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Contemporary Conflicts in Africa: implications for development studies/policies

Timothy M Shaw¹

“Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for over half of all the armed conflicts taking place around the world in 1999, and some of the most costly in terms of human life. Three-quarters of the countries in the region are engaged in armed conflict, or confronted by a significant threat from armed groups with a mixture of political and economic motives” (IISS 1999b: 244)

The apparent resilience of conflict in Africa has begun to generate an analysis, which is novel in its approach but disturbing in terms of implications. The political economy of violence perspective (Reno 1998 & 2000a & b, Smillie 2000) suggests that at least some of these resilient wars are more about economic resources/survival than, say, ethnicity, ideology, region, religion etc. This paper seeks to begin to identify some of the problematic implications of such a perspective on development studies/policies as for, say, security studies/policies, as indicated in the final section. In particular, I raise a series of questions about a problematic set of implications arising from this emerging PE of violence genre for all three established actor types in the ‘governance ‘ nexus; i.e. not just for states but also for private sectors & civil societies. Clearly, the African state is in transition given two decades of neo-liberal conditionalities both formal & informal; hence the relative rise of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) & multi-national corporations (MNCs). But both of the latter are themselves beginning to confront troubling questions about their own attitudes to & practices in such ubiquitous conflict situations (Bryans 1999, Spearin 2000).

Furthermore, the diminished African state cannot any longer afford much of a regular military establishment if it ever could. However, at least until 1990, the logic of the Cold War helped to keep both regimes & armies in business. As military budgets decline so statutory forces have had to begin to learn to fend for themselves; hence the apparent willingness of some African governments to ‘sell’ statutory forces to UN & other PKOs, even if some/all of the ‘off-budget’ proceed go into private pockets rather than the national exchequer. Moreover, men in uniform have learned to take them off after hours to pursue private gain as bandits, pirates etc. And demobilised soldiers tend to have few other life skills than using

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their weapons to secure at least their own Basic Human Needs (BHNs). As the militaries become more autonomous, so their relationships with state & companies change. Hence the imperative of recognising that the 'triangle' of state-civil society-economy may become quadrilateral in which the military acts in a manner increasingly independent of the state in both economic & security (& hence political) matters: soldiers in business & soldiers as mercenaries. In which case, notions of civil-military relations are in for a profound shock!

Such reconsiderations, verging on revisionism treated in the final pair of sections below, were reinforced at the dawn of the new century a) by critiques of Western & multilateral involvements in Rwanda leading to genocide (Andersen 2000, Uvin 1998) & b) by revelations about the real interests in the political economy of conflict; i.e. the profitability of 'blood' or 'conflict' diamonds etc (Reno 1998, Smillie et al 2000). In turn, these led to diplomatic or policy reevaluations, typified by the trio of Canadian-related reports (Fowler 2000, Harker 2000, Smillie et al 2000) treated in penultimate final section below.

i) Proliferating Conflicts/problematic responses

"During 1998 there was a return to the larger scale wars not seen since the 1960s, engulfing many states in sub-Saharan Africa in bloody turmoil. Of the 45 countries in the region, over 20 are involved in conflict, or directly affected by it. One of the most critical and worrying developments has been the escalation of Africa's wars from internal conflicts to regional wars as states abandoned any reluctance to cross borders." (IISS, 1999a: 233).

This paper seeks to describe and explain such a negative transition about conflicts on the continent back towards pessimism in 1998/9, by highlighting a set of new factors and contexts post-bipolarity/-apartheid/-neoliberalism. Africa at the start of the new century reveals an apparently disturbing paradox: an encouraging growth in both formal democracy and civil society yet, simultaneously, an increase in conflict which seems to revive and reflect divisions over ethnicities, regionalisms, religions etc. Thus, positive directions, such as an invigorated media and energetic coalitions over new issues like bio-diversity and land mines, are counter-balanced by negative trends apparent in proliferating conflicts as indicated below.

Such seeming contradictions are rendered more understandable by reference to two decades of determined, often dogmatic, neoliberal conditionalities reinforced by the competitive impulses and demands of exponential globalisations. These have led to intensified inequalities in which the majority have been further impoverished while a minority prospers: a veritable powder-keg in an already underdeveloped

area, apparent in the real economic intents increasingly revealed behind many civil conflicts (see iv) below).

In turn, such inequalities have helped to spawn a new set of ‘non-traditional’ security issues which reduce levels of ‘human security’ (Canada 2000, UNDP, 1999, UNESCO 2000) such as economic, ecological gender & social security, especially threats from gangs & guns, droughts & floods, migrations & refugees, infectious diseases & viruses etc. These have served to intensify traditional as well as new varieties of insecurity or threat, exacerbated by the proliferation of non-state (i.e. private) as well as state security formations as indicated in sections iii) & iv) below. Thus, for example, the transnational flow of labour from Lesotho to the industrial & mineral heartland of South Africa has been replaced by that of water; both can generate tensions as well as collaboration (and ‘rent’) notwithstanding a SADC protocol on shared water-courses.

Given the striking overview of the opening citation, despite the Africanisation of civil wars, conflicts in Africa – both more traditional & non-traditional - have increasingly become of global concern, whether Western states so wish or not. This is particularly so for diasporas and for crisis or developmental NGOs around the North Atlantic both of whom generate internal pressures for active responses. So, unlike the Cold War period before the 1990s, Western involvement is no longer an echo of broader bipolar tensions. Further, the wars themselves are typically domestic in origin even if they become regional in scope in terms of scale of conflicts and nature of responses. Yet, as proposed already, their internal causes cannot be separated from international contexts, particularly neoliberalism as ideology and globalisations as condition. In short, the characteristic mixture of economic stagnation and growing inequality is a flammable one, even if it has not always lead to overt antagonism and confrontation, in part because of some authoritarian reactions as well as anarchic conditions.

The emergence of regional arms races as well as conflicts has profound developmental implications as human and financial resources get diverted into the military. Prospects for regional development recede as conflicts both escalate & proliferate. And such negative consequences increase with the proliferation of short-term peacekeeping operations for both militaries & NGOs. Such negative developmental implications of civil wars are further magnified if parallel private sectors & interests are also recognised. And the longer-term implications of protracted conflict for both civil-military relations as well as the corruption of civic culture/civil society is equally worrisome, tending to undermine any apparent progress towards formal democratic processes.

Just as the last few months and years of the century generated a roller-coaster in terms of Afro-optimism leading back to –pessimism, so they also experienced a growing reluctance of the West to be involved in African conflicts. As the IISS (1999a: 235) indicates, the continent's apparent renewed 'propensity for conflict has dismayed the West. It has withdrawn further from involvement in the resolution of conflicts, underscoring Africa's strategic insignificance in its eyes'. Likewise, the UN, despite the eloquent pleas of its African Secretary-General, has also revealed greater reluctance, in part as the major powers reduced their exposure in its remaining operations given their preoccupation with former Yugoslavia. Given the complexities and imponderables of such 'complex peace operations' (UN 2000: 48), by the decade's end, symbolised by Congo, the Horn & Sierra Leone, the UN had successfully reduced its role and exposure while other actors came to increase theirs, whether regional inter-governmental groupings and/or willing coalitions of states and/or private companies (Anglin 1999: 123).

