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AFRICAN AGENCY VERSUS DEPENDENCY:

PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPMENTAL STATES GIVEN NATURAL RESOURCE GOVERNANCE

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Abstract

African growth in the 21st century will not necessarily lead to development unless its governance is enlightened. Then the balance between developmental & fragile states on the continent should change.

Several causes & correlates of 'African Agency' are identified, including new partners, state & non-state & the African Mining Vision. The analysis & articulation of development & foreign policies in Africa are in flux ahead of 2015.

Keywords: African agency, African Mining Vision, developmental states, energy, natural resources, PIIGS, transnational

Africa is growing because of the BRICS & despite the PIIGS: hence its advocacy of developmental states & African Mining Vision. Its resources like food, land & water are becoming increasingly scarce & conflictual. Novel analyses & policies are imperative ahead of post-2015 development directions.

Over the next five years…the average African economy will outpace its Asian counterpart…Africa's economy will grow at an average annual rate of 7% over the next 20 years, slightly faster than China's.

…Africa's changing fortunes have largely been driven by China's surging demand…but other factors have also counted…

…Without reforms, Africa will not be able to sustain faster growth. But its lion economies are earning a place alongside Asia's tigers.

ECONOMIST 2011: 73

The second decade of the 21st century may be that of Africa's renaissance, especially post-2015; symbolic of the times, The Economist (2013) published a special report in March 2013 on 'Emerging Africa: a hopeful continent'. But growth will not translate into sustainable development unless natural resource governance (NRG) is improved both on & around the continent. Meanwhile, as Africa's economic agencies, the UNECA along with the AfDB & AU have come to advocate the adoption of policies leading towards developmental states, so the continent has articulated an Africa Mining Vision (AMV) (AMV 2009, 2011a & b) (www.africaminingvision.org) by contrast to other possible strategies for such governance (Florini & Dubash 2011) from assorted global developmental, environmental, financial &

industrial agencies; these vary from the more intra- to inter-regional & uni- versus multi-sectoral (see ii) & iii) below).

This paper suggests that the emerging 'agency' versus 'dependency' debate (Brown 2012, Brown & Harman 2013, Harman & Brown 2013, Lorenz & Rempe 2013) can be approached as a correlate of the continent's recent unprecedented growth. This sets Africa apart from recent economic difficulties & setbacks in much of the established North of the OECD, especially the Eurozone. It reinforces the projections from both HSBC (2011) & PwC (2013) that China will overtake the US to become the world's largest economy before the end of the present decade, with India becoming the third economy by mid-century, when Brazil will overtake Japan. In turn, this relates to & resonates with the latest UNDP (2013) Human Development Report (HDR) for 2013 on the rise of the South: Asia & Latin America as well as Africa.

This paper juxtaposes two dominant interrelated strands in the political economy of today's continent: the impact of the BRICS, especially China (Xing with Osman 2013), & the return of a commodities boom, this time with a focus on energy & minerals but, in future: food, land & water? In turn, it notes the difficulties of the Euro's PIIGS & the declining salience of the EU symbolised by the stalling of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) project. And it reflects on the imperative of African NRG avoiding the resource curse.

As indicated in iv) below, a wide variety of novel alternative forms of finance are appearing from new donors & foundations, SWFs, FBOs & global taxes for global public goods/partnerships. Together, these strands mark the further evolution of African IR/IPE this century as the Dunn & Shaw (2001 & 2013) collection is reissued as an updated Classic & also translated into Chinese. The increasing salience of the continent was marked by a set of articles in International Affairs from Chatham House at the start of 2013, including a review of the field by Sophie Harman & William Brown (2013) which focused on two contrasting case studies: China in Africa & HIV/AIDS.

