwe: "... the South African Transport Services made determined efforts to wean traffic away from Maputo by offering highly competitive rates and facilities to Zimbabwean importers and exporters. South African companies proved increasingly unwilling to ship goods via Mozambique; and following the sabotage of the Beira-Mutare oil pipeline in early 1983, Pretoria blocked oil imports to Zimbabwe (ibid, p33). These were overtly political moves by South Africa.

South Africa also politically manipulated transport links by forcing compliance from Zaire. Paul Goodison postulates that: "In one case the availability of wagons for the export of Zairean copper was tied not only to the use of South African ports and railways but also the existence of a return cargo from South Africa to Zaire. In this manner Zaire was encouraged to import grain from South Africa... in 1983 when the USA sent food aid to Zimbabwe through South Africa, South African railways used the otherwise empty returning wagons to offer a cheap contract price for the export of asbestos from Zimbabwe, thereby undercutting the rates offered via Maputo" (1992:4).

To increase SADCC dependence on South Africa, a wave of escalating aggression and destabilisation was unleashed in the late 1970s and 1980s. A campaign of destabilisation was: “Launched in response to setbacks to its proposals to draw neighbouring states into a new hegemonic alliance CONSAS²¹⁰ and directed most particularly at those states and projects seen as most challenging to its designs, destabilization did have the effect of impeding efforts by other countries of the region to reduce dependence on South Africa and diversify their economies. The deepening transport dependence, which resulted from the sabotage of alternative facilities in Angola and Mozambique, for example, not only boosted the earnings of South Africa’s ports and railways, but also tended to increase the non-price advantages of South African goods and thus tie landlocked countries into an enhanced trade dependence on South Africa.” (Davies, 1996:171-172)²¹¹.

The above cases illustrate how South Africa was capable of using its economic and military strength to achieve political objectives. It also bears testimony to the apartheid Republic’s highhandedness and unilateralism, the power of its industrial lobby and the acute levels of dependence between that country and SADCC. The result of the above was that autonomous development in the different national economies, as well as the SADCC region, was stifled. Labour was another sector, which reinforced South Africa’s regional hegemony.

²¹⁰ Roger Southall (1999) cogently elucidates the political objective that underpinned CONSAS. He contends that by establishing CONSAS: “Pretoria reckoned that if Zimbabwe could gain its independence under Muzorewa, then Malawi and Swaziland, both extremely conservative states which already had strong economic links with South Africa, could be drawn into formal regional cooperation. This would leave little option for Botswana and Lesotho, the other two members of the Customs Union, to join- with the possibility that Zaire and Zambia could then be induced to affiliate. Namibia, which apartheid strategists were by now hoping would bring to a Muzorewa-type internal settlement, would also join the club, leaving the other FLS- Angola, Mozambique and Tanzania- weak and isolated.” (1999:30).

²¹¹ Interestingly, these: “... economic and transport links between the countries of Southern Africa... predated and co-existed with apartheid.” (Southall, 1999:3).

3.3.2.2 Labour Relations

Migrant labour is another regional link, which underpins the dependence of SADCC countries on South Africa. This history of labour migration in southern Africa dates back to the discovery of minerals in the region, specifically, diamonds and gold in South Africa. For Paul Goodison: "... initially migrant labour grew up around skills shortages on the South African mines..." (1992:13). While initially these labourers were only employed as mineworkers, they were also employed in the manufacturing sector and in households in general in the Republic.

Roger Leys and Arne Tostensen show that by the early 1980s when SADCC was established: "The largest number of some 155,000 came from Lesotho. About 50,000 originated in Mozambique, some 35,000 and 38,000 from Botswana and Malawi respectively (1982:63). The income of these migrant workers constituted a significant portion of the foreign exchange of the SADCC states. The examples of Lesotho and Mozambique illustrate the dependence of SADCC states on the foreign exchange earnings of migrant labourers (See table 2).

Layi Abegunrin notes that: "... for Lesotho in 1975, remittances from migrant workers totalled \$250 million, a figure more than double the gross domestic product of the country" (1985:196). Richard Weisfelder (1983) put Lesotho's level of dependence into perspective by asserting that the repatriation of goods and cash by migrant workers plays a major role in offsetting Lesotho's enormous trade deficit, where imports are eight times greater than exports. In the case of Mozambique, foreign exchange remittances from migrant workers in South Africa totalled \$175 million, during the same period (Abegunrin, 1985).

South Africa was capable of using SADCC's dependence on foreign exchange earned by migrant workers for political purposes. Roger Southall asserts that: "By deliberately maintaining a reserve army of employable labour, South African-based capital was enabled to minimise labour shortages and undercut wage demands by the black workforce" Thus: "... the maintenance of foreign supplies of workers from Angola,

Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Swaziland became an important policy objective”²¹² (1999:13). Where compliance with South Africa’s policy objectives was not adhered to, the Republic used migrant labourers to force such compliance.

Paul Goodison succinctly illustrates how South Africa used migrant labourers as a political tool by stating that: “... in the case of Mozambique the decline was the result of direct political manipulation by the South African government. Manipulation which would have led to an even greater reduction had not the Chamber of Mines pleaded for a policy reversal in order to allow them to continue to recruit experienced Mozambican miners” (1992:13-14). The above also illustrate how the industrial lobby in South Africa worked with the government to, amongst others, undercut wage demands by the black workforce.

Table 1. Migrant Labourers in South Africa

Countries	1965	1970	1971	1972	1975	1977
Angola	11 000	3400	N/A	4466	2862	N/A
Botswana	59 000	47 360	51 000	31 960	34 020	N/A
Lesotho	117 000	147 400	165 000	131 749	80 526	160 630
Malawi	80 000	107 180	100 000	131 291	11 000	18 000
Mozambique	161 000	144 900	132 000	121 708	127 000	40 000
Swaziland	39 000	24 260	12 000	10 108	17 000	N/A
Zambia	16 000	N/A	N/A	638	N/A	N/A
Zimbabwe	27 000	11 640	N/A	6 200	16 000	30 000

NA= Figures not available

Source: Abegunrin, L. 1985. “The Southern African Development Coordination Conference: Politics of Dependence” in R. Onwuka and A. Sesay (eds.). The Future of Regionalism in Africa. London: Macmillan.

²¹² Roger Southall observes that: “Whereas in 1946 some 56 per cent of the black workforce on the mines originated from outside South Africa, by the early 1970s the proportion had risen to about 75 per cent” (1999:13).

3.3.3 Economic Dependence: Augmenting SADCC's Dependence

The degree of economic dependence and the political diversity of the SADCC states on South Africa had some bearing on the degree of political dependence of these states on the apartheid state. While SADCC defined itself ostensibly by its opposition to South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia at independence, remained members of SACU²¹³. The dependence of these countries on South Africa rendered impractical any total trade boycott of South Africa. In addition, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe had strong bilateral ties with the apartheid economy (Bischoff, 1995). These ties were strengthened by the promise of aid²¹⁴.

The political logic, which underpinned these bilateral ties, was premised on an attempt by apartheid South Africa to divide the continent's opponents of apartheid. The cases of Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia, bears testimony to the fact that, depending on the levels of dependence, southern African countries, were unable to conduct diplomatic relations with apartheid South Africa on their own terms.

For instance, while fierce opposition to apartheid found resonance in the documents of SADCC, each member state of the organisation were unable to conduct its diplomatic relations with apartheid South Africa on its own merits. This allowed Malawi, for example, to open an embassy in South Africa, and allowed the apartheid state to open an embassy in that country.

²¹³ The Highlands Water Scheme in Lesotho and the Sua Pan Project in Botswana funded partially by South Africa, bind these SADCC countries even further to the South African economy.

²¹⁴ Roger Southall (1999) asserts that these amounts were not large, but were earmarked to be identified as from the apartheid Republic. He states that: "In 1972, for instance, the total extent of financial assistance of R171m was dispensed to Malawi, Madagascar, Swaziland, Lesotho and Mozambique for the creation of infrastructural projects which would integrate regional economies into the South African network" (1999:15).

Other SADCC members were equally economic dependent on the apartheid state. For instance, South Africa invested heavily in the mining industries of Angola, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe²¹⁵. Furthermore, the mostly land-locked states of SADCC were dependent on South Africa's transport networks for some of their exports. It is therefore not surprising that dependence on South Africa created a paradox: "... the greater the degree of economic dependence on the RSA, the milder the criticism of apartheid." (Leys and Tostensen, 1982:66).

But whilst it seemed that economic factors underpinned South Africa's regional policy: "... these were to play second fiddle to military and strategic imperatives as apartheid became subject to mounting pressure during the final years of its existence." (Southall, 1999:4). This contributed to perpetuate regional economic dependence on South Africa and donor aid, and led to the augmentation of such dependence, and as such lopsided economic development. South Africa's relations with Mozambique, was characterised by the latter being one the main suppliers of mine labourers to South Africa²¹⁶. But unlike Malawi, Mozambique was economically important to South Africa. In fact: "Maputo was the largest port in Southern Africa, handling more cargo than any other port in Southern Africa."²¹⁷ (ibid. p131).

What made the relationship between South Africa and Malawi peculiar for Joseph Hanlon is the fact that: "For South Africa, Malawi has never been economically important; there is little South African investment there; although the trade is useful.

²¹⁵ Roger Southall notes that: "The South African mining houses and transnational firms became increasingly engaged in the extraction of mineral wealth from neighbouring states. For instance, the Anglo-American Corporation partnered the Zambian government in the production of copper and, in the late 1970s, the Botswana government in the extraction of nickel and copper from its Selebi-Pikwe mine. But the major cause of South African involvement in mineral extraction beyond its borders was in Namibia" (1999:13).

²¹⁶ This was part of an agreement to send Transvaal cargo through Lourenco Marques (Hanlon, 1986:132).

²¹⁷ Joseph Hanlon points out that: "In 1973 Mozambique handled a large proportion of regional imports and exports: one-fifth of South African, two-thirds of Rhodesian, half of Swazi, and all of Malawian." (1986:131).

But... it is important diplomatically, particularly as a sign that Pretoria is still not totally a pariah... Moreover... Malawi has proved a useful outpost from which to support the MNR in Mozambique. For Malawi, the benefits of these links with South Africa are less easy to see. There has been some aid, especially at key times when it was not available from other donors.” (1986:235). The above illustrates that the closer the relations through SACU integration be it through services or bilateral trade, the less critical of apartheid.

After Zimbabwe obtained independence in 1980, most of the agreements were revisited, with a view to try and bludgeon Zimbabwe into diplomatic and political concessions (Hanlon, 1986). The political divide between and among SADCC countries created internal friction and enabled South Africa to exacerbate inter-SADCC rivalries. These structural problems are mainly responsible for the flaws and faults of SADCC.

3.3.4 SADCC: Flaws and Faults

The first failure of SADCC to achieve its set-out objectives was the development strategy it pursued. The failure of SADCC’s sectoral or project co-operation strategy is to be located in the nature of the organisation and the financing of projects. SADCC’s loose organisational structure and nationally based development strategies deterred co-operation and development at the regional level²¹⁸. Sectoral co-operation by each member country, which had been envisaged as a means to achieve the economic objectives of SADCC, have at best, achieved modest success. Gregg Mills concludes that sectoral co-ordination: “... has been extremely unwieldy...” which consequently “... hampered attempts at self-sufficiency.” (1995:5). Sectoral co-ordination was not only unwieldy, but also impractical. For instance, Tanzania, which had no dynamic or real manufacturing sector, was allocated the industry and trade portfolio.

²¹⁸ Mr. Andrew Ndishishi points out that the ‘scramble for aid has much do with this failure. At one stage, SADCC had 490 projects that invariably overlapped at times.” Personal Communication, Mr. Andrew Ndishishi, 6th June 2001.

The division of labour in SADCC also ensured that development programmes were not regionally executed. Arne Tostensen asserts that: “The very name of the organisation as a “Conference” attests to the looseness of its structure... consequently... no supra-national powers were conferred on any organ [institution].” (1993:155). In the absence of a legally binding treaty SADCC was thus unable to compel member states to adjust their national economic policies to accommodate regional priorities. In this regard, Richard Weisfelder alludes to: “... the existence of severe deficiencies in the willingness of member states to adjust their national economic policies to accommodate regional priorities.” (1991:6; Thede, 1993:40; Mistry, 2000:558). Furthermore, projects were donor driven and these donors were reluctant to finance regional industrialisation projects. This situation ensured that concerns for national development overrode regional ones.

What compounded the choice of preference of national over regional was the fact that SADCC had a small permanent secretariat, located in Botswana that was responsible for overseeing the execution of the functions of the SCUs. The preference of national over regional meant that SADCC managed to produce only some integration. The failure of the strategy of sectoral co-ordination prompted SADCC to adopt a strategy that was predicated upon the lowering and removal of barriers to trade among and between states²¹⁹. SADCC also attempted to develop and diversify regional economies- through industrialisation- independent of South Africa.

SADCC’s industrial plans did not succeed because there was no donor support. Donors in general were unwilling to commit funds towards replicating South Africa’s manufacturing capacity in the region. Donor support for regional industrial development was also not forthcoming because Western governments and the South African government saw how they could further extract exports and resources from SADCC by promoting infrastructure instead. André du Pisani notes that: “... the regional economy supplies Western industrial economies with raw materials and

²¹⁹ SADC’s founding treaty (1992) made it clear that it would move-away from merely co-ordinating national development projects on a regional basis towards more far-reaching regional integration, involving, *inter alia*, greater political co-operation.

agricultural products” (1992:176). In addition, most SADCC states were also APEC states part of the Lomé agreements. One of its functions was to have them continue to supply raw materials and commodities. This made regional autonomous development difficult.

SADCC’s stated objective of greater financial self-sufficiency and independence from donors, were also not reached. To the contrary, it relied heavily on international donors²²⁰. Gregg Mills charges that SADCC in its entire existence acted: “... as a conduit and coordinating centre for international aid and investment, ... (1995:3). Erich Leistner notes that “... 80% to 90% of SADCC projects are funded by outside donors.” (1995:272). The magnitude of SADCC’s dependence on donor funds is further demonstrated by the annual inflow of aid to the regional body. Says Erich Leistner: “During the 1980s, net aid inflows averaged well over US\$ 2billion annually.” (1991:1; Hawkins, 1992:106). Therefore, SADCC did not manage to reduce its dependence on South Africa. SADCC dependence on South Africa and the rest of the world was perpetuated because it paid little attention in involving the private sector in its integration efforts Blumenfeld (1991).

3.3.5 SADCC’s Achievements

Such structural forms of dependence, however, did not automatically imply that SADCC was entirely at the mercy of apartheid South Africa. SADCC on its part did manage to:

(1) “Provide a conduit for foreign aid: SADCC was well-regarded by aid organisations, which were particularly interested in sponsoring regional transport and communications projects; furthermore;

²²⁰ Ibbo Mandaza maintains that in providing aid to SADCC there was: “... the tendency by donor countries to resort to bilateral rather than multilateral approach to aid.” (1987:221).

(2) The annual consultative meetings focussed the attention of donor countries on South and Southern Africa's role in the region; and

(3) Significant progress was made in the reconstruction and development of SADCC's transport and communication network." (Davies. R. et al. 1993:29)²²¹.

SADCC's acknowledged successes are in some of the domains of sectoral co-operation (notably food security and transport), in mobilising aid, and- no least- in holding together within the context of a history of uneven regional development, political fracture and ideological diversity. SADCC engaged in a rigorous campaign to upgrade and rehabilitate its transport network²²². Communication links were also improved, with the aim of broadening the international communication traffic between and among SADCC countries and the rest of the world²²³. Balefi Tsie notes that: "The project coordination approach... was... useful in sustaining the active participation of all SADCC states..." (1996:84), although it did not address lopsided regional development.

What attempts at regional integration did achieve, Carol Thompson (2000) asserts was that SADCC was a cognitive organisation, managed to, for example, cognitively linked the citizens of Tanzania with those in South Africa beyond the liberation struggle. This suggests that societal relations beyond the state also inform the conception of regions and the notion of

²²¹ The politics of region building around improved transport and communication served another purpose. Ibbo Mandaza rightfully argues that: "It should not be forgotten that there is often a close relationship between 'good infrastructure' and the high rate of investment." (1987:221).

²²² Anthony Hawkins asserts that: "Much is made of SADCC's achievements in transport integration, food security and agricultural research... Most of the regional infrastructure attributed to SADCC pre-dates it and would have been developed and rehabilitated even without SADCC." (1992:105).

²²³ The establishment of the Southern African Transport and Communication Commission, it was hoped, would play a decisive role in the rehabilitation of these two sectors. The only other Commission SADCC has, is the Southern African Centre for Cooperation in Agricultural Research.

regional communities. Yet, at the beginning of the 1990s, states in the region were still seen as the locus point in regional analysis.

The argument here is that regional analysis should also recognise that states share the international space with other actors. The implications for SADCC were that in our regional analysis we should: "...no longer see interstate cooperation as the most appropriate response to development in the region." (Bischoff, 1995:110). Ultimately, as: "SADCC itself admits, its hopes of regional integration have largely remained a dream... ostensibly because... the organisation has failed to bring all sections of the regions' societies into the mainstream of regional co-operation efforts. It has not touched the lives of the ordinary citizen of the region." (Beaudet, 1994:139).

For André du Pisani the transformation from SADCC to SADC in 1992: "...denotes an attempt at effecting structural change which favours both national and regional development and which activates all sectors of the population to participate in the development process." (2001:207). The intentions of SADC were thus to begin a multifaceted, more developmental, approach to regionalism, embracing both economic and political processes, and involving both state and non-state actors.

3.4 Conclusion

It has been illustrated that the history of regionalism in southern Africa, up to 1994, was premised on political considerations, not developmental ones. In the case of SACU, for instance, South Africa promoted regional development centred on its own parochial national economy. This is illustrated by South Africa's development of its manufacturing capacity since the mid-1920s. Furthermore, the trade balance that weighs heavily in favour of South Africa in the Customs Union bears testimony to lopsided economic development in SACU.

The goal of overall economic development was never part of the logic that underscored SACU. To the contrary, South Africa was more concerned with counter-acting the trade diversion suffered by smaller member countries, as a result of it pursuing its own economic goals. This prompted the introduction of a compensatory mechanism and distribution of additional revenue. The reliance of these smaller countries on this revenue, which constitutes a major portion of their public revenue, further entrenched their dependence on South Africa (See table 1). Furthermore, not only does South Africa dwarf these countries in terms of population (see table 3), they also rely heavily on South Africa's telecommunication channels, its road and rail routes, especially to the sea. Moreover, one of the essential dimensions of the dependent relation between South Africa and smaller Customs Union members remains labour migration.

Moreover, both SACU Non-SACU member states were reliant on the apartheid Republic for transport and export routes (rail and port traffic). South Africa also had control over the service sector and (the marketing of regional agricultural produce. In the 1970s and 80s apartheid South Africa made political use of its economic dominance by establishing CONSAS. Historically thus, SACU can be viewed as a political arrangement used by South Africa to advance its own development through the creation of its own market and economic hinterland.

SACU, in the final analysis, emerged as a pragmatic trade and payment arrangement. It was never a development or growth oriented integration programme. What held SACU together was largely due to the revenue that it provided the BLS countries. The distribution of these customs and excise revenue in favour of BLS countries was intended to compensate them for the loss of sovereignty in setting their own tariffs, for the polarisation effect of the Customs Union and for higher prices resulting from protectionist policies of South Africa. Both the 1910 and 1969 agreements illustrate South Africa's highhandedness and unilateralism, the power of its industrial lobby and the general hostage situation of the BLS countries. The SACU agreements of 1910 and 1969 were, thus, political not developmental projects. The formation of SADCC was, similarly, politically-oriented and not developmentally focussed.

SADCC succeeded in bringing together widely different economic and political systems. Significantly and particularly due to its opposition to apartheid, the region alongside the Frontline states developed political cohesiveness and forged a regional identity. Notwithstanding its reliance on international donor support, it achieved limited success in the regional rehabilitation of infrastructure. Lastly, its reliance on donor support produced a paradox: SADCC became aid dependent, but managed to retain the attention of the international community on southern Africa. As such it contributed to ensuring that southern Africa in the struggle against apartheid and in responding to regional destabilisation does not become marginalised internationally. However, SADCC has achieved only limited regional integration for a number of reasons.

The logic that underpins the existence of SADCC was premised on a political goal: to counter South Africa's economic and military hegemony. As such, governments and political considerations drove its instruments of co-operation. Moreover, the promotion of regional development was not clearly encapsulated in the SADCC framework for regional co-operation. Not surprisingly therefore, the levels of economic development and industrialisation, were low. Moreover, development priorities, production structures, resource allocation and resource endowments, *inter alia*, were diverse. The lack of higher levels of integration and industrialisation, were also influenced by SADCC's institutional

structure, which does not compel compliance with regional objectives.

SADCC failed to promote equitable economic integration in the region, because it was ostensibly driven by political considerations. Also it was a statist project that did not involve non-state actors. SADCC, thus, failed to co-ordinate national with regional development, largely because it was so loosely organised, politically diverse, and donor driven, which meant that it could never put forward a comprehensive plan for redeveloping the region.

Regionalism in the 1990s and beyond needs to account for changing realities, which recognise that regional organisation is no longer a process driven by states alone. The organisations have, however, a history of integration that must be revamped and transformed to reflect this need for deeper integration.

Chapter 4

The Reform of Regional Organisations in Southern Africa

4.1 Introduction

The end of the Cold War and the democratisation of South Africa in 1994 had important implications for region-building in southern Africa. The end of the Cold War and the liberalisation of global politics had, as illustrated elsewhere, increased the scope for regionally-induced initiatives. Similarly, the end of apartheid had offered states in southern Africa new hope for building democratic, inclusive and sustainable regional institutions. Unlike before, regionalism in the 1990s was not only state-centric. It takes place in a multi-level framework, is comprehensive and involves many actors and issues.

Following the above, the construction of regions: "... may comprise sub-state as well as supra-state and trans-state units, offering different modalities of organization and collaboration." (Fawcett, 2004:432). Both state and non-state actors ultimately define regions and the notion of regional communities. The above suggests that the establishment of institutions, which accommodates these multiple meanings of regionalism for developmental purposes requires: "... an inclusive typology that includes state-based as well as non-state based regions, and regions of varying size and compositions" (ibid.)²²⁴. Regionalism, therefore, should be a multifaceted task, which recognises that transnational networks also participate in the regional domain.

²²⁴ Louise Fawcett asserts that: "... a truly successful regionalist project today presupposes eventual linkages between state and non-state actors: an inter-locking network of regional governance structures." (2004:433). New approaches to the study of regionalism acknowledge the mutually reinforcing role to be played by state and non-state actors in building new regional capacity.

Andrew Grant and Fredrik Söderbaum argue that in Africa in general, and in southern Africa in this instance: "... state-society nexus is based on multiple actors that are linked together in hybrid networks and coalitions, together creating a wide range of complex regionalisation patterns..." (2003:1). Region-building in southern Africa should, therefore, recognise the interface of state-centred co-operation dovetailing with non-state actor participation in the inter-state regional project. Institutional reform must, therefore, ensure citizens' participation in the development and governance process.

Historically, however, regionalism in southern Africa was state-centric and driven by political considerations, not developmental ones. While developmental regionalism recognises the role of the state in building regional capacity, it also argues that broad-based development is state-led, market-driven and accommodates the concerns of civil society. The building of durable regional institutions needs to account for this.

In the aftermath of apartheid and in an attempt to build durable regional institutions, the changing economic and political dynamics, had elicited critical investigations about the prospects of regional integration in the region (Odén, 1993; Gibb, 1997; Sidaway and Gibb; 1998; Mistry, 2000). A common thread discernable in this literature review focuses on the need for regional institutions to become more developmentally-oriented. In principle, thus, the intention was to develop institutions, which signified a break-away from past practises, which was state-led. Issues of economic integration were to be addressed in tandem with broader concerns, which embrace political objectives.

For SACU, a broadened scope meant reversing uneven development and the economic dominance of South Africa. Both highhandedness and unilateralism, the power of its industrial lobby and the general hostage situation of the BLNS countries. The SACU agreements of 1910 and 1969 were, thus, political not developmental projects. The re-negotiation of SACU was necessitated by the need to adapt to developments within a democratic South Africa, and to address the concerns of the BLNS countries with regards to the 1969 Agreement. The SACU Agreement of 2002 states that the different levels of economic development of Member States, demands mechanisms to deal

with such inequality. The desire to overcome regional inequalities lends support to the appropriateness of developmental regionalism that sets out explicitly to address the structural and spatial problems associated with integration amongst unequal partners. The 2002 SACU Agreement also sought to establish common policies and to ensure that the organisation becomes more democratic in orientation²²⁵. The transformation of SADCC into SADC in 1992 was also aimed at moving beyond limited infrastructural development and securing donor aid to the achievement of broader economic and political objectives. In other words, to ensure that the organisation becomes a vehicle for wide-ranging changes in development.

The intention was to ensure that the body becomes a catalyst to, *inter alia*, eradicate poverty and reduce unemployment in the region. It was also hoped that the organisation could assist states in the region to develop their industrial capacity. This was to be achieved through a strategy of development integration, which, it was hoped would heighten levels of integration. The transformation of SADC was also geared to the strengthening of regional institutions, the attraction of FDI and the accommodation of regional integration amongst non-state actors. At the end of the 1990s, SADC reviewed its objectives, with a view to even deeper regional co-operation and integration. In short, regional integration in southern Africa was to be seen as a developmental tool to harness the potential of both state and non-state actors to achieve multifaceted objectives.

The question that this chapter seeks to answer is: In view of the changing economic and political dynamics in the region after the downfall of apartheid, have the institutions of SACU and SADC been sufficiently transformed to match the ambitions of regional multilateralism in the 1990s and beyond²²⁶, which politically and

²²⁵ Michael McDonald points out that while the BLNS countries complained about South Africa's unilateral decision-making, they never showed significant interest to make the process of decision-making more democratic and transparent (Personal Communication, 11 October, 2002).

²²⁶ In this context: "The term 'multilateral' presumes cooperation... all multilateral activities include cooperation... the institutions of multilateralism may manifest itself in concrete organisations, but its significance cuts more deeply. The institutions of multilateralism is grounded in appeals to the less formal, less codified habits,

institutionally accommodate both state and non-state actors, and cover a range of issues? More critically, this chapter will examine whether the precepts of developmental regionalism outlined elsewhere, provide a lead about the direction that SACU and SADC is pursuing.

4.2 The Reform of Regional Organisations in Southern Africa: The Case of a Re-negotiated SACU

4.2.1 Re-negotiating SACU: Background and Issues

Following the independence of Namibia in 1990, and the advent of democracy in South Africa in April 1994, SACU members agreed that the 1969 agreement should be re-negotiated in order to democratise SACU and to address the current needs of SACU members more effectively. The disagreement between the BLNS countries and South Africa over the shortcomings of the 1969 agreement has led Richard Gibb to conclude that: "... the ending of apartheid has promoted a period of intense instability in the established regional trading arrangements." (1997:67). This necessitated the re-negotiation of the SACU agreement with a view to address the concerns of all SACU members more effectively.

