

The Political Economy of Regionalism

Also by Fredrik Söderbaum

THEORIES OF NEW REGIONALISM: a Palgrave Reader

THE NEW REGIONALISM IN AFRICA

REGIONALISM AND UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA: the Case of the Maputo Development Corridor

REGIONALIZATION IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD: a Comparative
Perspective on Forms, Actors and Processes

HANDBOOK OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN AFRICA

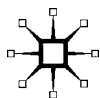
The Political Economy of Regionalism

The Case of Southern Africa

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*For the needy
shall not always be forgotten:
the expectation of the poor
shall not perish forever.*

Psalm 9: 18

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Foreword by Björn Hettne

This book is a welcome and original contribution to the growing field of new regionalism studies. Regionalism was previously ('the old regionalism') conceived as an endogenous process, which can be understood from the early efforts at theorizing it. Classical regional integration theories from the 1950s and 1960s primarily dealt with European integration, as there were few other regional experiments to theorize about. The historical context was the bipolar world order, which imposed a Cold War logic on the process of regionalization, not only in Europe but also in other areas where regional integration experiments were initiated. The 'new regionalism' from the mid-1980s, in contrast, is a multidimensional societal process that takes shape in a very different, increasingly multipolar world order, in which also a variety of non-state actors are operating at several levels of the global system. The new regionalism has been described as 'open', and thus compatible with a globalized world economy. At the same time it is a voluntary process coming from within the emerging regions, where the constituent states experience the imperative of cooperation in order to tackle global challenges.

Apart from signifying the growing field of studies of the new regionalism, the concept of regionalism refers to the region-building political project, whereas regionalization means the formation of regions, whether by region-building actors or through more spontaneous processes. The concept of region is one of the more complex in social science. It includes *subnational* regions (historical provinces or newly formed micro-regions) as well as *supranational* regions (world regions or macro-regions). Subregions form part of large macro-regions that provide a convenient political framework, legitimizing a more autonomous behaviour on the part of subnational regions, or micro-regions. The latter are complex and varying, sometimes crossing borders between adjoining countries, thereby forming transnational micro-regions. In all, this creates a new post-Westphalian political landscape. This new landscape is in spite of the growing literature still rather unknown. There is need for more theorizing as well as more empirical data. Above all it is essential to go beyond state-centric theories as well as too much focus on state actors.

This book on the new regionalism in Southern Africa is a welcome contribution in both respects since it has two mutually reinforcing aims, one theoretical and one empirical. The theoretical aim is to move towards a more coherent regionalism theory. The empirical aim is to analyse the social construction of Southern Africa in the post-apartheid, post-Cold War era, with a particular focus on by whom, for whom and for what purpose various forms of regionalism occur. It is shown that states, markets and civil societies are all involved in a series of overlapping, contradictory and sometimes competing forms of regionalism.

In order to improve the theory of regionalism relevant studies must analyse the interplay of regionalism on different levels of society, as well as between regionalization and globalization. This book shows how ruling political elites and 'big business' actors come together with certain external actors in mixed-actor coalitions in order to take advantage of economic globalization, reinforce privatization and liberalization, boost narrow regime interests or satisfy group-specific and even personal interests. However, only rarely do these forms of regionalism contribute to the poor and disadvantaged, who instead opt out and survive through informal economic regionalism from below or create alternative and transformative regionalism. Hence, there is a struggle for the political content of regionalization, in Africa as elsewhere in the world.

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I am sincerely grateful to my interviewees as well as all the other persons assisting me during the field trips, particularly Clive Napier and Philip Nel for arranging my research visits to the Department of Political Science at the University of South Africa (in 1997 and 1998) and the Department of Political Science at the University of Stellenbosch (1999), respectively. The staff of the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala have always been helpful, and special thanks for the assistance during my stay as guest researcher in 1999.

Sometimes this volume builds on and integrates results from other authored and co-authored texts. Parts of Chapter 2 draw on my piece 'Regionalism', in Nicola Phillips (ed.), *Globalising Political Economy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Chapter 7 builds further on a previous study by Patrik Stålgren and Fredrik Söderbaum, 'Microregionalism in the Zambezi River Basin', in Shaun Breslin and Glenn Hook (eds) *Microregionalism and World Order* (Palgrave, 2002).

My understanding of the Maputo Development Corridor has benefited from a close research collaboration with Ian Taylor. Chapter 8 has been heavily influenced by our joint texts, especially our edited volume *Regionalism and Uneven Development in Southern Africa: the Case of the Maputo Development Corridor* (Ashgate, 2003) and 'Transmission Belt for Transnational Capital or Facilitator for Development – Problematising the Role of the State in the Maputo Development Corridor', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 39 (4) (2001): 675–95.