Half of the dozen fastest growing countries identified in the Economist's 'World in 2011' were African (Economist 2010a), from Ghana, the best-case example of democratic development to Angola, the new 'oil giant'. Such growth & associated changes in the nature of 'governance' inside & around the continent may expand the possibility & reach of 'agency' of African countries & communities (Brown 2012, Brown & Harman 2013, Lorenz & Rempe 2013): the ability of a range of African state & non-state actors to impact decisions & directions at a variety of levels by expanding their room for manoeuvre (Africa Progress Panel 2012). This unanticipated possibility is not just a function of continuing growth courtesy of the BRICS, especially China (Xing with Osman 2013). It also results from global rebalancing as the initial trans-Atlantic crisis at the end of the first decade spills over into the PIIGS of the Eurozone (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain) (Overbeek & Apeldoorn 2012) with Official Development Assistance (ODA) from Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries becoming less central and salient (Sumner & Mallett 2012, vom Hau, Scott & Hulme 2012, www.oecd.org). It may also incorporate analytic shifts that transcend such perspectives in other regions, especially in the ebullient global South (Hanson, Kararach and Shaw 2012, UNDP 2013). In short, established assumptions about inherited 'dependency' on the supposedly ubiquitous external need to be reconsidered, especially if the latter now includes burgeoning transnational diasporas (Ratha 2011, World Bank 2011b).

This rather optimistic projection reflects the 2011 declaration from the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (2011: 7-9 and 95-114) that the continent should adopt a 'developmental state' strategy which has led to some significant state and non-state expressions of agency that would have been unimaginable in previous 'neo-liberal' decades. As the UNECA declaration (2011: 2) further indicates: '…global developments have significant implications for African countries, though the direction and magnitude of impact naturally vary among countries. On the whole, African economies have recovered from the crisis better than expected.' This unanticipated, unprecedented courageous departure from the discredited & disappearing 'Washington Consensus' has since been followed up by a 2012 edition (UNECA 2012) – 'unleashing Africa's potential as a pole of global growth' - & parallel reports from UNDP (2012b) – the first HDR for the continent - and from AfDB/OECD/UNDP/UNECA (2012). But given both historic weaknesses along with recent debilitating conditionalities, the African developmental state requires robust partnerships to so function. These in turn limit any authoritarian tendencies & impose a degree of accountability: external as well as internal.

As the contributions to two imminent, innovative volumes suggest (Brown & Harman 2013, Lorenz & Rempe 2013), agency around regional development in Sub-Saharan Africa constitutes a dramatic divergence from established dependency assumptions & perspectives (Africa Progress Panel 2012, Hanson, Kararach & Shaw 2012, Shaw 2012): to policy-maker from policy-taker?

i) *Varieties of African Agency?*

I base this analysis on five major developments in agency especially at the regional level (see v) below) that suggest above all that the character of development is very much in flux on the continent (Economist 2013, Shaw 2012). First, with particular relevance for his analysis, African stakeholders have been central to a set of innovations in transnational governance however problematic, from Kimberley Process (KP) at the end of the 20th century to Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) at turn of the century & now onto Dodd-Frank in the new decade. Second, African regions have generated a series of innovations, from Maputo Corridor to trans-frontier peace parks or the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement (T-FTA) between the Southern African Development Community (SADC), East African Community (EAC) (Hansohm 2013) and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) (Hartzenberg 2012). Third, South Africa has been elevated and recognized as the fifth member of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). This raises questions about the emphasis or priority of the biggest economy on the continent and its leadership aspirations on the regional, continental and/or global level (Flemes 2010, Jordaan 2003, Nel and Nolte 2010, Nel 2012). Fourth, if we expand our purview from the continent itself to its diasporas concentrated in Europe and North America, agency through remittances is likely to become even more influential in the years ahead (Ratha 2011) (www.au.int/pages/remittance/about). And finally, albeit controversially, if we go beyond the 'formal and legal' to 'gangs and guns' we can discover novel forms of African agency particularly in de facto regional conflict zones like the Great Lakes, the Horn of Africa and the Sahel and in the energy and minerals sectors (Bagayoko 2012, Besada 2010, Klare 2012, Nathan 2012). In short, we need not only to appreciate and to include such agency, we need to redefine it to reflect Africa in the new millennium as a burgeoning part of the global South (UNDP 2013, UNECA 2011 & 2012).

In a series of reports in the present decade (www.africaprogresspanel.org), the Center for Global Development (CGD) in DC now suggests that 17 African countries are 'leading the way' (Radelet 2010) (www.cgdev.org); McKinsey (2010) lauds the continent's 'lion kings' (www.mckinsey.com); & the Boston Consulting Group (BCG) (2010) has identified 40 African corporations as global 'challengers' (www.bcg.com).