For the democratic government in South Africa, the re-negotiation of the SACU agreement was an attempt to deepen its relations with the BLNS countries. Chris Alden and Mills Soko maintain that: "South Africa was also keen to introduce changes to the existing agreement: the incoming African National Congress (ANC) government was determined to underline its credentials in the region by supporting SACU's democratization, and dispensing with the 'colonial' image associated with erstwhile SACU agreements." (2005:370-371).

The BLNS countries, on the other hand, have argued that under the 1969 agreement they were still not adequately compensated for the disadvantages of belonging to SACU (Lee, 2003)²²⁷.

²²⁷ The disagreement over the 1969 agreement again highlights the political nature of the 1969 agreement. The political nature of the 1969 agreement is borne out by the fact that for South Africa specifically: "... the BLNS countries had been invaluable to the apartheid state. These countries had given the South African government some semblance of much needed legitimacy in that it was able to maintain relationships with legitimate African countries. They were also essential to South Africa's sanction-busting strategy in that South African companies were able to relocate to these countries and export their products to the rest of the world. Alternatively, they

Developmental regionalism views regional distribution- in this context through a compensatory mechanism, as essential for achieving social stability in the region. But the revenue-sharing formula was not the only point of contention for the BLNS countries.

Ngida Mwase and Gavin Maasdorp identify the complaints of the BLNS as the following:

- ❖ “Inadequate compensation for payment delays from the common pool, the loss of fiscal discretion, the price-raising effect²²⁸;
- ❖ The effects of the RSA’s protective tariffs and industrial concentration;
- ❖ Greater protection for the BLNS agriculture and infant industries and measures to encourage industrial development;
- ❖ Arbitrary and unilateral decision-making by the RSA; and
- ❖ The conversion of the Board of Trade²²⁹ and Industries into a multilateral institution, and the establishment of multilateral dispute arbitration procedures” (1999:221).

All in all, the re-negotiation of the SACU agreement, after the downfall of apartheid, was prompted by the undemocratic nature of decision-making embedded in the agreement. The intention was: “... to design institutional arrangements that will democratize

were able to send their products to the BLNS countries for the final production phase before being exported to the world” (Lee, 2003:79). This promoted lopsided economic development in favour of South Africa.

²²⁸ The price-raising effect results from the BLNS countries paying higher prices for internationally uncompetitive goods that they import from South Africa.

²²⁹ The Board acts as a tariff investigative body for SACU. It determines, amongst others, excise duties, rebates and refunds. Under the 1969 agreement, the Board unilaterally adopted tariffs and duties to promote South Africa’s own development needs (Gibb, 1997). In essence, the Board of Trade and Tariffs made all SACU decisions, primarily to protect South Africa’s domestic market.

decision-making in the management of SACU.” (McCarthy, 2003:621). Despite the disagreement between South Africa and the BLNS countries, both parties viewed SACU as an important entity for regional integration.

In view of the above, both parties agreed to address the concerns of SACU members more effectively. Mwase and Maasdorp point out, the importance of SACU as an entity for regional integration was prompted by the realisation that:

- ✓ “Economic relations between the various countries should foster mutually beneficial links (a positive-sum game for all); promote economic development in all countries; minimize the economic dominance of any country or countries; promote interdependence; facilitate intra-regional trade and investment flows; and strengthen the competitiveness of individual countries and SACU as a whole in the global economy;
- ✓ Not all countries benefit equally from membership, but all should be better off inside that outside SACU;
- ✓ All countries should commit themselves to a policy of good neighbourliness and eschew a position of regional hegemony. South Africa in particular should commit itself to a policy of full co-operation as an equal partner” (1999:224).

The above suggests that SACU committed itself to a developmental approach as the basic architectural principle upon which regional integration should best be built (Bertelsmann, 1998). But to achieve these developmental goals required overcoming the shortcomings of the 1969 agreement.

In a nutshell, SACU members agreed that the 1969 agreement contained the following shortcomings:

- Weak institutions;
- Undemocratic decision-making;
- No dispute settlement mechanism; and a

- Revenue sharing formula that was not sustainable²³⁰.

While the 1969 agreement contained the above shortcomings, it remained indispensable to both South Africa and the BLNS countries. For South Africa, it was necessary to preserve the SACU agreement for economic and political reasons. Margaret Lee asserts that: “Without SACU revenue, the BLNS countries, especially Lesotho and Swaziland, would be economically destabilized. This in turn would likely result in increased illegal immigration to South Africa, thus exacerbating the already overwhelming problem that exists in South Africa due to the huge number of legal and illegal job-seekers. With an increase in both foreign job-seekers and poverty along its borders, political and economic stability in South Africa would be seriously compromised.” (2003:80).

The SACU agreement remained important for the BLNS countries because: “... the revenue-sharing formula offers a trade-off between the relative fiscal autonomy and an income to state coffers. In this respect it represents the ascendancy of a *rentier* class in the BLNS states and cements their (sometimes uneasy) relationship to the dominant strata in South Africa.” (Gibb and Sidaway, 1998:174). The re-negotiation of SACU would have to be much broader than catering for elite interests only.

4.2.2 Re-negotiating SACU: Processes and Outcomes

While the negotiations for a re-constituted SACU were launched on the 11 November 1994 in Pretoria, South Africa, it was rooted in continued complaints from the BLNS countries and South Africa. In 1990, the BLNS countries argued that the 1969 SACU Agreement was not fair to them. In turn, South Africa responded in 1991, that it could no longer afford to subsidise the BLNS countries via the revenue-sharing formula. It also complained that its share of the revenue continue to fall (Lee, 2003). To resolve

²³⁰ Robert Davies, Personal Communication, 18 October 2002.

these issues and start negotiations for a new agreement, CUTT was constituted.

CUTT comprised of officials from all five member states. They were task and mandated to negotiate on behalf of the ministers of SACU. The SACU renegotiations were aimed at addressing such critical issues as the creation of new structures and mechanisms for joint decision-making in tariff bodies, and the possibility of achieving a greater degree of co-ordination in such areas as competition and industrial policy, as well as the revenue sharing formula (Davies, 1996). In essence, the re-negotiations were aimed at addressing four critical issues:

1. The revenue sharing formula;
2. Institutional arrangements; and
3. Policy²³¹.

Another issue of concern for the negotiation partners is whether to enlarge SACU to allow SADC members that are not currently of the organisation to become members. Fundamentally, the issue at stake was whether to restructure SACU as a sub-set arrangement that needs to be harmonised with the broader SADC²³², since: "... the nature and evolution of SADC is very much dependent on the outcome of those negotiations." (Gibb, 1997:67). The latter issue have not been resolved at the conclusion of the re-negotiations on 21st October 2002²³³.

From December 1994 to October 1996 eight meetings were held. The negotiations then reached a stalemate and only resumed in

²³¹ Robert Davies, Personal Communication, 18 October 2002.

²³² The enlargement of SACU was a primary policy objective of the former South African regime, which saw this as a means of extending South African hegemony and undercutting organizations such as SADC/C. Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe are frequently mentioned as countries that may seek membership of SACU.

²³³ Prior to the dismantling of apartheid in 1994, South Africa viewed the BLNS as politically dispensable (Lee, 2003).

October 1998. The most contentious issue during the negotiations was over the revenue-sharing agreement. The disagreement over the latter agreement was exacerbated by the negotiation for an FTA between South Africa and the EU. The implications of the FTA agreement for the BLNS were that they stood to lose revenue as a result of reduced customs duties (Barber, 2004; Bertelsmann, 2002). Another reason why the negotiations took so long was due the attitude of South Africa towards the BLNS countries. Margaret Lee asserts that: "Throughout the re-negotiations, South Africa allegedly acted as a hegemon, and resisted attempts to make the organisation more democratic." (2003:82). Despite of the above difficulties, the SACU Agreement was concluded in 2002²³⁴.

Article 2 of the 2002 SACU agreement states that the new objectives of the customs union are:

- To facilitate the cross-border movement of goods between the territories of the Member States;
- To create effective, transparent and democratic institutions, which will ensure equitable trade benefits to Member States;
- To promote conditions of fair competition in the Common Customs Area;
- To substantially increase investment opportunities in the Common Customs Area;
- To enhance the economic development, diversification, industrialisation and competitiveness of Member States;
- To promote the integration of Member States into the global economy through enhanced trade and investment;
- To facilitate the equitable sharing of revenue arising from customs, excise and additional duties levied by Member States; and

²³⁴ The new SACU Agreement was signed in Gaborone, Botswana, on the 21st October 2002.

- To facilitate the development of common policies and strategies

All the above objectives are partially in line with the new regionalism approach, and its variant, developmental regionalism, which seek to promote and maintain policy credibility through the adoption of common policies and strategies. Furthermore, the realisation that the interface between the national and the global is critical suggests that new regionalism offers southern African countries the opportunity to address both national developmental needs and to engage the international community more effectively.

However, with its focus on inter-state agreements and arrangements only, these objectives, however, fall short of the practice of new regionalism, which look at processes of regionalisation in various fields of activity and at various levels, practise by states and non-state actors.

4.2.1 New Institutional Arrangements

With regards to the institutional arrangements the SACU agreement of 2002 sets itself apart from the 1969 agreement in that it was geared towards:

- “The creation of effective democratic institutions, including provision for dispute settlement;
- The provision of common institutions to be accompanied by the adoption of common policies and strategies; and
- The recognition of the importance of tariffs as instruments for the implementation of industrial development policy” (Southern African Customs Union Agreement, 2002: Preamble).

To achieve the above-outlined objectives, the new SACU agreement provides for the following representative institutional structures:

- A Council of Ministers- Supreme decision-making body;
- Secretariat which has an administrative function²³⁵;
- A SACU Tariff Board which deals with tariff changes; and a
- Customs Union Commission, which deals with policy and implementation issues²³⁶.

According to Article 8 of the re-negotiated agreement, the *Council of Ministers*, consisting of at least one minister from each member state, shall be the supreme governing body that guides the policy direction and functioning of SACU, including strategic staff appointments and the approval of the budgets of the Secretariat,

²³⁵ The Secretariat will be responsible for the day to day running of the revenue pool, and will also be funded from the revenue pool (<http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/sacu2310a.htm>).

²³⁶ Robert Davies, Personal Communication, 18 October 2002.

the Tariff Board and the Tribunal. Member states will take turns in holding the chair of the Council for 12 months, in a sequence decided by the Council. Trudie Hartzenburg asserts that: "The establishment of the Council of Ministers represents a fundamental shift in SACU administration, with a clear commitment to democratisation of administration, management, and implementation." (2003:181). The inter-governmental nature of the new Agreement is exemplified by the decision-making procedure adopted by SACU. Decision-making of all SACU institutions under the new Agreement shall be based on consensus states Article 17 of this Agreement. It thus addresses a fundamental flaw of the 1969 Agreement: that of a democratic deficit embedded in that Agreement. The drawback of decision-making by consensus, however, is that national interests as opposed to regional interests will dominate the decision-making process.

The Tribunal is, however, exempted from this consensus decision-making approach. The decisions of the Tribunal, which is composed of three members, shall be decided by majority vote. This body in essence serves the function of resolving disputes between and among member states. The establishment of the Tribunal (Article 13,1) also signifies a break-away from decision-making based on the parochial needs of South Africa. Because of the supranational character of this newly-established body, it is able to make decisions that are final and binding on all SACU members. In that sense, the Tribunal differs from the consensus model of decision-making adopted by the Council of Ministers. It is the final and binding nature of decisions of the Tribunal, which allows it to intensify the democratisation of SACU. This in line with new approaches to regionalism, which is comprehensive and multi-dimensional, and concerns itself with the whole issue of accountability and legitimacy.

Article 10 of the re-negotiated agreement states that the Secretariat shall be responsible for the day-to-day administration of SACU, co-ordinate and monitor the implementation of Council and Commission decisions, arrange and keep minutes of SACU bodies and assist in the harmonisation of national policies that relate to SACU. The existence of a permanent Secretariat drawn from all member states of the Customs Union, not only strengthens inter-governmentalism supranationalism, but will also

contributes to transparency and the deepening of democracy. In addition, the co-ordination of policies is in line with a political economy approach to developmental regionalism, which finds expression in efforts to co-ordinate, amongst others, regional industrial development.

The functions of the third institutional body of SACU, the Tariff Board are dealt with by Article 11 of the-negotiated agreement. The Tariff Board, the Article states, is to be an independent institution consisting of experts drawn from all member states who operate as full-time or part-time members of the Board. The ostensible function of the Board is to make recommendations to Council on the level and changes of customs, anti-dumping, countervailing and safeguard duties on goods imported into the common customs area, as well as on tariff rebates, refunds and duty drawbacks. This ensures that the Board has broader legitimacy and also increases the economic efficiency of SACU countries.

The final institutional body that the re-negotiated agreement provides for is the Customs Union Commission. Article 9 states that this Commission shall consist of senior officials at the level of heads of government departments from each member state. The Commission shall report and be responsible to the Council and will have an important operational role, since it has to accept responsibility for the implementation of the Agreement and the decisions of the Council, oversee the management of the customs union revenue pool according to Council guidelines, and supervise the work of the Secretariat.

In addition to these institutions, Article 14 of the Agreement also requires member states to establish specialised, independent and dedicated national bodies, or to designate institutions to receive request for tariff changes and other related SACU issues. SACU as a body deviates from conventional customs unions in that it seeks to address regional inequalities through a compensatory mechanism. While the broadening of the institutional capacity of SACU is commendable, it nowhere makes provision for the involvement of non-state actors. This suggests that the edifice of SACU, which was historically state-centred, remains intact.

The institutional set-up of SACU seeks to deepen co-operation among state actors only by, *inter alia*, the establishment of common policies and institutions. Anton Fowler recognises that the diversity of SACU economies: "... makes any initiative towards the development of common policies and even harmonisation of policies and strategies a challenge. One must realise that common policies, such as a common industrial policy, do not necessary imply that the same 'ingredients' must be available in every Member State. Sector development and sectoral strategies will form a key component of any initiative to develop common policies. As a Customs Union, SACU already have a common tariff policy in the form of a CET. This is already an important step in the direction of common policy development."²³⁷.

Anton Fowler further charges that: "As a Customs Union, SACU already has a common tariff policy in the form of a CET. This is already an important step in the direction of common policy development."²³⁸ This again points to the fact that the 2002 SACU Agreement is both inter-governmental in nature and seek to enhance the democratic credibility of the new SACU institutional framework. In the face of diverse economies, developmental regionalism could play a decisive role, by allowing SACU states to cooperate to solve problems. This would ensure that each member reaches a higher level of development. The existence of the CET also suggests that institutionally SACU conforms to one of the precepts of developmental regionalism: the effective articulation of common interests.

SACU also seeks to democratise the organisation's institutional structure. These developments are in line with the practices and processes of new approaches to regionalism, which posits that for the state to fulfil its developmental function, its institutions needs to foster greater interdependence among states involve in the regional integration efforts (Heintz, 2003). The democratisation process ought also be aimed at fostering common values among Member States, a requirement for the success of developmental regionalism in SACU.

²³⁷ Personal Communication, 6th February, 2006.

²³⁸ Personal Communication, 6th February 2006.

The new institutions of SACU, however, fail to recognise that cross-community interactions and interdependencies, which are as old as SACU itself, could deepen regionalisation and the sense of regionness. The new institutional agreement of SACU also fails to acknowledge that historically, a single unified informal economy held up by mining labour, illegal migrants, cultural transactors and informal traders, contributed to the configuration of the SACU region²³⁹.

The above implies that the new institutional agreement of SACU does not lend scope to the fact that people in SACU are conscious of their past and still interact in the informal economy. These trans-border activities from below lend new meaning and value to the region and the notion of regional communities. New regionalism as a field of study, however, not only recognises states and formal organisations, but acknowledges that informal regionalism is integral to regions and regionalism. Thus, the building of new regional economic and political capacity in SACU requires deliberate attempts to connect the two broad processes of formal and informal regionalism into the process of institution-building. The need for a new revenue-sharing formula suggests that SACU as an inter-state body recognises that new regionalism as a normative project allows states to respond to an interdependent world in accordance with its peculiarities and problems.

²³⁹ Anton Fowler asserts that the institutions of SACU do not recognise non-state actors as a partner. He points out, however, that: “Non-state actors have been part of the re-negotiations process and each Member State is free to accredit non-state actors to form part of their delegations to meetings and events of SACU. Non-state actors are key role-players in SACU Member States and in SACU and it is envisaged that collaboration, co-operation and involvement would increase in future.” (Personal Communication, 6th February, 2006). The disposition of Member States remains critical in determining the content and scope of regionalism in SACU. Thus, non-state actors may find it difficult to participate meaningfully inside the SACU institutional structures.

4.2.2 The new revenue-sharing formula

The re-negotiation of the 1969 agreement was, arguably, prompted by the need to review the revenue-sharing formula. In view of the changing economic and political conditions regionally and globally in the 1990s, the re-examination of the revenue-sharing formula had to take into account the following:

- “The changed global environment and in particular the implications of the GATT/WTO agreement for the SACU and for future revenue flows from customs duties;
- The possibility of a differentiated revenue-sharing formula being applied to each country, since the BLNS economies are not homogeneous, and SACU is of varying importance as a source of revenue;
- An improved revenue estimation method to overcome the disadvantages to BLNS of two-year time-lag in cash flows; and
- A common statistical base for the purpose of calculating intra-SACU trade” (Mwase and Maasdorp, 1999:225).

The re-negotiation of the revenue-sharing formula was only concluded in October, 2001. The essence of the new revenue-sharing formula:

- ❖ “Allows the BLNS countries to continue to be subsidised;
- ❖ Guarantee that revenue flows to the BLNS countries will be stable and not fall below the current level;
- ❖ Ensures that South Africa will not continue to experience a decrease in its share of the revenue pool;
- ❖ Has a developmental component for the poorer countries; and

- ❖ Establishes a SACU tariff board that will meet at least quarterly to review applications for tariffs and anti-dumping protection.” (Business Day 25 and 26 October 2001).

The new revenue sharing formula will consist of three main components:

1. A Customs component- which will be allocated according to each country’s share of total intra-SACU trade, including re-exports;
2. An Excise component- net of the development component, should be allocated on the basis of GDP;
3. A development component, which will be fixed at 15% of the total excise pool and distributed to all SACU members according to the inverse of each country’s GDP/capita²⁴⁰.

4.2.2.1 The Customs Component

The customs component of the new agreement, according to Colin McCarthy is been designed to benefit the smaller Customs Union members. Accordingly: “Each member’s percentage share in the customs pool during a specific year will be equal to the member’s value of goods imported from all other SACU members as a percentage of total intra-SACU imports during that year. Since the intra-SACU trade balance is heavily in South Africa’s favour, which means that the BLNS import much more from South Africa that the other way around, the BLNS shares will be relatively high compared to that of South Africa.” (McCarthy, 2003:625). This meant that the organisation had to put measures in place that would correct this historical imbalance.

Accordingly: “... the architects of the new agreement have recognized the dependence of the smaller SACU members on

²⁴⁰ Source: <http://www.dfa.gov.za/for-relations/mulilateral/sacu.htm>

customs union revenue and consequently agreed on a revenue-sharing formula that would provide BLNS with revenue protection. Linking revenue distribution to intra-SACU imports, bearing in mind South Africa's large trade surplus with BLNS, is also presented as compensating BLNS for the cost-raising and polarization disadvantaged of being in a customs union with South Africa." (Ngwenya, 2002:28; McCarthy,2004:165). In this sense, the 2002 SACU agreement conforms to the requirements of developmental regionalism, which posits the need for a redistribution mechanism to counter-act polarisation and as such is specific with regards to objectives.

Colin McCarthy posits that: "The excise revenue component of the total revenue pool will consist of the gross amount of duties leviable and collected on goods produced in the common customs area. In distributing this pool of funds the amount available is obtained by subtracting the amount that goes toward the funding of the SACU institutions plus a further deduction to fund the development component of revenue allocations. Of the net amount available after the two deductions, a member state will receive a percentage share equal to the value of its GDP in a specific year as a percentage of the total SACU GDP during that year. On the basis of GDP values for 1998, South Africa would be allocated 92 percent of the available excise component." (2003:625-626). For South Africa, excise duties is: "... An appropriate instrument to raise tax revenue for much needed social expenditure." (ibid.). Developmental regionalism as a normative project demands that strong emphasis be placed on measures intended to counter polarization.

Colin McCarthy argues that with the new revenue-sharing formula South Africa stands to gain much more than the BLNS countries from the new Agreement. Indeed, estimations by the South African government for the period 2002/03 envisaged that the Republic: "... will retain about 52 percent of the R21, 358 million revenue pool." (ibid, p627). This suggests that: "... it would not be unrealistic to envisage a scenario that will work against BLNS and in favour of South Africa..." This could come about if trade liberalization should lower the customs component of the revenue pool, while excise revenue increase and South Africa maintains its dominant share of the regional GDP." (ibid.). This suggests that

the level of integration is important if polarisation effects are to be avoided.

The above seems to refute the contention that the development component was negotiated to benefit small member states of the SACU Agreement. To be sure: “The official explanation for the development component is to give Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland, the member states most dependent on SACU revenue, some protection against decline in the real value of the revenue pool brought about by bilateral and multilateral trade liberalization...” (ibid.). Implicitly, therefore, the 2002 SACU Agreement recognises that historically SACU promoted lopsided economic development and integration, but as yet does not seem to have measures in place to address this.

The fact that the new agreement attempts to protect small members from a declining revenue base, and move towards reducing regional inequalities are in line with new approaches to regionalism, which posit that development of all members of regional groupings is a *sine qua non* for successful regional integration. In this regard, James Hentz postulates that: “Developmental regional economic integration promotes greater regional interdependence and argues that for regional economic integration to work, it must first and foremost focus on equitable regional development.”²⁴¹ (2003:24). This could not only lead to deeper regionalism, but also to increase regionness²⁴².

²⁴¹ The drawback of this, however, is that: “... developmental regional economic integration is very much a state led process.” (Hentz, 2003:24).

²⁴² Björn Hettne asserts that: “Changes in terms of regionness thus imply changes of the structural position in the centre-periphery order.” (2001b:91).

4.2.3 The Economic Developmental Component

The concern for a development component²⁴³ for SACU, is premised on the long-held view by the South African Department of Finance that there is a need for: "... a 'clean formula', with any additional payments destined for the BLNS countries coming from the South African budget as regional aid." (Gibb, 1997:83). This reinforces the goal of developmental regionalism, which is to establish a regional fund to redistribute state income for welfare purposes. The creation of welfare in terms of social security and regional balance is one of the precepts, which underpin developmental regionalism. In such a way, the goal of developmental regionalism- to forge viable economies- would be considerably enhanced.

Moreover, South Africa's contention that: "... an industrial development strategy should replace the revenue contributed under the enhancement/stabilisation agreements." (ibid.) is in tandem with the logic of developmental regionalism, which posits- an industrial plan at regional level in order to 'space' industrialisation. More critically, it would strengthen the hypothesis that developmental regionalism implies: an economic plan to promote sustainable development.

The 2002 SACU agreement is particularly sensitive to need to develop the BLNS countries economically. To assist in the economic development of the BLNS countries, the development of common policies is critical. The development of common policies is critical to address, *inter alia*, the structural and spatial problems associated with integration amongst unequal partners, and to reduce the acute disparities in and among countries of the region.

²⁴³ Anton Fowler notes that: "The development component is more flexible as it provides for budgetary support to Member States instead of specific project support (limited in scope and coverage). Member States can now utilize their respective share of the development component as they deem fit and not have to provide justification for every project they embark upon." (Personal Communication, 6th February, 2006).

Article 38 to 41 provide for the development of common policies by SACU countries. The development of especially a common industrial policy for SACU was of particular significance in view of the fact that: “South Africa’s regional industrial policy has for at least the past four decades had a significant influence on the industrial development of the BLNS” (Hartzenburg, 2003:183)²⁴⁴.

Development also implies that SACU must aim to eradicate economic disparities among Member States. Anton Fowler points out that: “The SACU Agreement does not direct industry relocation to specific Member States, nor does it specify that industrial activity must be equally spread throughout the Custom Union.” What is noteworthy about SACU’s attempts to eradicate economic disparities among Member States is that: “The new SACU Agreement allows or collective decision-making with respect to the setting of tariffs and this will be an important step in the balanced development of industrial and other policies and the location/establishment of industries in the region.”²⁴⁵ Collective decision-making is a critical requirement for the success of developmental regionalism in SACU. Collective decision-making find expression in public-private partnerships, which have so far contributed to the establishment of various SDIs, will arguably, contributed to development of regional infrastructure²⁴⁶. This in

²⁴⁴ Trudie Hartzenberg argues that: “The development of a common industrial policy by SACU countries, may thus avoid some of the initiatives that are overtly biased in favour of, for example South Africa’s industrial development. The outcome is potentially, more balanced regional industrial development.” (2003:183).

²⁴⁵ Personal Communication, 6th February, 2006.

²⁴⁶ Paul Jourdan notes that the SDI programme was launched in South Africa in 1995 by the government with a view: “... to unlock economic potential and facilitate global competitiveness, new investment, access to global capital, infrastructural development, and job creation in areas that have unrealized potential due to a range of historical and political reasons, primarily apartheid.” (1998:718). The South African government, therefore, realised that these initiatives accords it the opportunity to address national development needs. This thinking is in line with the precepts, which underpin developmental regionalism. Fredrik Söderbaum points out that: “To date there exist 11 SDIs in South Africa (of which four involve neighbouring countries): The MDC (which also includes Mozambique and ultimately Swaziland, Botswana and Zimbabwe); the Lubumbo SDI (Swaziland and Mozambique); the coast-to-coast SDI (Namibia, Botswana and Mozambique); the Platinum SDI (Botswana); the Phalaborwa SDI; the West Coast Investment Initiative; the Fish River SDI; the Wild Coast SDI; the Richard Bay SDI; the Kwazulu-Natal

turn, will contribute to the redistribution of economic activity to the BLNS countries.

The redistribution of economic activity to the BLNS countries, through, say, the improvement of regional infrastructure, is critical for the success of new regional initiatives. Poor infrastructure may inhibit intra-regional trade integration. The development component of the new SACU agreement, which favours the poorest member states, recognises that regionalism in southern Africa, should not only be purely economic, but also a politically driven project. As a politically driven project, regional infrastructural development should contribute to the reduction of acute disparities in and among countries of the region. In the SACU region, reducing transport dependence through regional infrastructural development lend support to the policies of new regionalism and its variant developmental regionalism that sets out to explicitly address the structural and spatial problems associated with integration among unequal partners.

Table 2. The Southern African Customs Union: Population, GDP and GDP per capita (2000).

	Population (million) 2000	GDP (US\$ billion)	GDP per capita (US\$ per annum)
Botswana	1,6	6,0	3,749
Lesotho	2,2	0,7	405
Namibia	1,8	3,1	1,706
South Africa	43,1	126,2	2,929
Swaziland	1,0	1,4	1,515

SDI; and the Gauteng SDI.” (2001:115). These regional initiatives offer southern African countries the opportunity to address both national developmental needs and respond to an interdependent world in accordance with its peculiarities and problems.

Source: Esterhuysen. P. 1994. South Africa in Sub-Equatorial Africa: Economic Interaction. Pretoria: Institute of South Africa.