The possibilities of a new 'balance of power' in Africa is reflected in part not only by Northern reservations but also in 'a growing propensity by African states – or at least their leaders – to insist on sorting out their own problems, even if this means with a military solution' (IISS 1999a: 235). Symptomatically, in the new millennium there was renewed pressure on erstwhile 'middle powers' like Nigeria and South Africa to play their rightful roles, either through ECOMOG or SADC or directly, perhaps as part of an African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), possibly with logistic assistance from supportive NATO members. While the two 'giants' of Sub-Saharan Africa have begun to talk about and co-ordinate such responses, neither have the resources or stomach for protracted adventures in Central or West Africa in the first decade of the new century given their recent domestic and regional histories (see Mark Malan 'Peacekeeping in Africa' in SAIIA, 1999: 267-280).

Moreover, as suggested below, conflict and conflict-resolution in Africa as elsewhere no longer involve only states as actors, given relentless pressures on them to both downsize and democratise from donors and investors alike: the imperative of economic and political liberalisations. Rather, after two decades of neo-classical 'structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), the relations between state & non-state actors have changed fundamentally: the former is no longer effectively hegemonic let alone sovereign given the rise of private & civil society organisations. But, as indicated below, the changing divisions of labour in Africa as elsewhere between state and non-state actors may yet lead towards a genuine and sustainable renaissance.

Moreover, while a few people and communities have benefited from being able to ride market forces, the majority have been further impoverished, leading to dramatic inequalities, with profound social & security implications. Hence the symbolic 'Battle of Seattle' at century's end, possibly marking a turning-point in the heretofore unquestioned hegemony of the neoliberal 'globalisation' project, with profound implications for the prospects of African development in the first decade of the new century and beyond.

Nowadays, then, both conflicts and responses to them increasingly involve a range of heterogeneous actors at all levels, from local to global. So, in addition to official actors, private companies and non-governmental organisations are associated with peacekeeping policies and practices in Africa as elsewhere. Given the complexities as well as protractedness of contemporary peace-building let alone constraints on governments' budgets and roles, we may expect such non-state actors to come to play increasingly central roles in peace operations in the new century. So it is not only Canada's reactions to the pressures of peace-building which generate MNC and NGO involvement (see viii) below; all state and inter-state institutions are under pressure from and co-ordinate with a variety of non-state agencies in both specific and general policies and practices over peace support measures. Kofi Annan in his millennium review characterises these as 'complex peace operations' (UN 2000: 48) rather than 'complex political emergencies' (Cliffe 1999). Such continuous forms of communication and co-ordination among the trio of actor types at all levels, as illustrated below, can be regarded as a novel variety of governance. I propose the notion of 'peace-building governance' to embrace such processes and policies.

Moreover, such apparent reversals in hierarchies or fortunes among a variety of intra- and extra-African actors reveal profound limitations in our own misleading, overly fashionable, analytic perspectives and policy projections. No established frameworks such as constructivism, dependency, idealism, or realism, are especially useful given the complexities of contemporary 'African' conflicts (see Eboe Hutchful 'Understanding the African Security Crisis' in Musah & Fayemi (2000): 210-232) although, perhaps surprisingly, political economy may help explain at least some such conflicts in certain but not all regions (see v) & vii) below) (Dunn & Shaw 2001). I also attempt in this inaugural contribution to investigate the implications of such conflicts for Canadian as well as other countries' foreign policy, both state and non-state - i.e. for Canadian and other companies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), as well as for federal, provincial and city governments. The Canadian connection is especially relevant

for some African states/regions given growing mutual interests in the mining & related sectors.

This paper contemplates, then, a possible ‘conjuncture’ in terms of the *fin de siecle* which in turn provides an entry point for an overview of the (deficient) state of security studies on/about the continent as indicated in the final pair of sections below, with relevance for other regions as well as for other policies.

ii) What ‘African Renaissance’? Back to Afro-pessimism

“Africa, long the poor cousin of a resurgent Asia, is beginning to emerge from under its shadow. Stock market jitters and fears of state collapse relate to Indonesia, not Africa. The continent’s long-heralded renaissance is at last capturing the imagination of the world...” (Anglin 1998: 103)

Thabo Mbeki’s proclamation of a continental renaissance captured the relatively ebullient mood of the mid-1990s. Unhappily, at least thus far, it has turned out to be a fleeting moment. His timing seemed to be impeccable as it coincided with an unanticipated period of Asian crises rather than miracles and of Africa’s apparent rejuvenation, symbolised by President Clinton’s visit; i.e. African rather than Asian values? (cf Shaw & Nyang’oro 2000) Certainly, according to the new President’s brother, Moeletsi Mbeki (“The African Renaissance” SAIIA 1998: 209-217), this was not to be another state-led bubble such as followed other ‘triumphal’ first-generation leaders on acceding to power. Rather Thabo sought to recognise and encourage, even embolden, new social forces on the continent around the economy and civil society: new (local) captains of industry and the professions, civil societies (especially NGOs), trade unions and think-tanks (as noted below) etc. Yet, notwithstanding elements of such redirection/redevelopment, such as the ‘trek’ by South African entrepreneurs and franchisers throughout the continent, by end of the 1990s the later was characterised by a proliferation of conflicts rather than intensification of renaissance? Nevertheless, authors like Chris Lansberg & Shaun MacKay (‘The Meaning and Context of the “African Renaissance”: wake up’ in Mekenkamp (ed) (1999): 17-24) suggest that the renaissance itself can yet be advanced though such conflict prevention/confidence-building roles, even if a year ago Anglin (1999: 95) asserted that ‘renaissance was in remission’.

The continent continues to be under pressure to define its own variety of (very!) complex peace operations given the number and character of its current conflicts (Adedeji 1999). Such definitions would involve not only military responses but also NGO roles: onto a distinctive ‘African’ pattern of subcontracting? But as emphasised in section v) below, neither the continent nor its conflicts are

homogeneous so no one agreed response is likely to be efficacious everywhere: from Sierra Leone to Somalia? From the Horn to Angola? So a range of appropriate reactions is necessary: from confidence-building/track two pacific 'negotiations' through peace-keeping & -building to peace-enforcement or 'robust' interventions (cf Anglin 1999, UN 2000: 43-53). At each of these stages, different types of NGO partners and partnerships would be essential if sustainable peace is to become feasible let alone realisable: forms of peace-building governance. But such stages of escalation and reconciliation/reconstruction do not always follow in sequence. And in reality, personalities and precedents, let alone diversity of international associates, both state/inter-state and NGO, can complicate: the diplomacy as well as strategy of peace-keeping. Just as the Asian crisis generated forms of regional economic and financial responses, so Africa's conflicts will lead to novel types of continental diplomatic and strategic reactions in the first decade of the new century and beyond (Stremlau 2000), as indicated in vii) below.

Significantly, the OAU has attempted to move beyond its traditional respect of formal state 'sovereignty' in terms of both regional initiatives over peace-keeping interventions and efforts at containment of the mercenary threat, even if the later dates back to the late-1970s. Any such continent-wide legal regime would have to be realistic about the causes of such privatisation and also begin to develop post-conflict forms for war crimes tribunals etc as in the case of the Arusha court proceedings prosecuting perpetrators of the genocide in Rwanda & the courageous report prepared by the OAU's International Panel of Eminent Personalities to Investigate the 1994 Genocide.