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Göteborg, February 2004
Fredrik Söderbaum

List of Abbreviations

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ADB	African Development Bank
ADEN	African Development Education Network
AEC	African Economic Community
AERC	African Economic Research Consortium
AFREPREN	African Energy Policy Research Network
AFRODAD	African Forum on Debt and Development
AFRONET	Inter-African Network for Human Rights and Development
AGOA	US Africa Growth and Opportunity Act
AIA	Africa Information Afrique
AIDC	Alternative Information and Development Center
ANC	African National Congress
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
AU	African Union
BLNS	Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland
BOT	build, operate and transfer
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CBI/RIFF	Cross-Border Initiative/Regional Integration Facilitation Forum
CEO	chief executive officer
CEPGL	Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries
CIC	Cabinet Investment Cluster
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIP	Investment Promotion Centre of Mozambique
CMA	Common Monetary Area
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CONGAC	Confederation of Environment and Development NGOs in Central Africa
CONSAE	Constellation of Southern African Economies
CONSAS	Constellation of Southern African States
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DFID	Department for International Development

DOT	Department of Transport
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DPRU	Development Policy Research Unit
DTI	Department of Transport and Industry
EAC	East African Cooperation
EASD	Empowerment for African Sustainable Development
ECA	UN Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
EGWA	Education of Girls and Women in Africa
EJN	Eastern and Southern African Economic Justice Network
ELCI	Environment Liaison Center International
EPZ	export-processing zone
ESSET	Ecumenical Service for Socio-economic Transformation
EU	European Union
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
FDI	foreign direct investment
FEMNET	African Women Development Communication Network
FISCU	SADC Finance and Investment Sector Coordination Unit
FLS	Frontline States
FTA	free trade area
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	gross domestic product
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy
GNI	gross national income
GUE	Gender, Urbanization and Environment
HDI	human development index
ICVA	International Council of Voluntary Agencies
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa
IDZ	industrial development zone
IFI	international financial institution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOC	Indian Ocean Commission
IORTB	Indian Ocean Rim Trade Bloc
IPD	Institute for Participatory Development
IPE	international political economy
IR	international relations
ISA	USAID's Initiative for Southern Africa
ISRI	Instituto Superior de Relações Internacionais

LARRI	Labour Resource and Research Institute
LED	local economic development
MARINE	Marine Science Cooperation Programme
MCC	Maputo Corridor Company
MDC	Maputo Development Corridor
MERCOSUR	Mercado Común del Sur/Southern Common Market
MII	Mpumalanga Investment Initiative
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
Mozal	Mozambique Aluminium Smelter
MWENGO	Mwelekeo wa NGO/Reflection and Development Centre for NGOs in Eastern and Southern Africa
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAI	New African Initiative
NANGOF	Namibian Non-Governmental Organizations Forum
NEHAWU	National Education Health and Allied Workers Union
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NEPRU	Namibian Economic Policy Research Institute
NGO	non-governmental organization
NP	National Party (South Africa)
NRA	new regionalism approach
OUA	Organization of African Unity
OSDICC	Overall SDI Coordinating Committee
OSSREA	Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa
Padrigu	Department of Peace and Development Research, Göteborg University
PERC	Political Economy Research Centre, Univ. of Sheffield
PPP	public-private partnership
Prodder	Programme for Development Research
PTA	Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern African States
PTC	Mpumalanga MDC Provincial Technical Committee
REPH	Regional Research Collaboration in Reproductive Health in Africa
RESDIC	Regional SDI Committee
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAACCI	Southern African Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACDA	Southern African Catholic Development Association
SACP	South African Communist Party

SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SACTWU	Southern Africa Clothing and Textile Workers Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SAHRINGON	Southern African Human Rights NGO Network
SANGOCO	South African National NGO Coalition
SANGONet	Southern African Non-Governmental Organization Network
SAP	structural adjustment programme
SAPES	Southern African Political Economy Series
SAPP	Southern African Power Pool
SARA	Southern African Railway Association
SARB	South African Reserve Bank
SARDC	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
SARPN	Southern African Regional Poverty Network
SASU	Southern African Students' Union
SATCC	Southern African Transport and Communication Commission
SATUCC	Southern African Trade Union Coordination Council
SCU	Sector Coordinating Unit (within SADC)
SDI	spatial development initiative
SEATINI	Southern and Eastern African Trade Information Negotiations Institute
SEATOC	South East African Tourism Committee
SEJ	social and economic justice
SEMP	strategic environmental management plan
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SITCD	SADC Industry and Trade Coordinating Division
SMME	small, micro and medium enterprise
TIPS	Trade and Industrial Policy Secretariat
TRAC	TransAfrica Concessions
TRC	Transformation Resource Centre
TNC	transnational corporation
UN	United Nations
UNU/CRIS	United Nations University/Comparative Regional Integration Studies
UNU/WIDER	United Nations University/World Institute for Development Economics Research
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

USD	United States dollar
WEF	World Economic Forum
WESSA	Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
WOA	world order approach
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZACPLAN	Zambezi River Action Plan
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZIMCODD	Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development
ZMM-GT	Zambia–Malawi–Mozambique Growth Triangle
ZRA	Zambezi River Authority