Financial Mail (London). 21 May 1999.

Indicator South Africa, (2001)18,2:70

The process of dismantling apartheid in South Africa in the early 1990s challenged the edifice of SADC: which was to unify the region politically and reduce dependence on the apartheid state. The transformation of SADCC into SADC saw the establishment of objectives that were to include, amongst others, trade integration, human resource development and the social and economic improvement of the standards of living for the region's people. In other words, SADC was to become a vehicle for economic development and political co-operation: a multi-purpose organisation.

4.3 The Southern African Development Community (SADC): Breaking with the Past?

The imperatives for meaningful and deeper regionalism in Southern Africa, acquired a new significance after 1990. Namibia acceded to independence in 1990, and moves were underway to dismantle apartheid in the dominant regional economy of the region, South Africa²⁴⁷. In tandem with these developments, the changes in the global political economy and the perception of marginalisation of African countries in global affairs, made the goal of closer regional co-operation among countries more urgent. Moreover, economic and political liberalisation in the southern Africa, brought about by the adoption of SAPs by most states in the region, further fuelled the need for regional co-operation at a higher level of integration.

To respond to these developments, a policy document submitted to a Southern African Development Coordinating Conference meeting in January 1992, spelt out proposals for a move-away from project co-ordination towards trade integration, proposing: "... a reduction of barriers to intra SADCC trade, greater co-ordination of external tariffs, freer movement of capital and labour, the creation of regional infrastructural authorities and a development bank, as well as the rationalisation of efforts to promote integration in Southern Africa." (Maasdorp and Whiteside, 1993:35). Implicitly thus, the Development Community was to be a vehicle for more than limited economic or political co-ordination or integration, in fact, it was to serve as a catalysts for deeper and wide-ranging changes in development and economic reforms²⁴⁸. The ambitious treaty that 'gave birth' to SADC, encapsulated these objectives. These objectives bears testimony to the fact that incrementally

²⁴⁷ For Peter Vale: "The ending of apartheid confirmed the region's geopolitical structure- a structure that relied on a hierarchical framing to give it form and, indeed, purpose." (2003:115).

²⁴⁸ Despite the ambitions that underpin SADC, Peter Vale maintains that: "...SADC is the formalization of the region's hierarchical structure, a form of multilateralism constructed around South Africa's power, which is underwritten by the United States and the European Union..." (ibid, p132).

heightened levels of integration was aimed at. This signified a break from past attempts at integration.

SADC achieved notable successes, specifically in the fields of infrastructural development and forging a sense of regional belonging, albeit primarily among regional elites. By the late 1990s, however, SADC acknowledged that it was hampered by severe constraints and difficulties. These constraints and difficulties were identified as the following:

- 1) The SADC Secretariat in Gabarone lacked the power, authority and resources required to facilitate regional integration;
- 2) The sector co-ordinating units in the member states were highly uneven in their ability to pursue and implement policies;
- 3) SADC's Programme of Action lacked a clear regional focus, it covered too many areas, and the majority of projects were mainly national;
- 4) Limited capacity to mobilize the region's own resources, including the private sector, for the implementation of the Programme of Action and an over-dependence on external financial resources; and
- 5) Growing political divisions within SADC and a failure to address governance, peace and security issues." (SADC, 2000:7).

However, the transformation of SADC in 1992 into a development community was incomplete since the institutional structure of the organisation was not revamped to accommodate the organisation's new agenda (Lee, 2003)²⁴⁹. The development community of 1992 experienced the following institutional difficulties:

²⁴⁹ At formation SADC had only two regional development institutions- the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) and the Southern African Centre for Co-operation in Agricultural Research.

- “Lack of appropriate and effective regional institutions and management systems to spearhead the integration agenda;
- The need for mechanisms capable of achieving the high level of political commitment necessary to shape the scope and scale of the process of integration. That implied strengthening the powers and capacity of regional-decision-making, co-ordinating and executing bodies;
- Lack of synergy between the objectives and strategies of the Treaty on the one hand and the existing SADC Programme of Action (SPA) and the institutional framework on the other;
- Limited capacity to mobilize significant levels of the region’s own resources for the implementation of its Programme;
- The relevance, management limitations and external financial overdependence of the SPA.” (SADC, 2000:3).

In addition to the institutional deficiencies, SADC also relied heavily on donor funding. *A Review and Rationalisation of the SADC Programme of Action* revealed that SADC remained dependent on donor funding. Elling Tjønneland illustrates this by pointing out that: “SADC itself estimates that approximately 80% of SADC’s project portfolio in the year 2000 came from foreign sources.” (2004:15). The review concluded that SADC’s dependence on donor funding meant that the implementation of the organisations objectives were largely determined by donors, rather than SADC’s own priorities. This phenomenon reinforces the dependency syndrome, and often means that national priorities take preference over regional ones. What was needed was to reduce such funding and replace it with regional resources (SADC, 1997). What the review also revealed was that SADC needed to overcome both the above institutional deficiencies and its dependence of aid.

To achieve the above, SADC as an institution at the end of the 1990s needed to: heighten the levels of integration; strengthen its institutional capacity; attract more foreign direct investment; and involve non-state actors in the integration process. In other words, what was needed was a new and multidimensional approach to

regionalism involving, states, markets and societal actors. Such a multidimensional approach to regionalism would necessarily cover; *inter alia*, cultural, economic, political and security aspects. In simple terms what was needed was a new and normative approach to regionalism, which allows southern African states the opportunity to respond to an interdependent world in accordance with its own peculiarities and problems.

4.3.1 Heighten levels of integration

The Southern African Development Conference was founded in August 1992 in Windhoek, Namibia. Article 5 of the SADC Treaty enshrined the following objectives. These objectives shall be to:

- a. "Achieve development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration;
- b. Evolve common political values, systems and institutions;
- c. Promote and defend peace and security;
- d. Promote self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance, and the interdependence of member states;
- e. Achieve complementarity between national and regional strategies and programmes;
- f. Promote and maximise productive employment and the utilisation of resources of the region;
- g. Achieve sustainable utilisation of natural resources and effective protection of the environment;
- h. Strengthen and consolidate the long standing historical, social and cultural affinities and links among the peoples of the region." (SADC, 1992a).

The above objectives posit that regionalism and regionalisation²⁵⁰ are comprehensive and multidimensional processes: "... which implies increased regional cooperation, integration and complementarity with respect to a number of dimensions such as culture, politics, security, economics and diplomacy." (Schulz et al, 2001:14). Thus at the outset, the objectives of SADC indicate that it was to be a vehicle for achieving wide-ranging economic, political and developmental objectives. The fact that these objectives seek to move beyond a concern with trade integration and were geared towards building co-operation that fosters equal partners involving non-state actors- a political objective- reinforces that that: "... new regionalism validates political interaction as coequal with economic exchange relations in building regional cooperation." (Thompson, 2000: 44). New regionalism as a process demands that the search for economic solutions proceed in tandem with the goal of achieving political objectives.

The central objective of SADC is said to aim at intensifying co-operation among Southern Africa countries²⁵¹. With the view to integration, the following objectives were formulated:

- "Deeper economic co-operation and integration, on the basis of balance, equity and mutual benefit, providing for cross border investment and trade, and freer movement of factors of production, goods and services across national borders;
- Common economic, political, social values and systems, enhancing enterprise competitiveness, democracy and good governance, respect for the rule of law and the guarantee of human rights, popular participation and the alleviation of poverty;

²⁵⁰ Helge Hveem points out that: "Regionalisation implies a dynamic element, the pursuit of regionalisation, creating a regional system or network in a specific geographical area or regional social space, either issue-specific or more general in scope." (2000:73).

²⁵¹ The retention of sectoral responsibilities at SADC's formation- despite its limited impact on promoting deeper co-operation and integration- made the goal of intensifying co-operation among Southern African countries, untenable.

- Strengthen regional solidarity peace and security in order for the people of the region to live and work together in peace and harmony.” (Mandaza and Tostensen; 1994: viii)²⁵².

These objectives are developmental in nature, since it promotes self-reliance by postulating that: “... a strategy of ‘development from within’ may yet be a feasible development strategy at regional level, for instance in the form of coordination of production, improvement of infrastructure, and exploitation of various economic complementarities.” (Hettne, 2001:104). This is in line with a political economy approach to regionalism posited by developmental regionalism, which seeks to increase the efficiency of the total regional economy, through, amongst others, regional industrial development. To achieve the above meant using criteria such as common political values as opposed to political solidarity.

Unlike with SADCC, the criteria for admission as a new member are no longer based political solidarity. Indeed, SADC now insists that for admission as a new member, the applicant must, *inter alia*, fulfil the following criteria:

- (1) Geographical proximity to the SADC region;
- (2) Commonality of political, economic, social and cultural systems with the systems of the SADC region;
- (3) Feasibility of cost-effective and efficient co-ordination of economic, social and cultural activities under the SADC framework of co-operation;

²⁵² These above set-out objectives were to be achieved through a strategy of development integration. Østergaard (1993) posits that two features of development integration are conspicuous. Firstly, the integration community needs to consciously intervene in the process, with a view to promote co-operation and interdependence. Secondly, there needs to be an equal distribution of the benefits among the members.

- (4) Absence of a record of engagement in subversive and destabilisation activities, and territorial ambitions against any SADC, or any of its member states [sic];
- (5) Must be a democracy, observing the principles of human rights and the rule of law;
- (6) Must share SADC's ideals and aspirations. (Gibb and Sidaway; 1998:170).

The most notable difference between SADCC and SADC, relates to the development strategy that the latter pursues. The former body viewed the market integration²⁵³ approach as best for the region. The development integration²⁵⁴ approach that SADC pursues is geared towards compensating for the shortcomings of the market integration approach (Østergaard, 1993)²⁵⁵. Indeed, "Development integration stresses the need for both macro and micro co-ordination in a multi-sectoral programme embracing production, infrastructure and trade. Close political co-operation at an early stage of the integration process... and... the need for an equitable balance of the benefits of integration... are also important for this approach." (Davies, 1996a:29). More revealing, SADC will provide tax and other incentives to businesses that invest in poorer member countries. Poorer member countries stand to benefit from investments in infrastructure, production and trade. More critically, such investments will considerably contribute to the structural transformation of these countries. This

²⁵³ This approach is based on the integration experience of industrialised states. It involves the lowering and removal of barriers to trade between states in a region in order to increase trade between them. This increased trade is seen as the engine of development and growth.

²⁵⁴ This approach suggests that industrialisation must be advanced before market integration can be considered. In other words, the goods must first be produced before they can be traded. The developmental integration approach therefore involves a multi-sector programme in production, infrastructure and trade (Davies, 1994; ADB, 1993).

²⁵⁵ André du Pisani notes is that: "In adopting a development integration approach each member is allowed, at least in theory, to define the pace, scope and sectors of integration." (2001:207).

suggests that in SADC, there is the realisation that regional integration encompasses more than trade integration: it is a comprehensive and multifaceted process involving many actors and issues. To address concerns other than trade, SADC embarked on a development integration strategy.

4.3.1.1 SADC and Development Integration

The genesis of regional integration pursued by SADC/C in the 1980s and 1990s was still premised on development integration, which as Corina van Rooyen reminds us required: "... a higher degree of state intervention..." (1998:129). For Jens Haarlov, the development integration approach: "... is born out of the problems and dysfunction of the pure market integration approach... the market approach's static character, its sole focus on how trade creation and trade diversion will influence welfare, and its tendency to widen economic differences between lesser and more developed areas, when market forces are left to function on their own. The development integration approach's answer to this is to change the agenda in three areas: 1. The objectives of the integration process; 2. The timing and level of interstate binding commitments; and 3. The distribution of costs and benefits of cooperation." (1997:30).

André du Pisani charges that by: "... adopting a development integration approach each member is allowed, at least in theory, to define the pace, scope and sectors of integration." (2001:207). The drawback of this approach was that: "There was no follow-through in translating regional commitments into national actions." (Mistry, 2000:558). By allowing member states to determine their 'own schedule', the issue of sovereignty is simultaneously addressed²⁵⁶. Reflecting on the issue of sovereignty in the African

²⁵⁶ Paul Bischoff notes that: "The desire and enthusiasm for regional integration as a way to deal with Africa's many development problems is tempered by the fear that national leaders have about the possible loss of sovereignty by their respective states. Sovereignty, of course, is the one precious strategic and political asset political elites

context, Christopher Clapham postulates that: "... the defence of statehood normally provides an essential element in personal survival strategies..." (1996:5). The development integration approach pursued by southern African countries in the 1980s and 1990s, offered the best possibility to address both pressing economic issues, such as a compensatory mechanism, and issues of a political nature such as sovereignty (Østergaard, 1993).

Development integration²⁵⁷, by focussing: "... on how to stimulate the creation of productive capacity... was geared towards ... fostering structural transformation of the economies." (Østergaard, 1993:34). The objective of integration becomes economic and social development (Haarlov, 1997). The strategy of development integration adopted by SADC in 1992 saw southern Africa began with a multifaceted to regionalism, both economic and political. Successful economic structural transformation and social development in southern Africa requires state intervention in the economy.

Carol Thompson posits that: "... for a region like Southern Africa, with its persistent and profound poverty, the state can put back on the agenda questions of income disparity and redistribution."²⁵⁸ (2000:45). The success of economic structural transformation and social development also requires active participation from private

have to hold on to." (2004:2).

²⁵⁷ James Mittelman links development integration with new regionalism through his concept of transformative regionalism. To him, transformative regionalism connects development integration with regionalism from below. The essence of transformative regionalism, Mittelman, contends, rests with: "... calls for political cooperation at the beginning; equity and balance among member states (e.g. redistribution and regional industrial planning as a conduit for regional trade) an active state (e.g. promoting exchange, building infrastructure); and regionalism that begins from bottom and flows upwards. Such regionalism is linked to cultural identities that are new (e.g. environmentalists, women's movements, pro-democracy forces. The strength of transformative regionalism will rest on strong links with civil society." (1999:48).

²⁵⁸ Carol Thompson asserts that: "Theories of new regionalism conceptualise the state as an actor in shaping regional relations and in responding to global exigencies. New regionalism theories are also 'bringing the state back in' by reminding us of aspects of the historical role of the state, such as reconciling market dysfunctions." (2000:45). This suggests that the developmental function of the state remains crucial to the success of regional integration efforts.

economic actors of civil society. This approach to regionalism is in tandem with practice of new regionalism, which posits a multifaceted approach to regionalism. New approaches to the study of regionalism recognises that deeper regional integration and an increase sense of regionness, only comes about through the practice of regionalism on a variety of levels.

Development integration, Corina van Rooyen postulates, demands that: “Economic structural transformation must thus take place, with diversification away from only commodity exports.” More significantly, this strategy recognised that: “If trade liberalization is to take place, it should be complemented by the coordination of regional industrial development, the establishment of a regional fund or bank, a degree of coordination of macro-economic policies and giving preference to less-developed members in terms of access to regional markets and facilities.” (1998:129). This multifaceted approach to integration is in line with new approaches to regionalism, which posits that integration should take place at various analytical levels. As yet, these issues have not been sufficiently addressed by the organisation.

James Mittelman notes that in the case of southern Africa: “The development integration model was introduced as an alternative to a one-sided emphasis on efficiency maximization of existing capacity, not surprisingly, in the context of a low level of productive capacity. This approach stresses the need for close political cooperation at the outset of the integration process. Not only does it assign priority to coordinating production and improving infrastructure, but also calls for a higher degree of state intervention than does the market model and for redistributive measures such as transfer taxes or compensatory schemes administered by regional funds or specialised banks²⁵⁹ (1996:195).

²⁵⁹ Robert Davies argues that development integration as a regionalist project promotes:

1. “efforts to co-ordinate regional industrial development;
2. the establishment of regional funds or banks giving special priority to the least developed members;
3. measures to give less developed members greater preferences in access to regional markets; and
4. some co-ordination of macro-economic policies at a relatively early stage.” (1996:3-4).

This suggests in theory at least, a new and multifaceted approach to regionalism.

Trade integration is to be accompanied by attempts to promote coordinated regional industrial development. A counterweight to economic liberalism, it seeks to redress external dependence, especially through the regulation of foreign investment. Hence, development integration is a multilevel approach engulfing production, infrastructure, finance, and trade.” (1996:195). By adopting a developmental approach to regionalism, SADC rejected integration by stages- advocated by theories of integration such as neo-functionalism and transactionalism- and set priorities important to the region. New regionalism as a theory is a product of a spontaneous process from within the region driven by constituent states that are the main proponents for regional integration.

The strategy of development integration is so far failing in SADC, because the organisation did not provide for effective and efficient regional development institutions. To the contrary, SADC has argued that: “... market forces should be allowed to play a greater role in regulating investment flows with minimum government controls.” (1992:26). This presupposes that private economic actors were to play a central role in regional integration, at the expense of the state. The comprehensive objectives that SADC adopted in 1992 and the development integration strategy it chose in pursuance of these objectives, required strong state intervention (Tsie, 1996)²⁶⁰. To achieve the objectives of co-ordinated development and integration of infrastructure, investment and production, requires, arguably, strong state intervention in regional affairs. The fact that a number of regional states adopted SAPs meant that they played a minimal role in economic restructuring. New regionalism as a process sees the state and market forces as mutually enabling each other in the process of building regional capacity. The formation of public-private partnerships, which saw

²⁶⁰ Balefi Tsie succinctly argues that: “The most promising route towards achieving these objectives is not to ‘roll back’ the state by to re-design it so that it becomes part of the solution of the problems of underdevelopment and uneven development in the region.” (1996:95). What was needed at the formation of SADC was to nurture developmental states in the region, which would have been able to intervene effectively in the regional integration process for purpose of promoting balanced and equitably regional development.

the development of various spatial development initiatives in southern Africa, are examples of state-market complementarity.

The development integration model in the context of SADC was not very successful in Southern Africa. James Mittleman notes that: "In practice, the development integration model has fallen short of the professed aims of its architects in Southern Africa. In SADCC's first decade, its professional staff and representatives of member states infrequently consulted the private sector and failed to involve capital in planning regional industrial development." (1999:33). The continuity between SADCC and SADC is evident in that SADC, like its progenitor, embraced trade integration, but was not promote co-ordinated regional industrial development at its initial phases, ostensibly because of donor priorities and project priorities which focussed on infrastructural development.

Furthermore, development integration in the SADC context also failed because it has been: "...weakly embraced by social forces in the subcontinent, and the institutionalisation of the neoliberal concept, ascendant in the post-Cold War world. (ibid, p196). New regionalism as both a field of study and a process ignores the distinction between state and non-state actors associated with conventional regional integration theories, and recognise that formal and informal aspects of regionalisation are often intertwined.

For new approaches to regionalism to succeed, there is a need to realise that trade integration should be accompanied by the building of local economic capacity amongst the citizens of the region. A new theoretical approach to regionalism should recognise that the multidimensionality of contemporary regionalism warrants a new type of analysis, which transcends the development integration approach to regionalism. Heightened levels of integration presuppose that the processes of formal and informal regionalism, collectively contribute to increase regionness and deeper regionalisation.

The above suggests that there needs to be a realisation that the removal of barriers to trade (trade liberalisation) is not the panacea to deeper regional economic integration. The increased involvement of South African business activities in the region, which resulted from trade liberalisation, seems only to augment

and intensify economic imbalances in SADC. By exacerbating existing inequalities, these activities undermine efforts directed at the goal of developmental regionalism, premised on the principles of balance, equity, and mutual benefit in regional relations enshrined in the SADC Treaty. What is needed is a transformative process, which embraces both states and markets that will aid the process of industrialisation, which in turn will reflect the urge by SADC for heightened levels of integration.

In 1997 *A Review and Rationalisation Study* was carried out by consultants on behalf of SADC. This study proposed that SADC began a process of restructuring, which were aimed at promoting deeper regional co-operation and integration. Gina van Schalkwyk asserts that SADC: "... embarked on an ambitious internal restructuring exercise to improve its efficiency and tackle difficult questions of how to accelerate socioeconomic development and achieve meaningful, equitable regional integration." (2003:187). This restructuring of the organisation is also in conformity with new approaches to regionalism, which posits that approaches to regionalism should emerge as a result of a region's own peculiarities and problems.

The study proposed that the sectoral co-ordinating units be phased out and replaced by the following directorates:

1. Social and Human Development and Special Programmes (SHD&SP)²⁶¹;
2. Agriculture and Natural Resources (FANR)²⁶²;
3. Infrastructure and Services (I&S)²⁶³;
4. Trade, industry, investment and finance²⁶⁴; and

²⁶¹ This Directorate was launched in December, 2002. (Personal Communication, Willem Goeiemann, 9th February, 2006).

²⁶² This Directorate was launched in December, 2002. (Personal Communication, Willem Goeiemann, 9th February, 2006).

²⁶³ This Directorate was launched in December, 2002. (Personal Communication, Willem Goeiemann, 9th February, 2006).

5. Politics, Defence and Security Directorate²⁶⁵.

The process of restructuring SADC conforms to the new regionalist approach, which focus on processes of regionalisation in various fields of activity and at various levels. The institutional restructuring of SADC was also geared towards moving the organisation from an inter-state entity to a supranational institution.

SADC's restructuring also involved the operationalisation and harmonisation of policies. This is to be done through the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP). Jan Isaksen points out that the RISDP will focus on three kinds of objectives: "... the social goals; the economic objectives which would focus on the development of measures to alleviate poverty, including industrial development, trade, macroeconomic policies, investment and infrastructure, and the political priorities which would include democratic governance and mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution." (2003:205). These objectives point to the multi-faceted approach that the restructuring of SADC will encompass, which is in line with the precepts that underpin new approaches to regionalism, which calls for deeper integration.

²⁶⁴ This Directorate was launched in August, 2001. (Personal Communication, Willem Goeiemann, 9th February, 2006).

²⁶⁵ This Directorate was launched in August, 2005. (Personal Communication, Willem Goeiemann, 9th February, 2006).

4.3.2 Potential to strengthen its structure (reform proposal)

Arguably one of the primary reasons why SADCC had limited success in promoting deeper co-operation and integration relates to its institutional capacity. Ibbo Mandaza and Arne Tostensen point out that because SADCC was primarily established to co-ordinate inter-state projects in a decentralised manner, it experienced a serious problem: "... the decentralised structure had no clear line of authority and accountability in the implementation of regional programmes." (1994:109). What needed for SADC in 1992, was to strengthen the institutional capacity of the organisation.

SADC's founding Treaty recognised the need for adequate institutional capacity in the form of effective and efficient regional development institutions. This position was reinforced by the 1994 Annual Consultative Conference document. The 1994 Conference posited that a prerequisite for building a community was: "... to promote the establishment of strong and viable regional and self-sustaining institutions, with greater capacity to take decisions on behalf of the Community and remain immune from influence of any one member State." (SADC, 1994:17). Towards this end, Article 9 of the Treaty lists the SADC institutions as the following:

- (a) The Summit of Heads of State or Government;
- (b) The Council of Ministers;
- (c) The Commissions;
- (d) The Standing Committee of Officials;
- (e) The Secretariat;

(f) Sectoral Coordination Units (SCUs);

(g) The Tribunal.

SADC thus, unlike its predecessor, has legal personality at the time of its formation, and can therefore enforce sanctions against member states, which fail to fulfil their obligations²⁶⁶. Because of its legal personality, SADC's institutions could potentially have had greater political significance. The formal establishment of SADC and its embodiment in a treaty are represented in the text of the Treaty itself symbolises its commitment to heightened levels of integration. However, it is disturbing that: "The legal structure of SADC does not compel members to enact the necessary legislation at a national level to enable SADC to implement interstate projects." (Tsie, 1996:85).

As such, the implementation of decisions made by the body cannot be guaranteed. The recent reforms adopted by the organisation seek to reverse this situation. Andrew Ndishishi points out that national laws would have to conform to regional expectation. He cited the rules of origin requirement. SADC as a body agreed that the rules of origin should reflect a 35 per cent local content requirement. All SADC governments have agreed to this and therefore it is reflected in all national laws²⁶⁷. However, not all has changed for the better in SADC.

SADC's decision-making structure retained the continuity with the past. Decisions, as in the case of SADCC, are based on consensus, and shall be the preserve of the Summit, states article 10 of the SADC Treaty. Whilst developmental regionalism demands the joint management and judicious exploitation of common natural resource, that implies consensus in the realm of decision-making, the ratification of the SADC Free Trade Area, serves as a negative reminder of SADC's past. Hitherto, only 10

²⁶⁶ Balefi Tsie notes that: "The legal structure of SADC does not compel members to enact the necessary legislation at a national level to enable SADC to implement interstate projects... consequently the... implementation of SADC decisions may not be guaranteed." (1996:85).

²⁶⁷ Personal Communication, Mr. Ndishishi, 6th June 2001. 6/06/2001.

members have ratified the treaty. This obviously stifles the progress of the Development Community.

SADCC in contrast, had no treaty, no central authority and not even a mechanism that ensured that decisions were implemented. By and large, this limitation of SADCC ensured that its strategy of co-ordinating inter-state projects in a decentralised manner had no clear line of authority, or accountability in the implementation of regional programmes (Mandaza and Tostensen, 1994). Surprisingly this failed strategy remained part of SADC at its formation. This meant that the SADC remained primarily an inter-state body. The consequences were that this undermined the Secretariat and moves towards supranationalism.