This chapter has four interrelated parts which stake out paths to a brighter future for the continent centered on its regional innovations, including its myriad diasporas. First, the growing articulation in the present century of 'new multilateralisms' or 'transnational governance' with African dimensions – African agency. These are dynamic & span several emerging sectors from International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) and Ottawa Process through Kimberley Process with Partnership Africa Canada (PAC) and Global Witness (GW) and now Diamond Development Initiative (DDI) to EITI (www.eiti.org), Forestry Stewardship Council (FSC) and Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) (Cadman 2011, Gale and Haward 2011); the latter pair is now brought together with several service providers in the extensive ISEALAlliance, (www.isealalliance.org). In terms of human security, they include the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) and Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), debated inconclusively in mid-2012 in NYC; yet coalitions over Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) and children/women's security are stalled due to US vetoes. However, the focus of this chapter, developing out of such learning experiences, the continent is defining its own AMV (www.africaminingvision.org) by contrast to the Paul Collier/World Bank Natural Resource Charter (NRC) (www.naturalresourcecharter.org). And the ICGLR nexus including GW & PAC enables it to put its own spin on the SEC Section 1502 rules.

Second, post-Washington Consensus, ODA from the OECD is of declining importance or attraction (Sumner & Mallett 2013, vom Hau, Scott & Hulme 2012). Rather, a range of 'innovative sources of finance' are being identified, encouraged by the 'Leading Group' as indicated in section iii) below: global solidarity fund, currency transaction tax, carbon taxes/trading, climate change funds, controls on money laundering and remittance taxes etc. Plus emerging donors like the BRICS and Gulf states (Besada and Kindornay 2013, Gray and Murphy

2013, Mawdsley 2012), some with Sovereign Wealth Funds (SWFs); Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs); and new private foundations like Gates, Clinton and Ibrahim leading to African Green Revolution Forum (AGRA), Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) etc.

Third, the focus of an imminent collection (Lorenz & Rempe 2013), Africa has generated an innovative range of 'new regionalisms' involving a range of non-state actors: from Maputo Corridor and Kgalagadi trans-frontier peace-park to Nile Basin Initiative (NBI)/Dialogue; and from International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) to corporate supply chains – to be augmented through Dodd-Frank provisions ahead of 2015 - and now onto the grand scheme for the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement (Hartzenberg 2012)? Alex Warleigh-Lack *et al* (2011) have begun to recognize the relevance of such new regional relationships for comparative studies of the EU especially as it confronts its own financial crisis around the euro (Acharya 2012, Fioramonti 2012).

And finally, fourth: what implications of this trio of novel directions and players – African agency - for our analyses and policies, state and non-state: who are the 'drivers' or agents, innovators and animators in the AMV? What balance between state & capital especially within SOEs and between indigenous & international capital, In short, how is the developmental state in Africa this decade different from that in Asia at the end of the 20th century?

Informed by contemporary international relations (Cornelissen, Cheru and Shaw 2012, Dunn and Shaw 2001) /development studies perspectives in particular, this projection identifies emerging opportunities as well as challenges for African agency at the start of the second decade of the 21st century. It especially focuses on whether the emergence of the BRICS/'second world' (Khanna 2009), now including RSA, presents unanticipated possibilities or threats to a heterogeneous continent, one which includes burgeoning 'developmental' as well as 'fragile' or 'failed' states (ACBF 2011); hence the timeliness of the China case study in Harman & Brown (2013).

As suggested in the final section below, this is the welcome challenge or opportunity facing the continent at the start of its second 50 year period: what has it learned and can it adapt after its first half century given the significantly transformed global context at the turn of the decade: divergent regional incidences of and responses to the 'global' financial crisis with the global South being much less negatively impacted than the established trans-Atlantic core in both 'old' & 'new' worlds (Pieterse 2011)? And can African agency seize the opportunity to become primary driver of regional development in the second decade of the 21st century (Brown 2012, Brown & Harman 2013, Lorenz & Rempe 2013)?

ii) *AMV as African Agency?*

The most dramatic example of this transformation in the policy landscape to date is the articulation of an African Mining Vision at the turn of the decade, itself a synthesis of the ongoing redefinition of energy & resource governance with the African developmental state. The former has been reformulated in a variety of regions & sectors by Florini & Dubash (2011), Goldthau & Witte (2010), Kuzemko et al (2012), building on generic notions of transnational, private governance. And the latter has been advocated by the continent's inter-state agencies reflecting its newfound resilience (Shaw 2012). But it faces serious competition from several other alternatives, from regional to global, uni- to multi-sectoral, uni- to multi-stakeholder.