The prospect of such innovations is improved by the emergence throughout the continent of non-state think tanks, which focus on the range of new responses to conflicts. These may also be involved in direct 'track two' type confidence- and peace-building activities in addition to engaging in informed analysis and creative policy inputs (Mbabazi, MacLean & Shaw 2000, MacLean & Shaw 2000). Such non-governmental institutions are especially well-developed in South Africa – e.g. ACCORD, CCR, ISS & SAIIA (all listed in References below) - but may also be found elsewhere, such as the Centre for Foreign Relations in Dar es Salaam and the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs in Lagos. They have come to reflect growing continental and global concerns such as peacekeeping, small arms/landmines etc. And, typically, they connect with national NGO networks as well as with conflict-resolution needs, as reflected in the informed but also concerned collection from the Centre for Democracy & Development on Mercenaries (Musah & Fayemi 2000). They have also begun to engage in training for indigenous capacity in peace building, both military & NGO (e.g. Southern

African Network for Defence & Security Management based at the University of the Witwatersrand). The maturation of such institutions and their roles is apparent in two massive compendiums at the turn of the century on conflict prevention & peacekeeping on the continent (Beman & Sams 2000, Mekenkamp 1999). However, Dwan (2000: 107) cautions that there may be a gap between number of such agencies & their effectiveness in this case:

“Africa outranks all other regions in the number & scope of institutions addressing the prevention, management & resolution of conflicts, and the international community continues to emphasize the need to further develop these capabilities. Conflicts in 1999, however, illustrate the difficulty of this task...”

iii) Governance in Africa: resilient regimes

“The escalation of Africa’s wars led to a large increase in the regional arms market.”

(IISS 1999b: 247)

Notwithstanding the local to global pressures for increased democratisation and demilitarisation throughout the continent, the revival in the fortunes of the military is apparent in renewed battles and the related gradual rearmament of several armies and air forces, especially in one or two regions like the Horn or Southern Africa. By century’s end, military expenditure on statutory formations totalled US\$10 billion; it is unlikely to decline in the first decade of the new millennium. Such diversions of scarce resources into the military let alone other expenditures on elusive private security are indicative of the real costs of protracted conflict. These have profound negative consequences for regional development, business confidence, foreign investment etc; i.e. the further postponement of basic needs/human security.

The unexpected conflicts within two of the continent’s most promising ‘New African’ alliances confounded advocates of any African renaissance or emerging markets. Thus, in mid-1998, there was a renewed battle between Ethiopia and Eritrea (despite the historical collaboration between Meles Zenawi & Issaias Afewerki, respectively, comparable to the brotherly spats between Museveni and Kagame?!) which remains unresolved in the new decade, with devastating economic and ecological implications, even if Ethiopia claimed victory in June 2000. Similarly, the close relationship between Kagame’s Rwandan & Museveni’s Ugandan soldiers who had together been occupying Eastern Congo, concentrated around the mineral centre of Kisangani, broke down, leading to major battles around the beleaguered city between them in May/June 2000. If the latter entailed

real immediate economic interests along the lines suggested in the next section, the former had no apparent mercenary cause although profound negative economic consequences. But such conflicts and alliances tend to spill-over into neighbouring territories, exacerbating regional tensions; e.g. from Congo & Angola into Namibia, especially the northern Caprivi Strip; and from Ethiopia/Eritrea into the Sudan, Djibouti & Somalia. Some Zimbabwean troops moved on from Congo to fight with MPLA in Angola in the final (!) assault against Unita, which in turn has had some association with the RCD faction in eastern Congo supported by Rwanda (cf v) below).

Such unwelcome and unanticipated circumstances have brought a rapid end to any notion of a post-apartheid/-bipolarity 'peace dividend' and make it increasingly possible to consider the outbreak of regional arms races at the turn of the century.

Such rearmament has been facilitated by sales & finance from South Africa and former Eastern Bloc countries & companies – Bulgaria, China, Czech Republic & Ukraine as well as Russia - not just NATO members. The formers' arms producers are now largely privatised and so determined (desperate?) to improve market share. Such market-induced competitiveness has profound implications for peace and security on the continent. Its not only AK-47s that are now available at firesale prices: recent model armoured vehicles & tanks, jet fighters, missiles etc are also!

The hardware costs of such competitive rearming are high, with profound implications for regional development at the start of the millennium. Thus, South Africa expects to spend some US\$5 billion on a range of high-tech weaponry in the first decade of the new century: three submarines & four frigates for the navy from Germany; 40 helicopters from Italy; & up to 28 fighter jets for the airforce from the UK. In this case, industrial offsets & related development projects for the country from these EU suppliers are expected to total some US\$ 17 bn over the same period. But the direct & indirect costs remain significant, in addition to the dangers of an arms race in Southern Africa. Botswana has already reinforced its airforce & army; and Zimbabwe has been buying MIGs, helicopter gunships & military trucks for its Congo adventure following its earlier, controversial receipt of Hawk fighter jets with spare parts from the UK.

The operational costs of the continent's wars are also rising, paid in part by the militaries' direct sale of minerals etc. Thus, Angola's internal war costs over US\$ 1 billion per annum; that in the Sudan over US \$400m pa; while Ethiopia spends over \$450m & Eritrea some \$200m each year on their classic stand-off in the desert.

Hence the importance of oil income for both the embattled Luanda & Khartoum regimes, enhanced at century's dawn by the increased world price of oil.

Moreover, escalation towards regional arms races is not only a function of threat perceptions or pressures from (now privatised) arms dealers. It is also a reaction towards the privatisation of security throughout the continent as indicated below: national armies seek firepower against private forces just as the latter do against each other. Such private as well as public arms races may prove even harder to contain and reverse than traditional inter-state escalations.

iv) Privatisation of Security?

"...regional and civil conflict continues to tear central Africa apart and there is no sign of an African Renaissance. The only beneficiaries of the new era of chaos and widespread destabilization are the arms dealers, illicit traders and the mercenary and private security forces that continue to find abundant employ in the central African maelstrom." (Khareen Pech 'The Hand of War: mercenaries in the former Zaire 1996-97' in Musah & Fayemi 2000: 149).

Just as conflict on the continent is not longer simply inter- or intra-state, so security forces are no longer only official. Rather, at least three forms of 'privatisation' are apparent, with profound implications for both the incidence & resolution of conflict (Cilliers & Mason 1999). In this regard, as in the peacekeeping 'industry', Africa is in the *avant garde* (Muthien & Taylor 2000).

First, perhaps the most clear-cut form of privatisation of security arrangements is the establishment & deployment of private forces, whether they be characterised as armies or militias. The most familiar or notorious of such mercenary operations is Executive Outcomes, but as indicated below in fact it is but one of several such private formations. It and others have been most active in contexts of anarchy such as Angola, Congo and Sierra Leone; i.e. where embattled regimes have resources to but such services in part as they seek to ensure control over energy and/or mineral resources. Moreover, such mercenary formations recruit globally so that their 'soldiers of fortune' may be sourced from ex-settler armies, former East European militaries, ex-gangs etc, raising a variety of 'foreign policy'/international legal issues as indicated in the final section as well as in the CDD's collection on Mercenaries (Musah & Fayemi 2000).