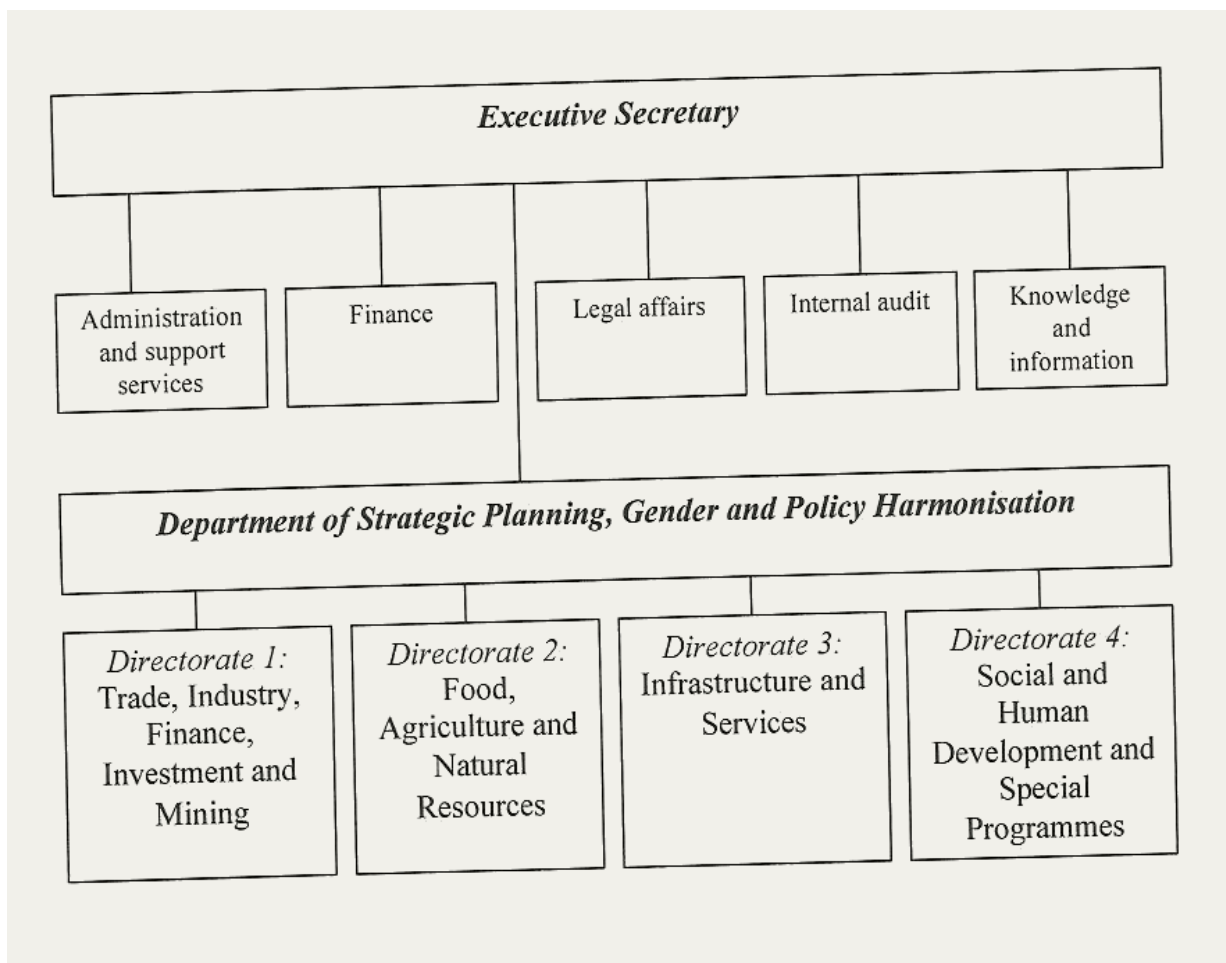
In March 2001, an extraordinary SADC Summit approved far-reaching changes to the SADC institutional framework. Most of the institutional reforms revolve around the changing role and functions of the Secretariat. Jan Isaksen and Elling Tjønneland assert that with regards to the Secretariat: "... the reforms intend to give it the power and authority to shape the form and content of the regional programme and be more effective in implementing it. The institutional reforms are also intended to ensure a more cost efficient and cheaper regional organisation." (2001:10). SADC also seek to strengthen the Secretariat (see figure 1) that the level of competence throughout the region is harmonised.

To achieve the above objectives, The SADC Secretariat shall, *inter alia*:

- ❖ "Be responsible for strategic planning and management;
- ❖ implement decisions of the governing structures, including the Organ;
- ❖ co-ordinate and harmonise policies and strategies of member states;
- ❖ monitor and evaluate the implantation of regional policies and programmes;
- ❖ ensure gender mainstreaming in all programmes and projects;

- ❖ mobilise resources and co-ordinate programmes and projects with donors and co-operating partners; and
- ❖ do research on community building and the integration process.” (Isaksen and Tjønneland, 2001:10).

Figure 1: The structure of the new SADC Secretariat



The above reforms reflect the need to strengthen the capacity of the Secretariat, which will assist it in performing its regional developmental function²⁶⁸. The reform of the Secretariat will also assist the organisation in moving from an inter-state organisation, to a body embracing supranationalism. This would entail, for instance, that at a national level directors are chosen throughout the region to run the projects of the organisation. This is contrary to past experiences when even junior officials ran the programs of the organisation. This proposed strengthening of the SADC structures bears testimony that the decentralisation system was not effective. Consequently, SADC/C was poorly co-ordinated, had poor communication structures and subsequently poor performance.

SADC, like its predecessor, allocated sectoral co-ordinating units according to countries' national interests and competencies²⁶⁹. This continuity, Jan Isaksen argues, was prompted by the contention that: "... the SCUs created a SADC presence in member countries."²⁷⁰ (2003:202). In 1997, the sectoral co-ordinating units were revised²⁷¹. The revision of these sectoral co-ordinating units stemmed from the fact that the: "... the SCU-model was based on the perceived need to focus energies and to

²⁶⁸ Willem Goeiemann points out that: "The capacity at the SADC Secretariat is being strengthened, both financially and with the appropriate staff. We are still in the process of recruiting permanent staff. The process will be completed by the end of the year. In the meantime we are making use of staff seconded from member states, as well as technical advisors funded by donors (Personal Communication, 9th February, 2006).

²⁶⁹ Gina van Schalwyk, writing about the sectoral co-ordinating units notes that: "By 1990 a moratorium was placed on the creation of new sectors... The moratorium was temporarily lifted when South Africa and Mauritius joined in 1994 and 1995, respectively." (2003:188-89).

²⁷⁰ SADC at formation retained the sectoral co-ordinating units because: "... the political aim of strengthening commitment towards the body by creating a feeling of ownership of SADC and its programme of action in member states." (van Schalkwyk, 2003:189).

²⁷¹ Margaret Lee argues that: "Although SADC documents indicate that the sectoral approach is being replaced by the directorates, in reality it appears that the sectoral approach is merely being reformed, with activities centralised under the SADC Secretariat." (2003:55).

increase coordination across sectors.”²⁷² (ibid.). Attempts to co-ordinate regional co-operation and integration, is in line with new approaches to development, which sees co-ordination and policy convergence as essential to increase regionness and interdependence.

Five clusters, instead of the current 21 sectors that were spread throughout the 14 member states, were approved (see appendix 4) these are trade: industry, finance and investment; infrastructure and services; food, agriculture and natural resources; social and human development and special programmes (see addendum 4) Directorates corresponding to the core clusters have been established at the SADC secretariat in Gabarone (see appendix 4). The directorate on Trade, Industry, Finance, Investment and Mining, was launched in March 2001. By September 2002, three of the four Directorates have been established.

The Infrastructure and Services Directorate was to be launched in December 2002. It replaced the sectoral co-ordinating units on trade and industry (Tanzania), finance and investment (South Africa), and mining (Zambia). The transformation of sectoral co-ordinating units into directorates has had some problems. In some instances, SADC experienced practical problems with the redeployment of SCUs to the headquarters, for instance, in marine fisheries. Jan Isaksen notes that: “Namibia, which has co-ordinated this sector, has noted that wholesale closure of a Marine Fisheries Unit would leave out important operational aspects.” (2002:11).

National committees in member states would provide input into the directorates. Willem Goeiemann points out that: “The SADC National Committees were established and launched in all the 14 member states of SADC, since 2001 and the process have now been completed. The purpose of the SNCs is to ensure that national interest and the regional institutions take on board concerns. They are supposed to meet before the main organs of SADC meet to deliberate and scrutinize the various Agendas.

²⁷² Gina van Schalwyk maintains that: “... until 1995... of the 470 projects under the SCUs, only 22% by number and 12% by value were truly regional in character.” (ibid.).

Before the Directorates meet, the Agenda and Documents are sent to the SNCs for discussion and inputs.²⁷³ A committee of ministers would oversee them, with powers to implement projects without reference to the full Council of Ministers (The Namibian, 5 December, 2000)²⁷⁴. Yet, the consensus model of deliberations is still followed by SADC, ensuring that it remains a traditional inter-governmental organisation, as opposed to a supranational entity. In this trajectory, the SADC Secretariat has little autonomy as a policy body.

This contradicts Andrew Ndshishi views that the reform of SADC is geared towards strengthening the Secretariat in the execution of their duties, and to use SADC: "... as a pillar towards building the African Union."²⁷⁵ With a view to strengthen pillar towards building the African Union, SADC has signed protocols with African regional organisation such as ECOWAS and COMESA. The intention of these protocols is to exchange information on intra-block building and co-operation (Daily News, 3 March 1998). SADC also engages actors beyond the continent in its strive to achieve the twin processes of developmental integration and the attraction of foreign direct investment. A director, selected on merit by all member countries, will run each cluster identified above. Ndshishi acknowledges that this turn of events represent a 'turn around' from previous selection process that was based on political connections.

By and large, however, there are overlaps between SADCC and SADC. However, what makes SADC the ideal vehicle to drive forward a process of developmental regionalism relates to its policies, new structures and activities resulting from it. Indeed, SADC is evolving into a site of trans-regional governance²⁷⁶. These include, *inter alia*, the 1992 Treaty, which provides both the

²⁷³ Personal Communication, Willem Goeiemann, 9th February, 2006.

²⁷⁴ Indeed, as Andrew Ndshishi points out, these programmes will run for 5 years and will only be reviewed every third year. Personal Communication, Mr. Andrew Ndshishi, 6th June 2001.

²⁷⁵ Personal Communication, Mr. Andrew Ndshishi, 6th June 2001.

²⁷⁶ Trans-regional is here defined as interaction across national boundaries, by ostensibly state-actors.

legal and normative framework of the institution. Hitherto, SADC has institutionalised mechanisms for disaster management and preparedness such as the Early Warning Systems on agriculture, drought and food security²⁷⁷. In addition, several Protocols including those on shared watercourse systems, education and training, and mining, several Draft Protocols including those in the area of trade²⁷⁸ and combating illicit cross-border drug trafficking; and inter-governmental Memorandum of Understanding establishing SAPP, which is to guide the development and operation of a region-wide energy grid, has been institutionalised.

Furthermore, SADC has established a Charter for the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa; and a Declaration by the Heads of State and Government on Gender and Development. Other Protocols, notably on the contentious issue of ‘the free movement of persons’ in SADC, are planned²⁷⁹. The latter protocol will be of special importance to the programme of developmental regionalism we are investigating here, for it will impact more deeply on state sovereignty and the human rights of migrants. It will also provide for a normative framework in respect of the rights of citizens and migrants and the obligations of member states in respect of those rights.

The July 1996 establishment of the SADC Parliamentary Forum in Windhoek provides yet another important indicator why SADC is a potential vehicle for developmental regionalism. This forum, which comprises three parliamentarians from each of the thirteen SADC members, has both normative and developmental objectives. The former include the promotion and consolidation of parliamentary democracy, through electoral observation, as well as safeguarding human and people’s rights. The latter include, *inter alia*,

²⁷⁷ Significant about the establishment of these institutions is that: “In the midst of natural disasters, institutional arrangements have emerged that leave the divisive nature of state sovereignty at the margin, demanding instead its shared form in the hands of sub-regional structures.” (Ngoma, 2003:20).

²⁷⁸ SADC member states are meant to establish a free trade area by 2008. SADC’s Amendment Protocol on Trade, which came into force on 7 August 2000, seeks to create a customs union by 2012.

²⁷⁹ This protocol, which sought “... to enable citizens to seek to cooperate across national boundaries...” (SADC, 1996b), is yet to be signed.

promoting linkages between democracy and human development in SADC, working in support of regional co-operation and integration and harmonizing legislation in crucial areas such as cross-border movement, passport and border control, trade, crime prevention, import/export regulations and investment (SADC, 1996a)²⁸⁰.

The SADC Electoral Commission Forum, established in 1997, involves itself in norm and policy setting with a view towards making elections more transparent and free. The Commission observes, rather than 'monitors', elections in SADC countries. The expressed purpose of such observation is to ensure the overall integrity and fairness of the process. The Forum has also been instrumental in adopting and refining electoral norms in SADC. The Forum through its work provides the impulses upon which a region-wide public debate about the direction of SADC should be based.

Finally, SADC has also signed a Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation, in Blantyre, Malawi, on 14 August 2001²⁸¹. The significance of this Protocol is that in addition to state security, it also covers critical elements of human security. More specifically, protocols that focuses directly on human security are: "...illicit drug trafficking; the control on fire arms, ammunition and other related materials; mutual legal assistance in criminal matters; shared watercourse systems; tribunals; and politics, defence and security co-operation." (Ngoma, 2003:22). The attraction of foreign investment is of particular importance to the process of deepening integration in SADC.

The stated objective of attracting foreign investment as opposed to relying on donor funding, also signified a break with the past.

²⁸⁰ For Naison Ngoma, the establishment of this Forum suggests: "... a move away from state sovereignty to sub-regional sovereignty; thereby showing that socio-political and security issues are better established in a collaborative arrangement." (2003:20). This also indicates movement towards higher levels of regionness.

²⁸¹ As yet, this protocol has not entered into force.

4.3.3 Attracting foreign direct investment rather than donor aid

One of the principles of the 1992 treaty was the undertaking by SADC governments to work together more closely in order to mobilise investment capital. The SADC Protocol on Trade, which states that the implementation of the protocol should, reinforced this objective: "... contribute towards the improvement of the climate for domestic, cross-border and foreign investment." (SADC, 1996:)²⁸². Towards this end, most SADC countries have been easing barriers for investors in the SADC region. To illustrate, South Africa has signed 43 bilateral investment treaties, Mauritius, Zambia and Zimbabwe have signed 28, 18 and 11 respectively (UNCTAD, 1999)²⁸³.

In addition, most of the SADC countries are today members of international institutions and have ratified agreements that regulate FDI. All SADC countries are members of MIGA, a World Bank institution between 1988 and 1994 (UNCTAD, 1999). For John Dahl: "The ratification of multilateral agreements must be... understood in the context of the implementation of an economic policy geared to the convergence of economic integration, not only within Southern Africa, but more notably, into the world economy." (2002:63). To deepen developmental regionalism in southern African, would require the convergence of policies in the region. More importantly, it requires that SADC itself take steps to ensure that member states contribute to the financial soundness of the organisation.

²⁸² This was re-affirmed by Mr. Michael McDonald who points out that for SADC to attract FDI, it needs to have sound financial institutions (Personal Communication, 11 October 2002).

²⁸³ Bilateral investment treaties are normally signed to safeguard the rights of investors. Ironically, South Africa who has signed the most bilateral investment treaties has yet to introduce a special law for FDI (UNCTAD, 1999). What is critical to note, is that most SADC countries have signed bilateral investment treaties with developed nations- 46 as opposed to the 29 with the developing world (Ibid, p48). South Africa has signed 10- the most- such treaties with the developed world.

The Council of Ministers of SADC decided in 2002 that it would review the financial situation of the organisation every six months. The council also approved a new formula for membership contributions, which will be applied from 2003/4 budget year. The formula is based on GDP in such a way that each country contributes a fraction of the total SADC budget that is equal to its fraction of the total of the SADC countries' GDP. The aim with these developments is to achieve greater financial independence and greater capacity for prudent utilisation of funds.

At a Mini Donors Conference 2002, SADC and its International Co-operating Partners attempted to forged consensus on: "... key issues and approaches that will facilitate and expedite the SADC restructuring process so as to strengthen the SADC Secretariat and other SADC institutions to play a more effective and catalytic role in promoting overall development of the region in line with the broader goal of creating an integrated economic community in Southern Africa. Noteworthy about the conference was that it was: "... the first time donors have offered support to SADC as a group." (Isaksen and Tjønneland, 2002:54). This reinforces the notion that the regional should collectively be promoted as a viable investment destination.

However, the SADC Declaration states that it would continue to rely on foreign assistance²⁸⁴. In the 1990s, the majority of SADC states had experienced a remarkably high flow of aid as a percentage of the GNP- in particular Malawi, Mozambique and Tanzania (World Bank, 2002). The figures below show that from 1990 to 1998, there has been a remarkable decline in aid dependence in the SADC region. The most notable contribution towards this state of affairs is a result of the growth of aid fatigue in donor countries. While it is assumed that SADC will continue to rely on aid for the foreseeable future, efforts are underway to reduce its dependence on aid.

²⁸⁴ The consequences of relying on foreign aid are that foreign donors continue to influence policies. Resultantly, regional organisations remain distant from the ordinary people. In the final analysis: "Region-building is seen as the business of states where civil society plays no direct part: for states, the practical commitment to regional integration can, at will, be either turned up or down." (Bischoff, 2000:3).

With a view to reduce its reliance on donor aid, and instead to attract foreign investment, SADC has made significant progress²⁸⁵. To illustrate, in 2000, out of the US\$ 11 billion FDI that flowed into Africa, almost US\$ 4 billion FDI flowed to SADC²⁸⁶. This represents approximately 36% of the African total. During the same period, Angola accounted for over 45% of the total SADC FDI inflows, whereas South Africa accounted for over 22% of the SADC Total (see table below) (Hartzenberg, 2002). SADC are also intensifying efforts to lure FDI to the region. Maxi Scoeman cautions that: “The competition for FDI could have an indirect, negative effect on the development of regional civil society... in turn inhibiting or harming the growth of a regional sense of identity and unity with potential spillover effects in the societal and political spheres.” (2001:145)²⁸⁷. What is needed, therefore, is a collective policy framework to pre-empt this problem.

Reflecting this need for a collective policy position, SADC signed an agreement worth US\$ 18million with USAID²⁸⁸, in July 2000. This aid package is aimed at enhancing regional market integration, the management of agriculture and natural resources, and the promotion of democracy (The Namibian, July 16, 2000). A similar agreement was signed between SADC and the EU. Under this agreement the EU will provide SADC with 7,6 million

²⁸⁵ Pregay Ramsamy points out that: “Between 1996-1999 actual investments were about \$4.3 billion. During the same period total investment intentions were \$8.9 billion.” (in Clapham et al, 2001:37).

²⁸⁶ A SADC documents states that in the early 1990s, the region attracted \$691 million, but since 1995 SADC attracted an average of \$3061 million (1995-1998). Individual SADC countries also performed well in terms of attracting FDI. In the second half of the 1990s, Angola, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia, were ranked among the top 10 recipients of FDI in Sub-Saharan Africa (Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan, 2003).

²⁸⁷ The closure of the Volvo and Hyundai plants in Gabarone, Botswana, was in no small measure due to the pressure from: “... motor manufacturers and trade unions in South Africa seeking to protect the country’s status as the hub of the motor industry...” (Simon, 2003:77).

²⁸⁸ The significance of this agreement is that an amount of US\$ 360,000 will be spend on supporting democracy-related activities of civil society associations in the SADC region. On a related issue, USAID views SADC as a major trading partner and a potential engine of growth for the continent. (The Namibian, April 19, 2000).

Euro for an expanded multi-sectoral approach to fight HIV/AIDS (The Namibian, November 29, 2000). Moreover, the EU has committed itself to assist SADC in its efforts to invest in new forms of production. The 1,95 billion Euros are intended to help promote investment and trade partnerships and to strengthen regional co-operation and integration in the mining sector (The Namibian, August 18, 2000)²⁸⁹. Yet, SADC are not only attempting to secure FDI from beyond the region.

Cross-border investment also constitutes a relative important part of FDI for the SADC region. Mauritius, South Africa and Zimbabwe are the main sources of cross-border investment into other SADC countries. Currently, intra-regional investment in the SADC region is concentrated in the following sectors: Agriculture and Fisheries, Finance, Manufacturing, Mining Retail, Telecommunications, Tourism, and Transport. The main avenues for FDI in SADC are private-public provision of infrastructural services²⁹⁰ (Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan, 2003). While FDI from beyond the region is critical for regional integration in SADC, investment among regional countries is also critical. Indeed, economic and political co-operation should be seen as an attempt to create a favourable economic and political environment in the form of an expanded market. New regionalism studies and encourages this process. South African investment in the region could also be seen as an attempt to create a favourable economic and political environment in the form of an expanded market²⁹¹.

²⁸⁹ SADC and the EU also concluded an agreement that is geared towards the promotion of investment in sectors such as agriculture, building, light engineering and tourism, over the next five years. The significance of the agreement is that South Africa will contribute 1,8 million Euros to the project that will cost 18 million Euros (The Namibian). This investment by South Africa shows local investors of the region is confident about the regions future.

²⁹⁰ The rehabilitation of infrastructure in SADC is already “paying dividends”. Trade between Malawi and Mozambique are set to increase by US\$ 900 million, as a result of the rehabilitation of rail link between the two countries. Investment in the Nacala Development Corridor will also be enhanced by the promotion of a wide range of businesses along the route. The businesses that will be promoted include, *inter alia*, agriculture, mining and tourism (The Namibian, October 3, 2000).

²⁹¹ However: “... questions have been raised as to how serious South African investors are committed to the SADC region beyond the need to have access to a

Table 3: FDI inflows into individual SADC economies, 1993-2000

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Angola	302	170	472	181	412	1114	2471	1800
Botswana	-287	-14	70	71	100	96	37	30
DRC	7	-2	1	2	1	1	1	1
Lesotho	15	19	275	286	269	262	136	223
Malawi	11	9	25	44	22	70	60	51
Mauritius	15	20	19	37	55	12	49	277
Mozambique	32	35	45	73	64	213	382	139
Namibia	55	98	153	129	84	77	111	124
Seychelles	4	15	40	30	54	55	60	56
South Africa	-17	334	1241	818	3817	561	1502	877
Swaziland	72	63	33	-62	-48	165	90	-37
Tanzania	20	50	150	149	158	172	183	193
Zambia	2	40	97	117	207	198	163	200
Zimbabwe	38	41	118	81	135	444	59	30
Total	269	878	2739	1956	5330	3320	5304	3964

Source: World Investment Report (various issues).

Economic development spurred on by increased FDI from South Africa could also potentially create a more equitable distribution of benefits. Not surprisingly, and in pursuance of this goal, South African retail chains also invest across the SADC region²⁹². To illustrate: “Since 1996 South African retail firms have gained significant presence in the Zambian retail sector²⁹³. Shoprite/Checkers, Dunns Clothing and Pep Stores, and a number

larger market in order to enhance profits.” (Lee, 2003:171).

²⁹² Michael McDonald notes that this type of investments may be detrimental to the region, since it impacts on the local producers in countries where these retail chains are found. He proposed that South African retail chains should instead form co-operatives with local producers in those countries (Personal Communication, 11 October, 2002).

²⁹³ These retail chains are to be found in all SADC countries from Angola to Zimbabwe. This suggests that: “... due account ... must be... accorded to the proclivities of South Africa capital to seek safer havens elsewhere or to compradorise the entire region in its selfish short term profitability calculations.” (Tsie, 2000:13-14).

of fast food chains such as Nandos, first opened branches in Lusaka, and followed with others in the Copperbelt region, Kabwe, Kitwe, Livingstone and Ndola.” Yet: “Concern arose about the sourcing practices of the South African companies- some fast food chains even source tomatoes and potatoes from South Africa- and the impact of local business on this sector.” (Hatzenburg, 2002:48-49). This asymmetry can be counter-acted by better access to South African markets for other SADC countries through lowered South African protection.

To counter the negative impact this may have on regional integration, there is a need to have pro-active states, which serve as an agent of economic restructuring in the region. Balefi Tsie asserts that: “Without selective coordinated state intervention at a regional level to guide (not necessarily control) investment flows, the possibilities of unbalanced and inequitable regional integration are very real.” (1996:86). SADC recognises this danger which has the potential to exacerbate regional tensions that may exist as a result of the active penetration of regional markets by South African firms²⁹⁴. Towards this end, SADC is currently drawing up a protocol on trade and investment (SADC, 2001). As regards investment, the protocol aims to streamline investment regulation within the region. NIPAs are seen as critical in promoting the attraction of more FDI into the region. Another issue that held back the organisation previously, that the reform of the organisation had addressed, relates to funding.

To further enhance its ability to generate funds for the SADC programme of action, member states will be compelled to make annual contributions to the organisation. The contributions of each member state will in future be determined by a formula that uses development indicators, such as population size, GDP per capita, and related indicators²⁹⁵. This, it is hoped, will enable the region

²⁹⁴ Another potential problem for deepening integration in southern Africa, relates to South Africa being the locus for FDI in the region. In this regard, Maxi Schoeman concludes that: “South Africa’s high level of industrialization and highly developed infrastructure (e.g. transport, communication, and financial services) may attract investment, reinforcing the historical underdevelopment of the region and thereby undermining regionalization attempts.” (2001:147).

²⁹⁵ Ndshishi, however, acknowledged that this process would need some ‘fine-tuning’ since such measurements will be detrimental to countries with small populations such

body to provide for the bulk of money needed to finance its operations. Moreover, to unlock the investment potential in the region, SADC has engaged in the development of SDIs.

These initiatives are partnerships between the private and public sectors in the region²⁹⁶. The ostensible aim is to rehabilitate transport and other infrastructure in the region. The most notable example in this regard is the Maputo Development Corridor. The Presidents of Mozambique and South Africa launched the MDC in May 1996²⁹⁷. To date the MDC has an investment portfolio with a total estimated value of US\$ 661million. What is instructive about the MDC and similar other initiatives²⁹⁸, is that these initiatives are driven by private capital. It suggests that non-state actors operating at multiple sites- both public and private- in setting the regional agenda, have joined states. This suggests that a dynamic synergy between states and non-state actors can be struck in southern Africa, which would allow them to mutually enable each other. SADC, unlike its predecessor, acknowledge that an inclusive regional order demands that state actors play a role in the process of regional integration.

Policy suggestions by SADC implies that states in the region recognise that sub-national and transnational non-state actors are proliferating and that they are re-shaping and re-defining the parameters and content of regionalism.

as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia (Personal Communication, 6th June, 2001).

²⁹⁶ A SADC document argues that: "... market forces should be allowed to play a greater role in regulating investment flows with minimum government controls." (1992c:26). A SADC document argues that: "... market forces should be allowed to play a greater role in regulating investment flows with minimum government controls." (1992c:26).

²⁹⁷ The process to launch the MDC began in August 1995, when the ministers of transport of Mozambique and South Africa met to set in motion a plan to establish a developmental axis between the port of Maputo and the industrial centre of South Africa (Gauteng) (Söderbaum and Taylor, 2001).

²⁹⁸ There are about 11 proposed SDIs in the SADC region. These spans from Angola to Zimbabwe, and from Namibia to Mozambique (Ramsamy, 2001).

4.3.4 Accommodation of non-state actors

One of the pillars that anchor SADC is premised on the assumption that the social welfare of the people of the region can only be promoted by the popular participation of ordinary citizens in region-building. Paul Bischoff postulates that to uplift the social welfare of the regions' people, SADC has to: "... accommodate civil society in putting on the regional agenda issues such as respect for human rights, the redress of gender inequality, the promotion of people-centred development and the fight against poverty and inequality in the region." (2002:286). The achievement of the afore-mentioned presupposed that inter-state integration be complemented by a people-centred approach to development. This prompted SADC leaders to formulate a more inclusive regional order that accommodates non-state actors.

The 1992 Treaty states that: "In pursuance of the objectives of this Treaty, SADC shall seek to involve fully, the peoples of the region and Non-governmental Organisations in the process of regional integration... SADC shall cooperate with, and support the initiatives of the peoples of the region and Non-governmental Organisations, contributing to the objectives of this Treaty in the areas of cooperation in order to foster closer relations among the communities, associations and peoples of the Region." (1992: 54). The above illustrates that SADC recognised that non-state actors have a role to play in the integration process. This approach, like new approaches to regionalism, suggests that regionalism is more comprehensive and dynamic and should be more than inter-state action.

Towards this end, significant progress has been made to involve non-state actors in the integration process. For Kato Lambrecht: "The most visible steps forward, albeit still insufficient, has been the involvement of civil society groupings and communities in shaping the environmental and gender agenda of the SADC." Moreover: "SADC institutions have made significant, though insufficient, efforts to consult workers' associations, NGOs,

businesses, and other interest groups on designing and implementing regional processes and projects.” (2001:31)²⁹⁹. Businesses have been viewed as particularly important in driving the process of regional integration forward³⁰⁰.