AMV was preceded at the start of the century by IGF to be joined by NRC in terms of resource governance but challenged by EITI in terms of financial arrangements. Meanwhile, a US federal agency – the SEC - is imposing new norms & public rankings of corporate compliance in the IT sector around conflict metals out of the Congo in association with a regional African interstate institution – ICGLR - orchestrating high-tech MNCs & a range of local to global, minor to major NGOs. And the corporate sector's own agency ICMM, inter-state northern OECD & non-state global WEF have each generated their own rules for NRG: 'Resource Endowment Initiative', 'Due Diligence Guidance for Responsive Supply Chain of Minerals from Conflict-Affected & High Risk Areas' and 'Vision on Responsible Mineral Development', respectively: how compatible or cumulative?

The AMV was developed towards the end of the first decade of the present century to advocate sustainable development towards industrialization etc. It is based on a comprehensive & informed report by an International Study Group on 'Minerals & Africa's Development' (AWV 2011a) which attempted to lay out the several steps & challenges ahead. Building on the Lagos Plan of Action & seeking to achieve MDGs ahead of 2015, it focused on a mix of established & novel issues: environment, Artisanal & Small-Scale Mining (ASM), Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), maximization & management of revenues, sustainability etc via backwards & forwards linkages to maximize benefits, recognising the imperatives of governance & regional dimensions. It embodies a different mix or emphasis compared to the other, earlier (MPF) & later (ie Dodd-Frank SEC) forms of NR governance which include & impact the continent.

This chapter situates the development of such a Vision in terms of the continent's diverse regional development which is related to the emergence of varieties of capitalisms – from North Atlantic & Japanese to Brazilian, Chinese, Indian…and South African (Goldstein 2007). But to situate the articulation of & prospects for AMV, I also treat a couple of primary features of the 2011 report: the proliferation of varieties of finance & the range of new regionalisms.

However, by way of caution or proportion, the late-2012 Chatham House report on 'Resources Futures' (Lee 2012) only recognizes one African country in its proposed set of R30 key resource producers/consumers, exporters/importers: Nigeria. But its advocacy of 'collaborative governance' is otherwise persuasive:

> *The political economy of natural resources is increasingly shaped by the large, structural shifts under way in the world…The world must now contend not just with growing environmental threats such as climate change & water scarcities, but also with the shift in consumer power from West to East, concentration of resource ownership & the rise of state capitalism. All these moving pieces are changing the rules of the resources game*. (Lee 2012: 8)

In addition to dynamic and heterogeneous varieties of private/transnational governance (see iii) below), Africa also needs to advance 'network' or 'public' rather than traditional 'club' diplomacy, involving civil society and private companies as well as states & intergovernmental agencies (Heine 2006), using new technologies/media? Despite its proposed 'rebranding', the 'developmental' state in Africa in the 21st century lacks the capacity to act alone; it needs partners to be effective post-2015. As we will see & contrast below, the AMV is one variety focused on states & donors, but the IGF is more global than continental, the NRC more academic in orientation & EITI the most extensive multi-stakeholder: & now Dodd-Frank juxtaposes a novel African region (ICGLR) with IT manufacturers, especially in Asia.

The take-up of AMV from mining ministries & African institutions seems limited to date: minimal response from either the mining industry or civil society on or off the continent. And forms of evaluation to plot the progress of AMV seem lacking thus far: a variety of heterogeneous diplomacies may be required to advance let alone sustain such NR governance? But the Intergovernmental Forum on Mining, Minerals, Metals & Sustainable Development (IGF) did consider a comparative analysis of its established Mining Policy Framework (MPF) & AMV in late-2012.