Second, a recent phenomenon is the apparent willingness of some African states or regimes to sell their official, statutory troops and services for a price, whether it be for UN or other peace-keeping operations (e.g. Sierra Leone) or to shore-up

embattled regimes (e.g. Angola and Congo). In these cases, regimes seek to circumvent international conditionalities, which seek to place limits on military budgets on grounds of either diverting development expenditures or constraining global competitiveness. They may also seek to 'export' difficult or unreliable military units. The dispatch of such expeditionary forces to other African countries enables regimes to attract foreign exchange either for arms purchases or for personal accumulation. For example, Kenya has developed something of a niche in terms of peacekeeping so that its troops can be rewarded and re-equipped. By contrast, the Zimbabwean army in Congo via the Osleg mineral agreement with its opposite numbers in the Kabila regime, is a conduit for resources to flow to President Mugabe's closest political associates while its soldiers are dying in an unwinnable war. As Anglin (1999: 112-113) noted last year, General Zvinavashe's transport company is the major source of logistics to (his!) army in Congo! In short, in at least some instances, African peacekeepers are on sale to the highest bidder.

Finally, third, the most problematic form of privatisation is the proliferation of gangs and mafias, again the African variant of global phenomena. These seek to maximise their incomes through control over drugs and guns, but also diamonds and emeralds. They may be centred on demobilised troops as in post-conflict situations like South Africa and Uganda. And they may also serve as the African associates of global mafia networks in terms of drug routes etc. In any event, they seriously challenge the continent's inadequate law and order structures, often corrupting or circumventing them ('Business in Difficult Places' 2000).

The proliferation of a variety of private security organisations on the continent complicates both civil-military relations (see vi) below) as well as conflict resolution, let alone roles of international organisations/law. For any effective peace operation now has to take into account the likelihood that it will have to deal with not only warring armies but also with a fluid mix of mercenary, mafia and gang involvements. Peacekeeping had already become complex as it no longer entails only adopting an interposition between two opposing militaries. It had already come to involve 'partnerships' with a variety of diverse NGOs. Now it also involves the infinitely more problematic task of not only mediating among a range of political forces but also dealing with the presence of criminal organisations. This poses profound challenges to the foreign policies of other states, let alone those of MNCs & NGOs, as indicated in the case of Canada treated below. For example, following international revelations of diamonds as a primary cause of conflict (Smillie et al 2000), in October 1999, De Beers moved to implement UN sanctions against unofficial stones from Angola and elsewhere on the continent (De Beers 1999: 57):

“De Beers now has no buying offices in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo or Guinea. Operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone ceased many years ago... no diamonds are being purchased from areas in Africa currently controlled by rebel forces...”

De Beers has urged the international diamond industry to adopt similar policies. We have also expressed our strong concern that the legitimate diamond industry, which accounts for the overwhelming majority of world production, should not be damaged by laudable attempts to reduce the income flowing to rebel movements.”

The contrast in the developmental impacts of the production & distribution of gems from divergent small states like Botswana & Sierra Leone is palpable. The former has been Africa’s fastest growing economy for several years; by contrast the latter typically comes last in the list of countries in the UNDP’s annual human development index. But the cumulative impacts of ‘dirty diamonds’ on De Beers & other formal sector producers (states & companies as well as labour & communities) cannot be minimised, hence the Kimberley summit on diamonds in May 2000 bringing together levels of government (from local to global as well as national & provincial), labour & NGOs as well as capital to limit the negative spill-over (see final section ix) below). As the Economist indicated in May 2000 in a report noting that ‘The situation for De Beers is tricky’, the CSO is facing the danger of long-term reputational risk: it’s hard to contain the erosion of such elusive status. A month later in a longer section on ‘The Diamond Business’, subtitled ‘Washed out of Africa’, it again looked at the myriad challenges facing De Beers.

Relatedly, there is a growing literature on private security companies with particular resonance in Africa, although such distinctive corporations have bases and operations in other continents, notably the former Soviet bloc (see Cilliers & Mason 1999, Francis 2000, Musah & Fayemi 2000, Shearer 1998a & b). But among such leading ‘private military companies’ (Kevin A O’Brien ‘Private Military Companies & African Security, 1990-98’ in Musah & Fayemi (2000): 43-75), Sandline International has its HQ in London and that for Military Professional Resources Incorporated is in Washington, DC. The former operates Branch-Heritage mineral and energy activities in parts of Africa as well as in mining centres like Australia and Canada (e.g. Robert Friedland’s Diamondworks, formally a Vancouver-based ‘junior’) while the latter supplies a variety of contractual services to the Pentagon. But Executive Outcomes as part of the Strategic Resources Corporation is still the best-known and most expansive ‘transnational mercenary corporation’ according to Muthien (2000), even if it has

been formally disbanded. According to the chart in Musah & Fayemi (2000: xvi) on ‘The Anatomy of Interlocking Mining & Mercenary Network’, it was associated with Saracen International and its well connected associates, some with close connections to African presidential offices. Many of the executives in such security companies come from British, South African and other military and intelligence forces, particularly those used in the apartheid regime’s destabilisation activities in the 1970s & 1980s. And they increasingly hire East Europeans who were trained and employed in the Soviet and other eastern bloc militaries until the end of the Cold War.

According to Howe (1998), Mills & Stremlau (1999), Musah & Fayemi (2000), Shearer (1998a & b) etc both mining companies and international financial institutions as well as national regimes – a distinctive ‘unholy alliance’ or entrepreneurial coalition?! - have come to sanction the hiring of such private security forces in tough times/places, such as Angola, Congo and Sierra Leone. Reflective of the new revisionist/realist mood, William Shawcross (2000) has begun to advocate mercenary interventions when necessary if other actions/sanctions have been insufficient. But perhaps even more surprisingly, NGOs engaged in peace building have likewise come to consider the possibility/necessity of such contracts. In ‘Mean Times’, a report for CARE Canada and related Canadian and global NGOs on ‘Humanitarian Action in Complex Political Emergencies: stark choices, cruel dilemmas’, Bryans, Jones & Stein (1999) come to recommend that: ‘NGOs should consider the privatisation of security for humanitarian purposes’ (see ix) below). Such hitherto unthinkable possibilities pose profound challenges for both analysis & practice, whether established academics so recognise or not, as indicated in the final sections.

v) New Realisms: onto security communities?

“The conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa are increasingly becoming regionalised and are hence difficult to analyse in isolation from each other. Many conflicts in the subregion are connected through cross-border interests & actors, and there is an increase of various types of external (African) military involvement in the internal conflicts.” (Sollenberg 1999: 23)

A kaleidoscopic array of inter-regime ‘alliances’ has come to characterise African inter-state relations since independence. In addition to continental coalitions around the founding of the OAU, a series of sub-continental networks emerged in Eastern and then Southern Africa in the post-colonial era over regional integration and national liberation, as indicated in Anglin (1989: 127) on state-‘liberation movement’ connections in the Horn at the end of the Cold War. As the latest

Strategic Survey from the IISS (2000) suggests, today both the Horn & the Great Lakes Region are characterised by ‘interlocking wars’ based on tactical rather than continuing patterns of alliance.