The need to enhance the involvement of the private sector in decision-making processes has been identified by the SADC member states’ political leadership. The Summit of Heads of Government of SADC in Blantyre, Malawi, 1997, endorsed recommendations calling for: “...fundamental reforms and meaningful involvement of the private sector in economic policy making and implementation.” (SADC, 2000:77). Indeed, business in the region is already playing a critical role in, amongst others, the building and rehabilitation of infrastructure, the promotion of the SADC region as an investment centre³⁰¹, and consequently job creation. These public-private partnerships are critical for the enhancement of developmental regionalism in the region.

Hansohm and Peterson (2001) note some regular consultations on economic issues between government and private sector in Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The drawback of this is that civil society involvement in regional economic capacity building is limited to business only. An inclusive and developmental regional order demands, however, the involvement of economic actors outside the purview of SADC’s institutional structures. The government of Botswana has notable and regular consultative meeting with the private sector in the form of the High Level Consultative Council (HLCC). The HLCC, an advisory body chaired by the President, is

²⁹⁹ Most notable about the lack of civil society involvement in the design of policies, was the recent restructuring of SADC, where not even the SADC-Council of NGOs were involve in that process (Personal Communication, Abie Dithlake, 25th January, 2006).

³⁰⁰ This suggests that a ‘new awareness’ recognised that: “...harnessing market forces for the attainment of SADC’s stated development objectives is the most appropriate.” (Tsie, 2000:11). This stance also breaks with the past in that it recognised- unlike the Lagos Plan of Action in 1980- the private sector as the driving force behind development. SADC documents, however, fail to recognise that actors outside SADC structures play a crucial role in promoting regional integration.

³⁰¹ A similar role is played by business in APEC.

a forum that allows private sector representation and participation in decision-making processes. To increase the sense of regionness, these consultations should be extended to include informal economic actors as well.

More recently, in March 2001, SADC governments and business, through the SADC Chamber of Commerce, met in Windhoek, Namibia, to discuss how these two bodies can mutually enable each- to exploit their respective comparative advantages- other to deepen the process of regional integration³⁰². More importantly, there seems to be a realisation in SADC, by both business and governments that regional disparities will only be eliminated through conscious intervention by governments, hence the introduction of a regional development fund³⁰³. There is also a nascent civil society interest in matters of regional integration at national levels as evidenced by transfrontier parks, transport corridors and negotiations on the Trade Protocol (Hansohm and Peterson; 2001).

SADC, because of its focus on business only, however, failed to recognise that regionalism takes place in several sectors and involves a variety of non-state actors. The trans-border activities from below lend new meaning and value to the region and the notion of regional communities. These trans-border activities bears testimony to the fact that regional organisations and regionalism are political constructs, defined by ordinary people, and as such lend new meaning to region and the notion of regional communities. As such, regions can be moulded to accommodate the marginalised and begin to address broad-based development. What is needed, therefore, is to recognise that regions are also re-defined by the people who are conscious of their transnational

³⁰² This line of thinking, Ndshishi explained, is underpinned by an acute awareness that: “social economic development and trade and investment...” are flip sides of the same coin. Governments gain by providing the regulatory framework that will allow business in the region to prosper, whereas business gain by helping to create jobs, in that ordinary people in the region will buy their products. It is towards this end that business in SADC is actively promoting the concept of a more geographically balanced pattern of investment. The different investment sectors in the region meet on a regular basis to work towards achieving the afore-mentioned goal.

³⁰³ Personal Communication, Mr. Andrew Ndshishi, 6th June 2001.

past and form a transnational community in doing so. The institutional set-up of SADC also makes provision for non-state actors to play a role

Article 23 of the Treaty states that SADC shall seek to involve fully, the peoples of the Region and nongovernmental organizations in the process of regional integration³⁰⁴. William Lindeke has charged that: “This emphasis creates a new role for business and non-governmental organizations within SADC...With this change, SADC moves away from purely statist orientation.” Moreover, “This initiative, though still limited, breaks new ground by trying to link SADC to civil society, as it is developing in the region’s democratic struggles.” (1996:64). Subsequent amendments to the Treaty in 2001, make reference to the role that non-state actors, such as civil society, the private sector, non-governmental organisations and workers could play in regional integration efforts. However, there is as yet, no formal recognition that actors outside the SADC structures, primarily engage in trans-border activities from below lend new meaning and value to the region and the notion of regional communities.

The inability to recognise that actors outside the SADC structures, are also engaged in trans-border activities from below, manifest itself further with developments taking place in southern Africa, which is consistent with the within and below perspective of new regionalism. Bertil Odén notes that: “... co-operation is taking place and organized by interests outside the government structure, supported by SADC. One example is the Southern African Power Pool, organized between public electricity companies and formalized in a SADC Protocol on this issue.” (1999:170-171). These reforms suggest that the institutional framework inherited from SADCC has been sufficiently changed to match the ambitions for heightened levels of integration and

³⁰⁴ In the case of NGOs, this co-operation is normally regulated by a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). The MOU is normally submitted by the relevant NGO, discussed by SADC and the NGO and if agreement is reached ratified by the two bodies (Personal Communication, Dr. Stephen Kokeria, 25th January, 2006).

accommodating non-state actors³⁰⁵. However, civil society in general still has problems establishing a durable relationship with SADC.

The SADC Treaty provides for the establishment of a SADC NGO Council, which was established in 1998. The Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between SADC and the SADC NGO Council was signed in December 2003³⁰⁶. The MOU between SADC and the SADC Council of NGOs entail the following:

- ❖ “In pursuance of the objectives of the SADC treaty and the desire by NGOs to contribute to regional integration and development, SADC and SADC-CNGO are committed to the principal goal, which is to contribute significantly to the improvement of the standard of living for the people of the SADC region through the participation of NGOs in a manner that will contribute to building a stable socio-economic and political environment in the SADC region. The following are the objectives of the MOU:
- ❖ The partnership shall be aimed at the broad goals of eradicating poverty and creating employment opportunities in the countries of the SADC region as espoused in the SADC treaty.”³⁰⁷

The current restructuring of SADC has made several attempts to formalise links and relationships with non-state actors, through the establishment of National committees in each member country, but also through the agreements with regional associations and attempts to involve non-state actors in areas such as the implementation of the trade protocol. Moreover, SADC documents fail to recognise that actors outside SADC structures play a crucial role in promoting regional integration. This has led Larry Swatuk

³⁰⁵ Yet, given the state-centric nature of SADC, one may argue, as does Cox (1981), that this recognition seeks to reinforce the legitimacy of prevailing power relations. Lesley Blaauw (2003) posits that a synergy between state and non-state actors can only be struck if there is recognition of the organic people-to-people transnational relations.

³⁰⁶ Personal Communication, Abie Dithlake, 25th January, 2006.

³⁰⁷ Personal Communication, Abie Dithlake, 25th January, 2006.

and Peter Vale to conclude that: “What remains problematic, however, are both the pace of policymaking and the ability to enforce those policies, once made.” (2001:41)³⁰⁸. Civil society, thus, must create the potential economic and social space to play an important role in determining the content and scope of regionalism in SADC.

The above demands recognising that: “States are not the only regionalisation actors, and markets, civil society- as well as external actors- are deeply involved in processes of regionalisation, including its political dimensions.” (Söderbaum and Taylor, 2003:11). Actors involved in trans-border activities lend new meaning to the notion of regions and regional communities.

In the final analysis: “... SADC can and should...make greater institutional space for regional, nonprofit NGOs. The SADC should encourage its epistemic community or network of professionals and individuals to have an input in the deliberations and diplomacy surrounding human and state security, conflict prevention and conflict resolution.” (2002:302). James Mittelman argues that in the case of SADC: “... the formal regional infrastructure to support civil society projects is weak.” (1998:860). This has compelled non-state actors to look ‘beyond the geometry of state-sovereignty’ for solutions to such problems as unemployment, poverty, resource scarcity, etc.

³⁰⁸ This suggests that: “SADC is allowing- often at the urging of donors- more participation of non-state actors and seems to have realised that only the incorporation of such interests will make SADC work.” (Hansohm and Peters-Berries, 2002:118).

Table 4. Regional Organisation in SADC

Organisation	Year formed	Major aims
The Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council (SATUCC)	March 1983	The primary aims of the council are to co-ordinate and strengthen trade unions in the region, in order to harmonise labour standards and promote workers' rights.
The SADC Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (SADC-CNGO)	1995	To, amongst others, promote an enabling environment for NGOs at national and regional levels; and to represent the interests of civil society in SADC institutions.
The Association of SADC Chambers of Commerce and Industry (ASCCI)	October 1999	To create, <i>inter alia</i> , a forum for dialogue, both with governments in the region via the SADC secretariat and with other regional institutions.
SADC Women in Business	May 2000	A network for disseminating information to business women in the region, <i>inter alia</i> on where to source cheaper materials, how to access training in business skills, and how to gain exposure to appropriate technologies.
The SADC Banking Association	July 1998	To introduce uniform norms and practices for banks across the region; and to co-ordinate bank-related crime prevention.
The Electoral Commission Forum of SADC Countries		Aimed at fostering co-operation among electoral commissions

		in the region, with a view to promoting a culture of democracy and free and fair elections.
The SADC Lawyers' Association	1998	Aimed at promoting the rule of law and human rights in member states; strengthening the legal profession in the region; and promoting regional co-operation on legal issues.
The Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Co-operation Organisation (SARPCCO)	1995	Promotes co-operation in combating cross-border crime in the region.

Associated Organisation of SADC

Source: The IGD guide to the Southern African Development Community. 2001. Johannesburg: Institute for Global Dialogue.

4.4 Conclusion

The downfall of apartheid and the end of the Cold War has resulted in the quest for the promotion of deeper regional co-operation and integration. This has led to calls for deeper institutionalisation in southern Africa. Specifically, the BLNS countries have argued that SACU is undemocratic and that they were industrially underdeveloped. South Africa, on the other hand, has pointed out that it was no longer willing to subsidise the BLNS countries and called for a new revenue-sharing formula. The democratisation of the organisation led to the establishment of an inclusive Secretariat, based in Windhoek, Namibia.

The revenue formula was also reformed, to include an economic component which caters for the economic of smaller member states. This is in line with new approaches to regionalism, which seek to ensure that members of a regional grouping develop collectively. However, doubts have been expressed on whether the reformulated revenue-sharing formula will lead to equitable regional development. Despite the changes to the revenue-sharing formula and the fact that the institutions of SACU have been democratised, the disposition of member states remains central to regional integration efforts. In other words, states remain the only actor in the regionalisation and regional integration process. This remains a crucial institutional deficit.

Nowhere does the institutional reform of SACU cater for the involvement of actors outside the institutional structure of the organisation. This suggests that there is as yet no realisation on the part of SACU that regional organisations and regions are social constructs, which can be moulded to address broad-based development. The non-involvement of non-state actors also neglects the fact that people in SACU share a common cultural and historical background built on migrant labour, which manifests itself in trans-border activities. These trans-border activities lend new meaning to regions and the notion of regional communities. In doing so, it contributes to regionness in SACU. What is needed, therefore, is to change the institutional structure of SACU

to make allowance for informal regionalism, which takes place spontaneously throughout the region. In such a way, SACU as an institution can build durable and sustainable regionalism. The early 1990s also saw the reform SADCC into SADC.

The reconfiguration of SADCC into SADC fuelled the perception that a new enthusiasm for regional integration as an essential strategy for the achievement of economic development was discernable. Developments in the SADC region have done much to heighten such expectations. SADC constituted itself as a legally binding treaty with powers to enforce compliance with decisions taken. It differs thus much from SADCC at the outset. However, it was recognised that the institutions of SADC remained weak, because national priorities enjoyed preference over regional concerns.

What compounded this problem was the fact that, whilst SADC is a legally binding treaty, member states still seems to focus on national as opposed to regional development. This is a direct consequence of the SADC/C's reliance on consensus in the realm of decision-making. The development integration approach adopted by SADC in 1992, posited that the organisation was committed to a comprehensive and multifaceted approach to regionalism. This approach, arguably, contributed to the success the organisation had in the domains of infrastructural development. SADC was also reasonably successful in securing donor funding for developmental projects. However, such funding did not secure the development of regional initiatives, but was rather used for national development purposes.

In addition to the above, the SADC Secretariat remained weak, as was pointed out by the review of the organisations' programmes in 1997. The involvement of non-state actors in the SADC Programme of Action also evolved considerably since the mid-1990s. Recent institutional reforms, suggested that SADC did not achieve all its objectives. It pointed to low levels of integration, weak institutional capacity, a reliance of donor aid, which was exacerbated by the inability to attract foreign direct investment and the non-involvement of sectors outside the organisations' institutional structure.

The question to pose is: How will SADC be able to heighten its levels of integration? It will be able to do the latter if it take cognisance of the fact that new approaches to regionalism is a comprehensive and multifaceted process that takes place on various levels and involve both state and non-state actors. Heightening levels of integration presupposes the 'marriage' of formal and informal processes of integration. The replacement of the sectoral co-ordinating units by directorates, points to previous institutional inefficiency. It also must be viewed as an attempt by SADC to address the lack of synergy between national and regional concerns. Strengthen the institutional structure of the organisation, would ensure that regional institutions become durable and sustainable. The new SADC structure is, thus, a major attempt to address the weaknesses, which have characterised SADC institutions since the establishment of the Community in 1992.

To achieve the objectives of region-wide GDP growth of 7 per cent (Bischoff, 2004), SADC as an institution will have to attract considerable foreign direct investment. The organisation also intends to finance some of operations of SADC itself. This does not mean that the organisation will not need foreign aid. Foreign aid will continue to play a significant role in, especially, the development of social infrastructure, such as in the transport and communication sectors.

SADC had made a concerted effort to involve the private sector in regional development, through public-private partnerships. This allows us to conclude, like Fredrik Söderbaum does that: "States-led regionalism in Southern Africa has had some positive impact on economic development but the problem is that up until now it has largely lived a life of its own as politically elite projects separated from market demands and civil society." (2001:111)³⁰⁹. There is, however, as yet, no recognition that societal actors outside of its institutions could play a decisive role in deepening

³⁰⁹ Fredrik Söderbaum asserts that: "During the last decade a new political economy of development regionalism has emerged whereby the role of political authority has been downplayed in favour of a strategy that seeks to integrate the market and civil society in the process." (2001:111). This is essential for the success of new approaches to regionalism.

regionalism and increasing regionness. As yet, reconstructed organisations of the sub-continent have not been sufficiently responsive to bottom-up regionalism. What is needed, therefore, is for civil society actors to deliberately enhance their capacity for engaging regional bodies. At a formal level, this means strengthening their cross-border collaboration capacities. To achieve this, civil society must also create the potential economic and social space to play an important role in determining the content and scope of regionalism in SADC.

Chapter 5

Transcending State-Centric Regionalism in Southern Africa?: Reflections and Prospects³¹⁰

5.1 Introduction

In the 1990s, the character and functions of regions have experienced a major transformation. Similarly, the process of uneven globalisation, which excludes some sectors of societies from the global production system, has opened-up political space in which civil society activities could be expanded. For Cox, the potentially emancipatory or transformative potential of civil society is to be located in the 'bottom-up' approach, which he defines as, the: "... realm in which those who are disadvantaged by globalization of the world economy can mount their protest and seek alternatives." (1999:10). Such alternatives should also involve re-conceptualising the region and the notion of regional community in southern Africa. The argument here is that social and political forces that transcend the state, also contribute to an expanded conception of regions and the notion of regionalism in southern Africa.

The implications of the above for southern Africans are that they are now being granted the opportunity to become agents in the regional integration process. To achieve this, demands that national civil societies should increasingly become integrated into a broader regional civil society. In this regard, Fredrik Söderbaum has noted that in southern Africa: "While the nongovernmental

³¹⁰ An earlier draft of this chapter was submitted to the Centre for Civil Society (CCS), Natal University, as a research report. The financial assistance of the CCS towards the field research for this chapter is hereby acknowledged. Aswin Desai and Hermien Kotze of the CCS, also deserves a word of thanks for their invaluable comments and suggestions.

community is both diverse and divisive... in the region there seems to be an emerging consensus around the inherent value of community-based development, at state, substate and nonstate levels.” (2001:39)³¹¹. Peter Vale expresses pessimism about the ability of civil society in southern Africa to establish this type of regional linkages, ostensibly because: “... there is in the region, not a strong tradition of volunteerism...”³¹². He does, however, see opportunities for civil society to: “... think outside of the statist frame... by organising around issues such as water.”³¹³

The opportunity to think outside of the statist frame in southern Africa is borne out of the fact that re-constructed organisations of the sub-continent have become more relevant and responsive to bottom-up regionalism. This implies that the rise of new approaches to the study of regionalism in the mid-1980s, has not only led to increased institutional development within regional organisations, but regionalism: “... also developed as an outcome of strategies individually pursued by non-state actors.” (Bach, 2003:21)³¹⁴. This means that multiple interpretations of community do exist in southern Africa. In the case of southern Africa, this means that non-state actors also contribute to the definition and organisation of social space and political community taking place in the region. As such, they contribute to the constitution of a social reality that gives meaning to the notion of region and regional community.

The above implies the need to rethink the relationship between governmental and non-governmental actors along much more fundamental lines in southern Africa. More critically it exhorts us

³¹¹ Larry Swatuk and Peter Vale point out that: “At first these projects were government-initiated, but later NGOs as well as communities themselves came to be involved in all stages and at all levels of the projects.” (2001:40). New approaches to the study of regionalism, contends that there is a natural relationship between state-led and non-state-led regionalisation processes (Mittelman, 1999).

³¹² Peter Vale, Personal Communication, 20/11/2002.

³¹³ Peter Vale, personal Communication, 20/11/2002.

³¹⁴ Robert Cox postulates that: “... the issue for the future structure of world order had become universal globalization from above versus alternative paths of economic, social and cultural development...” (2001:225).

to consider the agency of non-state actors and transnational forces. The non-statist emphasis requires a re-interpretation and expanded form of regionalism in southern Africa, which embraces non-state actors as well. In this regard, Martin Bøås asserts that: "... regions are not given units. They are always in the making; they are constructed, de-constructed and re-constructed through social practice and discourse, not only states but also non-state actors participate in the process of constructing the region and giving it specific content." (2003:34). New approaches to the study of regionalism, acknowledge the importance of non-state actors in the formation and re-formation of regions.

New approaches to the study of regionalism, allows us to think about regions and regional community and solutions to regional issues, beyond the territorial state. The transformative potential of new approaches to regionalism lies in its links to civil society. James Mittelman postulates that: "...the cross-border flows that are truly bottom-up (ethnic group transactions that transcend international borders, migratory movements, trading on the parallel market, etc) constitute a significant bottom-up pressure for regionalism." (1999:197)³¹⁵. Trans-border activities of the people of southern Africa, which predates colonialism, lend new meaning and value to the region and notions of regional communities and, in doing so, provide or make allowance for the conception of regionalism, which transcends state-centrism. New regionalism incorporates and explains these empirical phenomena.

For Björn Hettne: "The implication is... that not only economic, but also social and cultural networks are developing more quickly than the formal political co-operation at the regional level." (1999a:10). The result was that the political and social space in which civil society could develop was expanded (Cox, 1999). The shared history and culture of the people of southern Africa, already provides the impulses around which these cultural networks could be developed regionally. This allows southern Africans the opportunity to establish a regional system that transcends state-centric notions of regionalism. New approaches to the study of

³¹⁵ Andrew Hurrell posits that this will result in: "... increasing flows of people, the development of multiple channels and complex social networks by which ideas, political attitudes and ways of thinking spread from one area to another..." (1995:334).

regionalism also recognise the specific historical experience of a particular space. This inherent regionness presupposes that regions are also re-defined by “the people” who are conscious of their transnational past and form a transnational community in doing so.

Okechukwu Iheduru notes that the new regionalism approach: “... invites us to explore ‘societies’ as both agents and consequences of global transformation behind the global resurgence of regionalism.” (2003:47). This suggests that in the new regionalism framework, non-state actors have a critical role to play in the building of regionness³¹⁶. Robert Cox (1994) argues that in the aftermath of the Cold War, opportunities have opened-up for democratisation and the radical transformation of the present power systems and structures. International norms are, therefore, reconstituting the relationship between state and civil society in the modern global economy (Cortell and Davis, 2000)³¹⁷. For civil society, the implications are that local struggles are increasingly being internationalised, specifically around issue-networks.

In the context of region-building in southern Africa, this accords civil societies the opportunity to lend new meaning to the region and the concept of regional communities. It also implies that individuals are accorded the opportunity to interact with the wider region and the rest of the world, as a means for best advancement of economic and political goals. Blaauw and Bischoff (2001) contend that in the case of Southern Africa, this makes it possible for the insertion of regional communities. The authors propose that what is best for Southern Africa is to develop: “A regional policy framework to address the consequences of these trends of reduced loyalty region-wide, [which] includes refocusing on a

³¹⁶ In the case of southern Africa, it will be contended here, this has immediate consequences for the establishment of a region-wide democracy, regionness and regional politics. In the context of southern African regional integration, it provides non-state actors with a ‘window of opportunity’ to play a more decisive role in deciding on the content and scope of regional integration and organisation.

³¹⁷ Robert Cox cautions that globalisation may also have contributed to: “... the decomposition of civil society. This takes the form of both a fragmentation of social forces and of a growing gap between the base of society and political leadership.” (1996:27). New approaches to regionalism, posit that relations within civil society and between civil society and the state are sometimes incompatible (McClellan, 1999, 2001).

commitment to democracy, development, building loyalty in the context of regional cooperation...” (2001:56). This is a task to be performed by both state and non-state actors.

Historically in southern Africa, however, bottom-up, market-induced and society induced processes of regionalisation have been neglected in the past. As such, integration in the region has not catalogued non-state actor integration. Due to the factors mentioned above, opportunities have opened-up for democratisation and radical transformation, which may see civil societies in the region playing a more positive role in regional relations. This would entail re-configuring the definition of southern Africa, to make allowance for such insights. In socially re-constructing the southern African region, regional analysis should focus on the role of both state and non-state actors.

The opportunities which allow us to socially re-construct southern Africa Fredrik Söderbaum notes were prompted by: “... the post-apartheid, post-Cold War transformations, the shift in development ideology, the history and culture of regional relations, the small size of national civil societies, and a “need” to transcend the structure and boundaries of individual nation-states and, not least, to learn and share information and knowledge and simply to cooperate and network.” (2001:112). The restructuring of SADC in particular has also opened-up new opportunities for non-state actors in shaping policies of the organisation. This creates the opportunity for co-operation and inclusion, which in turn could strengthen regionness. What is needed is to realise that regionalism in southern Africa is also re-defined by ‘the people’ who are conscious of their transnational past and form a transnational community in doing so.

This chapter seeks to probe whether new patterns of interaction, which transcends conventional state-centric notions of regionalism, have begun to emerge in the region. This with a view to: “... facilitate new and positive understandings of, and possibilities for, Southern Africa’s regional relations in the twentyfirst century.” (Swatuk and Vale, 2001:48). Re-conceptualising regionalism in southern Africa means we should move beyond the historical definition of regionalism as a statist project. The conception of civil society remains a contested,

diverse and interesting one. It is to the theoretical definition of civil society that we now turn.

5.2 Civil Society and New Regionalism: Theoretical Context

The primary unit of analysis in international relations theory has historically been the state. Until recently, therefore, the conceptual unity of the state has remained intact. However, international economic relations theorists have for the last two decades challenged the notion of the state as the primary unit of analysis in international relations. Interdependence theorists, Structuralists and Transactionalists, have all studied the role to be played by non-state actors in international relations, albeit from different points of departure. For Fred Halliday, Interdependence Theorists and Transactionalism assert: "... the role of non-state actors... whereas Structuralism asserts: "... the primacy of global systems and structures over specific actors, state or non-state." (1987:215). Structuralism, thus, asserts that actors, state or non-state, can only play a particular role within the confines of regulatory framework provided by the prevailing paradigm of the global system. These non-state actors are henceforth referred to as civil society.

State and society, it will be contended here, cannot be perceived as mutually exclusive entities, simply because they are part of the same historical process. Maxine Reitzes reminds us that: "The state... is a necessary and simultaneous condition of, and for, civil society." (1994:96)³¹⁸. The mutually reinforcing role of these two entities, is best seen as being embedded in a new developmental social contract. By and large, therefore, civil society and the state are organically linked. This implies the need to rethink the relationship between state and non-state actors along much more fundamental lines in southern Africa. More critically, it exhorts us to consider the agency of non-state actors and transnational forces.

³¹⁸ James Mittelman contends that: "The state-civil society complex varies dramatically from one context to another, and there are different kinds of civil society. In some cases, the state monopolises resources, but there are other permutations." (1998:855). New approaches to the study of regionalism also recognise the specific historical experience of a particular space.

In the context of southern Africa regionalism, this calls for recognition that the conception of regions and the practice regionalism are not only state-centric projects. The conception of regions and regionalism needs to recognise that other actors also participate in the construction of regions. A broader definition of regions and regionalism, which such a re-conceptualisation would entail, presupposes an inclusive typology of both state-based and society-based actors. The emergence of the concept civil society can be traced back to the period when modern ideas of democracy were beginning to take root.

Hobbes and Locke, two of the founding fathers of the concept civil society, contend that if the state arises from civil society, then the former will have to militate against the conflict between and among individuals: sociological function (Reitzes, 1994). There is, however, a limit to state sovereignty that will ensure the preservation of individual freedoms derived from natural law. Essentially the regulation of natural rights will enable civil society to prosper, they argue. Hobbes and Locke propose that the boundary between state and civil society be regulated by a social contract (*ibid.*). In southern Africa, this social contract would need to be predicated upon the establishment of a mutually enabling environment for state and civil society actors, with a view to deepen the integration process and a sense of regionness.

Hegel, on the other hand, introduces an economic dimension to the above sociological conception of civil society. For Hegel civil society arrangements are constitutive of a plurality of economic, ethical and social activities, separate from the state. Hegel views civil society as a product of historical processes. Various institutions, corporations and estates, constitute civil society. Implicitly therefore Hegel also perceives civil society and the state to be mutually exclusive. The perpetual conflict between and among various strata of civil society creates destructive conflict, which can only be militated against by a strong state (cited in Keane, 1998). As such, the state exists to intervene in the activities of civil society. New approaches to the study of regionalism, however, view both formal, inter-state led process and informal regional efforts, as collectively contributing to deeper integration and a sense of regionness.

To Antonio Gramsci³¹⁹ (1971) the arena of conflict is not the state, but civil society. The control of the dominant class over society can only be invalidated by the development of a counter-hegemonic association with alternative norms. Gramsci's definition, one amongst many, juxtaposes civil society with the state, whilst at the same time civil society is seen as adjunct to the state. Civil society contests state power, and similarly legitimises state power in society. New approaches to regionalism, posit that relations within civil society and between civil society and the state are sometimes incompatible. But the actions of civil society actors in southern Africa, also at times complement the capacity of states in delivering essential services to citizens, particularly in cases where the state has become weak due to SAPs.