As the early-bird of African mining regulations, the IGF, which started life as a Global Dialogue on Mining, Metals & Sustainable Development, just marked its first decade having resulted from a Canadian & South African initiative arising from the Johannesburg summit on sustainable development in 2002 although it was only formally instituted in 2005: a partnership within the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (UNCSD). It is more focused on sustainable development & its membership of 43 states is less exclusively African than AMV: less than 50%. It tracks the UNCSD timetable & treats a range of industry, social, environmental & related issues such as CASM, EITI & KP. Meanwhile, an unlikely source of enlightened regulations - the US Congress via the US Securities & Exchange Commission (SEC) – has enacted the Dodd-Frank megabill including #1502 on conflict minerals involving ranking the supply-chains of MNCs who consume them: this empowers the ICGLR & its NGOs along with the OECD to evaluate IT maufacturers, especially from Asia.

iii) *Varieties of 'Transnational' Governance*

In a post-bipolar era, the mix of fragile/failed states (ACBF 2011, Brock, Holm, Sorensen & Stohl 2012), proliferating 'global' issues & pressures for democratization/accountability/ sustainability have generated some innovative forms of 'transnational' (Brown 2011) or 'private' (Dingwerth 2008) governance around the continent. These were symbolized by the early Ottawa & Kimberley Processes, now augmented by the FCS/MCS (for the last decade part of the expanding ISEALAlliance (www.isealalliance.org)), UN Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (REDD). These may not yet be authoritative & their scope still fails to reach continuing scourges like SALW, despite progress towards ATT, but they are transforming the governance landscape. When combined with innovative sources of finance, they begin to transform the regional policy terrain. They have served to encourage inter-state international law towards the recognition of varieties of global governance, which may reflect varieties of sources of pressures (Cadman 2011, Gale and Hayward 2012). And they constitute the backdrop to AMV & parallel initiatives around NRG in Africa & elsewhere, with KP being the organic predecessor of SEC rules in response to Dodd-Frank.

Recent, comprehensive innovations include the industry-supported Forestry Certification Scheme (FCS) & parallel Marine Certification Scheme (MCS), foundation-stones for the burgeoning ISEALAlliance (www.isealalliance.org). But for Africa, aside from AMV, the four compelling schemes are i) the pioneering, decade-old IGF, which has now articulated a Mining Policy Framework (MPF) (www.globaldialogue.info); ii) the IFI-endorsed Natural Resource Charter (NRC) (www.naturalresourcecharter.org) – analysts & others discussing desiderata for the sector – iii) the G8-supported multi-stakeholder Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) (www.eiti.org), the latter being particularly timely given the dangers of 'resource curse' & windfall profits around BRICs' if not BRICS' demand for energy & minerals; & iv) the latest, which is both unilateral & regional with global reach. It is US derived for Africa's Great Lakes Region (GLR) on 'conflict minerals': Dodd-Frank instructed Securities & Exchange Commission (SEC) Section #1502 on the 3Ts & gold from Congo with inter-state ICGLR & local to global NGOs including Partnership Africa Canada in Ottawa (PAC) (www.pacweb.org) & Global Witness (www.globalwitness.org) as well as the Enough Project (www.enoughporject.org). The SEC rule, defined in late-2012, stretches to over 350 pages with over 900 footnotes for implementation in this calendar year 2013 with reporting by MNCs on any use of conflict metals by May 2014 (www.sec.gov); Greenpeace already publishes a guide to greener electronics (www.greenpeace.org).