By the turn of the century, Africa had considerable experience of shifting intra- as well as extra-continental coalitions, which have increasingly come to involve non-state actors as well as national regimes. The initial Mulungushi Club of first-generation presidents and the anti-apartheid grouping of Front Line States evolved, partially in opposition to the ‘unholy alliance’ of the white regimes, into the initial SADCC, a pro-majority rule and anti-destabilisation network. In some ways, they also anticipated the late-1990s association of ‘New Africans’, the core advocates of an African renaissance. But the bipolar configuration of the post-war era also encouraged Cold War divisions, apparent in the competitive external associations of the liberation movements.

The nearly simultaneous ending of bipolarity and of apartheid in the early-1990s permitted a brief interregnum in which a set of alternative alliances seemed to be feasible. Thus in response to a set of interrelated opportunities in Central Africa as well as majority rule in South Africa, a new informal association of ‘New Africans’ emerged to advance an African renaissance: in addition to Mbeki in South Africa and Museveni in Uganda, Kagame in Rwanda and Afwerki in Eritrea. For a moment in the mid-1990s it seemed as if together they might dispel lingering ghosts about African disunity: a regional African ‘security community’ seemed to be in prospect. Thus, even if the recent comparative case studies of such communities assembled by Adler & Barnett (1998) failed to include a chapter on Africa, informed observers of the continent might have been able to outline at least one such embryonic community around the New African network.

However, unhappily, the quagmire of Congo – ‘one of the world’s most complicated wars...one of the world’s most troubling...’ (Seybolt 2000: 59) - soon dragged down even this resilient grouping. As the IISS Strategic Survey (1999a: 235) suggests, ‘The war in the Democratic Republic of Congo has perhaps the most serious implications for the continent’. So 1998 witnessed an unexpected proliferation of interventions in the heart of the continent, with an unlikely alliance of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe advancing their own nefarious interests in parts of that troubled ‘country’ (see Musah & Fayemi 2000). Similarly, despite their long-standing alliance (since meeting in school in Mbarara, two decades for the two leaders involved, Kagame & Museveni), the mid-1998 front between Rwandese and Ugandan forces around Kisangani also fractured by mid-1999, in part as a result of losing ground in the centre of the country, close to the Zaire River, to pro-

Kabila forces from SADC states This lead to a year long stand-off which exacerbated divisions in the respective Congolese allies of the Eastern Africans: as indicated below, the Rwandese-supported RCD split between Wamba & Ilunga factions while the Ugandans continued to support Bemba's MLC, notwithstanding a series of presidential agreements to cooperate/coexist (Reno 2000)

Whilst there has been a series of largely African state-led efforts in regional, continental & global fora to negotiate & implement cease-fires, such as the mid-1999 Lusaka Accord, in reality Congo has been partitioned by a group of neighbouring leaders who have paid their statutory forces by allowing (some!) access to the loot, with profound long-term implications in terms of civil-military relations, corruption etc (see below). Thus by century's end, a hundred years since the Berlin conference, Congo was again divided not between imperial powers, but among African regimes:

- a) south-east under Emil Ilunga's RCD faction in association with Rwanda;
- b) central-eastern under Ernest Wamba dia Wamba's RCD faction in association with Uganda;
- c) north-east: the MLC of Jean Pierre Bemba in association with Uganda; and, finally, the official 'sovereign' regime:
- d) a strip along the west & south-west: Kabila's supposed 'national government' (see ARB especially boxes on "DRC Peace Plan & Battle-lines" in 36(7), 26 August 1999: p13624 & "DRC: neighbourly economic colonialism" in 36(9), 8 November 1999: p14058).

Hence the intense battles around Kisangani between Rwandese & Ugandan soldiers in mid-2000 (Seybolt 2000).

The complexities of such interrelated, regionalised struggles on the continent are well-captured by Margareta Sollenberg *et al* (1999: 23):

"Three types of external (intra-African) military involvement can be seen:

- a) external military assistance, including either arms sales or direct military support to a government (e.g. Zimbabwe's involvement in the DRC);*
- b) direct military intervention of foreign troops directed against a government (e.g. Rwanda's & Uganda's intervention in the DRC); &*

c) indirect external intervention, that is, support of various kinds to rebel groups operating against a government (e.g. Sudan's support of the LRA & the ADF in Uganda in the form of arms & logistic assistance).

A fourth type of external involvement, that by countries outside Africa, has become less explicit since the end of the Cold War, although it still exists."

We have already considered above in part iv) to what extent these actions were taken in the 'national interest' of either recipient or advocate. So, by the dawn of the twenty-first century, interrelated notions of African renaissance and security community seemed to have become but fanciful dreams (Shaw 1998). And, as we have already seen in iii) above, not only wasteful conflicts but also longer-term regional arms races seemed all too likely. As the IISS (1999b: 246) suggested: 'Escalation of armed conflict in Africa has resulted in a significant increase in the region's military spending'.

As already noted, Douglas Anglin (1998: 127) creatively outlined a set of interrelated inter-state alliances in Eastern Africa, even he soon came to recognise that these are overly personal and changeable (1999): novel, 'African' forms of 'civil-military relations'! However, his approach assumed that only state actors were involved as opposed to the range of heterogeneous types of actors in today's Africa. Moreover, in a post-bipolar context, the diversity of non-state as well as state actors today complicates the quest for simple patterns of alliances in both practice and theory as indicated in the final pair of sections below. This is so for both novel peacekeeping ventures as well as for more traditional military adventures. Thus, any aspiration towards a security community, as a logical, compatible correlate of renaissance, is likely to necessitate a long-term vision and strategy, which hard-pressed regimes can hardly articulate let alone sustain, especially given the diversions of privatisations.

Post-apartheid Southern Africa may have come closest to the creation of such a security community in the mid-1990s when traditions of associations, even alliances, among the liberation movement led to the re-structured and -directed SADC. But any positive legacy from the Inter-State Security & Defence Committee (ISSDC) dissipated in the acrimonious debates about the new Community's 'Organ on Politics, Defence & Security'. And divisions further hardened over the late-1990s interventions in Lesotho and Congo by the militaries from two distinct & exclusive sets of regional states. In short, the positive aura arising from the transition in South Africa soon evaporated, particularly in bilateral

South African-Zimbabwean relations, leading not only to diplomatic difficulties but also to competitive rearmaments.

vi) Civil-military Relations: how civil? What military?

“The military, in and out of uniform, remain a potent force in Africa politics.”
(Anglin 1999: 102)

Apparent rearmament along with renewed conflicts have served to rescue the military from relative obscurity. Yet renewed facilities and roles only reinforce the imperative of renewed attention to effective civilian control if democratisation is to be enhanced and de facto privatisation of statutory forces contained, even reversed. Douglas Anglin’s assertion above is only half the story: as we have already seen, the military is increasingly potent in economics as well as politics! Yet civil-military relations on the continent have been ignored, to the peril of civilian decision-making, as Martin Rupiya (2000) presciently indicated recently in the case of Zimbabwe ahead of the fraught mid-2000 elections in a plea for attention to the process of militarisation in Zimbabwe.