Noberto Bobbio (1998) charges that in Gramscian thought, the distinction between state and civil society should not necessarily be located in the distinction between economics and politics. Bobbio asserts that Gramsci views civil society as comprising all "ideological-cultural relations". He transcends the conventional conception of civil society that includes only organised interests, by including churches, the family, the media and schools that all nurture public opinion. This is in tandem with the new approaches to regionalism, which posits that new regional actors can also constitute a trans-boundary civil society in southern Africa.

Because the actions of these actors compels us to re-conceptualise regionalism, they remind us that the region is not only made up of institutions which promote co-operation, but also

³¹⁹ Gramsci introduced the notion of corporate consciousness in his discussion on civil society. Corporate consciousness results in a particular group just protecting their own interest. This statement is of particular significance in the case of South Africa. Dale McKinley argues that: "Despite shows of worker power and militant statements directed against the consequences of South African capitalism, a larger portion of the leadership of COSATU (and its affiliates) are in danger of becoming cheerleaders of the "capitalism with a human face" club. More frequent arguments about the "hegemony of capitalism", new global realities" and the need for social compact politics (witness COSATU's recent alliance with the doyen of corporatist unionism- the Australian Congress of Trade Unions) indicate a trajectory in which unions must fundamentally alter their strategic vision in order to remain "relevant" (Mail and Guardian, May 26 to June 1, 2000). While it is important to establish linkages between trade unions of the North, this type of alliances have profound implications for countering the neo-liberal strategy being pursued by the South African government.

of non-state actors which contribute to the formation of a regional identity that lies beyond the geometry of state boundaries. In this trajectory, the conception of regionalism consists of a complex set of inter-locking institutions, norms and values, formal and informal, governmental and non-governmental that serves to make the rules for the regional order.

Theorists such as Noberto Bobbio (1988, 1989), Laclau and Mouffe (1985), and Jessop (1990), to name but a few, have shown renewed interests in the concept civil society. This interest was fuelled by the downfall of Communism in Eastern Europe. Prior to the downfall of Communism in Eastern Europe, state action has caused the suppression of civic activities in those countries, and has resulted in the domination of society by the state. Iris Young suggests that the suppression of civic activities has led to the conclusion that: "...social change should be made by deepening civil society..." (1994:73).

Robert Cox echoes this postulate by asserting that: "... civil society has become the comprehensive term for various ways in which people express collective wills independently of (and often in opposition to) established power, both economic and political." (1999:10). Similarly, new approaches to regionalism invest individuals and groups beyond states with rights and duties to express such collective wills, by, *inter alia*, pursuing alternative solutions to problems such as unemployment and poverty alleviation, proposed by economic and political elites. In southern Africa, therefore, states should recognise that sub-national and transnational non-state actors are proliferating and that they are re-shaping, and re-defining the parameters and content of regionalism.

Michael Bratton, for instance, charges that civil society is a heterogeneous entity that reflects: "... in political form, the cleavages and conflicts of the wider society in which it is located." (1988:58; Cheru, 1997:206). The implications for regionalism and the construction of an inclusive regional community is that one needs to consider various economic, political and cultural forces, which shape and reshape regions. Bratton further contends that: "... economic interests and moral values are the key poles around which political activity regularly clusters. These are the provinces of civil society." (ibid.). Martin Shaw on the other hand has

posited: "... that civil society should be seen as the networks of institutions through which groups in society in general represent themselves- both to each other and to the state." (1994a:647; 1994b). The recurrent theme of both these conceptions is that the activities of civil society occur outside the precincts of the state. New regionalism as a process and field of study, view states and societies as mutually enabling each other to deepen the integration process. This creates the opportunity for co-operation and inclusion, which in turn could strengthen regionness.

To Iris Young: "Civil society designates an area of social activity other than industry, commerce and finance, as well as other legislative, administrative, and court activity. As a rough and ready beginning, civil society corresponds to the broad range of organizations and institutions understood as 'civic': "... charity organizations, lobbying groups, political associations agitating for a particular cause or programme, neighbourhood associations, non-profit organizations promoting education or providing services..." (1994:77; McClean and Shaw, 1997:197). This conception of civil society does not make allowance for spontaneous process of informal interaction by ordinary people. It, thus, neglect the fact that such interaction lends new meaning to regions and the notion of regional communities. Using such state-centric lenses to define southern Africa, suggests a poor basis for understanding the region. New approaches to the study of regionalism, point to the need to recognise the reflexive inter-relations of multiple actors operating at multiple levels within the region.

It is, however, not only European scholars who view state-civil society relations through the prisms of critical tension that exists between the two. Africanists scholars, and those writing about Africa, also define civil society in relation to the state. Writing in the African context, Jean-Francois Bayart has postulated that civil society should be seen: "... as society in relation with the state... in so far as it is in confrontation with the state or, more precisely, as the process by which society seeks to break and counteract the simultaneous totalisation unleashed by the state." (1986:111; Chabal 1994:96; and Osaghae, 1997:15). Civil society's opposition to the state, may, as the new regionalism approach posits, stems from incompatible goals and objectives.

For Naomi Chazan: “Civil society... refers to the segment of society that interacts with the state, influences the state, and yet is distinct from the state.” (1992:48). Chazan’s conception points to a very important consideration for the purpose of deepening regional co-operation and integration in southern Africa: that there is room for both civil society and the state in influencing the content and scope of regionalism. To achieve this, new approaches to regionalism posit that state-led (formal) and non-state-led (informal) processes of regionalism should be connected³²⁰. In the context of regionalism in southern Africa, the influence of civil society depends on its willingness to engage and relate to the state and the willingness of the state to relate to civil society. Nelson Kasfir (1998) points out that a peculiarity about civil society in Africa is its ability to either contribute to better governance or serve as an impediment to such a process.

The cases of Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe, are instructive in this regard. In Botswana, indigenous groups³²¹ such as the first people of the Kalahari, articulate their interest within the parameters of the state, whilst in Zimbabwe the trade union is challenging the government to establish a more democratic dispensation. In Namibia, on the other hand, attempts by and calls for secession by parts of civil society actors in the Caprivi serves to undermine the government. Whereas, in the cases of Botswana and Zimbabwe, civil society actions is in tandem with the development of a regional civil society, voluntary ethnic exclusion- to invoke Björn Hettne’s term- poses certain threats to building a regional civil society. In Namibia, voluntary ethnic exclusion, has not only led to a transfer of loyalties from civil society to the primary group, but may also lead to a regional security crisis, with ramifications for both inter-state and non-state actor security co-operation³²². States should recognise that sub-

³²⁰ Mortin Bøås et al. note that: “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 connection between them...” (1999:905).

³²¹ Ronnie Lipschutz observes that indigenous peoples are a: “... rapidly growing network in global civil society... compose... of groups of indigenous people, that is, tribes, clans, societies and cultures...” (1992:395).

³²² In the case of Namibia, this voluntary exclusion is fuelled by a perception of uneven economic development.

national and transnational non-state actors are proliferating and that they are re-shaping, and re-defining the parameters and content of regionalism in southern Africa. This suggests that regional states must give recognition to sub-national and transnational communities, such as NGOs, which exist alongside states in southern Africa.

However, the political context in which sub-national and transnational communities could contribute to regionalism from below is being undermined by the reluctance shown by southern African governments to allow opposing views to flourish. In 2001, newspapers with independent views have come under increasing attack. In the year under discussion, a newspaper in the DRC was shut down after it published an article critical of the Zimbabwean army. Swaziland also banned two papers that were critical of the kingdom's royal family, while in Botswana and Namibia government advertisements have been removed from newspapers seen as critical of government (The Star, 14 May 2001). This compels citizens, using the region, to re-organise social and economic relations. New regionalism encourages and studies the way in which civil society uses political space to build new regional economic and political capacity.

Köbler and Melber (1994) provide the most appropriate conception of what civil society should entail in the context of building political space for civil society actors such as NGOs in southern Africa. Their definition provides the building block of what should be a mutually enabling role for state and non-state actors in southern Africa's regional project. They propose that civil society should constitute and indeed fill: "... the vital space and network of potentially independent organizations that proves instrumental in the authentic articulation of interests, in the airing of conflicting perspectives of societal projects, and in the definition of a[n] overall concept and perspective of development that commands a measure of consensus that is a prerequisite for political legitimacy." (1994:9-10). This consensus is vital not only for regional development and the legitimating of the regionalist project, in southern Africa it is also critical for ensuring a lasting order in the sub-region.

In the final analysis what is suggested here is a new social contract: a reciprocal, yet conditional relationship between state

and civil society. In this regard NGOs and trade unions have a particular significant role to play in harnessing and establishing parameters for regional state non-state actor relations, with a view to deepen the nascent process of new and developmental regionalism unfolding in southern Africa. The media, for instance, need to provide information about the struggle for sustainable democracy, human rights abuses and related issues.

The new approaches to regionalism also suggest that the interactions among non-governmental organisation contribute to deepening integration and a sense of regionness. The interactions of these organisations lend new meaning to regions and the notion of regional communities. It could also potentially contribute to restoring the regional citizenship of the marginalised in the region.

5.3 Beyond the Geometry of Sovereignty: Regionalism from Below in Southern Africa

5.3.1 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Transnational relations across the southern African region, manifested in interactions among non-governmental organisation and more broadly informal trade and cultural networks, have been neglected in regional integration efforts in the sub-region. This is largely due to the fact that, in southern Africa, the disposition of states remains critical in determining scope and content of both inter-state and transnational relations.

Fredrik Söderbuam asserts that: “State-led regionalism in Southern Africa has had some positive impact on economic development but the problem is that up until now it has largely lived a life of its own as politically elite projects separated from market demands and civil society.” (2001:111). This means that up to now, the interpretation of a regional community in SADC remains the prerogative of the narrow interests of regional elites. From this reading, it implies that states in southern Africa provide the only path to regional community. Regionalism is, however, a comprehensive and multifaceted process taking place at various analytical levels and involving both state and non-state actors. This suggests that the fostering of closer ties between and among governments has to be complemented by governments promoting grassroots co-operation among non-state or civil society actors across borders³²³, even outside of the institutional structures

³²³ Abie Dithlake notes that the: “SADC-CNGOs recognise and respect the role that such institutions play in the region. For civil society organisations to be more effective, we need to be focussed. Specialisation in a particular field and area of concern would help us a great deal and enable us to achieve much” (Personal Communication, 25th January, 2006). New approaches to the study of regionalism recognise that non-state actors also have to address a multitude of issues.

provide for such co-operation. New approaches to the study of regionalism, which take place across a number of dimensions, accommodate and encourage such co-operation..

In this regard, NGOs³²⁴ have an integral role to play in enhancing the process of development from 'below'. Indeed, John Clark reminds us that: "Nongovernmental organizations may provide instruments which... emphasize the participation of the poor." (1995:593). However, unlike Europe where social forces are perhaps stronger and better organised, southern Africa has a moderate history of NGOs working within a regional framework³²⁵. Ansu Datta's reminder that: "Many non-governmental regional organisations in Southern Africa have functioned only sporadically." (1989:97), attest to that. In southern Africa, however, the liberation movements, churches and trade unions have a history of transnational collaboration.

In the realm of national politics, non-governmental organisations have become increasingly assertive. The following examples from the 1990s illustrate this assertiveness:

- "The protracted popular struggle for the liberation of South Africa from the clutches of a racist regime, which culminated in the democratisation of that country's political system in 1994 and the dismantling of apartheid;
- The national strike by Swaziland's workers, operating hand in hand with other civic groups to demand that the political system in that country democratised in 1997;

³²⁴ Michael Bratton (1989) suggests that the concept NGO comprises a plethora of organisations that vary in character and scale. These are community-based organizations, national NGOs and international relief and development agencies.

³²⁵ Ansu Datta (1989) asserts that even though NGO co-operation is desirable, it should not undermine inter-governmental ventures aimed at sustainable development and the provision of security.

- The formation of Zambia's Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) in 1990, and its accession to political power in 1991. With reference to the MMD in power David Bartlett has concluded that: "The MMD appeared to be a class compromise between businesses and labour..." (2000:444). What this, and the cases of South Africa and Zimbabwe described elsewhere illustrate, is that class power constitutes a significant barrier to the realisation of an alternative, potentially transformative regional civil society.
- The rejection of the one-party system by civic groups in Malawi in a referendum which resulted in the drafting of a new multi-party constitution, which in turn resulted in the elections which culminated in the ousting of Kamuzu Banda, who had declared himself the life president of Malawi;
- The overthrow of Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko by Laurent Kabila, with the clear support of various civic groups in that country, and many others from outside the country." (Makumbe, 1998:309);
- "In Zimbabwe during the late 1990s a formidable opposition party- the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)- was built upon the urban poor and workers, a portion of the professional black petit-bourgeoisie and wealthy whites: liberals, farmers and business managers/owners." (Bond, 2002:15).

These political changes could not have occurred without the full participation of an active and dynamic civil society in southern Africa³²⁶. What the above illustrates is that civil society has played a fundamental role in strengthening democracy at a national level.

³²⁶ While trade unions have played a leading role in the liberation struggle in southern Africa, Eddie Webster charges that in the 1990s: "... trade unions have not really been able to establish their roles as autonomous actors... because... states are shaping the agendas of trade unions in both national and regional settings." (Personal Communication, 14th October, 2002).

These actions, if replicated on a regional level, could potentially provide the impulses upon which a regional civil society could be built. The SADC Council of NGOs called on SADC governments to take action on civil liberties in Zimbabwe and Swaziland in 2003, illustrates that strategic networks are already being formed among NGOs in the region on issues of governance. It also shows that local goals can be achieved by reaching out to the broader region in order to realise ostensible national goals.

This offers southern Africans the opportunity to construct a regional community based on shared concerns and charted by human-centred politics. To construct such a community, calls for a break with the traditional models of state-dominated and elite driven approaches. A new paradigm to community-building in SADC calls for a people-centred and participatory approach. Non-state actors, therefore, could also contribute to the definition and organisation of social space and political community taking place in the region. As such, they contribute the constitution of the social reality that give meaning to the notion of region and the regional communities. Regionalism as a normative project should, therefore, recognise the importance of regionalist processes from 'below', as crucial to the definition of regions and the formation of regional communities.

In SADC, this presupposes the building of regional networks, among both state and non-state actors, which are aimed at constructing new approaches to development and human security. This important consideration is acknowledged by SADC. The establishment of a Gender Unit at the SADC Secretariat in 1998 bears testimony to this "new awareness". Fundamentally, the Unit is charged with the responsibility of advising all SADC structures on gender issues and to ensure that a gender perspective permeates the entire SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiatives³²⁷. Another indicator of this 'new awareness' is

³²⁷ Representation by women in various positions of power remains limited. Only in Botswana, Malawi and South Africa are women adequately represented in parliament.

the SADC NGO Council, which, while independent of SADC's formal structures, are recognised by the body³²⁸. If effectively operationalised, the SADC-CNGOs could be a key boost for regional integration and for civil society's role in the process. Another organisation that was envisaged to play a significant role that would boost civil society's role in the regional integration process is (ASCCI).

Mareike Mein notes that: "The aim was to link the national chambers in Southern Africa and create a regional network to combine the voices of the private sector to promote its interests with SADC officials. Up to now, however, ASCCI remains little more than the sum of its parts and reflects the weaknesses of its constituent members..." (2004:10). Significant to note is the fact that the SADC Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the NGO sector were able to provide considerable input to the Trade and Transport Protocols. One may, however, argue that the above represent attempts to reinforce the legitimacy of prevailing order, by working within the parameters set by states of the region³²⁹.

The above means that the disposition of member states remains crucial in determining and enforcing common policy parameters to make regional integration and the further growth of transnational relations possible³³⁰. Consequently, the legitimacy of political authority encroaches on the political and social space in which NGO activity can develop and expand. As such, efforts by SADC

³²⁸ Glenn Farred, Personal Communication, 16th October 2002.

³²⁹ This contention is reinforced by the reliance of the organisation on donor funding. The agenda of ASCCI: "... is mainly determined by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)." (Meyn, 2004:11). This implies that ASCCI agenda is donor-driven and not by the need to connect formal and informal business in the region, so crucial for the twin goals of promoting deeper and developmental regionalism.

³³⁰ Fredrik Söderbaum and Ian Taylor note that: "... state actors create regionalisation in order to achieve private goals and promote particular (vested) interests rather than societal interests." (2003:12). For states, therefore, regionalism can be seen as a political phenomenon.

mirror the SACU regime, which remains statist in orientation. By and large, therefore, the emergence of organic transnational connections among national civil societies in southern Africa needs to occur outside the statist framework. Thus, it is necessary to look beyond historically constituted frameworks or structures within which economic and political activity takes place in southern Africa.

Facilitating and reinforcing transnational connections among national civil societies in southern Africa would be an essential element in any sustainable pattern of integration. A recent demonstration in Swaziland illustrates that civil society is increasingly being looked at as a motivational force for change (Cox, 1999). In response to the government legislation that banned free political activity in Swaziland, the Swaziland Solidarity Network, which represents trade unions and pro-democracy groups, called on South African businesses to restrict trade with that country for 3 days in December 2000. The trade union also asked the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Mozambique Workers Federation to support the blockade (The Namibian, November 30, 2000).

The movement in Swaziland is part of a broader association, the Southern African Peoples Solidarity Network (SAPSN)³³¹. Ostensibly this movement is concerned with issues of trade³³², but also looks at issues such as regional peace, human security and

³³¹ SAPSN has a growing membership with a broad range of civil society organizations and institutions, including trade unions, development NGOs, and church-based movements. With the exception of Botswana, SAPSN have managed to secure links in Angola, DRC, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. (Eunice Mafudikwa, Personal Communication, 8th November, 2002)

³³² The issues that has hitherto been addressed by SAPSN ranges from privatisation, regional integration, the African Growth and Opportunities Act, the WTO, the Post-Lomé negotiations, and the role of South Africa in SADC.

democracy³³³. The Southern African Peoples Solidarity Network has already established various sub-networks and a debt tribunal, which investigates how the issues of debt should be addressed within a regional framework, provides the impulses on how such sub-networks should be established. The establishment of such regional sub-networks on debt is necessary, and provide the right antidote to the current situation where countries such as Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa and Zambia, are attempting to solve critical debt issue unilaterally.

More critically, the issue should be linked to the Jubilee 2000 campaign, which is of interest to all Southern African countries³³⁴. Patrick Bond has suggested that a regional ideology around the issue of debt can be build by, for instance, invoking the spirit of the national liberation³³⁵. Indeed, this seems to be happening. Leading southern African social movements and church organizations working on debt from Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, signed the Lusaka Declaration in 1999 (Bond, 2001). Such issue-specific networks, which occur ostensibly outside the purview of state influence, are critical for fostering a developmental regional civil society in southern Africa.

The significance of SAPSN is that this organisation is forging links that can be used as the building block for a developmental regional civil society, which transcends state-centrism in southern Africa. SAPSN has also established relations with the 'TRADE' organisation, with the aim of expounding the position of Southern Africa in agricultural negotiations from a non-

³³³ Indeed, the formation of SAPSN was a result of various national and regional processes during the course of 1999 around the inter-linked issues of debt, structural adjustment and globalisation. (Eunice Mafudikwa, Personal Communication, 8th November, 2002)

³³⁴ SAPSN is well poised to co-ordinate this activity, since it is already a core of the Jubilee South. (Eunice Mafudikwa, Personal Communication, 8th November, 2002).

³³⁵ Patrick Bond, Personal Communication, 16th October, 2002.

governmental perspective. Similarly, it is working with several ACP regional networks on the Post-Lomé negotiations. Members of the Southern African Peoples Solidarity Network is also building linkages in the wider context of the Africa Trade Network (ATN), to formulate a position on AGOA, a trade pact concluded between the United States of America and African countries. These organisations do not engage national states, or SADC, ostensibly because regional states exclude them from the process of economic policy formulation.

The issues, which these non-state actors seek to address, include, *inter alia*, democracy, human rights, environmental degradation and migration. These functional linkages established by trans-regional actors point to the impact of regional norms on the growth and the influence of civil societies at domestic level. This calls for the re-organisation of economic and social relations. In a situation of this new regionness, individuals and marginalised communities are accorded the opportunity to interact with the wider region and the rest of the world as a means of advancing economic and political goals. The delimitation of the region will have to decidedly be determined by actual practice, and not just (physical) geography or formal political and economic co-operation. As such, a new approach to regionalism in southern Africa, must move beyond any static notion of region and regionness and replace it with the dynamic notion of the region as a social construct.

The recent campaign by the Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development, the Swaziland Campaign against Poverty and Economic Inequality, the Malawi Economic Justice Network, and peasants from Lesotho, at the World Summit on Sustainable Development' also occurs under the auspices of SAPSN³³⁶. This suggests that the dominant conception of a regional community in southern Africa driven by states alone is increasingly at odds with events on the ground. Moreover, it represents a compelling example of both developing identity and community in formation

³³⁶ Patrick Bond, Personal Communication, 16th October 2002.

beyond national borders. It also suggests that the route to community in the region may well lie beyond the discourses of power which have constructed the region's current state system. As such, using state-centric lenses to define southern Africa, suggests a poor basis for understanding the region.

The Southern African Human Rights NGO Network, which promotes adherence to international human rights norms and standards, is but one example of this³³⁷. While this organisation is recognised by SADC, it has few formal links and engagements with the organisation³³⁸. Despite this, the Network continues to promote transnational linkages among like-minded NGOs in the region, to build capacity for, *inter alia*, human rights education, campaigning against police brutality and the promotion of freedom of expression. In such a way, it continues to deliberately enhance its capacity for engaging regional bodies like SADC. For Ozias Tungwarara the strategic challenge for non-state actors specifically is how to harness their collective power to be able to influence this interface in the global context³³⁹.

In Africa in general and southern Africa in this instance, there has been a proliferation of organisations that seek to address issues of a transnational nature. The Global Coalition for Africa, the Federation of African Media Women, the Africa Association for Literacy and Adult Education, are but few of the organisations that are demanding the expansion of civil space for the achievement of a more broad-based and participatory developmental order. The African NGO Networks Caucus is challenging conventional wisdom on the continent as regards development issues³⁴⁰.

³³⁷ Ozias Tungwarara, Personal Communication, 27th September 2002.

³³⁸ Ozias Tungwarara, Personal Communication, 27th September 2002.

³³⁹ Ozias Tungwarara, Personal Communication, 27th September 2002.

³⁴⁰ The vision of this network was spelled out as far back as 1996, when 25 African networks met in Harare, Zimbabwe to assert the concerns and priorities of African civil societies in African and international institutions.

Needless to say, the issues, which these organisations seek to address, are invariably informed by a search for imminent solutions to problems such as hunger, poverty, equitable development and human rights, for instance. Towards this end, NGOs see themselves as playing a crucial role in strengthening civil society to address the above-issues. In the context of harnessing of new and developmental regionalism in southern Africa, the above postulate suggests that regional NGOs need to contribute to articulating more widely, and in an institutional context, how best to solve these problems. Sandra McClean, writing on southern Africa, has concluded that: "To the extent that these various NGOs build horizontal and vertical networks for communication, advocacy, and knowledge-sharing purposes, they appear to contribute to emerging sense of... regional citizenship." (2001:130). These NGOs also contribute to a sense of regionness.

The calls made by 13 NGOs in Windhoek, Namibia in 2000 for a regional discussion on land reform and land redistribution highlight this plight. Primarily the NGOs argued that social development should be both people-centred and people-driven (The Namibian, August 4, 2000). They also postulated that poverty is a regional issue that can only be addressed in a haphazard fashion, as is currently the case³⁴¹. This in essence would enable NGOs to contribute to decisions about the content and scope of regional development and growth. The Southern African Regional Poverty Network (SARPN) can play a decisive role in this regard.

Sanusha Naidu has this to say about the activities of SARPN: "SARPN is a regional poverty network does not have a membership but rather is a public policy platform for drawing on issues of poverty and the types of measures and responses that are being developed to address it. It caters for actors in the realm

³⁴¹ A most striking feature of the meeting between these NGOs is the recognition that not only governments do not have a region plan for poverty alleviation, but that NGOs themselves need to co-ordinate their attempts at poverty alleviation on a region-wide basis (The Namibian, August 4, 2000).

of poverty to be able to exchange with each other their work in the field of poverty. These include policy makers, development practitioners, academics, civil society actors from grassroots and community based level as well as the private and public sector.”³⁴² This suggests that SARPAN attempts to co-ordinate the processes of formal and informal regionalism so critical for the success of new regionalism³⁴³.

With the resurgence of neo-liberalism that is increasingly asserting its dominance in national development strategies and plans in SADC, the ideological orientation of an organisation like SARPAN, which is constituted of a myriad of organisations, becomes questionable. Civil society needs, however, to play a particularly important role in poverty alleviation. Ozias Tungwarara suggests that with regards to issues such as poverty civil society needs to articulate citizens’ interests, by making themselves relevant in communities. This demands that civil society has an organically defined mandate, based on real and identifiable targets³⁴⁴.

This type of interaction, featuring direct people-to-people engagement and co-operation builds solidarity and bridges between peoples of the southern African countries, and contributes to mobilising public opinion in support of southern African co-operation. Moreover, many South and southern Africans have made their homes in countries other than their own in the region. These experiences may encourage and play a decisive role in the development of a regional consciousness because this type of co-operation and interaction builds bridges and solidarity among and between the people of the region. This

³⁴² Sanusha Naidu, Personal Communication, 1st November, 2002.

³⁴³ Sue Mbaya points out that SARPAN do not work with people who are not part of national NGO structures. The work of national NGOs that are part of SARPAN is to mobilise those on the fringes of society that are most affected by poverty (Personal Communication, 26th January, 2006).

³⁴⁴ Ozias Tungwarara, Personal Communication, 27th September, 2002.

in turn contributes to mobilising public opinion in support of southern African co-operation and integration.

Similarly, special attention should be given to the establishment of issue-networks among organisations representing the self-employed, neighbourhood groups and non-governmental voluntary organisations that have sprung up through the region. They have valuable experience and expertise to share on how to get organised and how to deal with daily problems of economic, physical, and environmental survival. More importantly, their trans-border activities lend new meaning to regions and the notion of regional communities. Their activities, thus, allow them to form a transnational community from 'below'.

Glenn Farred argues that the type of networking around small scale farming, indigenous people, and trans-frontier parks allow local communities to contribute to building a sustainable civil society in SADC³⁴⁵. Gathered together in some regional force, it is hoped that NGOs in particular will transcend the national outlook on problems that confront the region. The hope, according to David Korten and Antonio Quizon is that: "The very formation of these networks and coalitions is creating social reality as NGO's experiment with the creation of new organizing structures based on consensus, equality and mutual accountability." (1995:160).

Ansu Datta views the role to be played by NGO's differently from the above. Datta contends that we need to promote the growth of civil society on a national level, before we can secure its growth on a regional level. In supporting his claim that NGOs can be organised more easily and on a small scale, Datta has this to say: "...Non-governmental cooperation can be organized on a small scale with a modest beginning, but gradually growing into a more ambitious framework." These small-scale organisations around issue-networks on democracy, migration and human rights,

³⁴⁵ Glenn Farred, Personal Communication, 16th October, 2002.

amongst others, must form the platform upon which functional linkages on a regional scale can be built³⁴⁶.