Each of these five transnational NR governance networks- ie AMV, EITI, IGF, NRC & SEC - entail different assumptions, emphases & preferences: is an agreeable/productive/sustainable division of labour among them desirable let alone possible? In terms of geographic scope, the SEC is the most regional & narrowest in target, AMV continental & NRC, the most global. In terms of types of actors, the IGF is the most state-centric as well as green followed by AMV, which is driven by intergovernmental agencies including some established OECD donors, whereas the SEC presents challenges for MNCs. In terms of sectoral focus, the SEC is focused on selected high-tech minerals, the EITI is preoccupied by finance (Campbell 2013) with the NRC being animated by academics mainly from the global North – its Technical Advisory Group includes Paul Collier, Peter Eigen, Michael Spence & Jose Ocampo - constituting something of an 'epistemic community'? They have identified a dozen precepts for good NR governance which their board, led by the likes of Zedillo & Ibrahim, seek to effect. And in relation to corruption, EITI is hegemonic. EITI & NRC are the most endorsed by OECD donors; AMV least so with some G20 mainly mining countries most supportive of IGF; and the SEC is US-centric with implications for major IT corporations in Asia & elsewhere. 22 of the 37 countries in EITI are African, just under half (10) being compliant, the rest candidates seeking validation; three – Madagascar, Mauritania & Sierra Leone –have been suspended. EITI is an extensive multi-stakeholder network of companies, civil societies (eg Global Witness, Open Society/PWYP, Oxfam, Revenue Watch, Transparency International etc), partners (mainly OECD donors) & investors like finance companies, pensions funds & SWFs. This fivesome indicates the heterogeneous & dynamic range of governance arrangements but together such regional initiatives indicate enhanced prospects for African agency in the new decade, moreso in some fora than others. The KP & SEC processes are indicative of how some agencies just keep on going: PAC & GW were amongst the initiators of the campaign against blood diamonds; they are now integral to the ICGLR-SEC nexus.

I turn next to burgeoning varieties of finance now available to Africa as the rest of the global South. These impact the continent's response to alternative forms of NRG as it faces more choice, reflective of growing agency.

iv) *Varieties of Innovative Sources of Finance*

Even before the end-decade 'global' financial crisis, there was a looming gap in funding for African development if it was to even aspire to realizing the MDGs in 2015 etc; hence the current preoccupation with post-2015 development directions. In response to such deficiencies as well as the slowness of the 'Monterrey Consensus' to impact ODA effectiveness – from Accra and Paris to Busan at end-2011 - France animated a 'Leading Group' of states to suggest other means to advance global public goods. In association with major INGOs in a 'Forum on the Future of Aid', a 'Taskforce on International Financial Transactions & Development' came to advance the notion of 'taxation for the governing of globalization' at decade's end.

Other alternatives included ODA from new members of the EU of 27/28 and the BRICs/BRICS as 'emerging donors' (Sumner & Mallett 2013), the latter reflected in the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) (Taylor 2011), for example. And new private foundations have emerged around the turn of the century to parallel established ones like Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller, notably the Gates Foundation but now also the Blair, Clinton and Ibrahim Foundations etc (Besada & Kindornay 2013). Similarly, FBOs increasingly span many religions, particularly the more pragmatic, mainstream dominations (eg Aga Khan Foundation (AKF), Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Islamic Relief, Lutheran World Relief (LWR) and World Vision). With new as well as established private foundations, they increasingly partner with international organizations such as, for example, the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), and Global Alliance for Vaccines & Immunization (GAVI) (Rushton & Williams 2011).

Among the dozen or so global levies, mainly on ubiquitous financial flows, proposed by the Taskforce to advance global public goods were:

a) Global Solidarity Fund (GSF) for global public goods;
b) Currency Transaction Tax (CTT) (along the lines of the original Tobin Tax);
c) airline ticket levy already being implemented by some governments in the North like Spain and Korea, with revenues going for anti-AIDS, TB and Malaria (ATM) vaccines in association with the Clinton and Gates Foundations;
d) carbon taxes/trading, a not uncontroversial set of measures encouraged by the UN Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and set of climate change summits, such as Copenhagen COP15, Cancun COP16 and COP17 in Durban end-2011, related to the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM);
e) climate change funds such as IBRD Global Environmental Facility (GEF) & UN agencies' Reducing Emissions from Deforestation & Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (REDD);
f) Digital Solidarity Fund (DSF) established in Geneva;
g) UNITAID, an international drug purchase facility to advance access to ATMs, now with broad inter- & non-state participation;

h) controls on money-laundering encouraged by the OECD & G8 – capital flight pa now some US$ 500 billion? – including (global and Caribbean) Financial Action Task Forces (FATF/CFATF) on off-shore financial centres (OFCs) over two decades leading to Publish What You Pay (PWYP) and EITI; &
i) remittance taxes on N-S flows which have blossomed to over US$ 300 billion pa (Ratha 2011, World Bank 2011), larger for some states like Nigeria or Lesotho than ODA.