Moreover, by century’s end it was apparent that any effective civilian oversight had to be reconstituted in at least a couple of ways. First, ‘civilian’ needed to be extended beyond the non-military state including parliament to the involvement of NGOs. And second, ‘military’ needed to be extended beyond official security forces to include private operators, from security guards to mercenaries, with several intermediary types. Such civil-military relations are especially important as well as problematic in ubiquitous peace-building operations where the roles of NGOs as partners of the militaries are crucial if human security is to be advanced so facilitating human development. And the recent instances of unilateral presidential instructions ordering supposedly national armies into Congo (i.e. Mugabe & Nujoma) (Rupiya 2000, Lamb 1999, respectively) constitute blatant disregard of democratic or institutional checks-and-balances, by contrast to neighbouring South Africa, at least for now! Moreover, military involvement in foreign wars always entails a risk that soldiers will return with new ideas and/or property – i.e. political or financial corruption - as was the case with African troops in World War Two and Tanzanian soldiers who helped to liberate Uganda from the tyrannies of Amin & Obote II. Service in Congo today is unlikely to encourage positive social and political development among SADC or East African militaries!

vii) New Regionalisms: onto zones of peace?

“The continent comprises many Africas.” (Anglin 1999: 96).

The above range of apparent diversities in civil-military relations, peace-building partnerships and related privatisations, suggests the need to reconsider whether there can ever be one singular continental perspective or rather a group of regional forms. Africa has had a varied set of historical experiences, in terms of imperial connections and economic relations, let alone ecological contexts. Just as Samir Amin proposed a trio of Africas in the early-1970s so, at the turn of the century, learning from Douglas Anglin’s above diktat, we might identify several distinct regions in terms of types of conflict and in terms of peace-making responses, informed by insights drawn from the embryonic perspectives termed ‘new regionalisms’ (Boas 1999, Shaw 1998):

- a) non-traditional, largely non-state, conflicts and responses (West Africa & Somalia);
- b) semi-traditional, semi-state (economic) conflicts and responses (Angola and Congo);
- c) traditional inter-state/-regime conflicts and responses (e.g. Ethiopia and Eritrea).

Such distinctions would indicate the importance of pragmatic and flexible varieties of peace-making interventions from both intra- & extra-regional sources as well as the imperative of informed and nuanced analyses if (state & non-state) policy responses are to be as appropriate as possible. They also imply the unlikelihood of a series of distinct ‘security communities’ on the continent; i.e. one singular African renaissance.

Hence the interesting evolution and implementation, concentrated to date in Southern Africa, of a set of corridors which constitute potential subregional zones of peace. As they involve a range of heterogeneous partners in their governance or development, notably local-to-national governments and companies, they can be compared to a diverse range of ‘triangles’, often Export-Processing Zones (EPZs), in Southeast and East Asia.

Similarly, the diplomacy around and development of trans-frontier or cross-border peace-parks offer alternatives to regional conflict, even if they all include South Africa as a partner: The first, between Northern Cape & Botswana - Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park - was inaugurated in mid-May 2000.

There are several of the former in addition to the most-developed/popularised, the Maputo corridor with a total investment by the end of the last century of R35-40 million (see Jonathan Mitchell “The Maputo Development Corridor” in SAIIA 1998: 197-208): Beira, Nacala & Tazara historically (related to periods of anti-settler regimes struggles) and Lubombo and Trans-Kalahari now. More distantly, there may yet be corridors through Angola, such as Lobito, into Congo and on to Zambia, Malange & Namibe corridors. (Talitha Bertelsmann “Regional Integration in Southern Africa” in SAIIA 1998: 177-196) These typically entail public-private partnerships centred on major infrastructural developments such as toll roads, railways/ports, oil/gas pipelines, mineral extraction/benification etc. Their corporate/government sponsorship could be matched by enhanced roles for civil societies/small scale entrepreneurs (Taylor 2000). And their implicit human, even national, security implications could be made more explicit given their ability to attract & facilitate labour migrations etc.

And several of the latter are envisaged among a diversity of bilateral partners – Botswana (Tuli), Lesotho (Maloti with Drakensberg), Mozambique (Gaza with Kruger and Maputo with Tembe), Namibia (Ais Ais with Richtersveld) & Zimbabwe (Gonarezhou with Kruger) - all centred on South Africa. But with a couple being trilateral. The ominous prospects of cross-border conflicts rather than co-operation was made apparent in the clash between Botswana & Namibia over the Okavango (see Motumisi Tawana “SADC Security Issues” in SAIIA 1998: 189-196).

Both of these two types of sub-regional governance architectures may have significant longer-term implications for human security/development, in part as they have broader and deeper roots among a diversity of actors – communities, economic, ecological, infrastructural, functional, political etc - than merely presidential agreements, such as among the ‘New Africans’ in the mid-1990s; i.e. the real bases of any sustainable renaissance on the continent.

viii) Implications for Intra- & Extra African Foreign Policies, state and non-state
“Canada does not have a policy on Africa as such. Instead, it has adopted certain themes, many of which, like landmines and child soldiers, are of immediate and direct relevance to Africa.” (Anglin 1998: 137)

‘Foreign policy’ of states like Canada (see next paragraph) has had to evolve significantly in both post-World War & -Cold War periods, as ranges of both actors & issues have evolved. First, in both the post-nationalist & -communist eras, the number of states has continued (perhaps somewhat unexpectedly) to multiply. And

second, in the 1990s, the scope of global & regional issues has expanded almost exponentially. Hence the search by the increasing set of aspiring ‘middle powers’ like Canada for a distinctive niche in a world of globalisation & competition. And so onto the identification & exploitation by its Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy in the mid-1990s as the dilemmas of peacekeeping etc of ‘human security’ even if the Canadian government as a whole was going in a contrary neo-liberal direction.

However, by contrast to the 1950s, in the 1990s, terms like ‘foreign policy’ & concepts like ‘Canada’ have become increasingly contested, even if not always so recognised throughout the South given the lingering myths of independence, sovereignty etc. Certainly, this paper takes it to be axiomatic that, in the twenty-first century, not only the Canadian & all other ‘states’ but also companies & civil societies have their own inter- or Trans-national relations. In the Cold War era, when ‘national security’ was assumed to be under threat, foreign policy was more singular & focused. By the end of the 1980s, however, after a decade of structural adjustment & just ahead of the end of bipolarity, foreign & security policies were already starting to fragment everywhere as new threats & actors intruded. A decade later, after two decades of neo-liberalism & one of post-bipolarity, the pluralism of international relations has become undeniable - multiple issues, fora, coalitions etc – even if in general analysis has continued to lag behind practice.

Thus ‘Canadian’ & other (relatively!) ‘enlightened’ ‘internationalist’ interests have not only been increasingly articulated by non-state actors, they also gradually shifted in focus from the relatively unambiguous concepts of ‘human rights’ in the late-1980s (e.g. anti-apartheid) to the more problematic notion of ‘human security’ in late-1990s (Anglin 1998: 137-138). Both were appropriate to international times/debates & national resources/leaderships etc even though in both these contemporary eras, multiple policies were apparently reflective of the place of the national political economy in regional affiliations like NAFTA & NATO etc.