She argues further that the second advantage to be derived from non-governmental co-operation on a national level first, stems from the fact that they are largely free from the formalities associated with protocol and related issues. This she contends enables NGOs to: "... foster local initiative and harness the vast source of experience and energy available at the grassroots level. Because it is not constrained by protocol, co-operation through NGOs can be also selective, emphasizing the role of certain organizations while leaving out other organizations which do not conform to the goals set before the specific process of cooperation." (In Odén and Othman, 1989:95-96). Once these NGOs can "stand on their own 'feet' they can regionalise their activities.

What should be of special interests are voluntary organisations in which women participate. Indeed, women represent a key social force for southern Africa co-operation at the grassroots level, for they are able to find easily a common language across borders and continent, united by the same similarity of their experiences and roles in society. Fredrik Söderbaum and Ian Taylor, writing on the informal market in Mozambique, point out that: "The informal market expanded to all corners of the country as well as linking up with neighbouring countries, marking the beginning of the institution of mukhero, a largely informal movement of people, mostly women, buying and transporting all types of goods, vegetables, fruits, clothes and small home appliances, between Mozambique and South Africa and Swaziland to buy products to sell on the informal market." (2003:5). By allowing women to play a more proactive role in the economic, political and social spheres

³⁴⁶ Institutional co-ordination as a form of networking is of particular importance for the enhancement of South-South co-operation. Anne Brabel argues that these network can perform three functions: (1) to give voice to NGOs vis-à-vis governments and the public; (2) to gather information on the NGO community and to disseminate it; (3) to provide a forum for members to discuss issues and problems." (1987:x11).

(the all-embracing security scope), provides them with an opportunity to advance and protect their interests.

Towards this end, the education of women is a precondition to building a sustainable civil society in southern Africa. According to Ken Booth and Peter Vale educating women is "... a necessary building block in a security policy which aims to reduce population growth; to combat the social and economic difficulties that arise from disease; and to overcome the problems that arise from inadequate economic development."³⁴⁷ They rightly conclude that: "Without the emancipation of women there will not be lasting regional security [and development] in Southern Africa." (1995:301). The exclusion of women would make the process of regionalism less comprehensive and multifaceted.

Recently, some national based organisations are forging regional links. The local Educational Research Associations in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are all branches of a regional organisation. Most significantly, the formation of regional environmental and human rights networks³⁴⁸, all point to growing NGO involvement in the region. The contention here is that a regional civil society, which transcends state-led notions of regionalism, can be best built on the political space between constituted authority and the people.

As Francis Kornegay (2001) illustrates, the impulses for reconstituting state-civil society relations in southern Africa already exists. This is demonstrated by: "The recent unprecedented letter by the Catholic bishops indicting Mugabe's government, and the

³⁴⁷ Although the WID debate has been a prominent theme on the NGO schedule in general, the spill-over" effects of such debate are not yet discernible in Southern Africa.

³⁴⁸ A defining moment was witnessed when organised South African gay community in 1995 protested against the presence of Robert Mugabe in that country, after he had violated the common law rights of gays in Zimbabwe. This event can provide the impulse for effective pressure at inter-state level, Peter Vale, Personal Communication, 20th November, 2002.

forward position of the church communities in Zambia and Malawi in opposing life presidencies, indicate that an outline of a multifaceted strategy to reverse the [anti-democracy] trend in the region is beginning to suggest itself.” (The Star, 14 May 2001). Kornegay suggests further that the ecumenical group in southern Africa should support the search and sustenance for democracy on a regional scale. In such a way, these groups could positively contribute to the establishment of durable structures of governance and increase regionness. In addition to the above organisations, more spontaneous informal networks have also taken root in the region.

Writing on southern Africa, Sandra McClean asserts that: “.... Informal groups... have formed various liaisons in the region as protective gestures as well as various nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that operate at a regional level for the redirection of policy in areas of environment, human and economic rights, basic needs, and gender equity.” (2001:128)³⁴⁹. Although most of these strategies are related to the struggle for survival, they contribute significantly to processes of regionalisation ‘from below’ and increased regionness. These spontaneous transnational processes also illustrate that regionalism in southern Africa are also re-defined by ‘the people’ who are conscious of their transnational past and form a transnational community in doing so. However, NGOs in southern Africa, like elsewhere in the South, face a number of obstacles. The most critical of these problems are that regional governments have an innate distrust of civil society and often undermine their ability to play a meaningful role in regional development.

³⁴⁹ Carol Thompson argues that: “Theories of new regionalism also propose that regional interactions are not structured by a single market. In many parts of Southern Africa, for example, it is local, rural market which sustain. These rural markets do not acknowledge formal borders, but create their own logic of innovative supply to local demand...” (2000:43-44). This implies that regions and the notion of regional communities are also re-defined by ordinary people, who form a transnational community in doing so.

The exclusion of NGOs by SADC member states when the Organ for Politics, Defence and Security was adopted casts doubt about the gravity of SADC governments to embrace a broader spectrum of stakeholders into the security arena. Earlier agreements between SADC and regional NGOs to include a human rights monitoring mechanism into the Organ were discarded shortly before formalisation of the body (South Scan, 5 July 1996). This state of affairs seems to verify Fredrik Söderbaum's conclusion that: "The SADC organ as such is also state-centric and designed to promote the national interests and enhance the political stability of the existing regimes." (1998:81). New approaches to the study of regionalism, view the security of states and non-state actors as mutually inclusive.

In recent times NGOs have also pronounced that they: "... still have no access to the SADC national contact point, nor are they allowed access to SADC summit meetings or discussions concerning the organ on politics, defence and security." (Sunday Independent, February, 1999). In 2005, NGOs have also come under attack in both Zimbabwe and South Africa, where questions were raised about independence, by the presidents of those respective countries³⁵⁰. This perception, James Mittelman argues, is fuelled by an understanding that: "Nationally based NGOs serve as proxies for international agencies, with little or no organic connection to the roots of society." (1998:860)³⁵¹. What this suggests is that NGOs, like governments of the region, may also be under pressure to placate donors, instead of serving as: "... bonding agents in bottom-up struggles." (Bischoff, 2006:4) of the

³⁵⁰ In the case of South Africa, foreign donor assistance for democracy: "... forms a major part of foreign aid to South Africa. The principal objective of aid programmes to the country is to influence the political transition and to focus on democratic consolidation." (Hearn, 2000:819).

³⁵¹ To ensure that suspicion about the motives of NGOs is eliminated, the SADC-CNGOs: "... are in the process of developing a Development Charter and Code of Ethics for Southern Africa..." (Abie Dithlake, Personal Communication, 25th January, 2006). This would ensure that a framework for dialogue between NGOs and governments in southern Africa is established.

poor and the marginalised. In addition to being agents that appease donors, NGOs also at times receive funds meant for governments.

This makes the relationship between national NGOs and national governments acrimonious at best (see table 7). This difficult relationship between NGOs and governments is replicated on a regional scale. This was reiterated by Glenn Farred who points out that civil society in SADC are not yet clear on the objectives it want to achieve from formal participation in the SADC structures³⁵². To set-out clear objectives the SADC Council of NGOs: "... brings all the regional organisations together every year through the SADC Civil Society Forum This is to facilitate for planning and sharing perspectives."³⁵³.

SADC's treatment of NGOs has serious implications for future inter-governmental and non-governmental relations. James Mittelman argues that regional institutions in southern Africa, so far: "... articulate only sporadically with the bearers of change within civil society- women's movements, peasant organizations, environmental groups, prodemocracy advocates, etc." (1996:196). This points to a need develop fragile political institutions and the nascent civil societies regionally. Moreover, it provides ample evidence that the democratic dimensions needed to incorporate the regions' civil society are absent.

The solution to this obvious predicament, according to Peter Vale, is the following: "When SADC... gathers in formal conference, civil society needs to set up its own stall. A loud and very messy talkshop which can air the increasing amount of disquiet which the region's people- as opposed to their governments- feel about the processes which democracy and development through Southern Africa. Energy, environment, development, human rights, gender questions: there must be no end to the talking."³⁵⁴. This could

³⁵² Glenn Farred, Personal Communication, 16th October, 2002.

³⁵³ Abie Dithlake, Personal Communication, 25th January, 2006.

³⁵⁴ A defining moment was witnessed when organised South African gay community

provide the impetus for regionalism from 'below', a central feature of new approaches to regionalism.

It is around issues such as human rights and the environment, where the leverage of transnational social movements will have a particular bearing on regionalism from 'below'. However, unlike Europe where social forces are perhaps stronger and better organised, southern Africa has a moderate history of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) working within a regional framework³⁵⁵. Ansu Datta's reminder that: "Many non-governmental regional organisations in Southern Africa have function only sporadically." (1989:97), attests to this.

Writing on transnational actors in general, Louise Vincent notes that they: "... have the capacity to act directly and independently and to initiate genuine international co-operation in ways that can often supersede the abilities of states." (1997:125). Towards this end, a framework for social dialogue and mutual enablement between NGOs and governments in southern Africa has been established in the form of the SADC NGO Council.

The SADC secretariat established an NGO desk in 1994 that is located in the Secretariat. To deepen the process of social dialogue on a national and regional scale, a SADC NGO Council, an environmental sector, a gender unit and a human rights NGO network have been established. It is disturbing though that neither

in 1995 protested against the presence of Robert Mugabe in that country, after he had violated the common law rights of gays in Zimbabwe. This event can provide the impulse for effective pressure at inter-state level. Peter Vale, Personal Communication, 20th November, 2002. This conclusion is supported by Jean-Francois Bayart who opines that the creative energies of African civil societies in general, and Southern Africa in this instance, can be more productively unleashed: "... by the creation of small collectives established and controlled by rural or urban groups (such as local associations) than by parliaments and parties, instruments of the state..." (1986:125).

³⁵⁵ Ansu Datta (1989) has suggested that even though non-governmental co-operation is desirable, it should not undermine inter-governmental ventures aimed at sustainable development and the provision of security.

the unit, nor the sector, or the human rights networks have been admitted to SADC Summit meetings. This serves as a reminder that governments will not voluntarily broaden the platform for regional engagement with non-state actors.

By working beyond the parameters accorded by state-centric definitions of regions and regional communities, NGOs contribute to increasing the quality of regionness in southern Africa. Sandra McClean observes that: "To the extent that these various NGOs build horizontal and vertical networks for communication, advocacy and knowledge-sharing purposes, they appear to contribute to an emerging sense of... regional citizenship." (1999:950). NGOs, therefore, fulfil a critical role as builders of a region and regional community that transcends state-centrism and enhances regionalism "from below". Moreover, a social identity beyond the territorial state in southern Africa is considerably enhanced by increased social contacts and informal economic transactions, which not only create a social system, but also facilitates some sort of regionness. By sharing a social identity, communities are allowed to broaden the definition of a region.

5.3.2. Transcending State-Centrism: Informal regionalism in Southern Africa

It has been argued elsewhere that contemporary studies of regions and regionalism recognise the need to transcend purely state-centric notions of regionalism. Non-state actors also have a role to play in the construction of regions and regional community. This suggests that social and political forces beyond the state also drive regionalism. Beyond the expansion of the region in its institutional form, opportunities have also opened up for non-state informal actors to broaden the conception of the region and the notion of a regional community in southern Africa. Already developments within the region accords ordinary people the change to construct a southern Africa that lies beyond the geometry of state-sovereignty.

For Peter Vale the above suggests: "... that southern Africans believe that the state system no longer offers solutions to their everyday problems: it neither delivers security nor satisfies a desire for community. As a result, they are driven to find fresh terrains of regional intercourse, like cross-border trading, and to explore old ones, like cross-border migration." (2003:135). This suggests that southern Africans are conscious of their transnational past and use it to reconstruct a regional community that transcends the geometry of state sovereignty. The migration and cross-border informal economic activities of the people of southern Africa, also allows them to form a transnational community that lies outside the confines of states in the region.

The migration and cross-border informal economic activities of the people of southern Africa, suggests that equitable and sustainable development can only be achieved on the basis of full economic and political participation of the poor. In addition, informal trade and socio-cultural, which takes place across borders in southern Africa, could also assist in deepening regional integration and a sense of regionness. This suggests that the trans-border activities

of these informal actors lend new meaning to conception of a southern African region and what constitute a regional community³⁵⁶.

Peter Vale and Khabele Matlosa argue that: “Southern Africa’s people belong together more than just by dint of geography; ancient ties of kinship straddle each of the region’s innumerable boundaries. These ties have been reinforced by the porous nature of these national boundaries, which has created a single unified economy.” (1995:6). This single unified economy is held up by mining labour, illegal migrants, cultural transactors and informal traders in southern Africa. Thus, the economic, cultural and social interactions and interdependencies of workers, consumers, informal traders and a host of other social agents at the regional level should also shape our conception of the region and regionalism. The above suggests that southern Africa’s people have contributed to a sense of regionness that transcends nation-states and national boundaries in the region. Informal trade patterns in the region, supports the contention that southern Africa’s people have contributed to a sense of regionness that transcends nation-states and national boundaries.

Fredrik Söderbaum observes that: “There exists also a more informal economic and sociocultural cross-border interaction among small and private business, traders and people, ethnic and cultural networks, and so forth more or less all over Southern Africa. Well-known examples include the cross-border interaction in Southern Malawi and Mozambique, eastern Zimbabwe and Mozambique; southern DRC and Zambia, or, to use a more specific case, the Zimbabwean women traders connecting Harare, Gaborone, and Johannesburg in an informal trading network. Some of these cross-border activities arise for sociocultural and historical reasons, as a consequence of the irrelevance of current national borders, while others are based on price and institutional

³⁵⁶ James Mittelman suggests that: “Creative potential for bringing about sustainable growth and democracy lies in popular support and a sense of involvement of multiple strata of the population.” (1996:208).

differences between countries with common borders.” (Söderbaum, 2001:111-112)³⁵⁷. Such social contacts and transactions not only contribute to increase regionness, but also illustrate that regions are created and re-created by the actions of non-state actors as well.

Peter Vale and Khabele Matlosa note that beyond the geometry of state-sovereignty in southern Africa: “The search for a better life has also recently forged new patterns of migration. Literally thousands of traders are ignoring borders to broaden their economic prospects. Fishermen are moving across borders in search of new catches, while farmers are moving to escape drought and pestilence. Others, such as the female traders who travel daily between Zimbabwe and South African, represent important new forms of employment in a region desperately short of jobs.” (1995:5). Such spontaneous networks of individuals and groups, that often use historically forged cultural and social ties, transcend state-centric notions of regions and regionalism³⁵⁸. As such, they form a transnational community that lies beyond the narrow conception of regionalism by states.

Zimbabwean rural dwellers who regularly cross the Mozambican border, James Mittelman assert that: “The attitude among these peasant farmers is that borders are a nuisance that interfere with both their livelihood and relations with kind, redound to the advantage of the well-to-do, and are another way that the political authorities seek to impose control. In this instance, the state is seen as constraining crossborder flows- of fish, ivory, meat, marijuana and spirits- rooted in culture and economy.” (1998:854). These economic and cultural ties point to the existence of regional formations that pre-date the establishment and conception of a region by state-markers in southern Africa. Through their actions,

³⁵⁷ Ken Booth and Peter Vale observe that: “The story of southern Africa’s economic development has been the story of the migration of its peoples.” (1995:286).

³⁵⁸ Peter Vale postulates: “... that southern Africans are searching for understandings of community that lie beyond struggles that until now have centred on the unfolding discourse of colonialism, statist power and more recently, economic liberalism.” (2003:156).

therefore, these actors transcend state-centric notions of regionalism.

In addition to the above, the migration and cross-border informal economic activities of the people of southern Africa have lent new meaning and value to the region and notions of regional community and in doing so contribute to regionness. Mozambican and Zimbabwean traders are as proximate as Johannesburg, South Africans and as far as Oshakati, Namibia. The actions of these people illustrate that regions are also re-defined by 'the people' who are aware of their transnational past and form a transnational community in doing so. Not only do these actors through their actions contribute to regionness, they add a new dimension to understanding state-society relations in the region.

The above networks illustrate that an expanded conception of region and the notion of a regional community that transcend state-centrism: "... owes its origins to the efforts of civil society actors- both informal groups that have formed various liaisons in the region as protective gestures as well as various NGOs that operate at a regional level for the redirection of policy in areas of environment, human and economic rights, basic needs and gender equity. (McClean, 1999:948). In the search for a new approach to regionalism in southern Africa it also indicates that: "... southern Africans are searching for understandings of community that lie beyond struggles that until now have centered on the unfolding discourse of colonialism, statist power, and more recently, economic liberalism." (2003:156). The search for such a community requires both a higher degree of internal societal participation and the intra-regional participation of non-governmental forces.

Larry Swatuk and Peter Vale note that: "A peaceful and secure Southern Africa would be one in which resources use is sustainable and equitable; where the region's people have an equal opportunity to move, unrestricted, throughout the region on the basis of informed choices in order to enhance their life chances... and, in so doing, choose a more inclusive kind of

regional, humanistic identity.” (2001:48)³⁵⁹. Such society-induced forms of regionalisation are critical for the success of new approaches to regionalism, and the building of a trans-regional economy and civil society.

Ultimately, new forms of regionalism are thus a pluralist phenomenon that concerns itself with various fields of activity and at various levels. This creates the opportunity for both state and non-state actors to build new regional economic and political capacity. The regional institutions listed below have a critical role to play in advancing regional integration from ‘below’ in southern Africa. Through monitoring the activities of SADC, they provide the impulses upon which a region-wide public debate about the direction of SADC should be based.

³⁵⁹ Larry Swatuk and Peter Vale remind us, however, that: historically: “The region’s resources and its people have been exploited in an unsustainable fashion. More recently, there have been attempts to redefine development on the region’s own terms. One such attempt involves the community-based management of natural resources. Should this endeavour prove successful, it may in the future lay the basis for broader, non-state-centric forms of cooperation in the region.” (Vale and Swatuk, 2001:39; Thompson, 2000). For Developmental regionalism to succeed in southern Africa, there is a need to forge viable economies, by, inter alia, judiciously exploiting common natural resources.

Table 5. Regional Non-Governmental Organisation in SADC

Monitoring SADC

A number of organisations were established with the expressed purpose of monitoring SADC and regional co-operation.

Organisation	Location	Activity
Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre	Harare, Zimbabwe	They produce SADC's official quarterly publication, <i>SADC Today</i> . The regional economic development and integration programme, also prepares working papers on a number of issues, especially a series termed <i>20 years of Development in Southern Africa</i> . The democracy programme produces the quarterly <i>Renaissance, A Review of Democracy and Governance in Southern Africa</i> . The gender programme (The Women in Development Southern Africa Awareness) works closely with the SADC Gender Unit and produces, amongst others, the annual SADC Gender Monitor and a newsletter on gender and development- <i>GAD Exchange</i> . Their Communicating the Environment Programme puts out a <i>CEP Fact Sheet</i> six

		times a year.
Electoral Institute of Southern Africa	South Africa	Plays a key role in shaping debates about electoral legislation and election observation in the region. They also acted as the interim secretariat of the SADC Electoral Commission Forum.
The Institute of Global Dialogue	South Africa	The institute, a foreign policy think-tank, now conduct research projects on democratisation in southern Africa and on trade/competition policy.
The Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit	Namibia	The Unit has been holding annual research workshops on aspects of SADC and regional integration.
SAPES	Zimbabwe	The regional research-cum-network institute historically played an important role in the scholarly debate on SADC and regional co-operation.
The Institute for Security Studies	South Africa	This institute produces much on the evolving security architecture and security policies through its journal African Security Review, and a range of other publications.
The South African Institute of International Affairs	South Africa	The institute has hosted a number of conferences and workshops on various dimensions of regional co-operation.

Source: Isaksen, J. 2002. Restructuring SADC- Progress and Problems. Bergen, Norway: Chr Michelsen Institute.

Table 6. Sector Network in SADC

Organisations	Activities
The Southern African Human Rights NGO Network	Established in 1997, the main activities of this network appear to be focussed on campaigning against police brutality, promotion of freedom of expression, and capacity building in human rights education.
The Media Institute of Southern Africa	Established in 1992, it focuses primarily on the need to promote free, independent and pluralistic media. It seeks ways in which to promote the free flow of information and co-operation between media workers, as a principal means of nurturing democracy and human rights.
The Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources Policy Analysis Network (FANRPAN)	It brings together a number of the key non-state actors, but there appears to be limited activity at the regional level.
The Project Support Group	Comprises NGOs that work in the fields of health and social work, and related HIV/AIDS activities.
Women and Law in Southern Africa and Women in Law and Development in Southern Africa	See sardc.net
Economic Justice Network (Zimbabwe); the African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (Zimbabwe); the Southern and Eastern African Trade, Information and Negotiation Initiative (Zimbabwe); Jubilee South Africa and the Alternative Information and	All these networks campaign against corporate globalisation, focussing on issues such as international finance, trade and debt.

Development Centre (AIDC)	
The Southern African Defence and Security Management Network (SADSEM)	They offer training courses in democratic civil-military relations and management of peace support operations to senior defence officials and military officers.
Macroeconomic and Financial Management Institute of Eastern and Southern Africa (MEFMI)	Its activities are targeted at building capacity in critical areas of macroeconomic and financial management.
Mweleko wa NGO (MWENGO)	It was established in 1999 as a reflection and development centre to enhance the capacity of NGOs in Eastern and Southern Africa. It is currently playing an important role in equipping NGOs to respond to the new challenges opened-up by the European Union/ACP Cotonou Agreement.

Source: Source: Isaksen, J. 2002. Restructuring SADC- Progress and Problems. Bergen, Norway: Chr Michelsen Institute.

Table 7. Non-Governmental Organisations and their relationships with governments in the region

Country	Organisations	Government-NGO Relations
<u>Angola</u>	Forum for Angolan NGOs is the umbrella body.	Because of the nature of politics and political institutions in that country, very little interaction occurs between Angolan NGOs and their government.
Botswana	Council of NGOs umbrella body.	Government consults NGOs about policies.
DRC	No umbrella organisation for NGOs exists in this country.	The precarious nature of the political regime in the DRC contributes to the weak relationship between the government and NGOs.
Lesotho	The Lesotho Council of NGOs established in 1990, is the umbrella body. It concentrates on human rights and drought relief.	Relationship with government is limited to participating in economic forums and contributions to elections preparations.
Malawi	Council for NGOs umbrella body in Malawi.	The NGO umbrella body has representation at all levels. Its relations with government can be seen as good.
Mozambique	No NGO umbrella body exists in this country. Coordination body called link: 50% national and 50% international NGOs.	Because of the fragmented nature of the NGO community in this country its relations with government is weak, and hence its policy influence minimal.
Mauritius	No NGO umbrella body exists in Mauritius.	NGO and the government relations are non-existent.
South Africa	SANGOF is the umbrella body.	Strong policy dialogue and influence with government: many SA government functionaries and leaders from NGO sector.
Swaziland	Coordinating Assembly of NGOs formed in 1983.	Government has a precarious relationship with NGOs.

Tanzania	TANGO co-ordinating body works	NGOs have a dialogue with government, but not yet a development partnership. The recently formed NGO debt coalition in Tanzania seeks to establish such a development partnership.
Zambia	Two co-ordinating bodies: NGOCC (gender) and ZCSD (all)	Government-NGO relations are good. Indeed the Zambian government finances for some NGOs, and also seconds technical staff to NGOs, amongst others. However, civil society actors' vehemently opposed recent calls for a third term by the Chiluba government. Moreover, civil society in that country are also actively involved in drafting plans for spending money made available by debt relief on reducing poverty. (Mail and Guardian, January 12 to 18, 2001).
Zimbabwe	National Association of NGOs	Relations between especially the trade union, which is now the official opposition and the government, are tenuous.

Source: National Economic Development and Labour Council, March 1999.

5.4 Conclusion

It has been illustrated that in the 1990s, the character and functions of regions have experienced a major transformation. Similarly, the process of uneven globalisation, which excludes some sectors from the global production system, have opened-up political space in which civil society activities could be expanded. In the context of southern African regionalism, the argument is that social and political forces that transcend the state, also contribute to an expanded conception of regions and the notion of regionalism in southern Africa.

The implications of the above for southern Africans are that they are now being granted the opportunity to become agents in the regional integration process. Indeed, informal economic and socio-cultural cross-border interaction among small and private business, traders and people, ethnic and cultural networks, and so forth, are formed more or less all over southern Africa. These linkages are historically embedded provide the impulses upon which a better understanding of a southern African community beyond national borders, could be built.

Trans-border activities of the people of southern Africa, which predates colonialism, lend new meaning and value to the region and the notion of regional communities, and, in doing so, provide or make allowance for the conception of regionalism, which transcends state-centrism. The shared history and culture of the people of southern Africa, already provides the impulses around which these economic and cultural networks can be developed regionally. This allows southern Africans the opportunity to establish a regional system that transcends state-centred understanding of community in southern Africa.

New approaches to the study of regionalism also recognise the specific historical experience of a particular space. This inherent regionness presupposes that regions are also re-defined by 'the people' who are conscious of their transnational past and form a transnational community in doing so. This suggests that

alternative conceptions of the region do exist and finds manifestation in increasing cross-regional contact of ordinary people. New regionalism incorporates and explains these empirical phenomena.

The construction of a new regional community need to be based on understanding these spontaneous intercourses, which have been borne from the mingling brought about by increasing cross-border contact. Such spontaneous networks of individuals and groups that often use historically embedded cultural and social ties transcend state-centric notions of regions and regionalism. As such, they form a transnational community that lies beyond the narrow conception of regionalism by states. Cross-regional contact of ordinary people illustrates that a nascent community is being formed beyond the frontiers of southern African states. With the re-construction of organisations of the sub-region, it was hoped that these organisations were to become more responsive to both spontaneous processes unfolding in the region and more organised sectors of civil society, such as NGOs.

The provision made by SADC for NGO participation in the region is the interface at which bottom-up civil society gets recognised by the state body. This has allowed these NGOs to provide meaningful input to building a regional community that is not state-dominated and elite-driven. The Southern African Human Rights NGO Network, The SADC Parliamentary Forum and the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa³⁶⁰ are all-through monitoring the activities of SADC- providing the impulses upon which a region-wide public debate about the direction of SADC should be based.

The actions of regional NGOs and the ordinary people in the struggle for democracy in countries such as Swaziland and

³⁶⁰ While these two organisations provide an invaluable service to the region, it has limitations. For instance, the SADC-PF is not a regional parliament with legislative powers to hold the SADC Summit accountable. It ostensibly function, therefore, is to serve as a watch-dog body, while regional elites shape and drive regional integration. Similarly, Electoral Commission Forum strives to enhance the effectiveness of the election commissions in managing elections and ensuring democratic quality elections. The Forum has so far played a limited role in influencing SADC in striving towards quality elections and institutionalising democracy.

Zimbabwe suggests that the route to community in the region lie outside the discourses of power which have constructed the region's current state system. The actions of these non-state actors not only lead to transforming the region's economic and political landscape, but also imply that social relations include a regional dimension. Moreover, it represents a compelling example of both developing identity and community in formation beyond national borders. It also suggests that the route to community in the region may well lie beyond the discourses of power which have constructed the region's current state system. As such, using state-centric lenses to define southern Africa, suggest a poor basis for understanding the region.