But getting from conceptualization to policies/politics is problematic; which is where varieties of regionalisms come in to engage in such public, open diplomacy (Fanta, Shaw & Tang 2013, Shaw, Grant & Cornelissen 2011). Hence the imperative of animating a timely, extensive coalition to redefine and revive the continent's direction at the turn of the decade as suggested in the concluding part vi) below (www.africaprogresspanel.org).

v) *Varieties of 'New Regionalisms'*

Reflective of its more than 50 states, already Africa has been the leading region in the South to advance regional innovations & institutions even if it has received less analytic attention than, say, Asia (Shaw, Grant & Cornelissen 2011). In the initial, one-party nationalist period, reflective of jealousy surrounding newly realized independence, these were typically 'old' inter-governmental arrangements. But in the post-bipolar era, such regionalisms became less exclusively state and economic and more inclusive around emerging issues like ecology, energy, security, water etc (Shaw, Grant and Cornelissen 2011). And now, regional development is increasingly focused on new resources such as corridors for supplies (SID 2012) & pipelines & valleys for energy and water (Fanta, Shaw and Tang 2013), symbolized by the new eastern Africa as a rising energy region (Economist 2012). Hence the relevance of TradeMark in

Southern and East Africa (TMSA and TMEA) (www.trademarkea.com, www.trademarksa.org), facilitating regional infrastructures, networks and supply-chains (SID 2012).

Nevertheless, first, the revived, redefined East African Community is emblematic of 'new' African regionalisms: five rather than initial trio of members (and onto a half-dozen with South Sudan in 2013?) (Hansohm 2013), with innovative civil society, media, parliamentary and security dimensions (SID 2012), qualifying as an instance of 'new regionalisms' (Shaw, Grant and Cornelissen 2011). Given the scale and resilience of regional conflict on the continent, several attempts have been made at regional peace-building, from Dafur to *Cote d'Ivoire*, especially around ECOWAS, GLR, Horn etc such as the ongoing process around the International Conference on the Great Lake Region, reinforced & publicised by SEC Section 1502 on conflict metals. These increasingly involve a fluid range of actors in a heterogeneous coalition (Leonard 2013), from INGOs to MNCs, as such conflicts are always about 'greed' as well as 'grief'; so resource extraction and accumulation proceeding in tandem with violence, all too often targeting women and children as successive UN reports on the Congo have revealed. And as security is increasingly privatized, so such coalitions become ever more problematic. This is particularly so around energy and mineral extraction and supply-chains as their products attract the attention of transnational as well as local criminal networks. Shorter-term peace-making is typically tied to longer-term norm-creation to advance sustainable development by regulating the flow of 3T conflict metals & minerals like coltan, diamonds & gold as already indicated in i) above (www.enoughproject.org).

Second, in the new century, regionalisms on the continent have come to cover the spectrum of levels – macro/meso/micro (Soderbaum & Taylor 2008) – and sectors – civil society, corporate networks, security etc. While Export-Processing Zones (EPZs) are associated with Asia and gas pipelines with Central Europe (Kuzemko 2012), development corridors and peace-parks are largely a function of Southern Africa's distinctive political economy (Ramutsindela 2011). Similarly, Africa has its share of river valley organizations – eg Congo, Niger, Nile, Zambezi etc - and other cross-border more to less formal micro-regions. The Maputo Corridor has advanced growth in Southern Mozambique as well as the eastern Witwatersrand, reinforcing the cross-border dimensions of the Lesotho highlands water project for electricity and water; the latter was informed by the only global commission to be based outside the North – in Cape Town - which also included MNCs as well as NGOs and states in its membership (Khagram 2004): the World Commission on Dams. Reflective of growing concern for the environment, Southern Africa is the centre of the trans-frontier peace-parks movement which has led to the recognition of several such cross-border parks in the region; these may evolve from designated elephant corridors into multipurpose functional arrangements for renewable energy & water resources?

Third, encouraged by growing recognition of climate change – NB the development of IBSA into BASIC around COP 15 in Copenhagen at end-2009 & beyond - the continent's river basins are beginning to receive exponential attention as centres of biodiversity, energy, food and water as well as conflict: Congo, Zambezi etc; the Nile Basin Initiative and Dialogue are arguably the most advanced to date.