To score above its weight, then, Canada, like other competitive middle powers, has had to compensate for its limited economic resources with intellectual creativity & gravitas. Perhaps the most notable achievement of the current Chretien administration has been Lloyd Axworthy’s advocacy & realisation of a global landmine treaty, with profound relevance for the killing fields of Afghanistan, Cambodia & former Yugoslavia as well as parts of Africa (Anglin 1999: 139-141, Tomlin 1998, Tomlin et al 1998). The imperative for such a global agreement came out of an unlikely yet symptomatic alliance (see below re parallels in parallel cases like ‘dirty diamonds’), the ICBL. But from a handful of NGO associates in Kenya

& Norway as well as Canada, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) is now a major force of global civil society, reflecting the consensus of its 1 300 members. Thus the Ottawa Process has come to have a life & momentum of its own: a model to which alliances around other current global issues can but aspire? The mid-1999 Ottawa conference on landmines is being followed by the fall 2000 global gathering in Winnipeg with UNICEF on children in conflicts.

Symbolically, the *fin de siecle* was notable for a trio of quite authoritative reports on pressing global issues concentrated around the African continent authored & animated by Canadian analysts, which emerged from several inter- & non-governmental organisations: onto policy discourses with NGOs/MNCs etc. To be sure, other 'endangered' middle powers have been likewise innovative, notably the Scandinavians in terms of disinterested diplomacy over the Former Soviet Union & Middle East & the South's parallel G-14 networking over major economic & financial issues.

First, Canada's then-Ambassador to the UN in New York, Robert Fowler, given Canada's election to the Security Council, served as Chair of the UN's Panel of Experts on Violations of Security Council Sanctions against UNITA; he prepared a critical report for the UN on causes of the conflict in Angola (Fowler Report 2000) which named names of UNITA's high-level accomplices in Africa & Europe; this raised a number of sensitive interrelated issues for policy discourses within the UN & its member-states. If diamonds (& oil) keep the civil strife alive for both sides, then what does that tell you about the intolerable conditions of the majority for whom (human) security/development is but a dream.

Second, in response to growing criticism in terms of gender, human rights etc, the Minister for Foreign Affairs commissioned John Harker *et al* to draft a report on 'Human Security in the Sudan' (Harker 2000), a professional response to issues of abductions of women & abuse of child labour/soldiers along with the issue of a Canadian company's investments in the controversial oil industry & pipeline from the South: Talisman Energy. This led to an intense set of analyses & debates around a range of possible sanctions, which were not implemented due to opposition within North America. But if Canada was compromised by a stand-off between capital & labour, the US Department of Commerce faced no such constraints: it proceeded to sanction Sudan as a 'rogue state' rather than as a threat to human security! Meanwhile, reflective of novel forms of labour power & ethical considerations with global reach, the large Ontario Teachers' Pension Fund decided to sell its shares in Talisman. Furthermore, symptomatic of the difficulties of arriving at a consensual foreign policy, Canadian governmental & non-

governmental organisations failed to reach agreement with Talisman Energy about even a possible range of development projects/criteria as a means of making its investments in the South more acceptable; i.e. no basis for trust over the proposed Trust Fund!

As we have already noted above, issues around the Sudan cannot be separated from others in both the Horn & Great Lakes/Central Africa: there are complex & changeable alliances amongst a variety of state & non-state actors which stretch from Luanda to Asmara, Harare to Khartoum. These have particular import for IGAD as well as the OAU/UN in their forlorn attempts to advance track-two type confidence building measures in the Horn & elsewhere. And they inform a growing concern among NGOs about their own security preparations & intelligence roles. Thus 'Mean Times' from CARE Canada (Bryans et al 1999) raised issues around NGO partnerships in increasingly complex (let alone fraught & dangerous!) peace operations: should private security arrangements or contracts be excluded altogether or might they become necessary at times if assistance is to be delivered? These security issues are vital for Canadian & other militaries as well as research & training institutions like the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre at Cornwallis in Nova Scotia.

And third, Partnership Africa Canada commissioned Ian Smillie et al to research & write a report on the real economic causes of the continuing conflict in the unhappy country & region of Sierra Leone. Their report (Smillie et al 2000) on 'The Heart of the Matter; Sierra Leone, diamonds & human security' succeeded in setting off an avalanche over the production chain of 'dirty' or 'conflict' diamonds & the possibilities of sanctioning the informal/illegal sector at certain choke-points. This report helped inform & generate parallel debates in a variety of organisations, including the US Congress & the UN, along with a remarkable mixed actor 'summit' on diamonds at Kimberley in May 2000. The latter brought together the crucial elements in any attempt to contain the negative impacts of informal sector extraction & distribution: from capital to labour, environmental & women's groups to non-violent & local communities: the bases of a new form of governance appropriate to local to global interests? Symbolically, coinciding with the Kimberley deliberations & as the war in Sierra Leone heated up again, De Beers & Debswana opened the extension of the Orapa mine in Botswana. The contrast between growth levels & standards of living & human development in two small diamond-producing African states – Botswana & Sierra Leone – could not be starker...with profound implications for analysis & praxis, as suggested below.

The mid-May 2000 multi-stakeholder gathering in Kimberley is symptomatic of the complexities of state & non-state 'foreign policy' in the new century, for a diversity of actors in Canada, South Africa etc. It brought Southern African regimes, companies, NGOs, think-tanks & unions together to examine the difficulties of effecting sanctions against 'dirty diamonds' following revelations about diamonds as a primary cause of conflict in Angola, Sierra Leone etc from Global Witness, Partnership Africa Canada *et al.* The participants agreed to work through a variety of channels to advance effective sanctions: G8 (including Russia), OAU, World Diamond Council, World Federation of Diamond Bourses as well as the UN. As De Beers recognises, such sanctions are intended not only to deter conflict but also to support legitimate enterprises and governments as well as be transformed into incentives once conflict ceases and regimes change (De Beers 1999: 14-15):

"...since the imposition of UN diamond sanctions against Unita, De Beers has – at some considerable cost to itself – gone much further than the legal requirements to ensure that the diamonds it sells are from conflict-free regions.

At the same time De Beers shares the growing concern of the governments of Botswana, Namibia and South Africa that this issue presents a serious risk to the well regulated diamond industry which is so central to economic growth, employment and prosperity in these, the three most successful economies in Africa...the value of diamonds from all conflict areas (is) no more than 3.75 per cent of world production, whereas Botswana, Namibia and South Africa produce nearly half of world production by value. Responsible Western governments realise also that the orderly mining of diamonds under transparent and accountable democratic regimes must play an important role in the reconstruction of those African countries, such as Sierra Leone, so recently torn by conflict. The perpetual outlawing of their production, no matter how small, could deny them an important source of revenue...diamonds can play a role in that vital process of reconstruction."

The distinctive patterns of alliance have become quite apparent around the issue of conflict diamonds - African states like Botswana & Namibia as well as South Africa along with mining capital & organised labour concentrated in Southern Africa versus warlords & informal traders, certain transnational mineral entrepreneurs centred on Congo & Sierra Leone, even Kimberley versus Antwerp – with profound implications for policy & practice.