It also shows that local goals can be achieved by reaching out to the broader region in order to realise ostensible national goals. This offers southern Africans the opportunity to construct a regional community based on shared concerns and charted by human-centred politics. The establishment of regional sub-networks on debt and poverty in southern Africa means that organised civil society actors as agents for a new region are engaging regional governments to ensure that the poor and the marginalised in southern Africa benefit from it. This suggests that the dominant conception of a regional community in southern Africa driven by states alone is increasingly at odds with events on the ground.

These linkages represent both an opportunity and challenge in the search for a developmental regional civil society in southern Africa. What has been demonstrated is that there are both attempts at radically transforming society- an alternative regional order- and attempts at simply reforming the existing regional order. The division between the Landless Peoples Movement, APF, Jubilee on one side, and SANGOCO on the other, at the World Summit on Development march, because of accusations that SANGOCO is giving in to government pressure, illustrates the difficulties that society based actors have to overcome in a national setting³⁶¹.

³⁶¹ I am indebted to Aswin Desai for this point.

Moreover, this suggests that a process of political struggle is underway in the region, which weighs heavily in favour of the dominant capitalist classes. This is because dominant interests are powerful in organisational terms and tends to penetrate and influence state policy far more than community movements or even institutionalised non-governmental organisations. This suggests that the disposition of states in the region remain critical in determining the scope and content of both inter-state and transnational relations. Moreover, it implies that even the reform of organisations in the sub-region is not wholly responsive to bottom-up regionalism developing outside the confines of regional states. What is needed to enhance and sustain this process of bottom-up regionalism among NGOs is to establish networks with their Northern counterparts.

NGOs also have much to gain from forging North-South linkages. The coalition formed by South African NGOs and former anti-apartheid groups in Germany, Switzerland and the United Kingdom are indicative of the potential for building North-South NGO alliances. The conference that was held in December 2000 in Bonn, Germany, called on foreign banks to compensate the people of Southern Africa for the brutal repression they helped finance (Mail and Guardian, December 8 to 14, 2000). This initiative is part of a broader movement called the International Campaign on Apartheid-Caused Debt in southern Africa.

What is ultimately happening is that across the region progressive elements in civil society are challenging the state on several fronts: on gender issues, the rights of minorities, industrial democracy and its failure to deliver redistributive justice. It is around these issue-areas and informal networks, which occur beyond the geometry of state influence that a developmental regional civil society can best be built. These struggles, mute as they are, could be the precursors of a more intense and sustained struggle for a developmental regional civil society in southern Africa.

Ultimately, the delimitation of the region will have to decidedly be determined by actual practice, and not just (physical) geography

or formal political and economic co-operation. Civil societies, like governments and transnational forces, have the ability to penetrate and transcend national economies and societies as is the case in contemporary southern Africa. Solutions to issues such as disease, the displacement of people, developmental democracy and migration, will only be properly addressed if there is increased interaction between and among peoples of the region through the establishment of trans-regional issue-networks.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the Cold War, regions and regional concerts were seen as the basis upon which a new international order was to be built. In the post-Cold War period, the study of regions and regionalism need to recognise that only states participate in the construction of regions and the practice of regionalism. The definition of regions and regionalism needs to recognise that other actors also participate in the construction of regions and the practice of regionalism. A broader definition of regions and regionalism, which such a re-conceptualisation would entail, presupposes an inclusive typology of both state-based and society-based actors.

Such an expanded regional space provides for a different and multifaceted conception of regions and the notion of regional communities. This suggests that what is needed, in the 1990s and beyond, is a new type of regionalism that is, among others, open and inclusive and driven by both state and non-state actors. Social constructivism, which informs definitions of regionalism in the 1990s, and as such has displaced previous approaches, views regions as social and political constructs, formed by both states and non-state actors. The study of regional integration in southern Africa has largely been conducted within the confines of inter-state integration. As such integration in the region has not catalogue non-state actor integration.

In the context of southern Africa, a 'new' approach to the study of regionalism opened-up possibilities for recognising that regionalism in its contemporary form is a multifaceted process that involves both state and non-state actors and occurs within the institutional space provided by states, but also outside of such space. This would entail re-configuring the definition of southern Africa, to make allowance for such insights. In the context of southern Africa, a 'new' approach to the study of regionalism open-up possibilities for recognising that regionalism in its

contemporary form is a multifaceted process that involves both state and non-state actors, and covers a range of issues.

Up to now, mainstream theories of integration have historically concern itself only with the role of the state. It is, however, necessary to probe how integration theory accounts for a change in regionalism in the 1990s and beyond. Theories of neo-functionalism and Transactionalism, deal incompletely with outcomes appropriate to developing countries. State-centric conceptions of regionalism inadequately deal with issues of a transnational nature, such as poverty and unemployment. As a result, people remain vulnerable to top-down forms of regionalism driven by the forces of globalisation. This calls for a new approach in the analytical study of regionalism in a transnational context. The transformation of the world economy, in the aftermath of the Cold War, has contributed to renewed calls for a new approach in the analytical study of regionalism in a transnational context.

Historically, however, SADCC used neo-functionalist precepts since its formation, while SACU has also been an inter-state regional grouping. One of the positive spin-offs from following neo-functionalist logic since its formation was that the countries in southern Africa collectively mobilised resources for infrastructural development based on co-ordinated and mutually perceived common interests.

Furthermore, the usefulness of state-centric Neo-Functionalism in southern Africa was obvious at the level of the integration and socialisation of regional elites. This produced a strong sense of political solidarity and co-operation among these elites. It should be used to deepen the integration process in southern Africa. However, political solidarity and co-operation alone will not lead to supranationality. This would require the capacity of both state and non-state actors.

The prime failure of Neo-functionalism in southern Africa, therefore, is that non-state actors have been excluded in regional integration efforts. For regionalism in southern Africa to cater for broad-based development, there is a need to involve states, markets and civil society, since these are already expanding on their own and creating 'facts on the ground'. This suggests that

regionalism needs to capture the activities of non-state actors as well.

The rise of transactionalism in the late 1970s and early 1980s presupposed that cultural, economic and political aspects of integration could no longer be understood within the bounds of states alone. Though it takes a less rigid view, transactionalism as another approach to the study of integration, is similarly state-centred in its definition of regional organisation. Here integration concerns itself with processes in which supranational institutions possessing binding decision-making power emerge from a convergence of self-interest on the part of various significant groups in society. While both SADCC and SACU made significant progress in the establishment of institutions possessing binding decision-making power, both excluded societal groups in their decision-making process.

The exclusion of societal groups in the decision-making processes of both SACU and SADCC occurred despite the technological developments that have produced world-wide information and communication networks. Furthermore, this exclusion also occurred despite the growth of transnational networks in the region. The growth of transnational relations in the region was exemplified by labour migration in the 1970s and 1980s. Transnational labour migration patterns during the 1970s and 1980s mirrored the trends in economic interdependencies among the nations in the region. The cobweb of relations that resulted from these technological developments has produced a deepening of social relations. In southern Africa the liberation struggles waged by the peoples of the region resulted in a deepening of social relations. Furthermore, cross-border economic exchanges and migration, brought about by worsening economic conditions in the 1980s have further reinforced these relations. However, all these have as yet not been developed into regional loyalties.

Whilst a nascent regional consciousness and identity, which was fostered, *inter alia*, by a common British colonial past, the liberation struggle and informal trade, exist in southern Africa, the regional inter-governmental bodies have failed to bring all sections of the region's societies into the mainstream of regional economic and political integration efforts. Regional integration needs to

touch the lives of the ordinary citizens of the region, since the building of new loyalties in the context of regional institutions can also contribute to pre-empting physical conflict.

This presupposes that we expand the conception of security to accommodate the marginalised, and as such begin to address broad-based development. Indeed, the poor and the marginalised should become involved in determining the content and form of regionalism. Thus, the building of a transnational community in the region that embrace both state and non-state actors, should encompass the most fundamental regional development. The New Regionalism approach can considerably contribute to achieving this. New regionalism, on the other hand, provides a framework for both state and non-state actors to set parameters for building new regional economic capacity.

New Regionalism as the creation of facts on the ground, amounts to an uncontrolled growth in transnational forces which has unintended consequences, like polarization. This makes a regional redistributive mechanism necessary or justifiable. It is now recognised that regional development is contingent on co-ordinated development, which implicitly necessitates a regional intervention mechanism. In southern Africa, this intellectual shift is most clearly visible in the move from a Co-ordinating Conference to a Development Community.

This shift in thinking necessarily implies renewed thinking on how to address the issues of a lasting regional order, against the background of changing national, regional and international realities. Market mechanisms, it is widely acknowledged, cannot address the issue of the fair distribution of benefits resulting from regional integration. Neither can it shed light on the vexing question on how to ensure that industrialisation should or could benefit the less-developed members of the integrating community in southern Africa.

Furthermore, the role to be played by non-state actors - and the framework needed to clarify that role - will have to be the product of increased engagement between the states of southern Africa and non-state actors. This would require popular participation in and control of national and regional decision-making by citizens

through their representative bodies such as political parties, trade unions and others. The establishment of democratic and vibrant civil societies throughout the region is an essential precondition for this.

In this regard, state and non-state actors have a critical role to play in transforming regional institutions, to confront the challenge of integration in the next century. Developmental Regionalism, as a critical element of New Regionalism, has important lessons to offer, and indeed aptly articulates the process of regionalism unfolding in southern Africa. Historically, the political nature of regionalism, still make it difficult for states to make allowance for non-state actors in their attempts to deepen regional integration in southern Africa.

The history of regionalism in southern Africa, up to 1994, was premised on political considerations, not developmental ones. In the case of SACU, for instance, South Africa promoted regional development centred on its own parochial national economy. This is illustrated by South Africa's development of its manufacturing capacity since the mid-1920s. Furthermore, the trade balance that weighs heavily in favour of South Africa in the Customs Union bears testimony to lopsided economic development in SACU.

The goal of overall economic development was never part of the logic that underscored SACU. To the contrary, South Africa was more concerned with counter-acting the trade diversion suffered by smaller member countries, as a result of it pursuing its own economic goals. This prompted the introduction of a compensatory mechanism and distribution of additional revenue.

The reliance of these smaller countries on this revenue, which constitutes a major portion of their public revenue, further entrenched their dependence on South Africa (See table 1). Furthermore, not only does South Africa dwarf these countries in terms of population (see table 3), they also rely heavily on South Africa's telecommunication channels, its road and rail routes, especially to the sea. Moreover, one of the essential dimensions of the dependent relation between South Africa and smaller Customs Union members remains labour migration.

Moreover, both SACU Non-SACU member states were reliant on the apartheid Republic for transport and export routes (rail and port traffic). South Africa also had control over the service sector and (the marketing of regional agricultural produce. In the 1970s and 80s apartheid South Africa made political use of its economic dominance by establishing CONSAS. Historically thus, SACU can be viewed as a political arrangement used by South Africa to advance its own development through the creation of its own market and economic hinterland.

SACU, in the final analysis, emerged as a pragmatic trade and payment arrangement. It was never a development or growth oriented integration programme. What held SACU together was largely due to the revenue that it provided the BLS countries. The distribution of these customs and excise revenue in favour of BLS countries was intended to compensate them for the loss of sovereignty in setting their own tariffs, for the polarisation effect of the Customs Union and for higher prices resulting from protectionist policies of South Africa. Both the 1910 and 1969 agreements illustrate South Africa's highhandedness and unilateralism, the power of its industrial lobby and the general hostage situation of the BLS countries. The SACU agreements of 1910 and 1969 were, thus, political not developmental projects. The formation of SADCC was, similarly, politically-oriented and not developmentally focussed.

SADCC succeeded in bringing together widely different economic and political systems. Significantly and particularly due to its opposition to apartheid, the region alongside the Frontline states developed political cohesiveness and forged a regional identity. Notwithstanding its reliance on international donor support, it achieved limited success in the regional rehabilitation of infrastructure. Lastly, its reliance on donor support produced a paradox: SADCC became aid dependent, but managed to retain the attention of the international community on southern Africa. As such it contributed to ensuring that southern Africa in the struggle against apartheid and in responding to regional destabilisation does not become marginalised internationally. However, SADCC has achieved only limited regional integration for a number of reasons.

The logic that underpins the existence of SADCC was premised on a political goal: to counter South Africa's economic and military hegemony. As such, governments and political considerations drove its instruments of co-operation. Moreover, the promotion of regional development was not clearly encapsulated in the SADCC framework for regional co-operation. Not surprisingly therefore, the levels of economic development and industrialisation, were low. Moreover, development priorities, production structures, resource allocation and resource endowments, *inter alia*, were diverse. The lack of higher levels of integration and industrialisation, were also influenced by SADCC's institutional structure, which does not compel compliance with regional objectives.

SADCC failed to promote equitable economic integration in the region, because it was ostensibly driven by political considerations. Also it was a statist project that did not involve non-state actors. SADCC, thus, failed to co-ordinate national with regional development, largely because it was so loosely organised, politically diverse, and donor driven, which meant that it could never put forward a comprehensive plan for redeveloping the region.

Regionalism in the 1990s and beyond needs to account for these changing realities. Political factors in the international relations of the region, such as the end of the Cold War, and the weakening of states in the region, manifested in less outside aid and support, all allows for a more developmental focus. In addition, weakening economies- due to debt and SAPs- gave rise to non-state transnational activity. Cross-border regional contact in the aftermath of apartheid, have also opened-up opportunities for deeper community building in the region.

The downfall of apartheid and the end of the Cold War has resulted in the quest the promotion of deeper regional co-operation and integration. This has led to calls for deeper institutionalisation in southern Africa. Specifically, the BLNS countries have argued that that SACU is undemocratic and that they were industrially underdeveloped. South Africa, on the other hand, has pointed out that it was no longer willing to subsidise the BLNS countries and called for a new revenue-sharing formula.

The democratisation of the organisation led to the establishment of an inclusive Secretariat, based in Windhoek, Namibia.

The revenue formula was also reformed, to include an economic component which caters for the economic of smaller member states. This is in line with new approaches to regionalism, which seek to ensure that members of a regional grouping develop collectively. However, doubts have been expressed on whether the reformulated revenue-sharing formula will lead to equitable regional development. Despite the changes to the revenue-sharing formula and the fact that the institutions of SACU have been democratised, the disposition of member states remains central to regional integration efforts. In other words, states remain the only actor in the regionalisation and regional integration process. This remains a crucial institutional deficit.

Nowhere does the institutional reform of SACU cater for the involvement of actors outside the institutional structure of the organisation. This suggests that there is as yet no realisation on the part of SACU that regional organisations and regions are social constructs, which can be moulded to address broad-based development. The non-involvement of non-state actors also neglects the fact that people in SACU share a common cultural and historical background built on migrant labour, which manifests itself in trans-border activities. These trans-border activities lend new meaning to regions and the notion of regional communities. In doing so, it contributes to regionness in SACU. What is needed, therefore, is to change the institutional structure of SACU to make allowance for informal regionalism, which takes place spontaneously throughout the region. In such a way, SACU as an institution can build durable and sustainable regionalism. The early 1990s also saw the reform SADCC into SADC.

The reconfiguration of SADCC into SADC fuelled the perception that a new enthusiasm for regional integration as an essential strategy for the achievement of economic development was discernable. Developments in the SADC region have done much to heighten such expectations. SADC constituted itself as a legally binding treaty with powers to enforce compliance with decisions taken. It differs thus much from SADCC at the outset. However, it was recognised that the institutions of SADC remained

weak, because national priorities enjoyed preference over regional concerns.

What compounded this problem was the fact that, whilst SADC is a legally binding treaty, member states still seems to focus on national as opposed to regional development. This is a direct consequence of the SADC/C's reliance on consensus in the realm of decision-making. The development integration approach adopted by SADC in 1992, posited that the organisation was committed to a comprehensive and multifaceted approach to regionalism. This approach, arguably, contributed to the success the organisation had in the domains of infrastructural development. SADC was also reasonably successful in securing donor funding for developmental projects. However, such funding did not secure the development of regional initiatives, but was rather used for national development purposes.

In addition to the above, the SADC Secretariat remained weak, as was pointed out by the review of the organisations' programmes in 1997. The involvement of non-state actors in the SADC Programme of Action also evolved considerably since the mid-1990s. Recent institutional reforms, suggested that SADC did not achieve all its objectives. It pointed to low levels of integration, weak institutional capacity, a reliance of donor aid, which was exacerbated by the inability to attract foreign direct investment and the non-involvement of sectors outside the organisations' institutional structure.

SADC be able to heighten its levels of integration if it take cognisance of the fact that new approaches to regionalism is a comprehensive and multifaceted process that takes place on various levels and involve both state and non-state actors. Heightening levels of integration presupposes the 'marriage' of formal and informal processes of integration. The replacement of the sectoral co-ordinating units by directorates, points to previous institutional inefficiency. It also must be viewed as an attempt by SADC to address the lack of synergy between national and regional concerns. Strengthen the institutional structure of the organisation, would ensure that regional institutions become durable and sustainable. The new SADC structure is, thus, a major attempt to address the weaknesses, which have

characterised SADC institutions since the establishment of the Community in 1992.

To achieve the objectives of region-wide GDP growth of 7 per cent SADC as an institution will have to attract considerable foreign direct investment. The organisation also intends to finance some of operations of SADC itself. This does not mean that the organisation will not need foreign aid. Foreign aid will continue to play a significant role in, especially, the development of social infrastructure, such as in the transport and communication sectors.

SADC had made a concerted effort to involve the private sector in regional development, through public-private partnerships. There is, however, as yet, no recognition that societal actors outside of its institutions could play a decisive role in deepening regionalism and increasing regionness. As yet, reconstructed organisations of the sub-continent have not been sufficiently responsive to bottom-up regionalism. What is needed, therefore, is for civil society actors to deliberately enhance their capacity for engaging regional bodies. At a formal level, this means strengthening their cross-border collaboration capacities. To achieve this, civil society must also create the potential economic and social space to play an important role in determining the content and scope of regionalism in southern Africa.

The character and functions of regions have experienced a major transformation. Similarly, the process of uneven globalisation, which excludes some sectors from the global production system, have opened-up political space in which civil society activities could be expanded. In the context of southern African regionalism, the argument is that social and political forces that transcend the state, also contribute to an expanded conception of regions and the notion of regionalism in southern Africa.

The implications of the above for southern Africans are that they are now being granted the opportunity to become agents in the regional integration process. Indeed, informal economic and socio-cultural cross-border interaction among small and private business, traders and people, ethnic and cultural networks, and so forth, are formed more or less all over southern Africa. These linkages are historically embedded provide the impulses upon

which a better understanding of a southern African community beyond national borders, could be built.

Trans-border activities of the people of southern Africa, which predates colonialism, lend new meaning and value to the region and the notion of regional communities, and, in doing so, provide or make allowance for the conception of regionalism, which transcends state-centrism. The shared history and culture of the people of southern Africa, already provides the impulses around which these economic and cultural networks can be developed regionally. This allows southern Africans the opportunity to establish a regional system that transcends state-centred understanding of community in southern Africa.

New approaches to the study of regionalism also recognise the specific historical experience of a particular space. This inherent regionness presupposes that regions are also re-defined by 'the people' who are conscious of their transnational past and form a transnational community in doing so. This suggests that alternative conceptions of the region do exist and finds manifestation in increasing cross-regional contact of ordinary people. New regionalism incorporates and explains these empirical phenomena.

The construction of a new regional community need to be based on understanding these spontaneous intercourses, which have been borne from the mingling brought about by increasing cross-border contact. Such spontaneous networks of individuals and groups that often use historically embedded cultural and social ties transcend state-centric notions of regions and regionalism. As such, they form a transnational community that lies beyond the narrow conception of regionalism by states. Cross-regional contact of ordinary people illustrates that a nascent community is being formed beyond the frontiers of southern African states. With the re-construction of organisations of the sub-region, it was hoped that these organisations were to become more responsive to both spontaneous processes unfolding in the region and more organised sectors of civil society, such as NGOs.

The provision made by SADC for NGO participation in the region is the interface at which bottom-up civil society gets recognised by the state body. This has allowed these NGOs to provide

meaningful input to building a regional community that is not state-dominated and elite-driven. The Southern African Human Rights NGO Network, The SADC Parliamentary Forum and the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa are all- through monitoring the activities of SADC- providing the impulses upon which a region-wide public debate about the direction of SADC should be based.

The actions of regional NGOs and the ordinary people in the struggle for democracy in countries such as Swaziland and Zimbabwe suggests that the route to community in the region lie outside the discourses of power which have constructed the region's current state system. The actions of these non-state actors not only lead to transforming the region's economic and political landscape, but also imply that social relations include a regional dimension. Moreover, it represents a compelling example of both developing identity and community in formation beyond national borders. It also suggests that the route to community in the region may well lie beyond the discourses of power which have constructed the region's current state system. As such, using state-centric lenses to define southern Africa, suggest a poor basis for understanding the region.

It also shows that local goals can be achieved by reaching out to the broader region in order to realise ostensible national goals. This offers southern Africans the opportunity to construct a regional community based on shared concerns and charted by human-centred politics. The establishment of regional sub-networks on debt and poverty in southern Africa means that organised civil society actors as agents for a new region are engaging regional governments to ensure that the poor and the marginalised in southern Africa benefit from it. This suggests that the dominant conception of a regional community in southern Africa driven by states alone is increasingly at odds with events on the ground.

These linkages represent both an opportunity and challenge in the search for a developmental regional civil society in southern Africa. What has been demonstrated is that there are both attempts at radically transforming society- an alternative regional order- and attempts at simply reforming the existing regional order. The division between the Landless Peoples Movement, APF, Jubilee on one side, and SANGOCO on the other, at the

World Summit on Development march, because of accusations that SANGOCO is giving in to government pressure, illustrates the difficulties that society based actors have to overcome in a national setting.

Moreover, this suggests that a process of political struggle is underway in the region, which weighs heavily in favour of the dominant capitalist classes. This is because dominant interests are powerful in organisational terms and tends to penetrate and influence state policy far more than community movements or even institutionalised non-governmental organisations. This suggests that the disposition of states in the region remain critical in determining the scope and content of both inter-state and transnational relations. Moreover, it implies that even the reform of organisations in the sub-region is not wholly responsive to bottom-up regionalism developing outside the confines of regional states.

What is ultimately happening is that across the region progressive elements in civil society are challenging the state on several fronts: on gender issues, the rights of minorities, industrial democracy and its failure to deliver redistributive justice. It is around these issue-areas and informal networks, which occur beyond the geometry of state influence that a developmental regional civil society can best be built. These struggles, mute as they are, could be the precursors of a more intense and sustained struggle for a developmental regional civil society in southern Africa.

Ultimately, the delimitation of the region will have to decidedly be determined by actual practice, and not just (physical) geography or formal political and economic co-operation. Civil societies, like governments and transnational forces, have the ability to penetrate and transcend national economies and societies as is the case in contemporary southern Africa. Solutions to issues such as disease, the displacement of people, developmental democracy and migration, will only be properly addressed if there is increased interaction between and among peoples of the region through the establishment of trans-regional issue-networks.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: The Southern African Development Community (SADC)

Country	Independence Date	Government Form	Official Language
Angola	11 November 1975	Unitary Republic	Portuguese
Botswana	30 September 1966	Unitary Republic	English, Tswana
DR Congo	30 June 1960	Unitary Republic	French
Lesotho	4 October 1966	Unitary Kingdom	English, South Sotho
Malawi	6 July 1964	Unitary Republic	English, Chewa
Mauritius	12 March 1968	Unitary Republic	English, French
Mozambique	25 June 1975	Unitary Republic	Portuguese
Namibia	21 March 1990	Unitary Republic	English
Seychelles	26 June 1976	Unitary Republic	English, French-Kreole
South Africa	31 May 1910	Federal Republic	English ³⁶²
Swaziland	6 September 1968	United Kingdom	English, Seswati
Tanzania	9 December 1961	Unitary Republic	English
Zambia	24 October 1964	Unitary Republic	English
Zimbabwe	18 April 1980	Unitary Republic	English

Source: McGowan, P. 1998. "The regional sub-system of Southern Africa" in P. Nel and P. McGowan (eds.). Power, Wealth and Global Order: An International Relations Textbook for Africa. Rondebosch: UCT Press.

³⁶² South Africa has eleven official languages: Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, North Sotho, South Sotho, Siswati, Tsingana, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu.

Appendix 2: Sectoral Responsibilities of SADC Countries

Country	Sectoral Responsibility
Angola	Energy
Botswana	Agricultural Research, Livestock Production, Animal Disease Control
Lesotho	Environment and Land Management, Water
Malawi	Inland Fisheries, Forestry, Wildlife
Mauritius	Tourism
Mozambique	Culture, Information and Sport, Transport and Communication
Namibia	Marine Fisheries and Resources
South Africa	Finance and Investment, Health
Swaziland	Human Resource Development
Tanzania	Industry and Trade
Zambia	Employment and Labour, Mining
Zimbabwe	Crop Production, Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources

Source: The Official SADC Trade, Industry and Investment Review, 1999.

Appendix 3

Functions of the SADC Directorates

Trade, finance, industry and investment:

Harmonisation of policies, strategies and programmes in the following areas:

- a) Market Integration;
- b) Macroeconomic domain;
- c) Investment promotion;
- d) Industrial development, particularly SMEs;
- e) Development of mining and beneficiation of mineral resources;
- f) Sustainable and equitable economic development;
- g) Inter-regional and multilateral economic cooperation;
- h) Functional, efficient and development-oriented financial sector; and
- i) The acquisition, adaptation and application of science and technology to enhance competitiveness

Infrastructure and services:

- a) Harmonization of transport and communication policies;
- b) Coordination of development, maintenance and administration of transport, water and energy infrastructure;
- c) Promotion of an enabling environment for investment;
- d) Promotion of the development of physical and social infrastructure that contributes to poverty alleviation;
- e) Harmonization of energy policies, strategies and programmes;
- f) Coordinate the development of tourism infrastructure and related services.

Food, agriculture and natural resources:

- a) Ensuring sustainable food security policies and programmes;
- b) Harmonization in phytosanitary, sanitary, crop and animal husbandry policies;
- c) To develop measures to increase agricultural output and the

- development of agro-based industries;
- d) Harmonization of policies and programmes aimed at effective and sustainable utilization of natural resources such as water, wildlife, fisheries, forestry etc;
 - e) Development and harmonization of sound environmental management policies.

Social and human development and special programmes:

- a) Harmonization of educational, skills development and training policies, strategies and programmes;
- b) Harmonization of policies towards social welfare for the vulnerable groups;
- c) Harmonization of health care policies and standards;
- d) To harmonize employment policies and labour standards;
- e) To coordinate the development of policies to effectively combat the HIV/AIDS pandemic and all other communicable diseases;
- f) To manage special programmes such as combating illicit drugs, small arms trafficking as well as demining;
- g) To ensure the management of SADC regional disaster management centre;
- h) To harmonize and coordinate cultural, information and sports policies and programmes;
- i) Harmonization of policies at local, national and regional level.

Source: Lee (2003:54-55)