Fourth, symptomatic of emerging tensions and possibilities is the discovery of oil around the rift valley lakes in northwest Uganda along the border with Congo; such oil production may propel Uganda into the ranks of the developmental states but it may endanger some of its environment and wildlife, let alone local communities. And in early 2012, new discoveries of oil and gas were announced in northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia and in northern Mozambique and southern Tanzania by a series of global energy players (Economist 2012): an emerging energy exporting region of growing importance for AMV? The first East Africa Oil and Gas Summit was held in Nairobi in November 2012 to discuss pipelines from Juba to Lamu & Mtwara to Dar & Mombasa as well as refinery in northern Uganda: redefinition of African regions? Some of the fifty global energy companies involved in this new Eastern Africa include China's CNPC and CNOOC, US Anardarko and ExxonMobil & BG, ENI, Statoil and Tullow from Europe.

Fifth, the continent's pattern of inter-regional relationships (Fawn 2009) is in flux, from classic, inherited North-South dependencies towards a novel South-East axis around China & India but also Japan & Korea along with athletics, film, music, soccer etc. Symbolically, Africa's regions' reluctance to sign Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with the EU at the turn of the decade despite a mix of pressures and incentives may mark a turning point as global rebalancing continues: Europe of the eurozone crisis around the PIIGS & Asia of the BRICS transforms policy options and calculations for the continent as suggested in Cheru and Obi (2010), advancing the prospects for African agency. The tone of annual African-China FOCAC palavers (Taylor 2011) can be contrasted to that at the third EU-Africa summit in Tunis in November 2010. Iberia increasingly relies on investment from & emigration to Angola, Brazil, Mexico & Mozambique.

Finally, sixth, given its numerous land-locked states, Africa has always experienced informal cross-border migration and trade, some now in illegal goods like drugs and small arms. And as MNCs, now from China and India as well as South Africa (hence the transition from IBSA to BRICS), have increased their investments in energy and minerals, franchises and shopping malls, so their logistics and supply chains have come to define their own regional networks (Power, Mohan and Tan-Mullins 2012). Exponential infrastructural development will further new regionalisms on the continent in the second decade of the 21st century, symbolized by the mobile phone revolution and the roles of MTN & Celtel/Bharti, including the Mo Ibrahim Foundation. I conclude by posing questions about the implications of developments in NRG, finance & regionalisms for African policy post-2015 (Economist 2013): more/less agency?

vi) *Onto Varieties of Innovative Analyses/Policies?*

Burgeoning varieties of NR governance, finance & regionalisms reinforce prospects for public policy in and around the continent (Hanson, Kararach and Shaw 2012): the distinctiveness of the African developmental state in 2015. They also present challenges to African and related analyses – from dependency to agency (Brown 2012, Brown & Harman 2013, Cooper & Shaw 2013, Lorenz & Rempe 2013) - as they demand 'innovative' perspectives and policies, both state and non-state; ie civil societies, private companies and/or media. And simultaneously the focus of regional development is shifting from older inter-governmental paradigms (Acharya 2012) around the formal economy to newer technologies and sectors such as energy & water, pipelines & refineries (Cornelissen, Cheru & Shaw 2012, Shaw, Grant & Cornelissen 2011)?

Africa at the turn of the second decade of the 21st century is, then, at a crossroads in terms of governance for development (www.africaprogresspanel.org) symbolized by the African Mining Vision (AMV) & the ambition for developmental states: can it seize its second chance and transcend its somewhat lackluster first half-century to advance both (UNECA 2011 & 2012)? In turn, can African interests advance inclusive public or network diplomacy of non-state as well as state actors for the most marginalized continent in the global South using new medias/technologies as suggested in the transition from KP to ICGLR? Africa's place at the centre of innovative sources of finance and styles of governance leads to optimism (Hanson, Kararach & Shaw 2012, UNECA 2009) while the number of continuing conflicts and persistent fragile/failed states leads to skepticism even pessimism (Brock, Holm Sorensen & Stohl 2012): what balance by 2020 and beyond? In turn: in Africa as elsewhere in the global South (UNDP 2013), what balance between regional conflict & regional development (Fanta, Shaw and Tang 2013)? As Brown (2012: 1889) has proposed:

> *…future work on African agency would be able to engage seriously with the continent's role in international politics in a way that presents Africa as actor & not just acted upon, historical agent not just history's recipient*.

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