At Kimberley, it was admitted that, until the May 2000 outbreak of renewed civil conflict in West Africa, the South African government had been encouraging De

Beers to return to Freetown as an aspect of reconstruction under the auspices of UN peacekeepers: the real international relations of conflict on the continent in the new century involving a diverse, changeable range of interests and actors. As in the recent case of transition in South Africa itself, any progress towards more acceptable, democratic, developmental regimes in countries like Angola, Sierra Leone, Sudan etc have to be synchronised with the incremental lifting of a variety of state & non-state negative sanctions & institution of positive incentives (Crawford & Klotz 1999).

In short, the real causes of and responses to conflict on the continent remain problematic at the turn of the century, in part because of outmoded analytic and policy assumptions and approaches and, in part, because of a growing diversity of real interests. Intra- & extra-continental, state and non-state responses to Africa's continuing crises will necessitate a mixture of diplomacy and pressure, economics and politics, positive and negative sanctions etc if there is to be any prospect of a genuine African renaissance in the first decade of the new century.

ix) The State of African IR/FP/IPE at Century's Dawn

"Africa presented two contradictory faces in 1999" (IISS 2000: 243).

The actualities of African foreign policy/international relations/political economy are in great flux as both global & local contexts continue to evolve (Shaw & Nyang'oro 1999 & 2000). Yet analyses of them have not always kept pace with the actual shifts in the relationships among states, companies & civil societies (Wright 1999). So, while the continent may indeed be Janus-faced as suggested above in the latest IISS Strategic Survey, the degree of contradictoriness may in part also be a function of inappropriate conceptual approaches. As Smillie *et al* (2000: 1) lament in regard to the state of the field(s), reflecting on their own pioneering & influential analysis of the case around Sierra Leone:

"This study constitutes a strong critique of prevailing orthodox explanations of conflict, which tend towards state-centric & non-economic explanations. Traditional economics, in fact, as well as traditional political science & military history are of little assistance in explaining Sierra Leone's conflict. The point of the war may not actually have been to win it, but to engage in profitable crime under the cover of warfare."

Such interrelated deficiencies/possibilities are reflective of the range of 'silences' in the ten chapters on the continent crafted by Anglin (1999) for Conflicts in the World over the decade:

- a) non-state actors, both NGOs/think-tanks & companies, from advocacy & delivery NGOs & development institutes like the NSI/ODC/ODI ‘alliance’ along with companies, especially those in energy & mining along with their vital security arrangements;
- b) new security threats such as small-arms/land-mines along with parallel ‘global’ as well as continental/local human security issues such as ecology (e.g. biodiversity), gangs, gender, viruses (e.g. AIDS) etc;
- c) diasporas, such as those active over Eritrea/Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Somalia etc (including, for example, those in Canada able to exert pressure on Canadian state & non-state foreign policies); and
- d) post-conflict confidence-building measures/courts/enquiries/tribunals (cf South Africa/Rwanda).

Happily, however, any such deficiencies are about to be transcended as a couple of contemporary collections become available (Vale, Swatuk & Oden 2001, Dunn & Shaw 2001). Moreover, they lead towards a set of critical comments on the state of the interrelated ‘fields’ as outlined below – first, four interrelated ‘interdisciplinary’ fields & then another four somewhat more ‘disciplinary’ fields - again with implications for policy & practice as well as for analysis & theory.

First, as indicated in the first paragraph of this paper, *development studies/policies* can no longer overlook awkward factors like the political economy of conflict, peace building & reconstruction. Rather, in the emerging post-neoliberal era, rather than concentrate on self-congratulatory comparisons about ‘external’ ‘competitiveness’, they need to incorporate such inconvenient critiques of established policies which have failed to address underlying ‘internal’ social inequalities: onto emulation of UNDP’s (1999) not uncontroversial advocacy of a ‘human security’ perspective: onto the real PE of child soldiers, private armies etc?

Second, for *security or strategic studies*, this novel focus on the ‘real’ political economy of violence has profound implications, leading not only away from ‘national’ towards ‘human’ security but also to analysis of novel issues & coalitions. Some of these are related to Africa’s current conflicts like AIDS, land-mines & other small arms, migrations, ‘track-two’ diplomacy etc while others somewhat more distant, such as ecological sustainability, viruses, even post-conflict redevelopment etc.

Third, in such unenviable contexts, any discovery & advocacy of *civil society* groupings is to be encouraged given their exclusion even repression in the continent's initial post-independence state socialist dispensation. They are important not only in terms of programme delivery but also in relation to advocacy; i.e. from human development to human security?

And, finally, fourth in terms of the initial set of somewhat 'interdisciplinary' perspectives, as indicated in the preceding section, issues of *governance* among myriad non-state as well as state actors cannot be separated from questions of the causes & containment & resolution of conflicts: onto sustainable forms of 'peace-building governance'?

And in terms of somewhat more established & unidisciplinary approaches, I turn first to that bastion of 'realism', hegemonic US versions of *international politics/relations*, which still focus on the state as the primary (only?!) legitimate or authoritative actor in global politics notwithstanding the undeniable roles of myriad non-state actors over multiple contemporary issues from AIDS to ecology, energy to gender.

Second, the profoundly disturbing 'emerging PE of violence' perspective/paradigm also challenges discourses within the prevailing schools of *international political economy* which tend to assume that conflict is bad for business. Rather, it stands in stark contrast to prevailing debates about forms of globalisations & regionalisms, suggesting that some conflict is good for some businesses along with some leading actors in such sectors, whether informal as well as formal, illegal as well as legal.

Third, such uncomfortable cases from the 'periphery' cannot be readily accommodated within orthodox *political science*, which would tend to treat them as aberrations. However, as the real world of conflict, civil societies, informal networks, illegalities etc becomes ever more apparent, so triangular forms of governance, which extend to regional as well as local & national levels of communication & negotiation, become undeniable even if theory has yet to fully embrace let alone explain.

And finally, fourth, if the 'discipline' as a whole is in shock, then *comparative politics* in particular is in a condition of denial, while its relatively recent subfield of *comparative transitions* similarly cannot expand to embrace the real imperatives of many such changes! The former has yet to fully embrace the triad of central actor types already suggested while the latter has yet to adequately appreciate the prospects of regressions & worse, back to anarchies or authoritarianisms.

In short, as I've already suggested elsewhere (Shaw 1998), even before the PE of conflict genre became so familiar, the dynamics/ambiguities of the continent's conflicts have served to challenge a variety of analytic & policy prescriptions, with implications for a range of assumptions/assertions, state & non-state actors etc alike. Hence the imperative of informed but modest new analytic suggestions or directions for the first decade of the new century at least, not just for African Studies but also for Development even Global Studies. And if security policies are thereby challenged so likewise should be development policies.

So, if the PE of violence is in part a reaction to unacceptably low levels of BHN/HDI then, to have any chance of being efficacious, any peace-keeping intervention has to confront such contexts or causes; they cannot expect to be limited in either scale & time! In short, sustainable human development & sustainable human security are inseparable, particularly in the contemporary continent as it confronts such all too ubiquitous conflicts. If peace making is to lead towards peace building & on to reconstruction/reconciliation/redevelopment, then not just the symptoms but also the causes of such conflicts must be recognised & confronted.

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